

School Of Architecture, Planning and Landscape
Newcastle University

**The Historical Transformation of Civic Architecture:
City Council Buildings and Urban Change in Tripoli, Libya.**

ABDELATIF. M. O. EL- ALLOUS
B.Sc. Arch., MSc.

Thesis Submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
in Architecture and Urban Design, Newcastle University.

Supervised by:
Dr. Martyn Dade-Robertson
Prof. Ali Madanipour

April, 2016

Abstract

Since early urbanisation, governmental public architecture has dominated the urban landscape and shaped the presence and perceptions of those who work, visit and live around it due to the monumental forms, practical bureaucratic functions, embellished and practical spaces, and central urban positions often in proximity to central squares and marketplaces. Public architecture has recently seen dramatic transformations in all these physical aspects, but few studies have explored the changes in powerful invisible values such as the symbolic meanings attached to such buildings, particularly in developing countries.

This thesis uses historical, observational, qualitative and quantitative data to conduct an architectural and urban spatial mapping and analysis in the Libyan capital city of Tripoli and its historical municipal buildings (TMBs) to achieve two aims: to understand the historical narrative of the development of the city centre of Tripoli in relation to the city council buildings created by previous rulers; and to trace the history and evaluate the present significance of the currently used central municipal building of Tripoli, built during Italian colonisation. This study describes the architectural, urban and socio-cultural aspects of this historical building in Tripoli city centre and also considers how powerful and actually 'public' and 'civic' this building was at the time of the research fieldwork under the Gaddafi regime in 2010.

The results show that this historical Fascist-style building is still valued by the Libyan government and the public in Tripoli today. Even though the building is a place of power whose spaces do not meet the criteria of publicness identified in the literature of the public realm, it plays a significant civic role allowing citizens to encounter the regime and openly criticise their local government publically in a municipal environment.

Acknowledgements

In the name of Allah, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful,

To Him my first and foremost gratitude and supplications are dedicated.

Finishing this doctoral thesis would not have been possible without the constant support and encouragement of those whom some I could only remember in this brief thanking nod.

First in the list are my family. My gratitude goes to my beloved parents, wife, brothers, and sisters for their sincere love, patience, prayers, and contentions help and trust under the extraordinary exhausting circumstances along passing this long academic journey together. May Allah repay you for the time, wealth, feelings, and energy you gave me to complete my studies. A special thank you to my wife and baby daughter for just being close to me at all times, your smiles and kindness have always planted hope and joy in my heart and soul to be able to finish this arduous mission.

My deepest gratitude is then goes to my first supervisor Dr. Martyn Dade-Robertson for his caring patience, continuous encouragement, generous guidance and constructive intellect to this day; this thesis would not have been possible without his help. I also greatly thank my second supervisor Prof. Ali Madanipour for his valuable critical academic consultancies and wise directions. I would also like to thank my former supervisor, Dr. Alessandro Aurigi, for his initial assistance during the conceptual inception of the early stage of this study, before his departure from Newcastle University.

My genuine thanks are also extended to the Postgraduate Research administrative staff of Newcastle University, Marian Kyte and Karen Ritchie in particular; the University Wellbeing Service staff, both Jenny Wallace and Jennifer Stewart; the postgraduate fellow students in Newcastle University; and the University Libyan and Islamic Societies, for their friendly moral support, all whom have kindly help and shared with me some of the psychological burden of this journey.

Sincere thanks are also due to all my friends during my stay in Newcastle city; Adam Marley, Islam Abohelah, Nasir Musa, and Salem Tarhuni; thanks for your generous support, nice memories and precious friendship.

My special gratitude is also extending to my former colleagues and friends of municipal staff working in Tripoli Municipality, who did all they could to ease the conduction of my fieldwork study inside and around the Tripoli municipal building. In particular, I would like to express my greatest thanks to my father, Mohamed El-Allous, the former chairman of Tripoli's Planning Department, and many of his companions and fellow municipal workers, such as the former senior legal advisor of TM, Miftah Al-Shaikh, for sharing their valuable long experiences and memories with the case study context, and most importantly for utilizing their influential respected relationships to arrange for the study interviewees and reach to unavailable resources, without whom I would be unable to gather reliable data to answer this research project quests.

Lastly, and by no means least, I would like to conclude by thanking the following supportive Libyan organisations for their appreciated special assistance: 1) the country of Libya in general, and all who facilitated my scholarship throughout the study period, both in the Libyan embassy in London and back in Tripoli; 2) the senior academics and architects at Tripoli University in Libya, particularly Dr. Mahmud Daza, for opening up his own library and office; 3) the enrolled experts of the Libyan national bureau of the Engineering Consulting Office for Utilities (ECOU) in Tripoli, particularly Ahmad Umbais and Fauzi Azeez; 4) those working for the Ministry of Urban Utilities main office in Tripoli at the time, for sharing and providing supportive analytical charts and reports about the current conditions of the urban and architectural structure in Tripoli; and 5) the Centre of Libyan Archives and Historical Studies in Tripoli, for their help in providing special access to the collection of the central historical library at the critical times when it was limited.

Table of Contents

Abstract	i
Acknowledgements	ii
Table of Contents	iv
List of Figures	x
List of Tables.....	xiv
Preface.....	xv
Chapter 1: Introduction	1
<i>1.1 Background to Broad Research Problems</i>	<i>1</i>
1.1.1 The transformations of central public architecture and its urban and socio-cultural environments.....	1
Urban change: the city and its centre	1
Changes in architecture: the public building.....	4
The socio-cultural change: the public user	6
1.1.2 Gaps in knowledge	7
The study of historical governmental public buildings and the meanings attached to them .	7
Understanding urban transformations in the Libyan capital city of Tripoli	8
The study of Libyan public architecture	9
1.1.3 General theoretical ground: The importance of understanding the specificity of transformation in the urban context under investigation.....	10
<i>1.2 The Study's Aim, Research Questions, and Objectives.....</i>	<i>13</i>
• Aim	13
• Research Questions.....	13
• Research Objectives	14
<i>1.3 Research Limits</i>	<i>17</i>
<i>1.4 Thesis Organisation.....</i>	<i>18</i>
Chapter 2 : Literature Review	21
<i>2.1 Introduction</i>	<i>21</i>
Part One: The Historical Establishment, Transformation, and Development of Urban and Public Centres	21
<i>2.2 Public Centres through the Ages of Human Organisation</i>	<i>22</i>
2.2.1 Nomadic society: the age of small groups.....	23
2.2.2 Agricultural society: the age of hierarchy.....	23
2.2.3 Industrial society: the age of bureaucracy	24
2.2.4 The information society and beyond: the modern age of networks	25
2.2.5 Remarks on the Ages of Human Organisation and Urban Development	28

2.3 <i>The Restructuring of Contemporary Cities</i>	29
2.3.1 Global urban restructuring and change	29
2.3.3 Socio-cultural restructuring	31
2.3.2 Transformations of the workplace.....	32
2.4 <i>The Relationship between City Centres and Civic Centres</i>	33
2.4.1 Civic centre location.....	33
2.4.2 For and against the centralisation of key public centres	34
2.4.3 'Museumification': deserted public buildings downtown	36
2.5 <i>Notions of Progress and Development</i>	37
Part Two: Understanding the Architectural Significance of Modern Civic Buildings and their	
Urban Contexts	40
2.6 <i>Central Municipal Buildings</i>	40
2.6.1 Gaps in research on traditional civic centres	40
2.6.2 The symbolic meanings of civic life and pride	41
2.6.3 Investigating the relocation of central civic centres	43
2.7 <i>Evaluating the Significance of Public Architecture</i>	45
2.7.1 The elements of architecture	45
2.7.2 Reading inherited values of central public architecture in local and historical contexts	
.....	47
Structures, forms, and modern changes	47
The expressive function and public identity: between public rituals and practical functions	48
The place and its 'spirit': local context and culture	49
The users of a public building and its internal spaces.....	50
2.7.3 Assessing the political impact and the notion of publicness in public places.....	50
2.8 <i>Conclusion</i>	55
Chapter 3: The Context of Tripoli, Libya, and its Municipality	56
3.1 <i>Introduction</i>	56
3.2 <i>Summary of Tripoli's History, Growth and Urban Structure</i>	57
3.2.1 Geographical Significance and Foundation of Tripoli.....	57
3.2.2 Colonial History and Urban Restructuring	58
• Tripoli under the Gaddafi Regime (1969-2011)	61
• Tripoli post-2011 Libyan Revolution	63
3.3 <i>Research Concerns over Tripoli's Urban Change and the History of its Municipalities</i>	65
3.3.1 Political forces in developing Tripoli's urban and civic centres	65
3.3.2 Rationale for review of Tripoli's council sites in relation to historical urban	
transformation	66
3.3.3 The need to map the urban and architectural transformations in Tripoli's historical civic	
centres.....	67

3.3.4 What are the roots of and meanings attached to Tripoli's historic city council places?	68
3.3.5 The need to revise the historical narrative of TM	71
3.4 <i>Colonialism and Urban Change and Development</i>	73
3.5 <i>Summary of Research Problems Concerning the Significance of TMB</i>	77
3.5.1 Civic design and civic pride in the colonial TMB	77
3.5.2 Public attachment to the architecture of the colonial civic centre in Tripoli.....	78
3.5.3 The notion of publicness and civicness in TM during the Gaddafi regime.....	78
3.6 <i>Conclusion</i>	79
Chapter 4: Research Sources and Methods	81
4.1 <i>Introduction</i>	81
4.2 <i>Methodological Approach</i>	81
4.3 <i>Research Design and Methods</i>	83
4.3.1 Archival analysis	83
4.3.2 Personal observations	86
4.3.3 Space mapping analysis	89
4.3.4 Interviews	94
4.3.5 Questionnaire survey	97
Sampling methods and process, and distribution of the questionnaires	99
4.4 <i>Data Analysis</i>	102
4.5 <i>Validity and Reliability</i>	104
4.6 <i>Positionality and Ethical Issues</i>	106
Understanding research ethics	106
Research ethics in the Libyan context before 2011	107
Tackling ethical issues in this research	108
4.7 <i>Methodological Limitations and Fieldwork Challenges</i>	110
4.8 <i>Conclusion</i>	114
Chapter 5 : Tripoli and its Councils before Italian Colonisation.....	116
5.1 <i>Introduction</i>	116
5.2 <i>The City of Tripoli before the Ottomans (7th C BCE to 1551)</i>	116
5.2.1 Ancient Tripoli (7th C BCE to the 7th C CE).....	116
5.2.2 Arab-Islamic Tripoli (643-1500s).....	119
5.2.3 Tripoli after the Spanish conquest (1510-1551)	121
5.3 <i>Tripoli City Council Sites before the Ottoman Occupation</i>	122
The central mosque of 'Masjid al-Asharah'	122
Al-Qasabah Hall	125
5.4 <i>Ottoman Tripoli (1551-1911)</i>	125

5.5 <i>Tripoli's City Councils during the Ottoman Periods (16th C to 1911)</i>	129
5.5.1 Roots and meanings attached to the 'Dar al-Nadwa' house	135
5.5.2 The 'Mashiakhat al-balad' local administrative systems.....	137
5.5.3 The role of 'Shaikh al-balad,' 'Mashiakhat al-balad,' and the city 'cadi'	137
5.6 <i>The First Modern Municipality in Tripoli (1870-1911): the 'Baladiyat'</i>	139
5.6.1 The Ottoman 'Tanzimat' and 'Baladiyat' reforms.....	139
5.6.2 The reformed wilayia of Tripoli and the key role of its wali	140
5.6.3 Significance and meanings of 'al-Baladiya' terminology in the reforms	143
5.6.4 The role of the reformed Baladiya: its impact on the city and public.....	145
5.7 <i>The Urban, Architectural, and Socio-Cultural Aspects of Tripoli's First Municipality outside the Ancient Walls</i>	148
5.7.1 The urban aspects	148
5.7.2 Public architecture in the late Ottoman Tripoli.....	155
5.7.3 Socio-cultural aspects	161
5.8 <i>Conclusion</i>	168
Chapter 6 : Italian Tripoli and its Colonial Municipalities	171
6.1 <i>Introduction</i>	171
6.2 <i>Early Economic Interventions in the Emergence of Italian Tripoli Colony</i>	171
6.3 <i>Periods of Urban Development of the Colony of Italian Tripoli</i>	174
6.3.1 The period of early military struggle.....	175
6.3.2 The period of fascism and colonial modernism	179
6.3.3 The period of colonial national reforms and the big metropolis.....	184
6.4 <i>Tripoli's City Councils during the Italian Occupation</i>	190
6.4.1 The overall transformation of Italian colonial municipalities	190
6.4.2 The transformation from modern Ottoman to modern Western municipality	191
6.4.3 The first colonial municipal building	195
6.4.4 The second colonial municipal complex	197
6.5 <i>Urban, Architectural, and Socio-Cultural Aspects of the 1930s TMB</i>	199
6.5.1 The urban setting of the TMB	199
6.5.2 The architectural aspects of the last colonial municipal building.....	207
<i>Building functions</i>	207
<i>Practical Functions</i>	207
<i>Building layout and spatial arrangements</i>	211
<i>Building form</i>	215
<i>The power of the building</i>	222
6.5.3 Socio-cultural aspects of Tripoli and its Italian colonial municipal centre	224
6.6 <i>Conclusion</i>	226

Chapter 7 : Tripoli and its Municipalities after the Italian Colonisation	228
7.1 Introduction	228
7.2 The Overall Transformations of Tripoli City Councils Since 1943.....	228
7.3 Tripoli City and Municipality under the British Administration (1942-1951)	229
7.4 Tripoli City and Municipality during the Libyan Kingdom (1951-1969).....	232
7.5 Tripoli City and Municipality under Gaddafi (1969-2011)	239
7.6 The Impact of Governmental Instability on Tripoli	242
7.6.1 The changing roles of municipal government in Libya under Gaddafi	242
7.6.2 The effects of political instability on how the TMB worked.....	246
<i>The functional effect on the organisation of the work environment</i>	246
<i>The physical effect on the working environment</i>	250
7.6.3 The relocations of the TMB and its civic registry service	254
7.7 Conclusion	258
Chapter 8 : Contemporary Significance of the TMB	260
8.1 Urban Significance of the TMB for its Users and City Centre	260
8.1.1 The municipal environment.....	261
8.1.2 Visits to the city centre surroundings by the TMB users and the most visited places and activities.....	267
8.1.3 Timing of visits	268
8.1.4 Motives to visit the surroundings	269
8.1.5 The quality of urban life and public facilities.....	270
8.1.6 Suitability of the current location of the municipal place	271
8.2 The Role and Architectural Significance of the TMB: the Contemporary Relationship with Users.....	273
8.3 Socio-Cultural Significance: the Contemporary Relationship between the TMB and its Users	280
8.3.1 Places and spaces of interaction	281
8.3.2 External places and spaces of users' interaction around the municipal building	283
8.3.3 Results and analysis of user interaction	285
8.4 The 'Publicness' and 'Civicness' of the TMB under the Gaddafi Regime	299
8.4.1 Control.....	300
8.4.2 Penetration.....	300
8.4.3 Practice	302
8.5 Conclusion	307
Chapter 9 : Conclusion and Recommendations	309
9.1 The Study's Purpose and Achievements	309

9.1.1 Historical narrative of the development of Tripoli and its models of city council places	310
9.1.2 The historical relationships between Tripoli city centres and places of city councils	313
9.1.3 The contemporary significance and ‘publicness’ of TMB	316
9.2 <i>Research Significance and Contribution to Knowledge</i>	320
9.3 <i>Study Limitations and Recommendations for Further Research</i>	322
Bibliography	329
Appendixes	348
Appendix A: English Translation of the Study Questionnaire	A-1
Appendix B: Authorised Field Study Permission	B-1
Appendix C: List of the Study Key Informative Interviewees	C-1
Appendix D: Example of Responses to Open Questions	D-1
Appendix E: Participants’ Satisfaction (Serving Functions)	E-1
Appendix F: Nvivo9 Analysis Snapshots	F-1
Appendix G: Walkthrough Video Analysis Snapshots	G-1
Appendix H: Summary of Literature Review on the Elements of Architecture	H-1
Appendix I: Statistical Results of Users’ Interaction within the Municipal Environment	I-1

List of Figures

Figure 1-1: London City Hall headquarters.....	5
Figure 1-2: Diagram of the study aim, objectives, and research question.....	15
Figure 2-1: The four ages of organisation	22
Figure 2-2: Boston City Hall	45
Figure 3-1: Map of Libya showing its administrative regions and tribal and ethnic distribution	57
Figure 3-2: The model of a Middle Eastern metropolis	60
Figure 3-3: Satellite image of Tripoli city highlighting layers of urban expansion	60
Figure 3-4: 3D model image of Tripoli's ancient Citadel	61
Figure 3-5: Map of latest proposal for Tripoli urban regeneration (2009)	64
Figure 3-6: Map of Tripoli Old City (1897) showing the position of the city Baladiya.....	70
Figure 4-1: Research design showing methods used in relation to the research objectives and outline of findings.	84
Figure 4-2: Example of colour coded spatial accessibility analysis	92
Figure 4-3: Colour coding to map accessibility and penetration inside the TMB	93
Figure 4-4: "Triangulation Method for Cross-Checking Data"	105
Figure 4-5: Flowchart of the present research design and development	115
Figure 5-1: Reconstructed Map of Roman Tripoli	117
Figure 5-2: The Roman Arch of Marcus Aurelius in Tripoli Old City today	118
Figure 5-3: Map of Sabratha City (Oea/Tripoli's Roman sister-city)	118
Figure 5-4: Recent map of the walled city of Tripoli	120
Figure 5-5: Tripoli in 1559	121
Figure 5-6: Tripoli in 1568	122
Figure 5-7: Site plan of Ahmad Pasha al-Qarahmanli mosque (built in 1738).....	124
Figure 5-8: The mosque of Ahmad Pasha al-Qarahmanli 1912.....	124
Figure 5-9: Map of Tripoli showing historical landmark buildings.....	126
Figure 5-10: A map of the city and port of "Tripoli in Barbara" (1675).	127
Figure 5-11: Map of Tripoli showing historical locations of main city councils pre-1911.....	131
Figure 5-12: Main entrance of house donated for Tripoli 'Dar al-Nadwa'	132
Figure 5-13: Plans and illustrations of typical traditional houses in Tripoli Medina	133
Figure 5-14: The Hall of al-Arabi coffee-house, Tripoli Old City	134
Figure 5-15: Panorama view of Tripoli Old City 1930	142
Figure 5-16: Tripoli Clock Tower in 'Maidan al-Saah' (Clock Square, c.1940s)	142

Figure 5-17: Tripoli in 1910 (The map of Fehmi Bey)	149
Figure 5-18 :Aerial view of Tripoli's early urban activities outside the city walls c.1910s	149
Figure 5-19: Early building activities outside Tripoli ancient walls (1910s).....	150
Figure 5-20: Photograph of Italian troops entering Tripoli in 1911 in Al-Aziziya Street.....	150
Figure 5-21: Views of Tripoli's Souk al-Khobza marketplace outside its walls	153
Figure 5-22: Images of Tripoli's new Ottoman municipal office building erected for the reformed Baladiya outside the ancient walls (c.1910).....	154
Figure 5-23: Banka Di Roma in Tripoli in 1911	156
Figure 5-24: The original design layout of the Bank of Rome in Tripoli, built in 1909.....	158
Figure 5-25: Tripoli's Municipal building during the last Ottoman period, c. 1910	159
Figure 5-26: Historical photographs of life in Tripoli, before 1915.....	162
Figure 5-27: Mussolini arrives in Tripoli, Italy's Libyan colony (visits dated as 03/31/1926)	163
Figure 5-28: The palace office of Tripoli's Ottoman Wali (governor) outside the walls, 1910s.	163
Figure 5-29: Photographs of Ber of Abu-Miliana Public Fountain near al-Khobza Market, 1910s	166
Figure 6-1: Italian postcard depicting the imperial mission in Libya	172
Figure 6-2: Vibrant public activities outside the citadel at the esparto sea platform, c. 1900s	173
Figure 6-3: Maps of Tripoli during the military struggle period (1912)	176
Figure 6-4: Master Plan of Tripoli 1914.	178
Figure 6-5: Early colonial reconstruction plan to reconfigure the Piazza Italia on the footprints of al-Khobza Marketplace (1914)	179
Figure 6-6: Italian colonial architectural styles in Dodecanese	182
Figure 6-7: Pavilion of the Governorate of Rome at Tripoli Trade Fair (1929)	183
Figure 6-8: Tripoli's 1933 Master Plan.....	186
Figure 6-9: Maps of Tripoli in 1929.....	187
Figure 6-10: The implemented plan of the new European City in Tripoli 1930s	188
Figure 6-11: Two maps of Tripoli comparing the city master plans of 1912 and 1933	189
Figure 6-12: Italian map of urban growth in Tripoli in the early 1930s	189
Figure 6-13: Map of Tripoli showing the locations of the city main urban squares and historical city council places since the early 1900s	191
Figure 6-14: Map of Tripoli (1943).....	192
Figure 6-15: The first colonial municipal building in Tripoli, 1935.	194
Figure 6-16: Visual comparison between last Ottoman and first Italian municipal building .	196

Figure 6-17: Aerial picture showing the municipal environment around Cathedral Square .	198
Figure 6-18: Satellite images of Piazza dell Cattedrale/Algeria Square in Tripoli.....	199
Figure 6-19: Official Map of Cathedral Square	200
Figure 6-20: The presidential palace of the colonial Governor of Tripoli (1924-1929).....	201
Figure 6-21: Significant locations of Tripoli's new municipal building in the Cathedral Square	201
Figure 6-22: The cathedral of San Cuore di Gesu in Tripoli, located on the southern edge of Cathedral Square (1925-1928)	202
Figure 6-23: The proposal of di Fausto for the Cathedral Square in Tripoli, 1930.....	204
Figure 6-24: Freehand sketch of the Fascist National Institute of Social Security/Welfare..	206
Figure 6-25: Aerial view of the metropolitan municipal environment around Cathedral Square	206
Figure 6-26: The layout plans of TMB	214
Figure 6-27: Design illustration depicting the main facade of the new TMB and post office	216
Figure 6-28: Administration Building, University of Rome (1932-35)	216
Figure 6-29: The Arch of Septimius Severus in Leptis Magna in comparison with the TMB	217
Figure 6-30: Geometrical analysis of the main façade of the TMB on Algeria Square.	219
Figure 6-31: Mussolini addresses crowds in Rome and Benghazi (1930s).....	220
Figure 7-1: Aerial photograph of Tripoli in January 1968	236
Figure 7-2: Map of Tripoli showing the city building activities in 1962.....	236
Figure 7-3: al-Wahah 'Oases' office building (1950-60s), used temporarily as TMB in 2001	244
Figure 7-4: Plans of TMB floors showing different functioning zones and sections.....	249
Figure 7-5: Physical barriers segregating administrative sections	251
Figure 7-6: Comparison of available pathways for general public in the TMB in 1970s (top) and 2010 plans (bottom)	252
Figure 7-7: Illustrative example of the effect of current functional changes on a building user's movement.....	253
Figure 7-8: Neglected archival offices store (left) and storeroom (right) in the TMB	257
Figure 8-1: Satellite image of Tripoli city centre showing TMB and urban built environment	261
Figure 8-2: Map of the urban context surrounding the municipal complex.....	263
Figure 8-3: Basic urban analysis of physical built environment of Tripoli city centre	265
Figure 8-4: Questionnaire results: places most visited around TMB	267
Figure 8-5: Frequency of TMB users visiting urban surroundings.....	268

Figure 8-6: Main motives for visiting the surroundings of the TMB	269
Figure 8-7: Attitudes towards the quality of urban facilities around TMB	270
Figure 8-8: Opinions on the suitability of the current central location of the TMB	271
Figure 8-9: Opinions on maintaining current location of the historical TMB	272
Figure 8-10: The entrance of Tripoli Local Council from Algeria Square	275
Figure 8-11: Current value of the TMB.....	276
Figure 8-12: Main factors as to why the TMB has value today	277
Figure 8-13: Plan layout of TMB (second floor) showing key user interaction locations during the fieldwork	282
Figure 8-14: Locations where TMB users were observed in surrounding urban context.....	284
Figure 8-15: Statistical analysis of places of users' interactions inside the municipal building	286
Figure 8-16: Statistical analysis of places of users' interactions outside the municipal building	286
Figure 8-17: Spatial analysis of the third floor (Dept. of Urban Planning)	287
Figure 8-18: Abandoned frontline windows for public services in TMB (2 nd floor)	294
Figure 9-1: Illustrative summary of the research findings on Tripoli's historical buildings of city councils and their urban sittings.....	328

List of Tables

Table 2.1: Comparison of the key characteristics and qualities in the literature concerning the publicness of a public space/place and the thesis summary.....	54
Table 2.2: Model for assessing the publicness of a public building.....	54
Table 4.1: Research actions and types	82
Table 4.2: Research framework for assessing the publicness of TMB.....	91
Table 4.3: The study's main actors and types of interviews and questions.....	96
Table 5-1: Chronology of Tripoli's urban administration models and types of public buildings	130
Table 6.1: Chronology of Tripoli's Italian municipal governments	190
Table 7.1: Timeline of Tripoli's post-Italian municipal governments.....	228
Table 7.2: Key decisions regarding local government under the Gaddafi regime	243
Table 7.3: Opinions about the relocation decisions of Tripoli civic centre	255
Table 8-1: List of TMB surrounding urban places and spaces.....	262
Table 8-2: The most detected internal places used for TMB user's interaction	281
Table 8-3: The most cited external places used for TMB user interaction	283

Preface

The initial proposal for this PhD research project started with the intention to continue the present researcher's previous MSc dissertation entitled *Likely Implications of Applying ICT for Managing Third World Cities: The Case of Tripoli City – Libya* (MSc in Digital Architecture at Newcastle University, 2007). This limited study investigated the reasons behind the fiasco of an attempt made to digitise Tripoli Municipality (TM) and some of its services in 2002, and argued that despite the managerial and technical deficiencies that caused the failure of this ICT-led initiative, the root cause was the lack of consideration of important socio-cultural factors during the design process of projects in Tripoli city. The study therefore called for a new innovative approach to developing Libyan virtual public spaces taken into consideration people's perceptions, social needs and modes of using physical public spaces rather than blindly importing solutions developed and applied in the global market for digital government. This was where this PhD research was supposed to start, learning from how people understand the offline public space they normally use, and looking for better online design solutions.

The researcher worked as an official architect for the TM from 2004, and his knowledge and everyday experience of municipal places and users, as well as the professional expertise of his colleagues, were thought to be vital in accessing and better understanding this particular local public building. However, due to a variety of serious difficulties encountered during the pilot study in Tripoli (detailed in chapter 4), it was impossible to pursue the initial research plan. An example of these challenges was the sensitivity eyes of the Libyan regime under Gaddafi before 2011, where the researcher was detained by the authorities at one point while conducting this research. There was also severe shortages of supportive secondary resources and governmental approval from local and central authorities in Tripoli was not forthcoming. Finally, no academically worthy while assessment could be made of the government's unimplemented proposals for future digital services in Libya.

Since the unexpected eruption of the 'Arab Spring' and its startling manifestation in Libya in late 2011, one of the most pressing current debates about change in Libya concerns the reconstruction of Libyan political, economic, social, and physical urban structures. Libya is entering an unprecedented era that is dramatic, rapid and turbulent. This critical period is expected to result in transformation of the country's entire political organisation from dictatorship led by Gaddafi between 1969-2011 to a new more democratic organisation with a new symbolic image and national identity. This will consequently impact how work is performed inside most future central and local bureaucratic public institutions, hopefully in a more positive way. However, it has been rightly predicted that there will also be some technical challenges on the way an innovative and democratic profile for this particular developing country.

One of the expected challenges concerns the adoption of the technologies required in future central and local government organisations. A major potential problem is that Libya may, 'in the name of progress', replicate what other Western governments have

already developed for their own cities and societies, without taking into consideration the social and cultural specificity of Libyan citizens. Can new leaders develop the country and not damage its socio-cultural and urban built environments? The concern is that they will most likely import ready-made development models (i.e. electronic public administration policies and ways of delivering public services), and implement them in Libyan public institutions without considering the consequences of such solutions for not only on how the sites of traditional central institutions will change, but also on how the 'public', Libyan citizens, normally use and understand such public centres.

This study argues that lessons from the historical transformations of Tripoli central public buildings are completely ignored in existing publications, despite the fact that the central Tripoli municipal institution has already itself faced many considerable and dramatic challenges during its urban development. It is therefore essential that those important lessons be learned before digitising local government services in Tripoli, considering the impact of this move on the future importance of public architecture and its users in the city centre.

Finally, this study was sponsored entirely by the Libyan government (under the former regime), but it is important to highlight two final considerations. Since independence in 1951, Libya has not been owned by an individual citizen or oligarchy, and it is the duty of whoever has been sponsored by a country's national wealth to acquire the necessary knowledge that contributes to making that country a better place to live. Also, critique offered in this research is part of a genuine academic endeavour aimed at finding real answers to the long-standing, confusing and improperly researched or explained deterioration of the urban built environment in Tripoli under the Gaddafi regime. Any gaps in this study, undertaken during a transitional phase in Libya, can be tackled in future empirical studies.

30.06.2014

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Background to Broad Research Problems

1.1.1 The transformations of central public architecture and its urban and socio-cultural environments

Architectural and urban studies hold that, historically, governmental public architecture has dominated the urban landscape since early urbanisation and shaped the public presence and perceptions of those who work in, visit, and live around it. However, unprecedented transformations have recently affected central government buildings, changing their form, function, spaces, and places. One significant reason for this are recent development trends and the subsequent shape and life of many city centres. The past two decades, in particular, have seen efforts in many countries worldwide to improve how and where government institutions are located, function, and communicate with public users. Meanwhile, major concerns have been raised about the implications of such transformations on how urban spaces and places have changed and are now being designed, used and understood.

However, the significance of civic architecture in developing countries in the 21st century remains an uncommon research topic. One reason for this is apparently the fact that government public institutions in many cities in these countries are very difficult for unauthorised individual researchers to approach. There are often complications of chaotic socio-political conditions, especially in undemocratic central regimes whose administration is generally based on colonial and postcolonial frameworks.

More research is especially needed on: the urban built environment aspects of government buildings in their historical central locations; the architectural aspects of municipal civic centres where local governments are housed; and the socio-cultural aspects of how buildings link governments and the governed.

Urban change: the city and its centre

Evidence about where and how ancient sites for public gatherings and service offices were erected in early civilized societies confirms that the relationship between these public hubs and the urban core was very strong, and their central location was vital for the city and both its rulers and citizens. The historical bonds that since urbanism begun have linked these official public spaces to city centres have recently been weakening.

Examples from several cities show that these monumental buildings are being placed as never before. In some cases they are relocated to serve in other visible or non-visible locations. Some have changed from being heavily inhabited and visited by citizens to being evacuated and valued aesthetically from the outside more than they are effectively used on the inside. This phenomenon has been described as the “*museumification*” of the central public architecture of cities (Blundell-Jones et al, 2005), arising when the historical functions of these buildings are moved away from the city centre, rendering them museums serving ‘strangers’ (usually tourists) rather than the citizens as originally intended.

The most obvious explanation for this relates to improvements in communications that have produced telecoms and Internet-based commerce and services under globalisation. Globalisation has also caused communications-facilitated international investment and government deregulation, promoting investment in local urban centres as well as the corrupt misappropriation of central public lands and properties (Graham and Marvin, 2001). In China, for example, cities compete to attract more national and international investment at the expense of the indigenous users of urban cores (Yeh and Xu, 1996).

Recent studies also show dramatic transformations affecting the historical locations of central or local government buildings in many present Western cities as a result of such phenomena. In fact, there seems to be a growing consciousness of the impact of decentralising traditional public buildings from city centres, particularly in Europe and North America. For example, Holliday (2009) investigated the transformation of a central municipal building in America in which there was a “*desire to replace public civic architecture with an architecture of private entertainment*” (2009:279). However, in other contexts (e.g. North African cities) this phenomenon remains less researched.

In the midst of the latest urban changes there appear to be disagreements between decision-makers proposing such transformations and urban specialists about whether to keep central public buildings in modern city centres. Langdon (2003:1) argued for the significance of the historical sites of these buildings because of their great “*economic and social benefits*” for local communities, including the economic stimulation of downtowns as well as in expressing identity (Langdon, 2003:7). Within urban centres, civic institutions have always played a very influential role as meeting-centres for communities and a locus of civic pride. Civic spaces are “*one of the rare*

manifestations we have left of community and depth of common values and culture through time. They provide that sense of comfort, continuity, and place so important to the human psyche" (ibid.:7). In this respect, Milligan (1998, 2003a) attributes the reason for such public attachment to the sites of these communal public centres to the regular real-time social interactions occurring in these physical public places, arguing that:

"Place and community are intertwined. Places have unique identities and they are often associated with certain forms of social interaction and thus with certain communities. As has been amply noted by urban ethnographers, communities often emerge around and in certain types of physical locations and develop ways of enacting themselves through the sorts of interactions that are viewed as possible or preferable in the locations in question." (Milligan, 2003a: 23)

The obvious question which arises is whether or not these sensed attachments to central sites for public gatherings and civic identity are threatened by improved communications and new forms of interacting, such as digital spaces. The concept of a *"web-based urban informational system"* (Aurigi, 2005) was seen as an attempt to build an innovative and safer online space for the public to virtually inhabit and gather, that perhaps hoped to recover some of the distinctiveness that real cities held in former times (Aurigi, 2005; Graham and Aurigi, 1997). However, *"precisely how cities and urban areas will develop in the information age is, as yet, unknowable"* (Carmona et al, 2003:32).

It is clear that improved communications have transformed the roles and moods of today's urban design and public realms (Carmona et al, 2010; Madanipour, 2006). As a result, places and ways in which the public congregate have also been changing, particularly in cities in developed countries. The impact of new systems of organisation on society and the physical urban environment has been widely studied by scholars in architecture, planning and urban and social sciences. For example, Lipnack and Stamps (2000) categorised the human history of organisation into four general phases: the small groups of nomadic society; the hierarchal system of agricultural society; the bureaucratic systems of industrial society; and the present age of networks in which many people rely heavily on information links rather than real-time contacts. Maeng and Nedović-Budić (2008) have summarised the literature seeking to explain the relationship between communications and urban forms. Although questions have been raised about the consequences of technological change for the urban contexts in which they developed, far too little attention has been paid to their impact on urban ground

which is still developing, where these advanced systems are crudely imported usually to work in central historical buildings.

Changes in architecture: the public building

Public architecture has in general undergone remarkable changes to address the latest global urban developments and technological advances. Several types of central governmental public places in particular have been revamped in terms of their architectural language and contents, and especially the classical formal, monumentalist and cavernous public building.

New shapes have proliferated due to the capabilities of industrialised computer-generated design, such as the change from ‘forming’ the form to ‘finding’ a suitable form (Kolarevic, 2005), inputting numerous descriptive packets in advanced software applications to produce output forms; as, for example, in the latest City Hall headquarters of the City of London (Figure 1-1).

London City Hall accommodates the chamber for the London Assembly, the mayoral offices, and the offices of the Greater London Authority staff. Its unusual bulbous form, with a transparent glass shield, was designed using a Computer Aided Design (CAD) application developed to achieve energy efficiency targets. According to its designers (Foster & Partners, 2014), the new shape generated for London City Hall has helped minimise the building's energy consumption to one-quarter of that consumed by any other nearby office buildings using traditional mechanical solutions. The impact of such bold revolutionary urban masses on the communal landscape of cities remains a topic of lively and serious debate.

The transformation of form in this example is not the only major contemporary architectural transformation to be noted. Changes in the symbolic image conveyed through this unprecedented exterior, its power, is as notable and influential. Its designers described the building as:

“One of the capital’s most symbolically important new projects... expressing the transparency and accessibility of the democratic process and demonstrating the potential for a sustainable, virtually non-polluting public building. Designed using advanced computer-modelling techniques the building represents a radical rethink of architectural form.” (Foster + Partners, 2014:1)



Figure 1-1: London City Hall headquarters

(Foster + Partners, 2014)

While the extensive use of glass panders to governmental ‘transparency’, the use of curved forms does not differ significantly from the general trend of public buildings toward rounded geometries following computerised algorithms. Despite the critical logic in the public relations ‘radical rethink of the architectural form’, the building is essentially a conventional modern office block, pragmatically constructed to save energy, and curved because traditional breaks cannot bend to follow the sophisticated lines generated in such façades. However, in the context of public governmental architecture, its contrast with the neighbouring Victorian medievalist London Bridge indicates a clear statement being made about governance in the 21st century.

In addition to the transformation of the form of public buildings, their functions are also changing in the information age. According to Mitchell (1995:104), today’s *“buildings and parts of buildings must now be related not only to their natural and urban contexts, but also to their cyberspace settings. Increasingly, they must function as network interfaces, loading docks for bits.”* Since many public services have been digitised, some official public organisations and institutions have seen various transformations in both physical and non-physical terms. Many are nowadays designed, used, and possibly conceived differently than they traditionally were (Mitchell, 1999).

The spatial arrangements of these places is also becoming different in the sense that many services can potentially be accessed at all times and over long distances. The user's physical presence on many occasions is no longer necessary. In many developed cities, for example, people can virtually access central public buildings (such as their city council) without having to personally visit a real public building, receiving and sending information and acquiring services remotely. This has in some cases resulted in many spaces being less used, misused, or sometimes not used at all due to changed purposes, perceptions and arrangements of space and people (Mitchell, 1995, 2003).

The socio-cultural change: the public user

In any type of building that delivered public services to the public, well-arranged spaces used to be provided to respect the building's 'inhabitants' and 'visitors' to communicate with each other face-to-face, according to definitions of the use of public buildings (Hillier et al, 1984). However, with the recent political, economic, and technological need to reduce bureaucracy in public institutions, modern governments have changed their policies concerning serving and approaching public users. The numbers of users, and consequently the physical space required in traditional key public buildings, are starting to 'shrink'; thus, the once active public centres cannot be expected to carry as many user interactions. Will they remain as 'public' as before? While difficult to quantify, consideration of how *public* public spaces and buildings actually are is not a new topic.

The extent to which a sensitive public place appears to be 'public' has concerned observers of modern cities for years. Daniel De Leon (1905) criticized the newly built New York Hall of Records (later, the Surrogate Court). He accused the new 'public' building of being not totally 'public' in the American capitalist society of the time. He actually began by admitting that *"It is a public building. The common designation of 'public' conveys the idea of something for common use."* However, after investigating the functions and arrangements distributed among the building's floors and spaces, he concluded by criticising it for excluding the public, because normal people were *"not 'in it'."* This concept of public participation still resonates in the context of modern public buildings in city centres. Blundell-Jones et al. (2005) noted that many public buildings in the West today, although exceptionally positioned and designed with adequate spaces inside for the 'public' to occupy, still lack real 'public participation.'

Many experts in architecture and other related urban studies fields have carefully investigated the question of how to academically evaluate the public nature of public places, generally assessing open public places rather than enclosed buildings, and these rare examples are confined to cities in Western democracies. This study therefore highlights the need to understand these criteria to improve the understanding of these public qualities in otherwise overlooked contexts.

1.1.2 Gaps in knowledge

The study of historical governmental public buildings and the meanings attached to them

Obviously a voluminous literature exists concerning the history of public architecture produced by scholars in numerous academic fields. Historians of art, architecture, planning, archaeology, geography, political and economic sciences, anthropology, sociology and other urban and multidisciplinary studies have in general focused on understanding not only the history of how, where and why public buildings emerged and developed in different historical societies and periods, but also to appreciate and learn more about those who built them, lived in and near them, and regularly used them.

Despite this wide variety of research conducted using different methodological approaches to examine a variety of different types of public buildings, the architecture of central urban administrative and civic public buildings (e.g. local government public buildings such as the city hall), although a significant topic, has been less thoroughly investigated (Ryan, 2000:1132). Ryan added that any historical account about such buildings *“harbors rich evidence about civic life in the past; but, like all historical documents, its meaning remains complex and ambiguous.”* This search for historical meaning is also of concern in this study, especially in the developing world. There is a need to understand the current active human involvement and interaction within and around such historical public gathering environments at this time in history.

The literature concerning how this significant type of architecture emerged and has been transformed contains many different terminologies used to describe important local urban administrative public buildings. Historical and archaeological resources about early civilised settlements reveal that the earliest and most authoritative administrative public places can be identified as follows:

- The 'Bouleuterion' complex; including the 'Tholos' and the later 'Metrôon' in the Agora of ancient Athens (Darling, 2004; Dunkle, 2009).
- The 'Curia' in the Roman Forum in the early city of Rome, for example the Curia Julia on the Forum Romanum in Rome (Barton, 1989; Dunkle, 2009).
- The 'Dar al-Nadwa' in pre-Islamic Makkah, adjacent to the Ka'aba (Al-Sulami, 2003; Peters, 2004).
- The central (Jama') Mosque in most early Islamic city centres (e.g. Basra).
- The 'Town Hall' in British towns (Brown, 1986; Cunningham, 1981; Girouard, 1990; Quiney, 1990; Rogers, 2004; Tittler, 1991).
- The 'City Hall' in American cities (Holliday, 2009; Langdon, 2003; Ryan, 2000).
- The 'City Councils' and city 'Municipality', or 'Municipal Building' in general in cities worldwide, particularly in Europe and other colonised cities (Morley, 2001).
- The 'Baladiya' in many Arabian cities from Ottoman times to the present (e.g. the Baladiya of Tripoli city in Libya; Lafi, 2007, 2008; MOT, 1972).

Despite the fact that a significant consideration in the history of these public structures is that they have all been placed in very close proximity to the main marketplaces where people congregate to meet fundamental needs, the generalisability of much of the literature addressing the issue of this important civic public architecture and its location is problematic. How these different models of city council places emerged, developed and changed over time in different societies has been poorly researched, particularly in the Arabian and Islamic context.

The Arabic term 'Baladiya' is used throughout this thesis to refer to the city municipality, both as the local urban administrative governing body responsible for managing the city within its official geographical boundaries, and as the main building that houses the main municipal offices of local government. Nevertheless, it is also of interest to understand the roots and actual specific meanings of this term and how it has been used in the selected case study of Tripoli.

Understanding urban transformations in the Libyan capital city of Tripoli

As in many developing countries today, cities in Libya are rapidly increasing in size to house more people and urban activities. According to the UN Human Development Report (UNDP, 2013), the Libyan population in 2012 was approximately 6.5 million (expected to increase to 7.8 million by 2030), 77.9% of whom live in cities (UNDP Index, 2013).

As a result of the ever-expanding urban fabric, there is increasing demand for basic urban infrastructure and public facilities and services around existing urban areas. No serious effort has been made to develop or create new cities or towns in Libya in the last three decades at least. The attention of the development focus of central and local governments has sometimes by-passed some of the oldest and most venerable traditional urban centres, ignoring most of their main streets and public spaces and places and leaving them subject to very serious decline. Consequently, traditional city centres and their public buildings are now becoming remote for commuters and inaccessible for comfortable use, particularly in Tripoli.

Two factors affecting the utilisation of the most significant urban public places around Tripoli city centre can be identified: firstly, the lack of the production and implementation of healthy urban design solutions to renovate and look after the city's key public spaces and places; and secondly, the constant dilemma of traffic congestion around the most visited public buildings in the centre due to the lack of sufficient parking capacity, exacerbated by increasing numbers of new vehicles in the country being driven on the same decrepit road networks and the discontinuation of numerous forms of public transportation in the late 1980s (Gaddafi's tenure was in general marked by capricious and apparently illogical official policies and U-turns on numerous issues.)

The problems briefly outlined above, as well as those explained in detail in chapters 3 and 7, have undermined the overall quality of urban life in Tripoli city centre today, despite the reality that many people are still compelled to gather in large numbers (particularly on weekdays) around the city's government buildings to complete their obligatory civic affairs.

The few existing accounts of modern transformations in the urban structure and life in Tripoli city (e.g. Amoura, 1998) fail to resolve or even address the paradox between wealthy Libya's relatively small population and vast oil and gas reserves, and the failure to solve these urban problems and develop better urban and public civic designs since Libyan independence in the early 1950s.

The study of Libyan public architecture

Very little is known about the historical and present significance of Libyan civic public architecture in Tripoli. It is not clear how it is valued currently in the eyes and minds of the public in the city's traditional downtown. An added complication is the fact that the

majority of these well-placed central public buildings were designed for and built by the Italian colonists during their occupation of the city between 1911 and 1943. Although a considerable number of studies have been published on colonial fascist architecture in Libya, Ethiopia, and some Mediterranean islands,¹ many global and local architects and researchers have not given some of the most monumental fascist buildings in Tripoli with the attention they deserve.

One criticism of the literature reviewed on the significance of public architecture is that central civic architecture, and expressly local government buildings, have very rarely been investigated (Ryan, 2000 and Morley, 2001).

In particular, the impact of political and economic factors on the importance of architecture, location, and building 'culture' of civic centre places in modern cities remains an ignored, but crucial, research question (Langdon, 2003; Mitchell, 2008; Holliday, 2009).

However, as detailed later in chapter 2, the few investigations which have been published concerning the history, relocation and the architectural significance of such government public buildings in developing cities are often neglected.

No study was found that satisfactorily covers the significance of the central local government building in Tripoli, Libya, which was constructed during the Italian occupation and remains its central municipal building (hereinafter, the Tripoli municipal building is referred to as the TMB). The TMB, therefore, deserves further attention, in order to contribute to the limited research on civic architecture, particularly during the controversial Fascist modern architectural movement in North Africa.

1.1.3 General theoretical ground: The importance of understanding the specificity of transformation in the urban context under investigation

In the midst of the contemporary urban changes to public buildings, there are transformations in the nature of public gatherings in the public sphere worldwide. Although this transformation is global, it assumes local hues. For example, in Islamic cities the value of gathering in old public centres has changed due to *"the increasingly*

¹For example: Antoniadou, 1984; Burdett, 2010; Capresi, 2007; Daza, 1981; Doordan, 1983; Fuller, 1988, 2000, 2006, 2009; Hasanain, 1998; Henneberg, 1996; Millon, 1965; McLachlan, 1978; McLaren, 2002a, 2002b, 2006, 2008; Gooch, 2005; Russell, 1939; Shawesh, 2000.

specialized modern [i.e. Western] usage of space [instead of] the efficient multi-usage of space in traditional times" (Ardalan, 1980:12). Although such contemporary transformations are understandable, it must not be expected that reactions to such modern usage are always the same or that change in every city is similar. The use of places for urban public gatherings may differ from one city to another, according to many factors, one of the most significant and overarching of which is local culture.

Culture is here understood as *"the set of values and beliefs that inform, guide, and motivate people's behavior"* (Castells, 2009:36); cultures are different according to place, time and group.

Kathryn Ewing (cited in Borden and Rüedi, 2000) conducted interesting research focused on the lively activities of the public using modern central public spaces in case studies in developing cities in Africa and Asia, considering how *real places* are relatively more important in the developing world.

In comparison with urban centres in developed countries, Ewing emphasised the fact that the public in developing cities more actively participate in the urban life of their physical public centres, observing that: *"they deal with various aspects of convivial street life and constructive occupation of space, which many of Western cities have disregarded in the recent years"* (Ewing, in Borden and Rüedi, 2000).

Other social science scholars (e.g. Rapoport, 1969; Sergeant, 2010; Tanghe et al, 1984) have already drawn attention to the paradox between progress and development in what they consider as the clash of cultures in the contexts of the still-developing world. Rapoport was very concerned about linking *"technological advances with progress without thinking of the social consequences of adopting such advances,"* warning that *"there are also situations where social values take precedence over technological advances"* (Rapoport, 1969:25). Rapoport gives a very interesting example of when Western technologies for water supply were blindly introduced in North Africa, with no consideration paid to investigating the possible negative implications for the socio-cultural and physical contexts in which these advanced infrastructures were applied. However, the local villagers at that time insistently rejected what was supposed to be a manifestly beneficial solution to a basic need, as it disrespected and damaged traditional social values generated by gathering and interacting and socialising around their public 'meeting-centre' since ancient times, the village water well (Rapoport, 1969).

The same principle appears to apply everywhere, even within urban contexts in developing cities. Many major contemporary challenges have occurred – and are expected to continue to occur – when new urban solutions are introduced without bothering to take account of their possible implications for the specific culture and the values of the public in the contexts that they share, and which are subjected to change forced upon them by modern ideas of urban development. In this respect, this thesis shares the perspective of Doreen Massey (2006, 2008) on current international developments, to question why it is presumed that there is only one way to progress. In her critical comments on contemporary changes in the ‘global sense of place’, Massey argues that: *“geography is being turned into history and space is being turned into time”* and as a result, those nations who are trying to develop are left to face the myth of the timeline of *“the historical queue,”* in which there is only one *“model of development.”* For those who are defined as *“behind”*, their only solution is to follow those who are *“in the lead”* (Massey, 2006).

There is, instead, no one route for development; any governmental endeavour to develop the city and its civic institutions has to respect the socio-cultural customs of the public civic gatherings and take these meanings into account in the design process concerning contact with the city’s civic centre and its users in the central location if the planned development is to be considered real progress. The task for this study is to therefore test this proposition in historical research about the development of Tripoli’s previous civic centres and to understand why these socio-cultural meanings are important.

The socio-cultural context here concerns the traditional public meanings and customs of how and where the specific citizens of Tripoli regularly gather and interact within the municipal environment (with each other as visitors, and with their local government officials inhabiting the civic building), both inside the building and in the surrounding urban places, and relevant activities provided in the city centre related to their needs for governance.

It is therefore important for this project to delve into history to understand these specialised social and cultural contexts that the local public have shared when visiting their local government public places. These socio-cultural interactions and historical values are believed to be associated with potent meanings that Mitchell (2008:116) identified as the culture of city hall buildings, which are very difficult to disperse and

are threatened by physical transformation and not political changes alone. It is the aim of this research to discover the specific culture of the 'City Hall' building of the TMB in its own local context.

In conclusion, every city responds differently to change and needs to be looked at in its own urban and socio-cultural context to try to understand the processes and impacts by which it has been affected by waves of global transformation.

1.2 The Study's Aim, Research Questions, and Objectives

- **Aim**

It was suggested earlier that the significance of central civic public buildings and their perceived urban, architectural, and socio-cultural values change according to different regional and historical variations, including political, economic, social, and technological factors at the local and global level. This research project represents an important step in understanding the transformation of civic centres in developing countries. The aim of this study is therefore to gather together existing scattered and incomplete historical accounts about the transformations of civic architecture for city government in a selected developing capital city, Tripoli in Libya, under one inclusive historical analysis that explains and maps the *specific* origins and development of the buildings under investigation during different key historical periods.

- **Research Questions**

The main research question underlining this project is:

How have different models of Tripoli's city council places emerged, developed and changed over time, and why?

The focus of this study is on the historical transformations of city council buildings in relation to political and urban change. This investigation is thus broken down into two detailed questions:

1. What has influenced the historical creation, architecture and alteration of civic buildings in city centre locations, and in what ways?
2. What impact does political power have on where and how these city council buildings stand, function and relate to the urban surroundings and society? How do municipal buildings enact power relationships in their location between users and the state?

- ***Research Objectives***

The main objective of this research is to study the different historical types and positions of city council buildings in their historical urban contexts in Tripoli. Accordingly, the old locations of civic centres need to be found and positioned on the city map in historical layers. This will help in understanding the particular processes of how and why these models evolved and developed concerning past expansions and changes in Tripoli's urban and political structure. Figure 1-2 below presents a summary linking together the study's aim, main objectives and sub-objectives, and research question.

To be able to address the above research questions, the studied timeline of transformations in Tripoli city was divided into the following four main political periods:

- 1) Before Ottoman occupation.
- 2) Under Ottoman colonisation.
- 3) Under Western colonisation:
 - i. The Italian colonial period.
 - ii. Under British Administration.
- 4) After Libyan independence:
 - i. Under the Libyan Kingdom government.
 - ii. Under the Gaddafi regime.

To be able to achieve the broad research objective, the following sub-objectives were considered:

1. To understand what influenced the creation, transformation, and interrelation between the development of urban centres and central public and civic centres in general and in Tripoli. A critical literature review fulfils this objective.
2. To trace the historical roots of the emergence of Tripoli's early traditional models of city council places, including the first city assembly house established in the 16th century (MOT, 1972), based on archival analysis and a literature review in order to name and place where such models of urban governance systems functioned in Old Tripoli; and to clarify the meanings and origins of the concepts used to identify not only the traditional models in ancient city assembly places, but also the modern concept of municipalities in Tripoli.

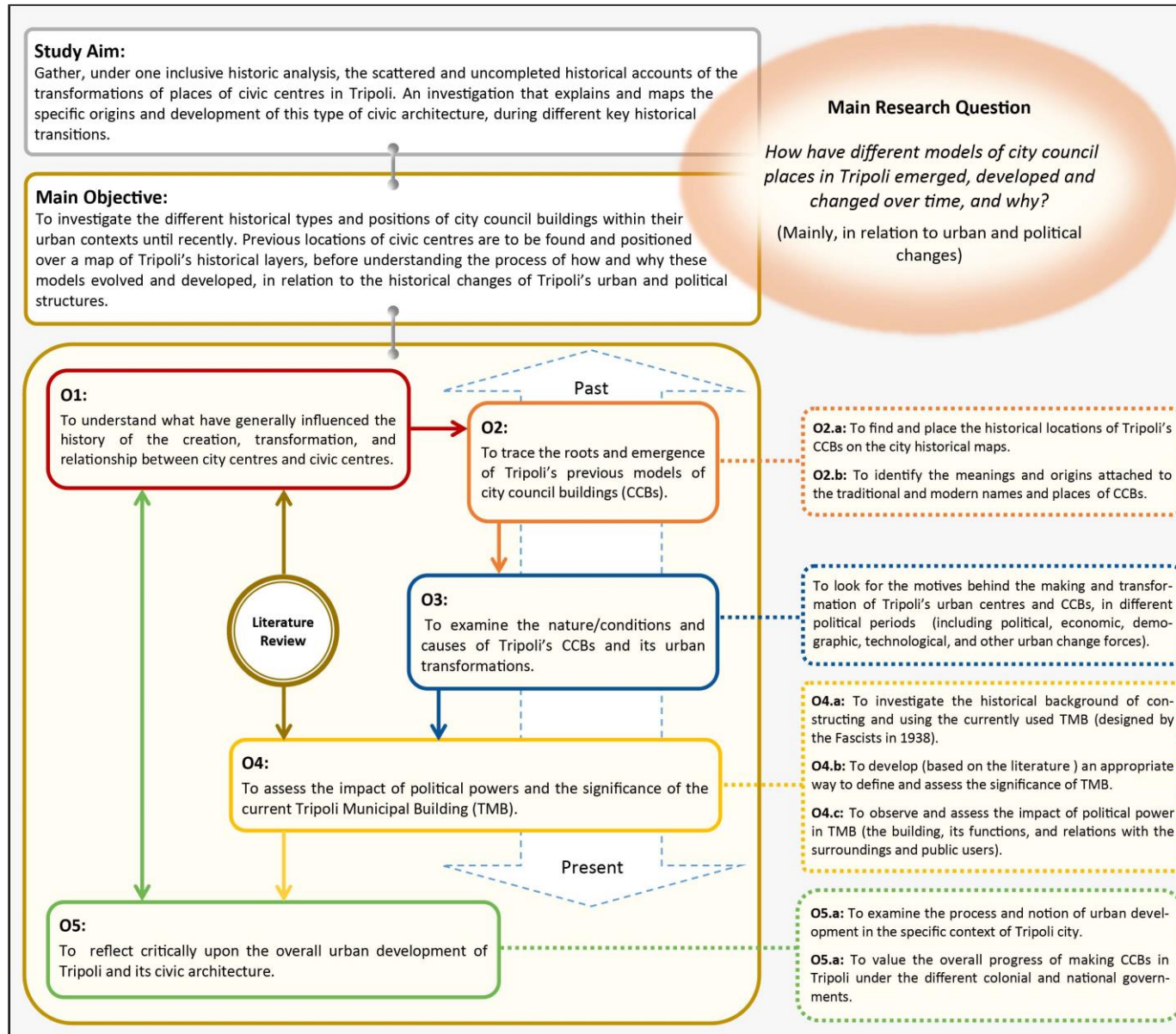


Figure 1-2: Diagram of the study aim, objectives, and research question

3. To examine the conditional nature and causes of the relocations and transformations identified in Tripoli's civic centres. This involves the investigation of the historical narrative and process of the changes undertaken which affected the buildings studied and their positions, during and after the colonial and national periods. This task requires an understanding of the political, economic, demographic, technological, and other motives for urban change showing how the city centre and its civic centres was transformed and developed or deteriorated, and in what ways.
4. To assess the influence of political power on the role and significance of Tripoli's existing colonial municipal building, and particularly how the TMB has worked under the Gaddafi regime during the fieldwork period (which ended in 2010). Three tasks are set for this rather complex objective:
 - a) To investigate the historical background behind the construction and use of the present TMB by the Italian colonials, and the motives of the Fascist planners in developing this new cosmopolitan civic centre in an innovative urban 'European' zone in the late 1930s.
 - b) To appropriately define, evaluate and assess the significance of civic public architecture, considering its relations with its users and surroundings. A critical literature review performs this task, and then the resulting assessment criteria are used to analyse both the physical and symbolic value attached to the TMB by considering the building's urban, architectural, and socio-cultural conditions.
 - c) To observe and measure aspects of the influence of political pressure on the TMB, its functions and relations during the fieldwork study. Here, alongside the research observations, a basic understanding needs to be acquired of the legislation, policies and practices affecting the role and use of TM and its structures. It is also important to look at the reasons behind the continued use of this colonial TMB to date, and to investigate public users' opinions about it.
5. To critically reflect upon the investigation undertaken on the overall historical transformations and development of civic architecture and the city centre of Tripoli. This final discussion requires the analysis of the study's results in the light of the critical literature review. It examines the processes and notions of urban development in the specific context of Tripoli, while considering overall progress in

making effective and functioning civic public places for local urban administration under the different colonial and national governments.

1.3 Research Limits

Research in the fields of public administration, public management, New Public Management (NPM), public governance, and later New Public Governance (NPG) are very well-established on academic grounds. Additionally, the subjects of functional change and improvement in *“public policy implementation and public service delivery”* (Osborne, 2010) and the concept of the *“Quality of Municipal Service”* (Shin, 1977) have been extensively studied. Recent academic progress in this field, such as studies of NPM, reveal that, for many recently developed managerial, political and economic reasons, key official public services have been given to private sector partners, and people have to turn to other non-governmental interfaces (either physical or virtual) to be able to approach their own governments.

According to Zimring et al. (2005:191), *“many public agencies are entering into public–private partnerships for developing cities and neighborhoods, and can set the tone of much larger private development.”* The latest NPG studies of recent electronic interfaces are also part of the investigation of the effectiveness and roles of government and how communication with the ‘public’ is managed to give them easier and apparently equal access to public service. However, as the transformation to more efficient servers (i.e. electronic government services) has not yet taken place in the Tripoli Municipality (TM), and is not likely to be in the foreseeable future. It is therefore exceedingly difficult to evaluate and measure the impact of digital transformations on the ground in Tripoli today, nor is it possible to predict its future applicability and success.

This thesis looks at the physical environments in which the changing administrative functions take place in the TM. The study considers how the building functions and to identify where and how the public interact and interface in the public institution of the case study, rather than evaluating the functional performance of the building and its impact on users.

While a variety of different research methodologies have been defined and tested in the literature about urban public spaces and public architecture (Carmona et al, 2010), this study employs a combination of several modified qualitative and quantitative

research approaches. The approach adopted for this study is simply based on archival research and personal observations and a survey of the present built environment under investigation and its users.

Accordingly, the study explores how the public regularly see and use the building and the urban spaces and surrounding places, such as what they do and where they go after they have been serviced, or while waiting to be serviced when visiting the municipal building, but the main interest is where (and when and for what) they encounter each other and interact, both inside and around the building. Chapter 4 provides more detail of the research methodology of this project.

1.4 Thesis Organisation

The overall structure of the thesis takes the form of nine chapters (including this introductory chapter).

Chapter Two presents a literature review in two parts. The first starts by giving a general background on the emergence, development, and transformation of places of public gathering until the modern age. It then raises the general concern about changes in the traditional relationships between governmental public buildings, their users and the city centre. The chapter also addresses the notion of urban development, particularly in the context of developing cities. The second part of this chapter establishes the theoretical and analytical framework for the research to study the significance of civic architecture, and particularly central governmental public buildings, by reviewing the work of several key social science researchers in a range of relevant studies. The focus is on different architectural and urban aspects and the symbolic value of monumental public structures and how they can be investigated. A simple framework is established at the end to be used later to assess the case study building under the Gaddafi regime.

Chapter Three is concerned with putting the concepts used in this research into the context of the chosen case study, the TMB. It describes the general and specific background of the establishment and development of the city and a brief history of its political, economic, and demographical development to date. The chapter critically reviews the relevant historical literature, especially the most important historical municipal publication of the TM (MOT, 1972), and presents the gaps identified in

existing knowledge and narratives about the history of TMBs, which this research will embark on filling in the second half of the thesis.

Chapter Four presents the research methodology of the study and justifies the tools selected to gather data, the research design and processes of collecting, testing and analysing the data obtained. The academic precautions taken are explained, as well as the obstacles and limitations encountered in the fieldwork study in Tripoli.

Chapter Five presents the results gathered from the archival research and the observations of what can still be found in the remains of the ancient city about the emergence and establishment of Tripoli city council places and their development before and during the Ottoman period. It aims to give insight into the significance of the reformed 'Baladiyat' model of municipalities that the Ottoman rulers introduced and which transformed the traditional tribal-influenced urban local administration system. The understanding of the 'Ottomanisation' of the first modern-style municipal centre in Tripoli is very important and will be facilitated by analysing a number of historical events that are believed by historians and planners to underpin the success of the Ottoman municipal reforms in Tripoli in the late 19th century in contrast with contemporaneous endeavours by France in North Africa. Analysis of the political, economic, demographic and physical conditions in these times is also important to develop a complete picture of the significant role, use and position of this municipality, especially in the very critical period of the city's historical urban expansion when Tripoli spread beyond its ancient walls for the first time, years before the beginning of Western colonisation in Libya. A point of debate is framed to be carried on to the following chapter, concerning whether or not the earliest modern model of municipalities was successfully introduced in Tripoli, and whether this can be attributed to the Ottomans or the Italians.

Chapter Six presents the findings used to answer the second research question addressed in this study, focusing on the Italian occupation of Tripoli (1911-1943) during which the currently used main municipal building of Tripoli was constructed. The chapter looks at the effect of the transactions of the colonial military and political power, from the Ottomans to the Italians, on the subsequently embraced model of municipalities in Italian Tripoli. This involves an attempt to understand how and why the colonial decision-makers managed to shape and reconfigure the colony's local urban administration and its building, the ways in which the colonial municipalities were

formed and located in the city, the motives behind their plans and design decisions, and how the local Libyan users were factored into the design process.

Chapter Seven presents the findings about the current significance of the building under investigation during the period after Italian colonisation, from the early 1940s until the fall of the Gaddafi regime. It looks at the political changes from colonialism to nationalism and how and why that might have affected the notion of civic institutions in Tripoli and how the inherited colonial municipal building has been adopted, used, and perceived under the postcolonial governments, first under the Libyan monarchy (1951-1969), then the first republic, and then the 'Jamahiriya' totalitarian regime (1969-2011, during which the fieldwork was conducted).

Chapter Eight provides answers to the research questions concerning the current urban, architectural, and socio-cultural significance of the TMB and what it has offered, in its controversial and bold colonial architecture, to Libyan users, rulers, and the city centre, and what justifies the local users' attachment to this colonial building. The chapter ends by drawing upon material in the entire thesis to connect the various theoretical and empirical strands in order to discuss how truly public the case study building was during the Gaddafi period and what could be learned from this study to understand the notion of 'publicness' under such powerful regimes.

Chapter Nine concludes the thesis and gives a brief summary and critique of the main findings with regard to the research questions raised. It also includes a brief discussion of the significance of the findings for future research in this area. The chapter ends by highlighting the main limitations of this research and identifies areas for further study.

Chapter 2 : Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This chapter first considers the broad historical transformations of urban and public centres up to modern times, aiming to understand how places of public organisation were established and have developed around urban centres through four ages of human organisation. Some critical remarks on the periodisation of human organisation are then summarised. It then addresses the restructuring influences on contemporary cities, looking at the effects of recent global forces on the urban and architectural environments in city centres, and the impact on the local socio-cultural aspects of public spaces. The following section discusses modern transformations influencing the relationship between city centres and traditional city council buildings. In light of the theoretical grounding outlined in the introduction, notions of progress and urban development are subsequently discussed, noting concerns about developmental projects undertaken ‘in-the-name-of-progress’ by local and central governments.

The second part of the chapter reviews the broader literature on urban public civic architecture and its significance, identifying gaps in knowledge concerning urban civic centres and government buildings dedicated to local administration. Different elements of public architecture are then considered, identifying appropriate means by which the significance of traditional civic centres in today’s cities can be assessed. Finally, the conclusions of this chapter are presented, leading to a discussion of the local context of the present case study of Tripoli and its historical municipal buildings in the following chapter.

Part One: The Historical Establishment, Transformation, and Development of Urban and Public Centres

This part explores how humans began to organise in urban centres, extending architecture from private shelters to public meeting centres, focusing on the emergence of and changes in spaces and buildings of public gatherings in different ancient societies, and the positions and importance they were accorded.

2.2 Public Centres through the Ages of Human Organisation

The literature on the historical growth and development of cities covers a number of academic fields. Descriptions of the development of the city in terms of evolving human culture have therefore produced different narratives (McGaughey, 2000), including: periodic divisions concerning technological progress through the stone, bronze, and iron ages; a specific geographical focus, such as Eastern or Western societies; tracking ancient civilisations like the Egyptians, Greeks and Romans; from analysing the spread of religions, for example in Christian and Islamic Architecture; according to ethnicity or national identity or language (e.g. English or Chinese Architecture); or to dominant political systems (e.g. Fascist, Communist, or Colonial Architecture); categorising the styles and structures of architecture (e.g. organic, classic, modern, post-modern styles); or even by focusing on specific interests intersecting with these narratives (such as Fascist Civic Public Architecture in the North African Italian Colony under the rule of General Balbo). However, highly focused and often idiosyncratic classifications can be unhelpful in understanding how centralised public architecture has emerged and developed, and may be highly selective, schematic and distorting.

A general study of cities and their development requires highly complex and multifaceted accounts so as to provide convincing categorisation relevant to different disciplines and models. The 'four ages of organisation' proposed by Lipnack and Stamps (2000, Figure 2-1) provides a useful starting point in connecting the evolution of cities and systems of government.

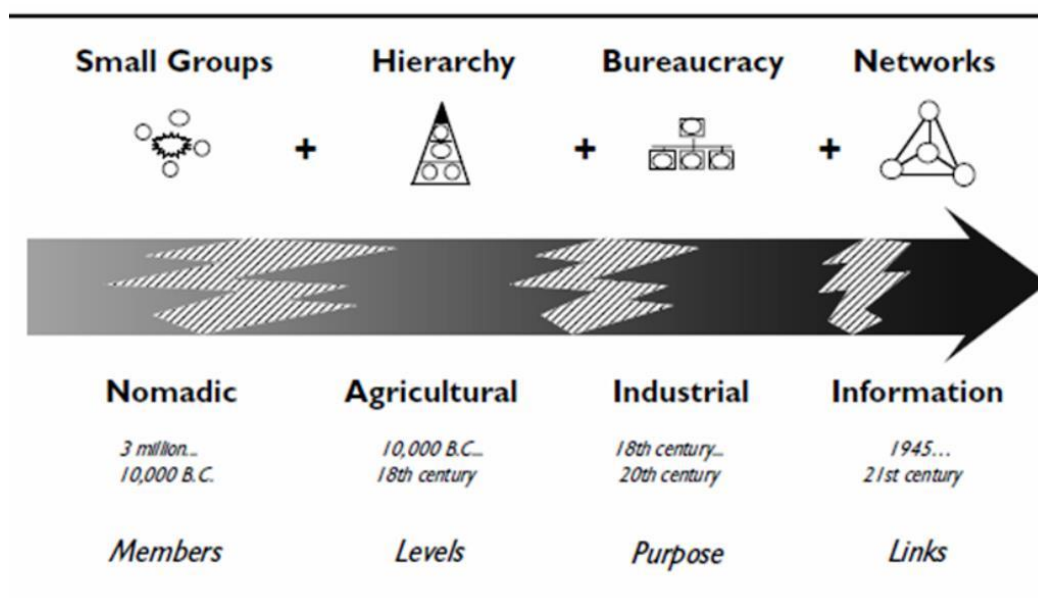


Figure 2-1: The four ages of organisation

(Lipnack and Stamps: 2000:36)

This model emphasises how people met and developed arrangements for communication within the centres they routinely gathered in for social, economic and political purposes.

2.2.1 Nomadic society: the age of small groups

According to this scheme, the first breakthrough and origin of the modern idea of cities began when early humans learned to meet in small organised groups. Individuals who met to hunt and share food, gathered in open spaces or in temporary shelters. These meeting-centres were mostly modest and transient during the so-called nomadic era. Campfires are the most significant and symbolic public centre during this age.

2.2.2 Agricultural society: the age of hierarchy

Social and political hierarchical structures then developed during the beginnings of the agricultural era. These served in growing populations of settled individuals in stable centres through farming and the domestication of animals. This was the early urban revolution which, according to Spreiregen (1965), started with the utilisation of critical inventions like the plough and wheel, and along with the development of agriculture came the need to organise and distribute responsibilities and land.

To effectively run ever-growing and complicated urban activities, Thorns (2002:14) explained that, in the early human urban settlements:

“New political structure and a different division of labour [is required] to ensure the various tasks were accomplished. Further closer settlement meant that land became a resource in demand. Who should own and control land in the city? What form of property rights should develop? What form of governance? Rulers who filled both spiritual and temporal roles mostly governed the earliest cities.”

Settlements were formed with various ‘rectilinear’ or ‘radiocentric’ patterns (Spreiregen, 1965), and early meeting-centres were designated for settlers to gather in early hierarchal societies.

These centres may also have taken on ritual and religious significance through the construction of temples, leading to further hierarchies and zoning with central buildings surrounded by domestic dwellings along with the first fortified external walls (Thorns, 2002:14). Some of these societies used other types of official buildings such as simple administrative offices to manage everyday agricultural activities; for example, built of mud-bricks in ancient Egypt (Warren, 2005). Unlike the well-positioned Egyptian temples and tombs constructed with hard stone to last longer, these early forms of

administrative building did not have the same status, size, or symbolic value. The selection of durable materials only for some buildings led to increased power for those significant places in agricultural society, while simultaneously devaluing the status of structures built for more routine functions.

2.2.3 Industrial society: the age of bureaucracy

In the next period 'bureaucracy' was introduced following the maturity of great civilizations spread over larger and more disparate areas, contributing to the development of bigger and more complicated urban administrative centres. When early farmers learned how to barter their accumulated harvests, some would have increased in affluence and status in society. With more power and wealth, some traders left farming and built extravagant edifices around the central market place. Clearly these processes varied between different civilizations, but general features can be associated with each era. Hand crafting, for example, is believed to be a factor in improving the early urban built environment using new tools and skills to manage and maintain new modes of urban life (Kostof, 1985, 1995).

With increasing wealth and sophistication, economic development was supported by technological development, and people left agriculture for specialised professions. Administrative and governance procedures were refined through written laws and statutes, and places were needed to perform formal procedures and treaties, using clay – a medium for written communication widely available at the time. Libraries/archives were erected to house what were later considered as offices and stores to protect valuable clay tokens; the best examples being in ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia where the earliest known writings are Sumerian clay tablets used in international trade (McGaughey, 2000).

In the early development of urban life, *"in the newly emerging cities, a new social structure took shape. Cities are social inventions rather than natural constructions so new forms of organisation had to evolve to cope with large population connections"* (Thorns, 2002:13-14). Accordingly, some urban inhabitants were classified by the rulers – or state – as distinct legitimate members of the community using ceremonial symbols of belonging leading citizen to share a sense of affiliation to the delineated geographical space, such as in the ancient city of Rome.

A sophisticated administrative system was clearly needed to manage healthy urban life for inhabitants (both citizens and serfs) as cities grew. Various different local urban

organisational solutions and methods of administration were devised, some maintaining social and political hierarchies inherited from earlier ages. However, marked changes occurred in the systems deployed after the technological developments of the Industrial Revolution from the 18th century onwards, leading to the establishment of institutionalised economic and political organisations and more specialised local and central government bodies (Hobsbawm and Wrigley, 1999).

Clear examples of early bureaucratic systems are the introduction of local urban administration with the concept of municipalities in leading 19th century European cities, or the 'Baladiyat' reforms in the Ottoman Empire following the Western example (Lafi, 2007; 2009).

Increasing numbers of complicated official procedures in emerging political and economic institutions led to a demand for better management of mountains of documentation. Attempts were made to establish more effective managerial platforms. Such as the 'Principles of Scientific Management' a pioneering early 20th century technique (Taylor, 1911) to organise industrial organisations.

Technology, as ever, played a significant role in devising systems to organise the new official public and private institutions. Newly invented machines, were vital in enhancing the efficiency of routine procedures, and improved work environments, particularly in public service centres.

Examples of such technological advances in this period are the mechanisation and automation adopted by local governments worldwide to improve the efficiency of civil services. Records were for the first time automatically processed using massive mainframe computers developed around the late 1950s by IBM and BUNCH, before the later inventions of the digital revolution after the 1960s.

2.2.4 The information society and beyond: the modern age of networks

The concept of networks began with the mechanical innovations of the industrial society, when people, goods, and messages were transported in larger quantities across longer distances, with less effort and more rapidly. Such intensified movements of people and things led to the establishment of the first primitive physical networks of local and global transport and communication that shaped the infrastructure for modern patterns of human organisation in the age of 'networks'.

Castells first defined the network society, citing the earliest technologies in early networks using Beniger's (1986) statement that: the *"railways and telegraph constituted the first infrastructure for a quasi-global network of communication with self-reconfiguring capacity"* (Castells, 2009:22). Bell (1973, 1976), Naisbitt (1982), and Naisbitt and Aburdene (1990), subsequently argued that the infrastructure developed in the industrial and then post-industrial society precipitated a change from the 'economics of goods' to the 'economics of information'.

During the industrial age, the reliance on science and technology increased, to include all professional technical skills and managerial disciplines in bureaucratic urban public institutions from around the late 19th C. Thus the dependence on information and knowledge also increased. Such wider connections and sharing of knowledge and information have been seen as a new tool to bring people together, virtually, in one connected community, as if the earth has shrunk in size. Marshall McLuhan (1964) described this imaginary environment as the 'global village' in which inhabitants move, gather and communicate irrespective of geographical and political barriers using advanced media and electronic 'links'.

Castells (2004, 2009) emphasised the effects of these transformations on the social structure, explaining that: *"Industrial society (both in its capitalist and its statist versions) was predominantly structured around large-scale, vertical production organizations and extremely hierarchical state apparatuses, in some instances evolving into totalitarian systems"* (Castells, 2004:5). Human social structures and organisations are always affected by new inventions, but how these 'organisational arrangements of humans' take place on physical ground is what distinguishes the age of networks, especially in urban areas.

Mitchell (1995:8) argued that the rules and structure of the internet are fundamentally different from *"those that organize the action in the public places of traditional cities"*. He argued that the internet *"will play as crucial a role in twenty-first-century urbanity as the centrally located, spatially bounded, architecturally celebrated agora did (according to Aristotle's Politics) in the life of the Greek polis."* Differences in physical structure result from the unprecedented nature of interactions shaped by the technological apparatus that the network society is structured around, as Castells (2009:19-20) describes:

"A network is a set of interconnected nodes. Nodes may be of varying relevance to the network, and so particularly important nodes are called 'centers' in some versions of network theory. Still, any component of a network (including 'centers') is a node and its function and meaning depend on the programs of the network and on its interaction with other nodes in the network."

This highlights the structures and mechanisms by which networks can effectively or ineffectively work on the ground, so that *"all nodes of a network are necessary for the network's performance, although networks allow for some redundancy as a safeguard for their proper functioning...The network is the unit, not the node"* (Castells, 2009:20). Accordingly, there has been a significant change in the meanings of space and time.

Castells (1998) argued that the network society transforms traditional physical space from being the *'space of place'*, wherein people used to traditionally interact in face-to-face exchanges of information and goods at limited times and geographical boundaries, to the *'space of flows'*, in which information and goods flow all over the globe with unprecedented levels of contact across space and time.

Mitchell (2003) discusses these transformations in terms of changes in the way people and things gather as being from *'points of presence'*, where people physically meet around small central points (e.g. campfires) to *'fields of presence'*, where real centres are now determined by networks of computers (e.g. virtual conferences). Places public gathering have physically and virtually followed these technological and practical adaptations in many contemporary cities.

Two main conclusions can be drawn about modern human organisation from these reviewed analyse. Firstly, the network society is a biased system of linked connections between some nodes (centres), cities and/or parts of cities, such as public institutions and private firms. It is a process of flows of information and things influenced by the economic success of selected global nodes or cities. Secondly, the networked city has, after the industrial revolution, become a hybrid of physical and virtual environments. While the 'network' in the network society is often considered to be a 'virtual' infrastructure, it also has implications for the physical city, and especially the reality of modern urban public life where people meet, live, and work. This section has only reviewed academic definitions of the network society to understand the technical innovations that transformed industrial society. However, some important critical considerations about such historical classifications of the ages of human organisation are emphasised and summarised in the next section.

2.2.5 Remarks on the Ages of Human Organisation and Urban Development

Lipnack and Stamps' (2000) 'four ages of organisation' is a useful narrative tool for conceptualising the history of urban and public organisation and development, but it has many limitations.

Human history does not follow a single track of development. Organisations may differ between nations according to geographical, social, cultural, economic, and political circumstances, and in many countries, or even in small traditional tribes within a larger geographical region or country, people who still remain unconnected to the modern age of networks, and still live and work in small groups. Others maintain their agricultural or industrial activities. Although the network age encourages the mobility of people and goods, some are still traditionally nomadic, such as the Tuareg tribes around the Greater Sahara. According to Castells (2009:25), although "*the network society is a global society.... this does not mean that people everywhere are included in these networks.*" Castells classified such people as the "*Fourth World*" (1998:368), whose inhabitants are socially, politically, technologically, and often geographically excluded from the rest of the global population. Such groups exist in every generation and may not be directly affected by contemporary developments in advanced technologies, although some might take advantage of high-tech portable devices for their own specific purposes.

Also, organisations of governance are not universal hierarchical. The Pre-Islamic city of Mecca in the Arabian Peninsula was an ancestral tribal society that developed the 'Dar al-Nadwa' organisational concept, with a central tribal council managing the city. Its society was strongly and hierarchically organised, although not based on agriculture as the economy was built on trade caravans and pilgrimages.

Furthermore, there may be more than four ages, particularly with respect to the political aspects of human organisation which influenced how and where ancient citizens gathered and interacted in historical cities. For example, the early democratic, oligarchical and republican systems in Athens and Rome during the formative years of classical civilisation cannot be merely classified as hierarchical nor seen as bureaucratic. Instead they seem to represent a transition from agricultural to industrial ages.

It must also be noted that overlaps occur between these historical ages and systems of organisation. For example, in a particular state that has adopted an advanced public organisational system, people may still rely on bureaucracy or hierarchy system in

some parts of society, perhaps showing resistance to change as they prefer traditional values and modes of social and cultural organisation, or they simply may not have heard about or possibly be unable to afford to do otherwise.

Thus, dividing the history of humanity into the four ages should be considered a very schematic way to understand the development of urban and public meeting-centres. Specific analyse of different societies at different ages with various organisational systems will provide a more detailed picture of what contributions a particular city and its public centres make to the development of urban built environments and public architecture. The next section explores further some general aspects of urban restructuring in modern cities.

2.3 The Restructuring of Contemporary Cities

2.3.1 Global urban restructuring and change

Extensive multidisciplinary research in architectural and urban studies and the geographical and social sciences has studied the effects of modern changes in urban life in cities around the world. The historical shifts from the industrial to post-industrial and now the network society has attracted the attention of, for example Bell (1976, 1999), Naisbitt (1982), Castells (1985, 2000, 2004, 2009), Naisbitt and Aburdene (1990), Mitchell (1995, 1999, 2003), Horan (2000), and Graham and Marvin (2001). These studies consider the effect on global and local communities and cities of political, economic, technical and socio-cultural change.

Naisbitt's (1982, and later in 1990 with Aburdene) pioneering work identified major '*Megatrends*' reshaping global society, describing innovations that have transformed modern life including the shift from industrial goods to services.

Maeng and Nedović-Budić (2008:5), on the other hand, concurred with Audirac (2002) that "*research on the relationship between ICT and urban form can be encapsulated in two main views – of spatial restructuring and of economic restructuring.*" They stressed that the economic restructuring viewpoint "*draws mainly on urban political economy and focuses on the relationship by which the economic forces of capitalism and technological change support the restructuring of global capitalism*" (2008:8).

As mentioned above changes in the global economy have led to the re-use of central public spaces for different and usually private functions, in many cities in developed and developing countries.

Yeh and Xu (1996) and Yeh and Wu (1999) studied the effect of globalisation on the urban systems of some regional Chinese cities, showing how government policies to permit foreign investment in local property markets in exchange for annual 'land-use fees' caused traditional public land in central old urban districts to be privatised, with traditional public land and buildings (and their associated functions) relocated to the less valuable urban outskirts. Some central sites previously designated for public buildings are transformed by these interventions, becoming tall private office buildings, *"irrespective of whether or not it is a suitable site for office building and whether or not there is a need for cultural and recreational building in the neighbourhood"* (Yeh and Xu, 1996:257). Furthermore, global economic interests favour cities in China's Eastern Coastal region, apparently due to accessibility and economic convenience supported by the government's open-door policy for foreign investment.

The Centre for Research on Globalization (CRG, 2008) confirmed a similar trend in Western cities, with the privatisation of central public land in Irish cities continuing apace in many forms, including:

"The exchange of valuable city-centre land banks for privately owned lands on the outskirts of the same cities. The city-centre land is then used for building expensive private apartments or office space, while the land on the outskirts of the city is used for public housing, with little or no infrastructure, such as roads, public transport, or other public services." (CRG Website, 2008)

The 'spatial restructuring' of some global urban structures therefore occurs in conjunction with economic restructuring in local and global markets. However, urban spatial change does not have a single and straightforward direct impact on the ground, and a review by Maeng and Nedović-Budić cited four main aspects of spatial restructuring: the centralisation, decentralisation, combination, and the reconfiguration of new urban forms.

However, this synthetic approach neglected other important forms of urban spatial restructuring after the introduction of advanced infrastructure, such as the fragmentation of cities.

According to the theory of splintering urbanism (Graham and Marvin, 2001), trends of inequality in constructing, distributing, and using modern networked infrastructures are commonly found. The concern is that many advanced networks are *“being ‘unbundled’ in ways that help to sustain the fragmentation of the social and material fabric of cities”* (Graham and Marvin, 2001:33). This undemocratic diffusion of advanced services, can lead to an urban disintegration identified as ‘splintering’ in case studies of various cities, including in developing countries. These ‘unbundled’ approaches to providing advanced technological services to some urban spaces and ‘bypassing’ others, due to open political and economic competition both locally and globally, causes social-spatial fragmentation (Graham and Marvin, 2001:176).

The segregation of less fortunate local citizens prevent them from benefiting from infrastructures and urban areas in their own cities, serving to *“threaten the city’s role as a centre of democratic exchange, openness and circulation, and heterogeneous mixing of people and ideas. The trends are not, however, inexorable”* (Jacobson, 2002:113).

Meanwhile, other research commentators such as Coutard (2008) criticise the ‘splintering urbanism’ concept as a general analysis of scattered incidences that lack specificity. Jacobson (2002:109-113) also criticised Graham and Marvin’s (2001) book, saying that it *“sweeps too quickly and shallowly over many of the examples presented.”*

Despite doubts about the splintering of the physical urban environment, the impact of contemporary changes in urban life is evident in many cities, even if caution should be exercised when considering the socio-spatial factors causing the marginalisation of those who Mitchell (1995) classified as the *“have-nots.”*

2.3.3 Socio-cultural restructuring

Throughout the history of civilisation, urban public meeting-centres have been places where people who ‘have’ (wealth, knowledge, and status) and those who ‘have-not’ could potentially face each other in the same space and time. However, contemporary restructuring radically *“redefines our notions of gathering places, community, and urban life”* (Mitchell, 1995:8). Rapoport (1969:25) worried about linking *“technological advances with progress without thinking of the social consequences of adopting such advances,”* arguing that *“there are also situations where social values take precedence over technological advances.”* Likewise, Tanghe et al. (1984:66) argued that in many

modern urban development projects “*psycho-social consequences of the technological approach have never been questioned ... Immediate action and matters of technical detail are considered more important than a conception of a project and the overall problem.*” Thus, the implications of modern developments for different societies are a major concern when the possible destructive effects on traditional social and cultural customs are not considered.

2.3.2 Transformations of the workplace

Academics studying the latest transformations in the roles and functions of public buildings have noted changes in what modern public buildings look like and how people use, understand, and behave in the built environment.

In a pioneering study, Mitchell (1995) summarised his observations of such transformation in the concept of ‘*Recombinant Architecture.*’ Here, the modern break-up and recombination of the functions of space and place in the age of networks causes the overlapping of conventional purposes and meanings of space. He argued that “*when telepresence substitutes for face-to-face contact among the participants in activities, the spatial linkages that we have come to expect are loosened*” (Mitchell, 1995:104).

A clear example is the transformation of workplaces, about which Mitchell (1999:107) remarked that: “*not only are locations of work sites changing, so are their characters. Familiar types of workplaces are fragmenting and recombining into new patterns.*” More specifically:

“In offices, electronic interconnection dissolves the traditionally tight spatial relationships among private workspaces such as office cubicles, group workspaces such as meeting rooms, informal social spaces, and resources such as files and copying machines. When files are online, and office workers have personal computers and printers, there is no longer much need to cluster private workspaces around central resources; these spaces can migrate to the home or to satellite locations, they can follow employees on the road, or they can transform into ‘hot cubicles’ that are not permanently allocated to particular employees but are reserved and occupied as needed.” (Mitchell, 1999:107-108)

In response to this, Horan explained that: “*one theme among new workspace design is to move away from traditional notions of spatial assignment*” (2000:41), citing new community libraries where:

“Success in the private market raises legitimate questions about the value of the public library’s presence as a component of the civic layer, and fuels the possibility of its reemergence—with digital technology—as a new form of civic and research

institution. Indeed, libraries in several cities are reemerging as vibrant digital civic places. Combining the historical function of the library as a centralized, public repository of literary materials with new capacity to serve as an access point to the world of digital information, a number of major new city libraries have managed to establish vital communities of place by connecting to digital communities of interest.” (Horan, 2000:65)

This example of modern restructuring highlights the importance of involving the local community in the physical spaces of historical public civic centres. Such design solutions, may provide a valid alternative to the removal of historical public buildings from city centres, but reduced functional spaces in these large public buildings might still be a design issue requiring a recombinant design to the “*what to put inside*” problem of modern public buildings in city centres (Blundell-Jones et al., 2005). The next section elaborates on this relationship.

2.4 The Relationship between City Centres and Civic Centres

2.4.1 Civic centre location

Public centres have played a significant role in the lives of many traditional cities, and arguably in the hearts of their citizens as well. However, it seems that this urban historical bond has been loosened when dramatic changes have led to civic institutions being relocated outside the city centre.

One of the major concerns here is the possible threat to the role and value of central public buildings and the deterioration of the image of the city and its urban life once traditional connections with the city centre are weakened. Central public places have been some of the busiest local meeting-centres providing essential public services and activities. Some of these central public centres have played an influential role in representing the city’s government and political power, but also as a centre for the whole community to use and be proud of, as in the British town halls discussed by Cunningham (1981).

Herzog (2006) has described changes in the relationship between the city centre and central public places in modern cities as ‘*The crisis of public space*’. In his study of Spanish and Mexican cities, Herzog (2006:63) clarified this as follows:

“As the pace of urbanization intensified early in the twentieth century, planners and private interests then shifted growth toward the periphery, and Madrid’s public life was forever transformed. The reasons for the resulting public space crisis in Madrid can be summarized in three words: planning, profits and automobiles.”

It is important to understand how this 'shift toward the periphery' affects the historical ties between the city centre and the quality of life in the city centre.

The extent to which this traditional relationship should be conserved in today's globalised city centres remains controversial. Some still strongly support the tradition of positioning the key public institutions in the historical city centre, while others seem keen to move them out.

2.4.2 For and against the centralisation of key public centres

Some observers firmly believe that the relationship between central public places and traditional urban centres should not be broken and must be maintained. Some empirical studies support the general concept of a 'return to the centre' (e.g. Tanghe et al., 1984; Langdon, 2003; Herzog, 2006).

Langdon (2003:1), for example, stated strongly that *"public buildings keep town centres alive."* He concluded that:

"The presence of public buildings is one of the keys to a strong and vibrant downtown or town centre. Many communities have seen economic and social benefits when the post office, the municipal building, the public library, and other important public buildings stay or expand downtown. Conversely, when they leave, the fabric knitting downtown together can start to unravel."

He cited a comment from urban planner Ilene Watson that:

"Besides creating activity downtown, public buildings have another quite important role: they connect us to our community's past and carry our identity into the future. While popular culture focuses on individuality, rebellion, and rootlessness, civic spaces are one of the rare manifestations we have left of community and depth of common values and culture through time. They provide that sense of comfort, continuity, and place so important to the human psyche." (Langdon, 2003:7)

This communal vision is not unique to the American context. According to Herzog (2006:xii), city centres in Spain and former Spanish colonies in Latin America, *"historical downtowns illuminate the importance of harmony in scale and proportion, among buildings, public spaces, and city dwellers they embrace an important model for humanly scaled communities."* Even if those citizens have to leave the downtown to live somewhere else they *"return to the city centre each week to find the urban quality of life that is lacking on its edge."* In some of the cities Herzog (2006: x) studied: *"the inner city, after years of neglect, has re-entered the public consciousness,"* and people are now *"moving back to the urban core."*

This public orientation towards the centre may be generalised to include downtowns elsewhere, especially in areas where citizens are classified as people with different 'common values' and cultures as stated by Langdon (2003). Places for formal and informal public gatherings obviously differ from one city to another – even from one place to another within the same city – due to various factors such as socio-cultural diversity, as discussed above.

Ardalan (1980) explained how central public buildings in traditional Islamic cities fulfilled multiple roles. The caravanserai, for instance, was a central public building which served *“not only as transit place for overnight stay, but also as a warehouse, a place of public entertainment and, on certain occasions, a place for the enactment of religious passion plays and funerary rites.”* However, this has also recently changed significantly due to *“the increasingly specialized modern usage of space [instead of] the efficient multi-usage of space in traditional times”* (Ardalan, 1980:12).

In contrast to the use of multi-functional buildings in many traditional cities, new cities have been created (e.g. Canberra, Brasilia, Ottawa, Washington, New Delhi and Islamabad) with new centres and public institutions purpose-built for specialised functions. According to Brunn et.al (2003), Canberra was specifically built to house the national government and was therefore *“developed to fulfil a symbolic function, to be a ‘national’ city in a federal union by overcoming the rivalries of preexisting states.”* When new capital cities are created, government buildings are removed from traditional city centres with which the public were hitherto familiar.

Furthermore, many commentators and government representatives reject the argument that moving central public buildings from their traditional locations damages the quality of urban life in the city centre. Proponents of the Canberra model claim that in their new locations they would create their own new liveable centre (Brunn et al., 2003).

It is, however, debatable whether the public are as active in these decentralised official public centres and new urban public spaces compared to the historical ones, especially when considering that these new centres (e.g. Canberra and other new cities) needed to be revitalised within a relatively short period after creation. Deane (2002) admitted that these new centres now require more development in order to be more public-friendly, *“not to replace Canberra’s distinctive polycentric structure, but to strengthen*

that structure by re-developing the space at its centre, which is now weak and has the potential to be very dynamic and attractive” (Deane, 2002:8).

The modern city of Brasilia has also been criticised for not being designed for the simple human activity of walking. Because of the long distances between them, people need vehicles to shuttle between the administrative sectors and buildings in Brasilia city centre. To commentators like Hamre (2009), *“because of rigid zoning laws and the basic layout, the majority of the population lives outside the city limits, in these lower income satellite cities, and there you’ll find the essence of Brazil.”* Brasilia was criticized for being *“not built for daily human activities, nor is it ‘Brazilian,’ Many of the residents are there only during the week to conduct business, political or otherwise, and take long weekends to go elsewhere”* (Hamre, 2009). Hamre described Brasilia’s grim image and doubts about the quality of urban life in some modern downtowns with their forests of scattered blocks of governmental offices. This also highlights the importance of the relationship between the city centre, its central authoritative public buildings, and the urban spaces in-between. The significant of this relationship is explained further in the following section.

2.4.3 ‘Museumification’: deserted public buildings downtown

In their influential *Architecture and Participation*, Blundell-Jones et al. (2005) discussed the city centre of Paris as an example of what could happen to the unravelling of the relationship between the city centre and its public spaces as a result of local and global changes. Extensive flows of tourists and local investment in tourism, transformed both the city centre’s urban built environment and its use by residents. Furthermore, the location and administrative functions of historical these central landmarks can change from being centres to serve citizens to being alfresco ‘museums’ serving ‘strangers’.

Blundell-Jones et al. elaborated on Henri Lefebvre’s (1989) description of the transformation of Paris city centre, as being *“‘museumified’ and managerial, in a financial and not political sense.”* They explained that:

“With the centre full of French and foreign tourists who come to look at the museums and recently built buildings. [Lefebvre] states that the city appears to be lively but asks the question if it is ‘lively in urbanistic terms’. Lefebvre here is describing a very recent transformation to cities that has completely changed the meaning of the city and the citizen.” (Blundell-Jones et al., 2005:117)

The likely effect of such transformations on the use and meaning of the city centre and concepts of citizenship among the public may be as follows:

“If the city centre is museumified, it implies that the city is fixed and will remain the same regardless of peoples['] participation. The word citizen comes from the Latin, meaning ‘member of a city’: to become a tourist when entering the centre of the city implies that one is not a member of the city, having the effect of placing citizenship somewhere else and therefore transforming one’s political engagement with the city.” (Blundell-Jones et al., 2005:117)

A significant aspect of ‘museumification’ is therefore changing understandings of city government public buildings. In recently museumified cities, a dilemma exists concerning what local public activities should be sited inside these almost deserted buildings in modern cities so as to be considered actual buildings for the real public (Blundell-Jones et al., 2005:117).

“The fashion for public buildings being design statements, with an emphasis on form, can be seen as part of a process where public buildings are becoming like museum exhibits. The Millennium Dome in London by Richard Rogers and the Jewish Museum in Berlin by Daniel Libeskind are two examples of new public buildings that all experienced the same problem after building – that of ‘what to put inside them’. This raises a lot of questions to do with participation and the public realm, as these spaces are seemingly built with little idea of how the public will participate in them.” (Blundell-Jones et al., 2005:117)

How truly public the civic buildings are in museumified city centres today is discussed later in this chapter. It is important to note here that very few metropolitan cities, particularly in the West, are immune from the phenomenon of museumification, due to the wider effect of globalisation on cities and their economies, such as increasing private investment affecting the values ascribed to and use of public land and buildings.

2.5 Notions of Progress and Development

Since this project concerns about the historical development of cities and their municipal buildings: the research question arises how different models of city council places emerged, developed and changed over time? The following discussion thus addresses notions of urban and architectural development and progress.

Since the industrial revolution, numerous concerns have been raised about rapid and dramatic urban developments that caused several restructurings and transformations of the built and socio-cultural environments in cities. In *“Urban Design and Machines”* Spreiregen (1965) expressed strong reservations about the blind application of novel technologies in towns and cities without considering their consequences. Discussing the impact of railway systems on villages, towns, cities and societies, he recommended that:

“Any judgment of a visionary idea with mechanical overtones is twofold: we must evaluate its possibility for improving the quality of urban life and we must be sure that we have the means to achieve proper usage of a new device. Otherwise it can simply make things worse in the name of expedience or in the guise of progress.”
(Spreiregen. 1965:33)

This does not mean that advanced urban solutions must be rejected, but that the strategic planning of the proposed development should ask if there are better, or at least less damaging, solutions.

It seems that there is an international sense of enthusiasm and competition towards the option of the latest technological advances in many cities. This often leads governments to pursue development policies that fail to distinguish between what is required and what is desired (Bellamy and Taylor, 1998:10). Perhaps ‘in-the-name-of-development,’ local and central governments are sometimes keen to adopt the latest initiatives simply to secure a competitive position in the global marketplace.

There has been much completion, ‘pushing’ and ‘pulling,’ in developing new connections to link public spaces and services together by many cities, governments, and private organisations (Aurigi, 2005). The United Nations (in its e-Government Survey 2008) as well as the Economist Intelligence Unit (EIU, in its 2008 E-readiness Rankings), for instance, stressed the concern that some modern governments are rushing to advanced services without evaluating the actual need to adopt change declaring that *“there are risks to developing ... programmes just for the sake of it”* (EIU, 2008:16). This in turn could have negative impacts on progress in the long run, and risk failing to achieve the quality required from development, as Tanghe et al. (1984) commented:

“One of the most [‘] misjudgements [‘] of modern housing and town-planning policies has been the introduction of technical innovations without continuously testing them against the possible social consequences. In other words, material and quantitative progress has been mistakenly identified with human, qualitative development.”
(Tanghe et al., 1984:66)

The reason for failure to anticipate negative impacts may be that under such policies, *“how things get done is more important than what is done, and what is feasible is more important than what is really required. There is time only to build more and build it faster... still higher, still further, still more brutal”* (Tanghe et al., 1984:71-72). The question is why some of these development efforts achieve goals of progress and

others do not, failing to meet local public expectations in many urban areas, for example in the developing world.

One of the shared concerns in the literature is that there are always gaps between developers and those purportedly developed for. In urban design, for example, Carmona et al. (2003) described typical:

“gaps between the producers and the users or consumers of the urban environments...There are also communication and social gaps between the designer and the user and the professional and the layperson ... If their desire is to make places for people, urban designers should attempt to narrow rather than exacerbate these gaps ... The creation of a good urban environment and an active public realm is not just the prerogative of professional specialists and their patrons.” (Carmona et al., 2003:19)

This echoes Rapoport's (1969) observation regarding the French development of piped water systems in North Africa, and Sergeant's (2010) explanation of the clash of cultures when British engineers developed the railway system in India. In both examples, the users' presence, opinions, and socio-cultural backgrounds, was neglected throughout the development process. Tanghe et al (1984) asserted that in such projects it should be acknowledged that:

“Only within the user's social system and through their culture can the project become a 'real = effective' environment. The result may be different from what the designer intended ... It remains the users themselves who must live with the result and it is they who give it meaning.” (Tanghe et al., 1984:75 -76)

In this respect, it has been suggested that the pace of progress must sometimes be slowed in order to achieve efficient results, so that the users of such solutions are not left behind (EIU, 2008). Not every development necessarily represents real progress unless every possible consequence that might be caused is considered by decision-makers, designers, and most of all public users, who should preferably be actively consulted and involved in the design process.

Part Two: Understanding the Architectural Significance of Modern Civic Buildings and their Urban Contexts

Having discussed the general history of urban development and change, this part considers the significance of local government buildings and civic public architecture.

2.6 Central Municipal Buildings

With the status ascribed to their construction and position in established communities, places devoted to official public and civic services and gatherings have attracted the attention of researchers in many fields. Most such studies are historical, looking at how, where, and why public buildings emerged in ancient and current societies. Nonetheless, historians of art, architecture, planning, archaeology, geography, political and economic science, anthropology, sociology, and other urban and multidisciplinary scholars have also highlighted the importance of learning more about those who built, lived around, and regularly used them².

Much of the literature about civic public architecture worldwide considers Western civic public buildings, even if built in Eastern or Southern territories. The interest in civic public buildings in Eastern cities, or cities in developing countries, is more sparse and is usually concerned with architecture in a selection of countries previously occupied by Western colonists. However, even in some colonial studies (e.g. McLaren, 2006) questions are left open, such as how civic and public these colonial civic public buildings are in terms of who built them, for whom, and what was the reasons for their design

2.6.1 Gaps in research on traditional civic centres

However, although many studies have been conducted using different methodological approaches to investigate the variety of different types of public architecture, the

²_ For example, in studies of the ancient Andes (Moore, 1996); the *Bronze Age Near East and Aegean* (Bretschneider et al., 2007); the role of public buildings in *The Origins of Maya Civilization* (McKillop, 2004); Roman public buildings (Barton, 1989; De la Bédoyère, 2002; Fagan, 2002); English central public and municipal buildings (Cunningham, 1981; Brown, 1986; Girouard, 1990; Quiney, 1990; Tittler, 1991; Morley, 2001; Graham, 2003; Rogers, 2004); American public architecture (Whiffen and Koeper, 1983; Zabel et al., 1989); American city halls (Ryan, 2000; Langdon, 2003; Holliday, 2009); public buildings in general in the *History of Architecture* (Kostoff, 1995), *History of Western Architecture* (Watkin, 1986), and the history of Tripoli city and its Municipality (MOT, 1972).

history and significance of government public buildings is often overlooked. The main municipal buildings in cities, in particular, although significant in providing “*a tangible, obdurate, indeed monumental, form of evidence about the past,*” are “*too seldom studied outside the field of art history*” (Ryan, 2000:1132). Despite this, public civic architecture in general has attracted the interest of some academics.

Ryan investigated a specific type of Western civic public building using case-studies from American city halls in the nineteenth century, and considering the structure of these monumental buildings and their cultural and symbolic value in the “*civic life*” of the people. She argued that “*public attitudes toward civic buildings were fickle as well as diverse,*” calling for attention public reactions, which she referred to as the “*Protean passions public buildings inspired*” (2000:1131).

2.6.2 The symbolic meanings of civic life and pride

Ryan argued that the architecture of government buildings is capable of affecting “*the quality of civil life, and for generations,*” hence it should be seen as “*more than an inert by-product of governmental processes*” (2000:1170). The American Historical Review (AHR, Vol.105, October, 2000) acknowledged Ryan’s approach reporting that:

“[By supporting] *her claim effectively with fascinating detail concerning municipal buildings constructed in New Orleans, New York, and San Francisco between 1795 and 1892, [Ryan] outlines a new technique of historical analysis, with potentially very wide application, that is called “civic materialism” and involves bringing the built environment into political history as something that provides a context for, influences, and is a document to be interpreted while struggling to understand power relations.*”

Ryan’s distinctive research strategy aimed to examine “*the decision-making process that led nineteenth-century American cities to invest, at times extravagantly, in public buildings*” (2000:1133), and analyse “*text and rituals, as well as stylistic and decorative features of buildings, in order to decipher the symbolic meanings ordinary citizens might have attached to their government*” (2000:1134). In this she looked for historical clues in the design and materials of city hall buildings, arguing that there are “*many fingerprints*” that “*can be found upon the marble and bronze*” of city halls (2000:1134). Ryan argued that:

“*The floor plans and spatial arrangement of the city hall literally set the path of citizens through their government. The way a municipal building was situated within the larger urban plan offers material answers to such vexing questions as, where do public and private meet? How does civil society relate to the state?*” (Ryan, 2000:1133).

It was found that when the public came to personally visit their own traditional municipal buildings:

"Their prosaic acts as citizens are infused with a sense of history. Performing a bureaucratic errand in an older public building is invested with quiet grandeur when a citizen climbs a classic staircase that is the bequest of the early republic to the contentious democracy of our day. [American] city halls of the nineteenth century continue to offer incentives to build, if not for 'the whole of us,' at least in the hopes of continually expanding and diversifying the circle of civic life." (Ryan, 2000:1170)

In different geographical context, Morley (2001) studied British civic public architecture in large cities between 1880 and 1914, when the profession of Town Planning began as a result of local "*civic design*" action (Morley, 2001:646). He argued that "*civic design and planning history*" had not been given sufficient attention, despite being explored as a "*source of inspiration within planning's formative years*" by Hawtree (in Sutcliffe, 1981), Cherry (1972, 1974), Jackson (1985) and Sutcliffe (1981) (Morley, 2001, xxix).

As in the American context, Morley also asserted that "*Civic design has been a relatively ignored academic subject, particularly with regards to the town planning history of Britain*" (Morley, 2001:645).

However, research into what were later referred to as civic centres around the same period that Morley selected for his project can be found in the work of Cunningham (1981), Brown (1986:190), Girouard (1990), Quiney (1990), and Tittler (1991).

For example, in a notable description of the role and significance of English civic public buildings such as central town halls in the late nineteenth century, Cunningham (1981) explained how "*The town hall, together with the display involved in its opening, reflected the search for civic celebration, expressed through civic ritual centred on identifying the corporation with the town*" (Cunningham, 1981:86). Likewise, Mark Girouard (1990) highlighted these material and symbolic levels of significance, saying that:

"The [British] town halls expressed civic pride, combined with a desire to improve and instruct. Spiritually and architecturally, as well as musically, the organs set the tone. Their vast size, and the serried ranks of benches for choirs or orchestras beneath them expressed the changed nature of town halls or public rooms: no longer for polite society but halls for mass meetings and massed choirs, truly public halls for the whole towns." (Girouard, 1990:208)

Tittler (1991) also looked at town halls within English urban communities in the earlier period of 1500-1640. Others like Brown (1986:190-209) looked at the significance and

development of these buildings in terms of the materials used and the significance of their structure, use, meaning, and their development from meeting rooms, guild halls, market crosses and moot halls to town halls in early 16-17 century England. Anthony Quiney (1990:61-63), on the other hand, followed the general emergence and developments of English 'halls' from servicing trade and craft interests to later catering to local administration.

2.6.3 Investigating the relocation of central civic centres

One gap in the literature on changes in civil public buildings is the failure to investigate the transformation of municipal institutions from their traditional downtown buildings to meet present-day demands.

Only two examples could be found concerning Western cities alone demonstrating these important contemporary urban and architectural concerns. Holliday (2009) reflected on the *"desire to replace public civic architecture with an architecture of private entertainment."* Holliday criticised the 2006 proposal to transform a historical city hall into a private entertainment hub as a jazz centre in the American city of New Orleans, explaining that *"City Hall and the entire surrounding civic centre were to disappear, its workers re-housed in an empty and anonymous commercial office tower across the street from the shining new Jazz Center"* (Holliday, 2009:279). This case gives a clear example of recent dramatic changes in the historical, geographical and political relationship between city hall and the city centre and shows serious concerns expressed by urban and architectural specialists who value the presence and history of this type of civic architecture.

In the second example of the City Hall of Boston, USA, many among the general public, designers, and specialists in urban and architectural studies have expressed distress about the decision by the city authorities (again for political and economic reasons) to demolish this significant public building and to move its public services away from their historic central locations.

Boston's Mayor, Thomas Menino, *"proposed selling it and investing in a more conventional headquarters"* (Neyfakh, 2012: Boston.com). In response, Mitchell (2008:115) explained that Menino's *"heavily hyped Bad Idea"* was to demolish the central City Hall of Boston, *"sell the historic downtown site to developers, and with the proceeds build a new one that's more to his liking on the far fringes of the central business district."*

The design of existing Boston City Hall building had been repeatedly criticised as an *'improbable building'* according to Neyfakh (2012). After the winning design was declared in 1962, that the architectural historian at Boston University, Keith Morgan, said that: *"It sent a signal that the city was taking itself seriously ... That the city wanted to be something better than it had been"* (Neyfakh, 2012). Neyfakh argued that this significant government public building must be respected and should be designed more carefully following the traditional model of city halls in other American cities, and not treated other typical types of public building.

In his article *"Boston City Hall — a Landmark?"*, Viser (2007) cited local architect Gary Wolf who argued for granting Boston City Hall special status, saying that: *"the arguments for historic and architectural significance overwhelm the subjective dislike for the building"* (Viser, 2007).

The controversial design of Boston City Hall followed contemporaneous trends: the Brutalist Style of architecture based on heavy sculptural use and display of its concrete structure to express the main design element of the building's interior and exterior appearance (see Figure 2-2 below). Meanwhile, it was reported that the public were keen to keep City Hall institutions in their conventional location in the city centre:

"A group of concerned citizens today announced the formation of an advocacy group aimed at lobbying to keep Boston City Hall in Government Center. The new group, Citizens for City Hall, supports revitalizing the existing City Hall into a green, state-of-the art public building rather than relocating it to the Marine Industrial Park in South Boston." (www.bostonpreservation.org, retrieved on 21/12/2008)

Despite criticism of its appearance and controversial architecture, this protest demonstrated the public's attachment to these types of governmental public buildings. In this respect, Mitchell (2008) convincingly explained that:

"Sure, you can take down the name above the door and move it someplace else. And you can shift people, organizational units, and their activities. You can bring in trucks to move the files and office furniture. But the culture of a building is a fragile web that doesn't easily survive transplanting. Associations and memories tend to stick to the place where they were formed. And meaning that derives from a historic, genuinely central location in a city isn't transferable to the outskirts." (Mitchell, 2008:116)



Figure 2-2: Boston City Hall

(Donovan Slack, the Boston Globe, 30.12. 2008)

Mitchell stressed that this type of public buildings has insubstantial qualitative characteristics which he termed the *“culture of a building”* that are not easily replicable elsewhere. This culture of a civic centre consists of the memories and associations generated in and attached to its meaningful spaces in its original historical and central site in the city, which are not *“transferable to the outskirts.”*

These examples, although from tow developed cities, show that it is important to understand the extent to which citizens nowadays attach significance to their central civic buildings, especially when considering the impact of the global urban transformations described earlier. What does the architectural presence of this authoritative type of public building mean and offer to the public in traditional city centres? How can the physical architecture and other meaningful aspects of public buildings be acknowledged? The following section discusses these questions.

2.7 Evaluating the Significance of Public Architecture

2.7.1 The elements of architecture

A selection of key studies about the different ways of defining and analysing the key components of public architecture in cities is summarised below (see also Appendix H). From this, evaluation criteria can be developed to assess the physical architectural features and symbolic meanings of public buildings.

The earliest known attempt to explain the main elements of architecture was published around 25 BC in the notable work of Marcus Vitruvius, who defined three categories that endure today: *Venustas* (beauty), *Firmitas* (structure) and *Utilitas* (function) (Kostof, 1995:13). Since then there have been many perspectives on how the significance of buildings can and should be read and analysed.

Inspired by Vitruvius's *Venustas*, *Firmitas*, and *Utilitas*, Henry Wotton (1624) paraphrased the early three meanings into: commodity, firmness and delight (cited in Roth, 1998). Others like Hillier et al. (1984) developed a different perspective to understand the commodity element, or "*how does the building function?*" (Roth, 1998), asking "*what is it about architectural form that works? ... What is it about what people do (function) that leaves its mark on building form? And what is it about building form that leaves its mark on what people do?*" (1984:61). To Hillier et al., reading the social function of buildings through their spatial forms is a logical process which can be described using space syntax analysis, arguing that "*buildings are for the organisation of space. This is the most general statement of function. In buildings, technology permits and style confirms that space has been created and organised for social purposes*" (1984:62).

This work inspired many to examine the spatial arrangements of a building and what they reveal about its importance. Markus (1993) looked at the power of buildings in terms of its form, function and space. Later researchers have paid more attention to the distinctions between function and space. For instance, Conway and Roenisch (2005) classified the significant elements of architecture into: 1) the exterior; 2) materials and construction; 3) space and function; and 4) site and place.

Other engineering-oriented researchers think that structure is what ultimately defines the building's architecture. Sandaker (2007) claimed that the physical structure of buildings determines the significance of their architectural limits, arguing that form and spaces follow from the structural system used rather than function.

Kostof (1985, 1995) emphasised the roles of a building's users and its periphery in analysing architectural value, proposing four dimensions in the history of public architecture: oneness of architecture; meaning of architecture; setting of architecture; and community of architecture (1995:15-16). Kostof asserted that the context of where these buildings stand is often ignored when trying to evaluate historical public

architecture. The following section thus considers the visible and invisible factors determining the value ascribed to public architecture.

2.7.2 Reading inherited values of central public architecture in local and historical contexts

Structures, forms, and modern changes

The forms of important urban structures such as city halls in towns and cities were traditionally carefully shaped to help identify their power, function, status, and position, to appreciate and distinguish them from other types of public buildings. However, not all such buildings were shaped in the same way. Diverse techniques and materials gave these buildings distinctive structures and characteristics, for marking – and possibly marketing – purposes to local residents and strangers alike.

Consequently the public were not only able to easily recognise, utilise, and gather around them, but to also associate themselves with the civic design image of the building's form. One example is the historic English town and city halls, built using traditional local materials, such as timber, but in ways different from how houses and other public buildings were designed. The structure, materials, and form merged together to provide citizens with a symbolic meaning of civic pride in their town (Cunningham, 1981; Brown, 1986; Girouard, 1990; Quiney, 1990; Tittler, 1991; Rogers, 2004).

Building materials played an important role in defining the value of local public buildings and determining their significance in the city. As Carmona et al. (2010:21) reported, a city in the past *“was built of locally derived materials, giving it a relatively consistent appearance; and building methods were usually limited to load-bearing masonry and timbered construction”*. However, as the forms and functions of buildings change, traditional types of buildings should not be expected to remain the same.

Building types are transformed partly due to the recent flexibility in functions, but also due to other factors like changes in production systems and the use of advanced materials. With the wide availability of diverse materials worldwide, and the development of advanced building technologies transforming the form and shape of modern buildings via complicated computer-based design, traditional types of powerful public buildings have become very difficult to recognise and identify.

The architectural style of historical public buildings used to give clear indications of their importance and status, but these buildings can often now no longer be so easily read unless they are entered or informed about them. People are now more confused about recognising the newly-built public buildings in some cities. In a study of how people distinguish and recognise the exteriors of public buildings, Nasar et al. (2005) examined if the public could identify images of public buildings like city halls compared to ones with other functions like art museums, libraries, or theatres. It was found that a sample of people from cities in the US, Canada and Japan could not identify the types of buildings from pictures they were shown. This may explain why, for example, Ryan (2000:1131) argued that *“public attitudes toward civic buildings were fickle as well as diverse.”* However, more research is required on public perceptions of and attachments to historical civic buildings and their symbolic meanings in different contexts.

The expressive function and public identity: between public rituals and practical functions

From early history people have adopted different sheltered spaces to suit not only corporeal needs, but also spiritual requirements. The architectural structure of a functioning public centre, like the simple example of the village water-well mentioned earlier, not only require the most practical objects and tools to serve its material purpose to provide drinking water for the community. This object also acquired unique shapes, colours, textures, and special spatial settings for the on-going physical and social activities people regularly practiced around it. These functional places assumed another role that transcended the basic provision of water, for example stimulating those who used a water-well to deliberately come to a specific well. In addition, users attached extra meanings to the memorised image of the place.

The appearance of the final architectural product adds to its practical functions other invisible expressive ones. These expressive features give a space its specific character and meaning, and a place its identity. People then start to distinguish places according to their own cultural codes and meanings, possibly according to social structure. In short, people evolved loyalty and attachment to one particular water-well (and to the increasingly defined society that used that well) and not to others.

Nonetheless, we *“must not confuse function and ritual,”* warned Kostof (1995:41), especially in investigating the history of architecture in public centres. Arguing that user

rituals (public communal activities around a public centre) are sometimes forgotten when analysing the actual purposes of historical public buildings, Kostof (1995:41, below) used the example of Stonehenge to stress this point:

“Function did not demand the choice of bluestones and grey sarsens and their transport from long distance away”... “It may indeed be true that Stonehenge was designed to plot and anticipate some alignment of the sun and the moon. That would be its function. But the meaning of Stonehenge resides in the ritual. It is this that humanizes this calendar stone and earth in the countryside; it is this that explains the prodigies of engineering and labor that went into its making.”

This leads to a consideration of how people in a community feel about the sites of these meeting-centres during their congregation there, and what these places offer. What is their overall role and significance in bringing the community together?

One function of visiting a public space is to interact with others. Convivial social life developed around water-wells, where villagers used the site for gathering and sharing information (Rapoport, 2003). Thus, these gathering places were for some the information media of their time. Rapoport concluded that *“in the case of the North African village the problem had to do with social interaction and communication, the latent function of fetching water”* (2003:14).

The communal rituals in public meeting-centres that Kostof and Rapoport recognised relate to what Mitchell (2008) identified as the *culture* of a public place, a quality that can confer value on a monumental public structure on its central site.

The place and its ‘spirit’: local context and culture

Early human beings learned how to turn a piece of land into plots full of meaning; these meaningful spaces became places that could be easily remembered (Kostof, 1995). The meanings and feelings that people associate with the use of a particular plocation represent the ‘spirit of the place’. The physical built environment can easily be replicated, but the spirit of a place might not be imitated. Holyoak (2007) stressed that *“the spirit of the place lies in the accumulated results of generations of building and occupation, both on and around the site. This we call the context. It determines what ... makes one place different from others.”* Many factors shape the physical and perceived diversity of different places.

The culture of the people using and socialising in gathering places also varies. Some prefer the edges of a street, others enjoy cafes, wells, or other meeting-centres (Rapoport: 1969:69). The local topology and climate, and the demographic, political,

economic, social and cultural status of the public centre's geographical location all play a significant role in defining the forms and types of activities performed and how people behave.

The users of a public building and its internal spaces

Hillier et al. (1984) looked at the diversity of building users and how they interact inside public buildings, and categorised them into two kinds; 'inhabitants' and 'visitors', defined as follows:

"A set of 'inhabitants' whose social identity as individuals is durably recorded in the building form by control of space or a set of spaces; and a set of 'visitors' whose rights of presence in the building exist and distinguish them from the world of strangers, but not in a durable way as individuals and not through control of spaces. Family members in a dwelling, teachers in a school, medical professionals in a hospital are all inhabitants in this sense, while guests in a house, pupils in a school and patients in a hospital are all visitors. Note that length and constancy of occupation are not the criterion of membership. In many institutional buildings - asylums, prisons, and so on - visitors are much more permanently present than the inhabitants who escape at every opportunity. In general, buildings can be defined in these terms as devices for making two kinds of interface: one between inhabitants and visitors, and the other between different categories of inhabitant." (Hillier et al., 1984:65-66)

Hillier et al. (1984), highlighted the relationship between the form of the building, which confines its inner space and the social identity of its users, along with the function that the building actually fulfils within the interior spaces of the building in which the users move, interact, and meet. However, Hillier et al. over-looked areas where visitors interact with other visitors, and areas where building users come into contact with 'machines' or interactive objects (i.e. computers, desktops, or other inanimate objects).

These spaces can be significant in defining the building's functions, including socialising. Therefore there are four modes of interaction spaces where: in the interior space of a public building: 'inhabitants' meet 'inhabitants'; 'inhabitants' meet 'visitors'; 'visitors' meets 'visitors'; and 'inhabitant' or 'visitors' use any communicating or physical devices.

2.7.3 Assessing the political impact and the notion of publicness in public places

In today's rapidly expanding cities and unprecedented transformation of public centres how 'public' historical public buildings now are for their users is an important topic that has been neglected outside of the developed world.

Few studies consider the question of how public and truly civic local government centres are in countries classified as developing, or formerly of the 'third world'. For

example, no studies can be found which concern 'publicness' in the Libyan capital city, Tripoli. This highlights the need to answer another basic question: can municipal buildings in countries ruled by dictatorships be considered to be real public places?

despite the scarcity of research into the quality of public use in central public buildings, many authors have expressed concerns about the 'publicness' of urban places supposed to be for 'public' access and use, especially in Western cities.

Whyte (1980, in Orum and Neal, 2009) asked; *"How public are the public spaces?"* In considering the freedom to use environments categorised for common public access, Whyte also asked: *"What does 'accessible' mean?"* He explained that *"A common sense interpretation would be that the public could use the space in the same manner as it did any public space, with the same freedoms and the same constraints"* (Orum and Neal, 2009:39). To Whyte, the publicness of a public space should be determined according to: how easily accessible the space is; how freely it is used by the general public; and how equally it is used by everybody in the space.

Loukaitou-Sideris and Banerjee (1998:175) defined four characteristics describing the principles of traditional 'public' life, stating that it:

"traditionally combined a number of characteristics: it was directed toward some common benefits; it was open and accessible to everyone for observation or participation; it was shared by a diverse group of people ... and, finally, it was characterized by common tradition, coherence, and continuity."

This notion is now widely adopted in the fields of social and urban studies to develop ways of measuring the publicness of public space (e.g. Tiesdell and Oc, 1998; Akkar, 2005; Carmona et al., 2010; Varna, 2011). The key characteristics and qualities of the publicness of a public space in the literature is presented below (in Table 2.1).

Tiesdell and Oc (1998) identified four qualities considered necessary for determining the publicness of the public realm. Carmona et al. (2010:140) summarised these as: *"universal access (open to all)"*; *"neutral territory (free from coercive forces)"*; *"inclusive and pluralist (accepting and accommodating difference)"*; and *"symbolic and representative of the collective and sociability (rather than individuality and privacy)"*. They added that in practice such qualities are rarely, if ever, attained in one place, arguing that they represent *"an analytic ideal providing a measure of the degree to which 'real' public realm fall short."* Moreover, in reviewing the literature on public realm, Carmona et al. (2010:137) proposed that: *"the relative 'publicness' of space can*

be considered in terms of three qualities”: ownership, access, and use. They argued that the term ‘public realm’ *“can be considered to be the sites and settings of formal and informal public life. This definition includes some notion of public space, whether material or virtual”* (2010:139), adding that *“the concept of physical public realm extends to all the spaces accessible to and used by the public,”* including external and internal public space and quasi-public space.

Akkar (2005) studied changes in the ‘publicness’ of a recently redeveloped urban space in Newcastle upon Tyne city centre, UK, *“in relation to the dimensions of access, actor and interest”* (Akkar, 2005:75). Accessibility includes physical access to public space by all members of society, along with access to activities and discussions, information, and resources that the public place governs, whereas the actor dimension refers to the quality that allows this space to be controlled and used by public actors, and it must be a space that serves a public interest.

Varna (2011) recently proposed a more sophisticated approach based on five criteria used for the assessment of the publicness of a public place in its specific historical and cultural reality: ownership status, physical configuration, animation, control, and civility. Ownership status looks into whether the place is owned by the state, a public-private partnership, or the private sector. Physical configuration takes account of the appropriate walking and sitting facilities available for public users, and the *“opportunities for active engagement and discovery”* in the public space under assessment. Animation concerns the diversity and number of users and public activities and control is the degree to which the space is controlled by design, technology, and the presence of humans. Finally, civility determines the maintenance and provision of basic facilities in the public space.

Previous assessment of ‘publicness’ may be considered dated, and if the use of places for public gatherings has been transformed, then ways of identifying how public modern physical places actually are also need to adapt. Also, Varna’s model of publicness seems particularly appropriate for public spaces already established for democratic public use, predominantly in Western cities.

Varna assessed three new public places in Glasgow, but despite *“promising results”* gained from testing her model, the attempt to measure publicness was difficult, and *“there remains plenty of scope for improvement”* (Varna, 2011:360). This suggests that difficulties were experienced even in environments free from the tight control of

dictatorial governments, and so applying similar methods may not be suitable in more restricted contexts. She found difficulties, for example, related to the measurement of how public users are ‘animated’ in a public space, suggesting that *“more and better indicators need to be found”* (2011:360). Measuring this criterion would need more accurate data that *“could be obtained by using teams of observers or video footage”* (2011:366).

Although Varna (2011:367) recommended that her model of the publicness of a public place *“needs further and large scale testing and one finding may be that this should be adapted to the different physical types of public places,”* this overlooks its applicability in different social and political contexts. In not-yet democratic environments, public buildings and spaces tend to be strictly controlled. Thus, the assessment of publicness using Varna’s criteria might not be of any great benefit.

A modified framework is needed to assess the publicness of public institutions outside Western contexts. Political and socio-cultural circumstances affect the relationship between the public and governments and the ways they animate space in urban centres in developing countries under dictatorial regimes.

Table 2.2 presents a new model consisting of the qualities of: penetration, control, and practice.

This model re-categorises and in some cases merges earlier criteria, so as to include previously ignored phenomena focusing more on what actually happens to the ‘public’ inside the building’s spaces. The term ‘penetration’ instead of mere ‘access’ implies the spatial and dynamic dimensions of the public’s full access to spaces in the public building, rather than a static reality of what spaces they can use.

The depth of penetration can then determine the power of the public building, as Markus (1993) reported, which is particularly important in understanding the impact of political change in the context of the public institutions of government in developing countries.

Table 2.1: Comparison of the key characteristics and qualities in the literature concerning the publicness of a public space/place and the thesis summary

Loukaitou-Sideris and Banerjee (1998)	Tiesdell and Oc (1998)	Carmona et al. (2003, 2010)	Akkar (2005)	Varna (2011)	Summary of criteria proposed here for assessing the publicness of buildings
A space that is: open and accessible to everyone for observation or participation	Universal access (open to all)	Access	Access: - Physical access - Access to activities and discussion	Animation	Penetration (rather than access only)
Directed toward some common benefits	A place that is symbolic and representative of the collective and sociability (rather than individuality and privacy)	Ownership	- Access to information - Access to resources	Ownership status	Control
Characterised by common tradition, coherence, and continuity	A neutral territory (free from coercive forces)	Use	Interest	Control	Practice (rather than merely statically use)
Shared by a diverse group of people	Inclusive and pluralist (accepting and accommodating difference)		Actor	Physical configuration	
				Civility	

Table 2.2: Model for assessing the publicness of a public building

Penetration	The degree and depth of accessibility into all public spaces inside the public building: how deep can the public users reach? To what extent is the public building under control (by its both users, the inhabitants and visitors)?
Control	Official control over the public building and its spaces: Who 'really' owns the space? Is it the state, a private agent, or a public-private ownership? For whom was/is the public building actually designed?
Practice	<p>The actual freedom of use of the public building spaces by public visitors: How are the spaces of public gathering: 1) actively used; and 2) publically configured (made appropriate for common uses)?</p> <p>Also, the diversity of users allowed to access the public building: Is the place actively shared by different groups of citizens and individuals? How satisfied are these public users with this public place, its spaces, and public services?</p>

2.8 Conclusion

This chapter has presented a literature review of the historical establishment, development, and transformation of urban and public centres, and the architectural significance of modern civic buildings and their urban contexts.

In part one it is concluded that humans formed cities as the result of a multitude of different economic, social and technical needs profoundly linked to the organisation of social life, rather than only for political purposes, through both formal and informal meeting-centres and gathering practices. The evolution of urban and public centres is then broadly described as a social-technical phenomenon following four stages of human organisation, although such broad categorisations may miss the complexity and specificity of different cultural contexts. Thirdly, it is argued that contemporary cities are shaped by the forces of the new networked society through a globalised space of flows which is virtual as much as physical, although local and material factors concerning places need to be understood and taken into account. Recent changes to traditional urban public buildings give indications of a wider transformation that requires more research in cities worldwide, especially in countries that are classified as still in the process of developing. The aim of this study is to develop a case study of one municipal building in relation to the historical transformation of its urban context.

Part two of this chapter concerns the significance of the presence of local government buildings in contemporary city centres, despite the modern trend for central services to be pushed out to the periphery and/or distributed privately and/or digitally. The driving forces for such transformations are mostly economic and political pressures affecting valuable real estate in city centres. The removal of many important public buildings from urban centres is thought to have a generally negative impact on the wellbeing of the associated social contexts, such as community rituals and civic activities in and around the municipal environment whose value is important to the life of the city.

A number of different frameworks have been developed to evaluate the importance and meaning of public and civic buildings in terms of their function, identity and context. However, these are limited to more democratic environments, and modified framework for assessing the publicness of public places is proposed to suit the context of this research in developing countries. This is used later in the analysis of the case study, the TMB in Libya. The next chapter describes the specific research problems and knowledge needed concerning the city of Tripoli.

Chapter 3: The Context of Tripoli city, Libya, and its Municipality

“Concentrating on generalities, scholars have lost sight of the importance of discerning how a North African city ‘works’, both in the present and in the past and in reality and imagination. Many structures and practices repeat across the region, but little effort has been directed to discussing recurrent formal and functional aspects of North African cities across disciplinary boundaries.”

Slyomovics and Miller (2001:2)

3.1 Introduction

The critiques highlighted in the previous chapter are twofold. Firstly, over-generalisations were identified in the literature concerning urban development and change following industrial and informational technology revolutions. Secondly, the nature of significant public civic centres in today’s city centres is a multidimensional reality. Therefore, it is necessary to discuss these general transformations and variations in a more specific example from a developing country, contextualised in its own historical political and urban circumstances.

This chapter therefore introduces the context of Tripoli city in Libya, and considers its historical development and the establishment and transformation of its local urban administration up to modern times. A background picture of Tripoli describes its establishment, and the historical growth of the city’s urban structure. The scarcity of analysis in investigating the origins, meanings, and architectural aspects of Tripoli’s municipal administration in relation to the city’s urban and political changes is then highlighted. The political influences and critical failures found in the most cited archival document published by the Libyan government to address this topic, the TM (MOT, 1972), are then outlined.

The subsequent discussion then presents different critical arguments about issues related to global and local influences in the development of Tripoli and its municipal organisation. In particular, the relationship between colonialism and urban change and development, and the extent to which the adoption of European urban concepts have influenced the modern development of Tripoli are examined in terms of the effectiveness and reality of progress for local residents.

Finally, a summary of the addressed research problems addressed concerning the significance of the present TMB in the heart of the city to citizens.

3.2 Summary of Tripoli's History, Growth and Urban Structure

3.2.1 Geographical Significance and Foundation of Tripoli

Due to its distinctive geographical location, natural harbour, and moderate Mediterranean climate in the mid-coastline of North Africa, the current Libyan political, administrative, and financial capital city of Tripoli was originally founded by the Phoenicians in the 7th century BC. Originally named 'Marka Uiat' (MOT, 1972:38) and famously known later as 'Oea' (Amoura, 1993; Micara, in Jayyusi et al., 2008), the Phoenicians established their early town on the seashore of the territories of the native Berbers residing in the Tripolitania region that covers the Al-Jafarah plain in the north-west of modern Libya. The land area encompassed by Libya as seen today was historically divided into three regions: Cyrenaica in the north-east, Fezzan in the south to the south-west, and Tripolitania in the north-west of the country (see Figure 3-1 below).

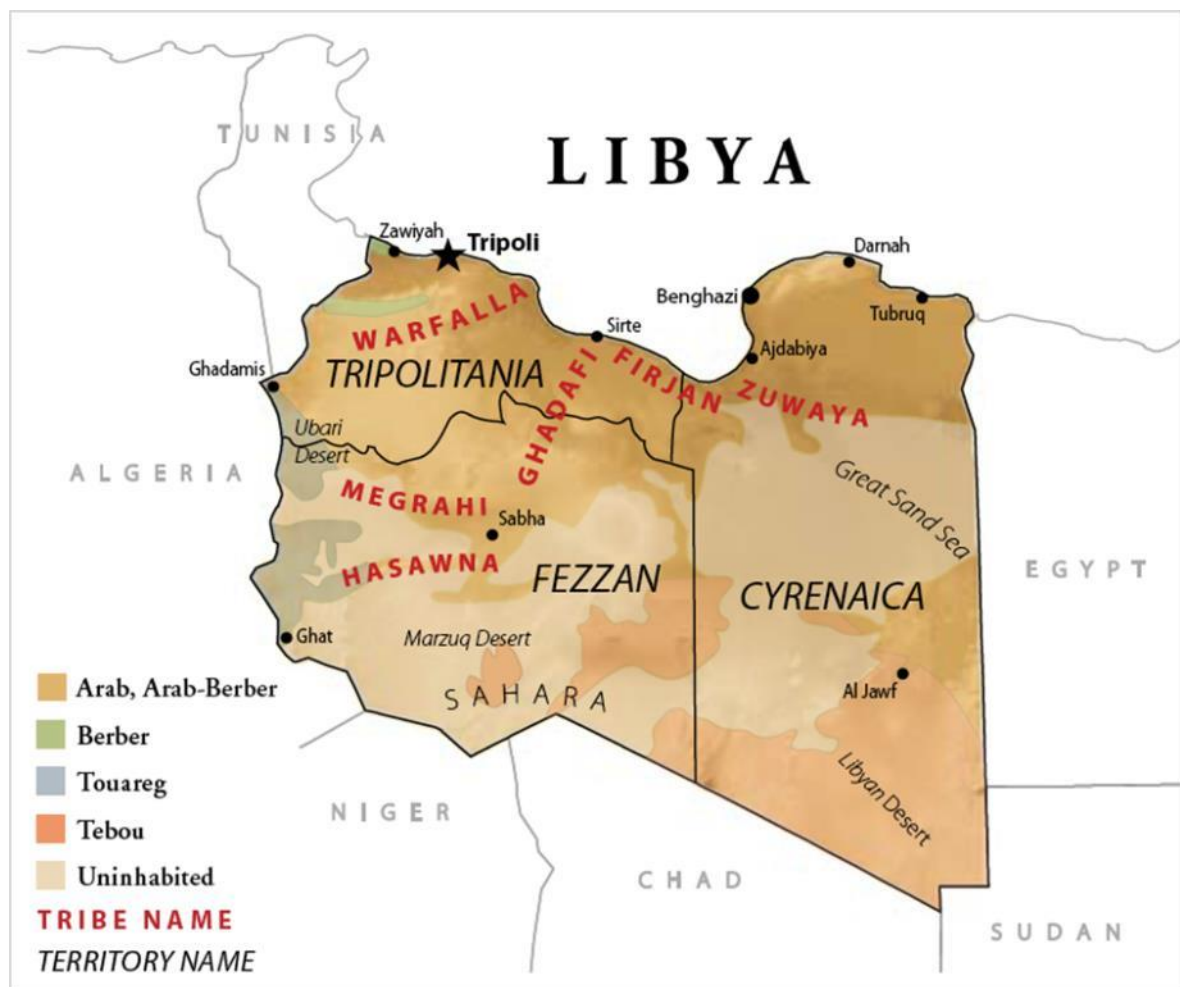


Figure 3-1: Map of Libya showing its administrative regions and tribal and ethnic distribution

Source: Fragile States Resource Center website: fragilestates.org

Tripolitania (Greek for 'region of the three cities') included the three coastal Phoenician cities Oea, Sabratha and Leptis Magna. The city of Oea, the oldest and largest urbanised place in this area, was renamed Tripolis, then Tripoli.

The early founders of Tripoli arrived from the neighbouring Phoenician city of Carthage in Tunisia in the west and Sicily from the north. Originating from the Levant, the Phoenicians expanded their maritime trading activities in the area by constructing their logistics seaport in Oea. This almost certainly gave the city its prehistoric trading significance and a position from the early days on the Mediterranean Sea as a vital economic and commercial centre connecting the North with the South, the East with West, offshore and later onshore too. Tripoli had therefore become *"one of the main meeting points for the caravan trade in North Africa ... At this time the city was known for the manufacture of pottery and the carving of ivory, both of which gave rise to its economic growth"* (Shawesh, 2000:48).

According to the Libyan planner and historian Amoura (1993), with the exception of the location of the original seaport of Oea to the north of today's walled city, nothing has survived from ancient Oea to help us reconstruct its planning and construction by the Phoenicians. Little evidence has been found to determine whether the settlement was built upon an existing Berber town or erected on virgin land.

3.2.2 Colonial History and Urban Restructuring

In order to understanding the overall history of urban growth in Tripoli city since its establishment it is sensible to start with the model used by Brunn et al (2003:269; see Figure 3-2 below). This shows a genera scheme of the urban structure of a Middle Eastern metropolis, and it can to an extent limited to the broad physical geography of the urban context, serve to describe the historical layers of urban growth in Tripoli. However, this model does not specify many aspects of urban change in the city. For example, the Italian colonists built another wide wall around their new 'European' city to protect it against sudden strikes from the local Bedouins, as explained in chapter 6.

The core zone of the city is the ancient Old City (the Medina) confined by Tripoli's historical walls. Tripoli was held under the auspices of successive peoples and civilisations: the Phoenicians (7th-2nd centuries BCE), the Romans (2nd century BCE-5th century CE), the Vandals (439-534 CE), the Byzantines (534-643), the Muslim-Arabs (who reconstructed the city from 643-16th century), the Spanish and the Knights

of St. John of Malta (1510-1551), the Turks of the First Ottoman Era (1551-1711), the de-facto rule of the hereditary Qarahmanli Dynasty (1711-1835), and the Second Ottoman Era (1835-1911). All of these administrations lived in and governed Tripoli from within the particular compact urban zone of the Medina.

The inner fenced Citadel in Tripoli (see Figure 3-3) was built some time later than the ancient walls, and the renowned Islamic urban Qasba was occasionally referred to as the city's Citadel; Tripoli Citadel was named the '*Assaraya Al-Hamra*' ('The Red Castle', see Figure 3-4) and It was heavily used by political leaders or governors and their closest personnel up until the early 20th century and the early period of Italian colonisation.

The Ottomans began building activities outside the city's ancient walls at the beginning of the 20th century. The Italian invaders then conquered Tripoli in 1911 and developed their own colonial city on the demolished new urban core of Ottoman buildings outside the Old City.

The Italians' new European city surrounded the preserved Old City and was extensively and rapidly developed until the early 1940s. After WWII, Tripoli was governed by a British Administration (1943-1951), which managed to maintain the urban conditions of the time until the independence of Libya in 1951 and the first transnationally acknowledged Libyan government in power under the monarchy.

The Libyan Kingdom was faced with too many political, technical, and economic challenges that prevented further urban development until the sudden discovery of crude oil in the 1960s. Before the impact of this economic boom on the urban and social environment of Tripoli could be felt, a military coup brought the armed forces to power in 1969.

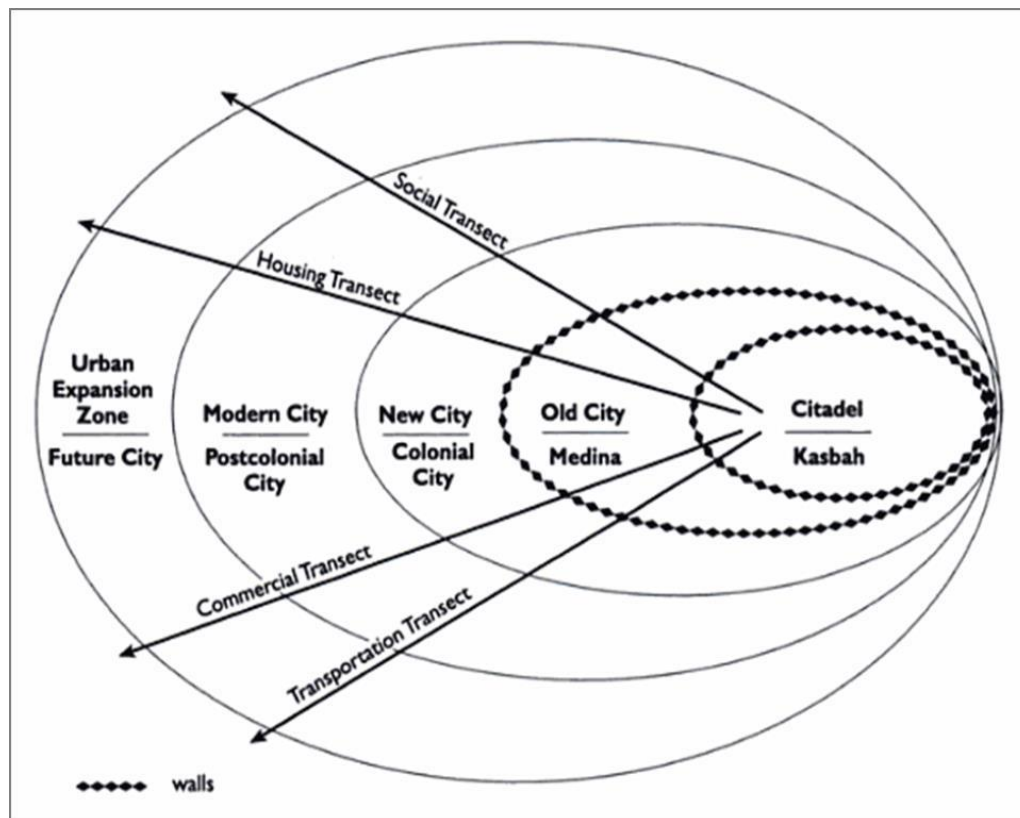


Figure 3-2: The model of a Middle Eastern metropolis

Brunn et al., 2003:269. In Tripoli city, another wall was built to surround the new Italian colonial city.



Figure 3-3: Satellite image of Tripoli city highlighting layers of urban expansion

The smallest inner circle is the city's ancient Citadel 'Saraya al-Hamra' ('The Red Castle').

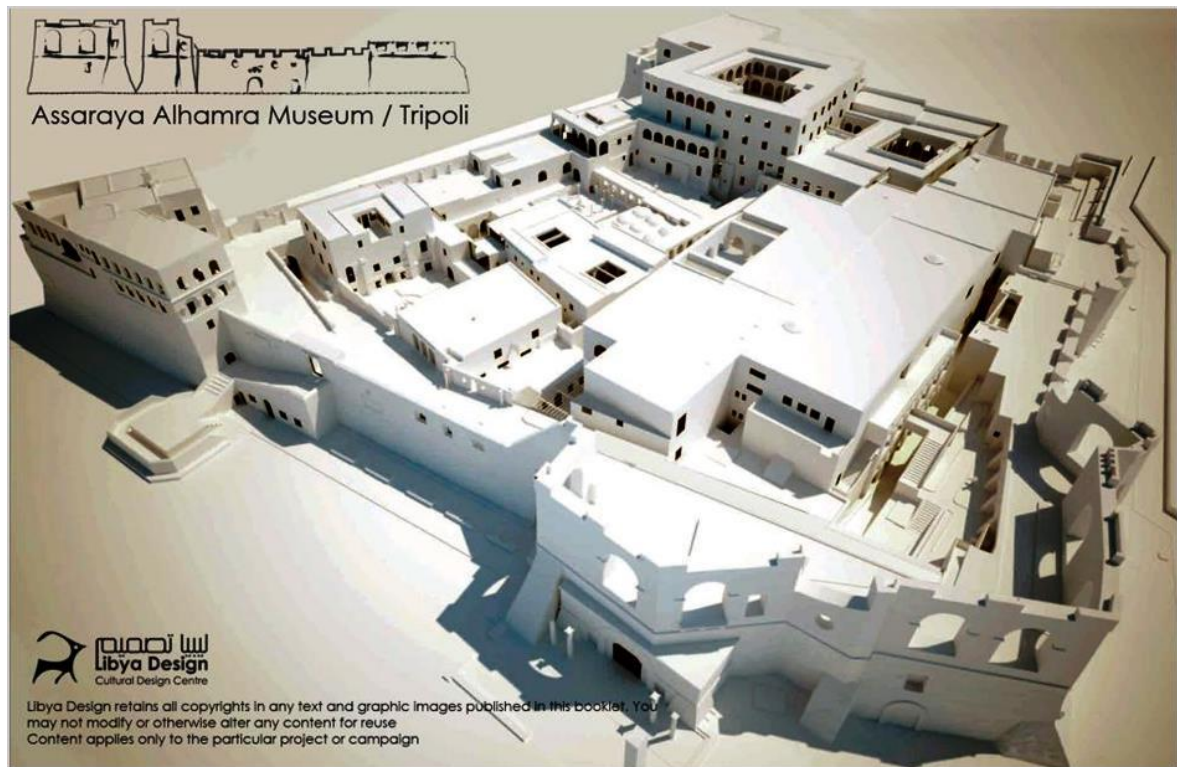


Figure 3-4: 3D model image of Tripoli's ancient Citadel

Now the Red Castle Museum. (Source: Libya Design, Cultural Design Centre).

- ***Tripoli under the Gaddafi Regime (1969-2011)***

The military coup d'état led by Colonel Muammar al-Gaddafi and fellow young military officers on September 1st 1969 transformed the ruling system of Libya from a monarchy to, at first, a republic. The country was initially ruled by the Revolutionary Command Council and was proclaimed as the Libyan Arab Republic. The country's name was later changed from Republic to "*Jamahiriya*" (in full, 'The Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya').

The word Jamahiriya, as explained by Gaddafi in his Green Book Theory, translates as "the state of the masses." In theory, this radical philosophical and political approach promoted direct governance by the ordinary public by attending Basic Popular Conferences, in order to accomplish the intended political, economic, and social goals, and the right of the public to self-governance and the equitable distribution of national wealth.

In practice, however, Libya under the Gaddafi regime was an autocratic state, in which Gaddafi considered himself not only as the supreme leader of the country, but also as the foremost 'Guide of the Revolution', the great thinker whose "*advice*" was instantly implemented by the General Popular Conference (Libyan Parliament).

Due to the economic prosperity following the increase in oil exports and the dramatic rise in its global price in the 1970s, another urban zone was rapidly developed in Tripoli in the postcolonial period (the Modern City), starting in the late 1960s and continuing into the 1980s.

The plans for the 'urban expansion zone' in Brunn, et.al's (2003) model was evident in Tripoli. However, it was unfortunately not officially approved by the regime nor was it executed around inner Tripoli. Both central and local government were, for many reasons (perhaps mainly political and technical rather than economic), unable to maintain or update the official city Master Plan (1968-1988) established by the Libyan monarchy.

After the 1970s' urban explosion the government under the Gaddafi regime reviewed the 1968 Master Plan in 1977 and again in the early 1980s (Amoura, 1998:326). To cope with rapid urban and economic changes, the planning authorities produced the Second Generation of the city's Master Plan to cover the period until 2005. However, due to political, economic, and technical obstacles, the authorities were unable to fully implement any of the Master Plans on time, and they were also unsuccessful in preparing a further authorised master plan to cover the period following the 2000s.

As a result of accumulating complications and delays, clear deficiencies became evident in improving and implementing many proposed major urban infrastructure projects in the following years. In addition, central and local authorities properly failed to integrate immigrants into the city. As in any modern metropolitan city, many came to live and work in Tripoli from both inside and outside the country; and others decided to leave the central zones to build residential buildings in the relatively cheaper area on the city periphery. The failure to control such demographic shifts led to the creation of an immature urban zone with buildings individually and privately planned and owned by landlords in an area that the government officially described as 'outside the approved planning scheme' (the area surrounding the proposed Green Belt shown in Figure 3-5 below).

The dramatic instability that Libya witnessed during the ascendancy of the Gaddafi regime led to many fluctuations and vicissitudes that affected efficiency and decision-making processes within the rapidly changing political and organisational structures of central government, as well as that of local government in many Libyan cities. For example, Amoura (1998:326) reported that the overall number of Libyan local urban

administrations changed from 49-44-25-24-13-12 and then to 7 with different small municipal branches, all within a short period before the late 1990s. Moreover, the terminology used to define local municipalities in Libya regularly changed from the 1970s until 2007 (e.g. from '*Mohafatha*', to '*Baladiyat*', to '*Commona*', and then to '*Shabiyat*').

- ***Tripoli post-2011 Libyan Revolution***

Since the removal of Gaddafi from power following the contemporary Libyan revolution on the 17th of February 2011, there has not been the stability or time for new Libyan rulers to make major transformations to the existing urban conditions around most Libyan cities.

In spite of the ongoing lack of security, however, there are very high expectations that the new Libya can be an effective democratic state. The first publically elected legislative authority after the 2011 revolution was the Libyan General National Congress, which was the central legislative government of Libya until the drafting of the country's constitution to specify the type of prospective Libyan political system in the near future.

Nevertheless, very significant socio-cultural urban change can already be observed in the majority of Libyan cities because of this political transformation. The revolts by the public in many Libyan cities produced unprecedented level of civil liberty that in effect allowed citizens to spontaneously express themselves in using and freely gathering in many public spaces, including online and offline spaces, indoor and outdoor places, and in and around public and private premises.

The main city squares, like Tree Square in Benghazi and the Martyrs' Square in Tripoli (also those in other large cities such as Misrata and al-Zawiyah) were extensively used by many people meeting to show their political support for and/or objections against the former regime during the uprising. Protests, prayers, celebrations, political debate, and the sharing of moments of joy and mourning were all experienced in these historical symbolic urban public centres after the 42 years of cruelty and oppression. Other urban public spaces, like Algeria Square in front of the TMB, were crowded with many protesters (see chapter 8, Figure 8-10).

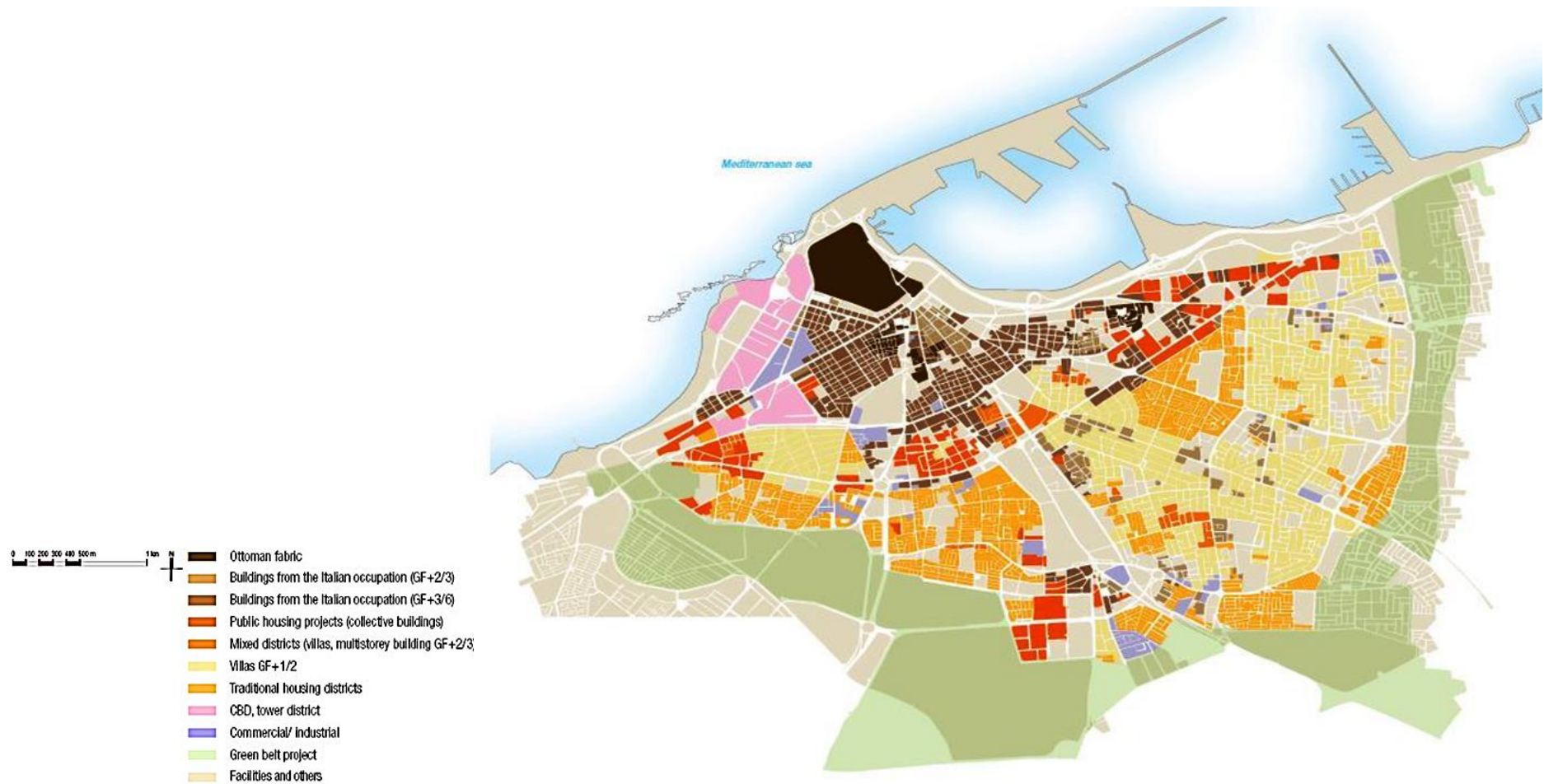


Figure 3-5: Map of latest proposal for Tripoli urban regeneration (2009)

Intended to solve the urban problems caused by delaying the implementation of past generations of Master Plans for the city since 1968.
(Source: Tripoli Urban & Architectural Charter, ECOU/AKT-IAURIF Report, 2009).

The first elected government is currently confronting many emergent priorities, including security, and medical, economic, educational, political and social problems. However, the government must match the high expectations of rebels who defied and overthrew the former dictator and his brutal regime and to undertake improvement and development in Libya quickly and with quality.

The challenge for the new local government in Tripoli is to counter the various urban and rural problems inherited from the previous period, to fix the present calamitous deficiencies in infrastructure, and provide appropriate services for residents throughout the municipality. The prompt planning and design of future development is critical, as is the concern expressed in this thesis about the suitability of proposed projects for Libyan users and their cultural and urban context.

3.3 Research Concerns over Tripoli's Urban Change and the History of its Municipalities

3.3.1 Political forces in developing Tripoli's urban and civic centres

"The industrial colonial period witnessed a major European impact on urban development and morphology. This era saw the origins of contemporary urban primacy as economic and political power were concentrated on certain cities at the expense of others. Within colonial cities, similar patterns of social, economic and spatial segregation were being reinforced." (Pacione, 2009:456)

The general history of how colonised cities were born, grew, and changed, especially when the political systems change, has already been narrated by governmental and academic researchers (e.g. King, 1976; Pacione, 2009). The history of cities in the North African region is no exception. This strategic Mediterranean a territory has attracted attention since the spread of the dawn of modern Western imperialism in Africa following the rise of Europe's industrial powers in the early 19th century. The end of European colonialism in North Africa began with World War II and ended with the official declaration of the independence of modern African Arab states by the UN during the mid-20th century, including in Libya in December the 24th, 1951 (e.g. MOT, 1972).

Pacione (2009) emphasised King's (1976) conclusion that three main forces shaped the impact of European colonialism on the urban form of colonial cities: 1) the physical expression of colonists' culture; 2) technology; and 3) the political structure adopted by the invaders. Pacione asserted that *"the factor that enabled the wholesale introduction of these new technologies and cultural values was the political control exercised by the Europeans"* (2009:456), adding that:

“Nineteenth-century colonial society comprised a two-tier relationship between the dominant colonisers and the subordinate colonized. As colonial elite controlled the economy and the municipal government, the city could be shaped according to the wishes of a small proportion of its total population.”

This general statement is examined in the specific case of Tripoli's colonial history later. However, it can be also argued that, in many post-colonial societies, and particularly in those ruled by despotic regimes of the same three factors of the use of a particular representative culture (such as by means of architectural symbolism), technology, and oppressive political structures, are also used to control municipal governments and to reshape local urban environments, but this time according to the wishes of the dictators. The impact of the highest political force in shaping local urban administration and its development in the post-colonial period after Libyan independence, is therefore a key factor that needs to be addressed in the endeavour to answer the main research question in this study.

3.3.2 Rationale for review of Tripoli's council sites in relation to historical urban transformation

The literature dealing with the different aspects of the colonial period in Tripoli is multifarious, the most important studies being: MOT (1972), Al-Keep (1978), Hamid (1978), Daza (1982), Shawesh (2000), Amoura (1993, 1998), Al-Ousta (2005), Micara (2008), and Al-Abiath (2009). These reveal the dramatic nature of the military and political problems that the Tripolitania region experienced during the three millennia of the city. There is a consensus that there is insufficient empirical evidence to detail from where, how, and by whom the city was governed locally before the 16th century. Nevertheless, there are problems of research focus too when it comes to telling the story of the development of local urban administration in Tripoli, especially during and in-between periods of colonisation and post-colonisation after the 16th century.

For example, most studies of the history of Tripoli and its rulers emphasise how the city was changed in relation changes in political power at central government level, whereas very few researchers consider local urban administration. As a result some important subjects have apparently never been tackled, such as concerning the origins and roles of the city's local administrative authorities in managing Tripoli and its municipal public services and how these administrations were shaped and reshaped under the influence of the top political powers. More specifically, where were such municipal administrations based? and what was the role of the city's municipal

organisation and its architecture in shaping Tripoli's urban growth and modern transformation between the Ottoman and the Italian colonisations?

The failure to present relevant historical material about the local urban administrative bodies in Tripoli is inadvertently confirmed even in one of the most-cited official historical references that the TM (MOT) have published (MOT, 1972) to celebrate the centenary of the official establishment of the city's local municipal administration, hence its title *"The Tripoli Municipality over One Hundred Years: 1870-1970"* (MOT, 1972).

3.3.3 The need to map the urban and architectural transformations in Tripoli's historical civic centres

The significance of the MOT (1972) archival document lies in the fact that it was published directly by the city government and was written by twelve Libyan historians nominated by the municipality to record the history of Tripoli city, its municipal administration, and what was achieved in the period covered. This publication is one of the few valuable – and the only widely available – comprehensive reference in The Libyan Centre of Archives and Historical Studies (LCAHS) in Tripoli at the time when the early fieldwork of this research was conducted in 2009-2010. It is been extensively used by most historians and architects to recount the history of the city and how each municipal administration functioned in each political period until the initial years of the Gaddafi regime in the early 1970s.

However, it is clear that after giving a brief history of the city in its first section, the book limits itself to recording the most influential political figures and their achievements and policies as well as the economic changes in successive administrations, listing the projects undertaken that affected the way the city was managed and locally ruled. Apart from that, the authors did not tell the history of the buildings dedicated to the different functions and operations of the municipality and or how the public used or benefited from them.

It is unfortunate that this publication does not, for example, explain why and where the city's previous main municipal buildings were located, nor does it discuss how these buildings were designed and used; in fact, the architecture of this public civic institution was never illustrated nor described in this government resource, nor is it presented in any archival document found in Tripoli's national archive centres (e.g. the Saraya

Central Library, and the Old Medina archival centres) or in any of the other literature reviewed in this research.

A more methodical study would identify the urban, architectural, and socio-cultural contexts of the municipal sites and environments in the city centre and not only give technical, political and economic facts about the administration.

The interrelations tips between the nature of urban change and its driving agents must also be acknowledged. For example, a strong relationship between political and architectural transformations is asserted in many case studies, particularly in capital cities. Wim Blockmans (2000) reported in his study *“Re-shaping cities [:] the staging of political transformation”* that:

“Cities have been the theaters of state power for many centuries. What happens with the existing architecture in capital cities when fundamentally different state regimes take over? New regimes require new types of buildings for specific, ideologically sensitive social practices. Huge investments have been made by different new authorities in cities having been the scene of dramatic political, ideological and social changes. ... It is argued that the architectural adaptations are revealing not only for the main ideological targets of new regimes-whereby the choice of architectural models and styles is highly signifying-moreover, the organization of the works is revealing for the social forces prevailing in the new regimes.” (Blockmans, 2000:7)

It is therefore important to recognise the physical and socio-cultural contexts of the place dedicated for these municipal bodies to function and to look at how and why they were used and positioned in the city, in order to tell the full history of the transformations of the city of Tripoli to understand the development process up till the present day.

3.3.4 What are the roots of and meanings attached to Tripoli's historic city council places?

According to the MOT (1972:5):

“The headquarter of a first Baladiya in Tripoli city has been located within the al-Turk market, it was a residential house that was donated as a Waqif for the city by a lady from a local family dated back to the 16th C to be used as a Dar al-Nadwa, in where the city elites meet to deliberate improving the city affairs in scopes that were related to; the built environment, the supervision of its social life in general, and the discussions of resolving disputes that happen between the city residents. The house was also the place for the Shaikh al-balad until the official establishment of The Baladiya in 1870, 1286 AH.”

these few words written on a fading blueprint image of the door of this city headquarters appear on the first introductory page of the MOT archival document (1972:5), begin

the story of the origins of what is believed to be Tripoli's first local urban administration. Unfortunately, no further information is given about the significance of this historical place in the history of TM.

However, from this brief record we understand that the earliest recognised place allotted to the local administrative of Tripoli was a private property given as a '*Waqf*'³ for the city leaders by a local gentlewoman to be used as '*Dar al-Nadwa*' (the Arabic equivalent of 'Town Hall'). Lafi (2007) agrees that this particular city house was a donation, and she adds that "*the seat of the machîkha-albilâd, where the jamâ'a-al-bilâd met, had been given in waqf by a rich women in the XVIIth century to the city administration.*" According to the MOT (1972:95), when the Ottomans ruled Tripolitania after defeating the Spanish in 1551, they first "*introduced a new urban administrative system to deal with the city affairs, called the Mashiakhat al-balad.*"

The Baladya house was therefore used as the city assembly hall, a meeting centre where the local notable elders, the '*Mashaaikh al-balad*', and the city elites regularly congregated. Both classes were recognised for their influential role in managing the city's daily affairs under the legal umbrella of what was recognised as '*Jamaât al-balad*' ('Town Group'). This city group was in effect led by the chief of the town, the '*Shaikh al-balad*', who was the foremost local leader over the city after the Ottoman governor, the '*Walî*'. This entire structure of local government is what was previously named the '*Mashiakhat al-balad*' system, which literally means the 'Chiefdom of the Country', and it was a hierarchal organisation based on a combination of religious principles with local traditions and social and cultural values.

Nora Lafi (2003 and 2007) is among the very few contemporary historians whose work is relevant to this study of Tripoli, but only to the extent of discussing historical and political questions. Lafi was able to trace the history of local management and government of the city of Tripoli during the period of Ottoman ascendancy, but only for a short period before the 1850s municipal reforms across the territories of the Ottoman

³ *Waqf* is a religious endowment, an Islamic legal practice whereby an individual freely makes an inalienable and perpetual donation of his or her property (usually land or a building) to the public welfare as a good deed that can in any way benefit the whole society. *Waqf* is typically in the form of a mosque, school, garden or a place for any other activities beneficial to the public.

It is significant that the building was formerly residential, which might have affected the relationship between the local rulers and the neighbouring residents in some ways, bearing in mind the combated urban fabric of the city as that the Medina was designed at the level of human and animal scales before the invention of automobiles.

Although the discusses the role and influence of the '*Shaikh al-balad*' and the '*Mashiakhat al-balad*' systems in managing the local affairs of the city in the late 19th century, much of the history and origins of the TM and how and from where it was locally governed is neglected. For example, the roots and meaning of the terminology used to describe these early civic centres, like the 'Dar al-Nadwa' and the 'Baladiya' names attached to the city assembly halls in many Arab-Muslim cities, are never explained in the context of Tripoli, nor are the differences between them clarified.

In addition, the MOT reported that, in Tripoli "*the 'Baladiyat' organisation in its modern sense was not known before 1870*" (MOT, 1972:95), without giving a clear definition of what 'modern' means in this context, nor explaining how the "official establishment" of the Baladiya in Tripoli in 1870 affected the physical and social environment where the 16th century donated house was located.

3.3.5 The need to revise the historical narrative of TM

Although the most reliable official reference (MOT 1972) adequately presents the history of the city and contains many precious factual records from historical documents and municipal reports and scripts, some parts of its analytical narrative would appear to be over-ambitious particularly in claims about the successes achieved in modernising TM in the first three years under the new governing regime when the MOT document was published.

The book seems to aim to celebrate the rise of Gaddafi to power rather than marking the centenary of the TM. This bias is apparent in the exaggeration of the new government's achievements in the city while marginalising the performance of the preceding regime. In effect, there is a clear gap in telling the story of what happened in the municipality, not only during the Italian Fascist government in Tripoli, but also during the period of the Libyan Kingdom after independence 1950s. The influence of the reigning political power and the dominance of central over local government is clear, in that the book is a polemic against the period of the Libyan Kingdom, which it

paints as retroactive, corrupt and 'more loyal to the West than to Libyans'; hence officially referred to as 'the old defunct regime'.

Now that the dictatorial regime of Gaddafi has been ousted following the February 2011 revolution, the lifting of previously imposed restrictions on freedom of expression is now allow a further search for what has been concealed and try to fill some of the remaining gaps in knowledge, so as to tell the full history of the TM.

One of the key informers who has recently broken his silence after the downfall of Gaddafi to give testimony against the deliberate twisting of the history of development in Tripoli was the former chief of TM, Ali Almizugy (2011), who was a municipal servant in the Department of Souls (civil registry) from 1942 until he became Mayor of Tripoli in 1968.

Almizugy (2011) published an important online article on October 6th 2011 entitled "*The TM and the important events of the past century (1911-2011)*," in which he said that although he is almost 90 years of age he felt obliged to record his historical account for the benefit of what he named the "new generation," the people who in his opinion have lacked the opportunity to know exactly how the city developed over the past century, referring to aspects of the evolution of Tripoli before Gaddafi.

Almizugy's article was published a few weeks after the liberation of Tripoli by rebel Libyan fighters from both inside and outside Tripoli on 20 August 2011. He condemned the defeated regime for not fulfilling its obligations in the capital city of a state that from the late 1960s became progressively wealthier after the economic boom following discovery of oil, which the Gaddafi regime had inherited.

Other former officials have similarly criticised the Libyan government under Gaddafi and have given testimony about Libyan history. The former Libyan prime minister during the period of the Libyan Kingdom 951-1969 (Ben-Halim, 1992) who published a book from exile with the same intentions as Almizugy, however, his broad account was directed more towards national affairs and central government level rather than focusing on the TM in particular.

Such revelations indicate the desire for a revised historical narrative of the development of the capital city of this wealthy developing country in the previous four decades and beyond. Such information would certainly be of assistance in this research; for example: what were the reasons behind the government's reluctance to

adequately plan and urbanise the city after independence? Why did Libyans not build their own central municipal building in Tripoli after the Italian colonisation? What made them preserve the same municipal building that the Fascists had built in their own 'new colonial city' in the 1930s and to use it for the same purpose until the present? What was significant about that particular building and its place in the city's urban and socio-cultural fabric?

In the endeavour to answer these research questions it is necessary to consider other controversial issues in the obscure history of urban development and the transformations that have occurred in Tripoli.

3.4 Colonialism and Urban Change and Development

There seems to be a contradiction in historical views of the transformation of major North African cities like Tripoli following European interventions in the 19th century. The dispute concerns the solitary role of the colonial European rulers in developing Tripoli and its modern model of municipality. Many urban studies researchers have focused on the transformation of Tripoli during Italian colonisation (1911-1943), when the city's built environment saw rapid and massive growth outside the ancient walls. This opened the way for the city's urban structure to be reshaped and for a new metropolitan centre to be developed, which gave the city a modern appearance in the 1930s and early 1940s.

As a result of such transformations, it is a widely held view that there is a strong relationship between Italian colonisation and the early 20th century modern development movement in Tripoli. Those who support this view argue that this was the single most significant urban development effort that the city has ever experienced. For example, in the *First Encyclopaedia of Islam: 1913-1936*, Houtsma (1993:817) asserted that:

"The second period of Ottoman rule (1835–1911) was characterized by the progressive conquest of the interior, hindered by the ambitions and revolts of the tribes. The city however remained for 76 years entirely subject to the Ottomans; the conditions of the native population were practically unchanged; the city enjoyed a certain measure of progress thanks only to the foreign colonies, amongst which Italian colony predominated as to numbers, influence, and private and financial enterprises. On October 5th 1911 Italian troops landed in Tripoli."

The above quotation presents an example of the view of those who think that Tripoli benefited extensively from the municipal urban administration that the Italian colonists

put in place. This apparently common conviction is even popular amongst some local Libyans today, as later chapters reveal; reflecting the belief that the Italians first developed Tripoli and established its modern urban architecture outside the ancient city walls.

However, there are other views that contest the role of Italian colonisation in the modern development of Tripoli city and its municipality. Those who hold these views seem to agree that the contribution made during Italian rule in Tripoli is undeniable, given that much of it still stands today, but their argument is that the modernisation effort in Tripoli had already begun before the arrival of the European colonials. The earlier Ottoman reformation efforts to develop the urban environment in Tripoli in the late 19th century and to establish its modern-style of municipality is an excellent example supporting this view.

The MOT (1972) is one source which presents a critical view in support of this side of the debate. It criticises the conscious manipulation of the historical narrative of urban development in Tripoli by the Italian fascist propagandists who claimed that the Ottoman period was “*an era of chaos, reflectance, and retardation,*” and that “*organization, prosperity, and progress has only started in their [i.e. the Italians] own era*” (1972:158).

The MOT reference cited the Italian author of the early colonial municipal report entitled “*The Municipality of Tripoli from 1912 until 1924*”⁴ in describing the development of the city during the Italian era as “*an era of organization, prosperity, and progress,*” emphasising the establishment of a proper and unprecedented Italian colonial municipal administration that helped develop the city and its citizens.

It went on to explain how some Italian writers justified their country’s occupation of Libya by asserting that they had established the first ancient civilisation in Tripoli under the Romans. For instance, Arduino Giovannangeli’s report, “*Overview about the activity of TM,*”⁵ praised the municipal achievements of projects that symbolised the Italians’ historical claim to re-occupy Tripoli (e.g. the municipal restoration project to

⁴ This Italian official municipal report was published by the Italian municipal administration established in Tripoli in August 1924 as part of their participation in the Municipalities Exhibition in Vercelli, Italy (MOT, 1972:158).

⁵ According to the MOT (1972:158), Arduino Giovannangeli’s report was widely distributed to journalists when Mussolini visited Tripoli in 1937.

maintain the neglected Marcus Aurelius Arch in Tripoli, built in 163 CE; MOT, 1972:159).

In contrast to the account of the fascist municipal report cited above, other researchers find it difficult to prove claims that the Italian colonists brought so-called modern organisation to Tripoli and its municipal system. Lafi (2002, 2003, 2007, 2008), for example, contested the idea that the 'modern' municipal system of urban organisation was simply 'imported' from the West, following the Act of Municipalities in many large European cities after the expansion of the industrial revolution, arguing that:

"Reforms, of course, cannot be reduced to the results of simple fascination with the Other and the Ottoman desire for change. The factors were much more complex, and there were major shifts – economic, social and political – taking place in the nineteenth century that underpinned the institutional development of the day." (Lafi, 2003:190)

Lafi fairly argued that it was due to the 'Ottomanization' of this European-style model of municipalities that made it work well for the cities ruled by the Ottoman colonists during the 1860s:

"By 1868, the 'modern' instruments of urban management had finally own a place in the reforming Ottoman system. Thanks to the success of the pilot municipalities, the Ottomanized European model was to be subsequently transferred to other provincial Ottoman cities, among them Tripoli in Barbary." (Lafi, 2003:192)

If a successfully modified municipal system was tested in Istanbul, where the central Ottoman imperial government was based as Lafi (2003) asserts, and was then applied in Tripoli almost four decades before European invaders imposed their own municipal model in the city, then why did the Italian municipal report of 1924 claim that the city under the Ottomans was chaotic and unorganised? Likewise, why did Houtsma (1993) as quoted above give the Italian leaders in Tripoli sole acclaim for the city progress?

The MOT (1972) argued against the Italian author who insulted the already established municipal administration in Tripoli during Ottoman ruler, asking two valuable questions. Firstly, the Medina of Tripoli was described as an attractive and hygienic organised city in many Western and Arabian travelogues in different historical periods (e.g. see Al-Abiath, 2009). Positive accounts by these many travellers were written long before the European colonists took over the city, so how could the city be described with such attributes if there was no administrative discipline to coordinate and maintain its municipal services and guard it? The MOT also acknowledged that *"we did not expect*

Tripoli to have a perfect municipal structure with many distributed means of services as we know it today, but at least there must have been an effective system” (1972:160).

The MOT also pointed out that even before the Ottoman Municipalities Act was launched in Tripoli on the 21st January 1871, the position of *Shaiykh al-balad* was already in place with an attendant local administration. Although this was a rudimentary scheme, it was capable of performing municipal duties appropriate to its time, considering that Tripoli during the 19th century was more akin to a large village than a cosmopolitan hub, and such a small local authority would not be expected to provide more than required by the local population.

Lafi and Bocquet (2002) concur that there was a successful working local municipal administration in place in Tripoli before the arrival of the Italians in 1911, stating that:

“At the end of the 19th century, the Ottoman municipality, created in 1867 and partially inspired in its shape by European models, only reproduced what already existed before. The Shaikh al-bilad became the Mayor, and Jama’at al-bilad members became members of the municipal council.” (Lafi and Bocquet, 2002:63)

Lafi and Bocquet also looked at historical correspondence between Italian officials in the early times of the occupation. In a significant letter, the Director of Colonial Civil Affairs in Tripoli sent a letter to the Italian Authority on 20/03/1912, he *“recommends that the interests of the natives should not be forgotten, in order to preserve the ‘cause’ of the Italians”* (Lafi and Bocquet, 2002:67).

It can be inferred from this document that the director was referring to the local municipal organisation system that administered the city before the Italian invaders arrived; Lafi and Bocquet responded to this disparagement by arguing that the Italian officer must have forgotten that:

“The Ottoman municipality was already well-organized, and that even before the creation of a municipality by the Ottomans more than forty years before, the Arab city had had a rational administrative organization for decades, if not centuries. The Director stated that a real Municipality was a goal to reach in Tripoli. He was the representative of the kind of colonial rule which was more attentive to the interests of the local population but which had not understood that this local population had not been waiting for the Italians, or even the Ottomans to build an urban administration and that modernization had already been implemented in the field of urban government in the late 1860s.” (Lafi and Bocquet, 2002:63)

Give this paradox in the historical analysis of the establishment of a modern municipality in Tripoli, the claims of both sides need to be assessed to better

understand the transformation of the city of Tripoli and its municipality and the actual impact of colonialism on the city's development: Under which regime was the municipal administration established, and why? Why was the city's urban structure developed outside the ancient walls in the first place, and when did this urban expansion begin? How did the transformation from the local to the Western colonial style of municipal councils take place in Tripoli in the period after the Italian invasion?

3.5 Summary of Research Problems Concerning the Significance of TMB

3.5.1 Civic design and civic pride in the colonial TMB

The claims that the European colonists supported the natives in their move towards modernising the city and its municipal civic institution must be treated with caution, since some historians consider that:

"In many regions, the colonial influence introduces many ambiguities and the question of local government has to read accordingly. Interestingly, in some situations, the Europeans defend old regime against modernity in order to preserve their patronage system upon local élites" (Lafi, 2007:9).

It is therefore important not only to see when and by whom the city's municipal organisation was developed, and perhaps how, but also to question for which users a modern and bureaucratic urban administration system was promoted in Tripoli, especially during this particular time of political upheaval when many cities were experiencing the transformation to the industrial society in the 19th century. For example, it would be crucial to ask whether or not the local people of Tripoli benefited from and participated in any way in instituting and using the reformed city municipality and its civic services, and how significant was the role of local government in supporting the city's colonial and indigenous society before claiming that such a civic public institution was actually modern and truly civic, that is standing at an equal distance from all publics of the city.

Also, it would be important to better understand what the modernised municipal organisation, its building and services, meant for the indigenous Libyan residents in Tripoli. How could such perceptions have been affected by radical political changes, particularly after emancipation from the foreign colonial powers that were in direct control of the city, its civic centre and local policies and services?

3.5.2 Public attachment to the architecture of the colonial civic centre in Tripoli

A clear contradiction is found concerning the architecture of the currently used central municipal building in Tripoli. This particular civic centre was obviously identified with a particularly grim period of the city's Italian colonial history, which the Libyan people in Tripoli almost certainly wish to reject. According to the prevailing Libyan interpretation, the central complex of the TM (the '*Baladiya*' building, as many people in Tripoli still call it) was designed by the Fascist regime in the late 1930s to express their power, serve Italian citizens and spread their own colonial agenda (MOT, 1972).

However, if the building was designed by and for Italians, why did this particular civic centre apparently become a symbolic centre of something that was also identified with the local values of the Libyan public in Tripoli after liberation? Why did Libyans use the same main municipal building with its associated colonial symbolism for their own uses and meanings instead of building and applying their own designs and values in a new municipal building in the Libyan style that adheres to the specificity of the socio-cultural requirements of Libyan citizens? Why did they not abandon the building as a memento of the image and presence of the colonists in the Fascist architectural style that is clearly imprinted on the form of the building? Moreover, considering that many colonial governmental public buildings were designed and built by – and for – the Italian colonists during the vigorous construction period in Tripoli between the 1920s and the 1930s, it is unfortunate that very little is known about the present significance of civic public architecture in Tripoli city today. It is unclear what values this colonial municipal civic centre currently represents in the minds of citizens today. These questions guide the analysis of the research findings presented in chapters 7 and 8.

3.5.3 The notion of publicness and civicness in TM during the Gaddafi regime

In light of the conclusion of the previous chapter, it should also be asked if the TMB was a real public place during the totalitarian rule of Gaddafi? Was it an actual civic centre? This requires looking at the relationship and level of interactions between the public visitors to the building and their local government personnel who inhabited it, as well as the attitudes of the local public towards what was supposed to be their local civic public institution in Tripoli. These results are then discussed in chapter 8 to consider the level of publicness identified according to criteria of control, penetration, and practice of the public building, developed in chapter 2.

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter has introduced the case study context of the selected Libyan city of Tripoli and its municipality, giving an account of the research problems tackled in this thesis. These general concerns were driven by the necessity to fill the gaps in understanding the changes that have affected the transformation of the city's urban structure and the role, position, and meanings attached to the architecture of its main municipal building.

The chapter drew attention to the deficiencies found in the literature concerning the history of Tripoli and its municipality, particularly in the government archival reference of the TM (MOT, 1972), in considering the historical architectural and urban features of municipal administration in Tripoli city centre and its society.

It has been found that there are various gaps in the officially written narrative and analysis of the history of Tripoli and how its municipality has been established and transformed. No account is taken of the importance of geographical and political changes and where the previous municipal sites were located, nor are the potential influence examined of how public users used, interacted with and perceived these public places.

Also, the MOT (1972) is now very dated and seems heavily biased towards the early political achievements of those who sponsored it. It is therefore necessary to complete the effort to update the historical narrative of TM and to evaluate its role and significance during the period of the Gaddafi regime (1972-2011).

Conflicting views were discussed concerning the influence of European colonists, particularly from Italy, in shaping and developing the urban structure and municipal system of Tripoli. Considerations was given to whether the Italian colonists succeeded in achieving real and effective progress in transforming Tripoli into a 'modern' city by reforming its municipal institution and bringing the latest urban ideas to Tripoli. In the opinion of some commentators these, development projects brought prosperity to the colonists but not to the colonized locals. Such conflicts of opinions necessitate a focus on the transaction of Tripoli city between its two significant colonial periods (from Eastern Ottomans to the Western Italians) to understand how the city has entered the early-20th century.

From the critiques discussed in this chapter, the following points need to be addressed:

1. To investigate the development of local urban administration in Tripoli in relation to the city's urban structure, especially during and between the most significant periods of political change after the 16th century, including the three major transformations of the city in the Ottoman, Italian, and post-independence periods.
2. To assess the significance of Tripoli's city council places in these periods.
3. To evaluate the contemporary meanings attached to and means of public interaction associated with the currently used TMB in the city centre, particularly in the recent period (1969-2011).

The following chapter explains the methodological approach adopted in this study to address the abovementioned needs.

Chapter 4: Research Sources and Methods

4.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a detailed explanation of the research methodology adopted to tackle the gaps in research and overgeneralisation identified in the literature, and to answer the main research question concerning how different models of city council places have emerged, developed and changed over time, and why.

The selected case study of Tripoli and its municipality is used to provide specific insights into the development and transformation of cities in developing countries, and the significance of traditional and contemporary civic architecture.

The methodological approach and research methods used in this project are described and justified, and the processes employed for data collection and analysis are then presented. Finally, issues of reliability and validity, research positionality and ethics, and the methodological limitations and implications of the study are discussed in conjunction with an account of the problems encountered during the fieldwork.

4.2 Methodological Approach

As with many academic studies in architecture and the social sciences, this research adopts a mixed-methods approach using both qualitative and quantitative data collection to investigate the selected case study of Tripoli and its previous and current municipal places. Different techniques and data collection methods were therefore used to try to understand Tripoli's traditional civic centres from various perspectives.

In her study of public architecture and its purpose-built functions, Clare Graham (2003) concludes that it is not appropriate to apply standardise research approaches and techniques for all types of public buildings, arguing that a unique methodological approach must be developed for research into each type of public building. Consequently, the case of the TMB was considered using a methodological microscope with more than one lens to choose relevant methods found in the literature on research methodology in architecture and social sciences.

Moreover, according to Golafshani, “*qualitative research uses a naturalistic approach that seeks to understand phenomena in context-specific settings*” (2003:600). The research approach therefore initially centred on the analysis and interpretation of qualitative and archival data, in order to pay attention to the context of the subject studied and thus not only the city’s municipal building itself (Corbin and Strauss, 2008).

In this sense, Miles and Huberman (1994) argued that: “*a qualitative approach gives the author the opportunity to incorporate the knowledge and experience gathered from an ‘intense and prolonged’ contact with the field of study.*” Nevertheless, according to Jovchelovitch (1995:94), de Sola Pool (1959:192) suggested that researchers should not assume that qualitative tools are necessarily “*insightful, and quantitative ones merely mechanical methods for checking hypotheses. The relationship is a circular one, each provides new insights on which the other can feed.*” This relationship between qualitative and quantitative analysis is maintained in this study, where quantitative results are considered to provide supportive evidence that might be unattainable by relying on qualitative data alone.

The research in this study is divided into two types: 1) exploratory historical research and descriptions of historical incidents and narratives; 2) formalised research, using multiple methods for uncovering current facts, lived experience, and meanings. The two research types were adopted according to the recommendations of Kothari (2004:2-5), and this combination allow an organised research strategy to be managed to fulfil the study’s main objectives. Table 4.1 explains the nature of the research activities in more details.

Table 4.1: Research actions and types

Research Objectives	Type of Research	Nature of Research
<p><u>Objectives 1,2, and 3:</u></p> <p>Exploring the historical conditions and changes of TMBs prior to the changes that led to constructing the latest Italian colonial civic centre, investigating the causes and nature of the changes.</p>	<p>Historical Research</p> <p>‘Ex post facto’/ diagnostic and descriptive exploratory research</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Fact finding enquiries - Discover of causes - No need for a hypothesis - Survey methods of all kinds - No control over variables
<p><u>Objective 4:</u></p> <p>Observing and assessing the significance and condition of the current TMB, and inspecting the impact of political changes under the Gaddafi regime.</p>	<p>Formalized Research</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Impacts finding enquiries - Formalized multiple-methods - Discovery of causes and effects when possible - Testing of a proposition - Some control over variables

Eventually, the combination of “*Methods of Data Collection*” recommended by Kumark (2005) is an appropriately general yet simple example that inspired the methodology adopted for the research fieldwork in Tripoli, where the principal methods of data collection are divided into two obvious basic categories of information resources:

- 1) Primary sources, based on observation, interviews, and a questionnaire.
- 2) Secondary sources, gathered from different resources such as government publications, earlier research, personal and service records and any other reliable official documents. This research utilises these methods to achieve the study’s objectives as outlined in the following sections.

4.3 Research Design and Methods

Five methods were used in conducting this study: 1) a descriptive and content analysis of collected archival materials concerning the history of Tripoli and its previous city council places; 2) personal observation; 3) space mapping analysis; 4) asking a sample of citizens and key informants about the building studied by means of a public questionnaire survey; and 5) interviews. Each data collection method was linked to one or more of the research objectives as illustrated below (Figure 4-1).

4.3.1 Archival analysis

Descriptive and content analysis of historical resources

The first method of data collection used is a review of existing historical reports and illustrative materials concerning the history of the place under investigation. This first type of historical research traced the historical origins of the past city council places in Tripoli. The historical roles and relationships between these buildings and the city’s central urban context are explored in terms of changes in rulers and residents, and also looking at the motivations for decisions to relocate and develop the city council site from one location to another.

The aim is to develop a better understanding of the historical development and early conditions of the main municipal sites in Tripoli within their political, economic, urban, and socio-cultural context before and after the current colonial TMB was built. This history is divided into three main periods: before and during Ottoman colonisation; Italian colonisation; and after Libyan independence.

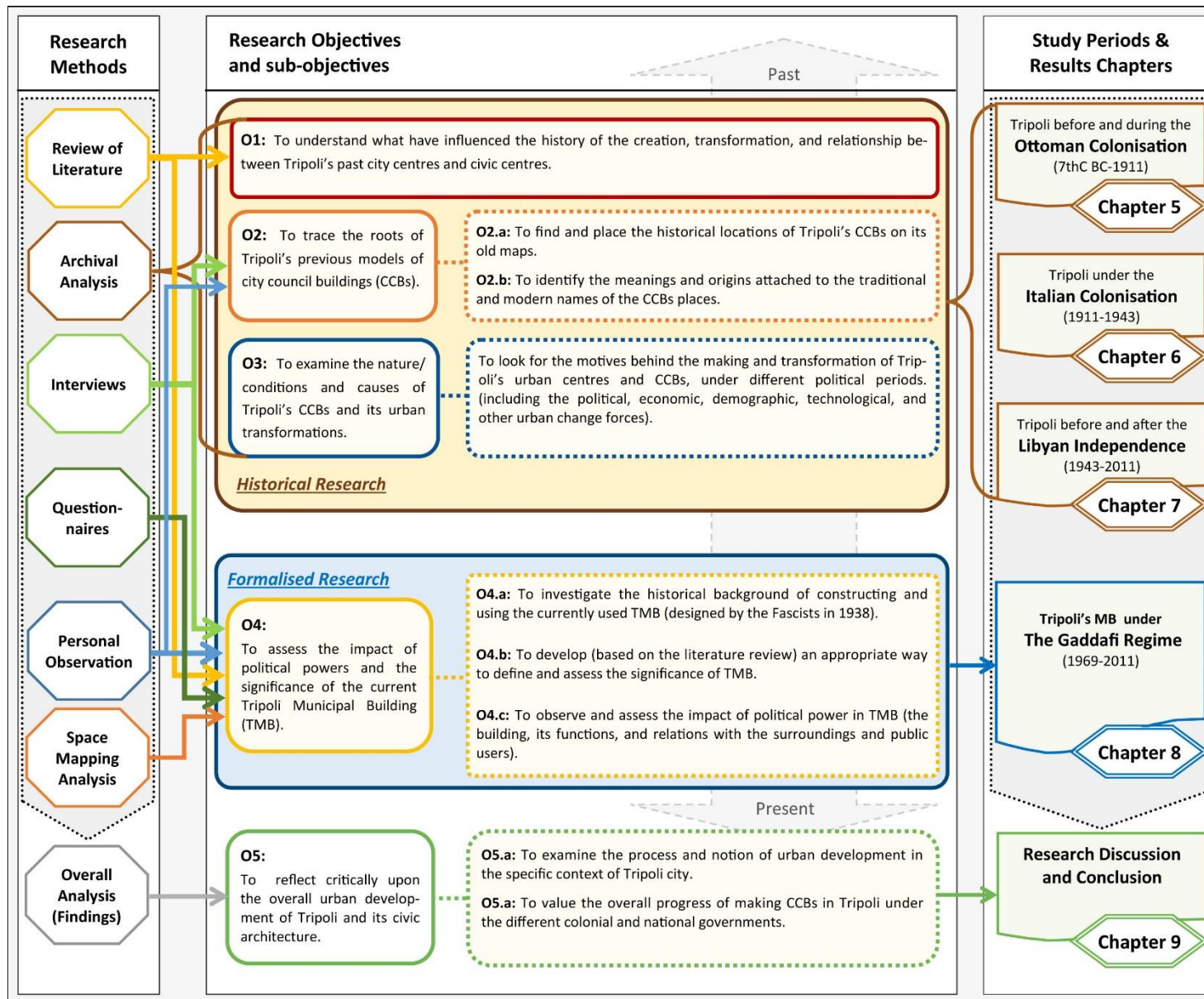


Figure 4-1: Research design showing methods used in relation to the research objectives and outline of findings.

It should be emphasised that, in a consideration of historical research, one's own analytical frame should be applied, rather than merely repeating chronological facts or descriptive narratives. In his research on a specific historical period in Libyan Ottoman history, Abou-El-Haj (1983:316) argued that: *"A history which has no sense of cause and effect and offers no hierarchy of the most important causative factors is a history without dynamics"*. He noted that the voices of some historians of the story of change in Tripoli are in many cases absent, calling for more analytical interaction with the history studied. This might be acceptable when merely recording a historical timeline of major events, and usually political ones. But when the objective is to understand how and why such incidents took place, the researcher should try to connect as many historical narratives and data as possible, to reach fresh explanatory grounds for the overall historical trajectory.

Many of the basic secondary historical data and illustrative material about the history of Tripoli and its municipality were found in relevant historical books, academic studies, and other reliable articles and databases, including online publications. Secondly, during the fieldwork visit to Tripoli some other important materials were gathered from the following main sources:

- Official historical references in the archives of the main TMB;
 - The Libyan Centre of Archives and Historical Studies (LCAHS);
- It was surprising to find that the giant volume of Tripoli history mentioned earlier as the most reliable municipal reference (MOT, 1972; 1106 pages, and 24x33.5x8cm in dimensions) could only be found in the library of the LCAHS. The MOT adequately presents the history of the city and contains many precious factual records of historical documents and scripts, such as official letters, chronicles, and pictures and maps of the city in different political periods.
- Archival collection of the Library of Al-Saraia al-Hamra Museum, Tripoli;
 - Central Museum of al-Saraia al-Hamra;
 - Official historical libraries of the Medina of Tripoli.
 - Department of Housing and Utility Corporation of the Higher Popular Committee (under the previous Gaddafi regime in 2009).
 - Tripoli Urban Planning Department, Engineering Consulting Office for Utilities (ECOU).
 - Private collections of some of the study's key informants in Tripoli, including public figures, academics, architects, and historians.

The later sources of data were the participants who were visited personally and gave access to their own physical and in some cases digital libraries. Social and friendship relations were utilised to access and verify the authenticity of several unknown and unpublished historical maps and pictures. Other significant resources with key photographs, maps, and videos used in this research are listed in the Bibliography.

This survey of reliable historical maps and photographs enabled the discovery and mapping of previous civic centres in Tripoli, along with data concerning their urban and sometimes social environments. This allowed a better understanding to be developed of the historical connotations of the civic public architecture, how and where it stood and was used, while studying the transformation and development of the urban structure of the city over time.

4.3.2 Personal observations

Genuine architectural investigations require careful observation. Observation is understood as a process that entails the methodical *“noting and recording of events, artefacts and behaviours of informants as they occur in specific situations rather than as they are later remembered, recounted and generalized by participants themselves”* (Daymon and Holloway, 2002:203). The main virtue of using this research method is to ensure that the investigated physical, functional, and social attributes are captured in their ‘natural settings’ on-site (Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias, 1996:74).

Different researchers have developed various observational techniques to understanding busy public buildings. Some look at the internal functioning of particular public buildings like libraries (e.g. Barnes, 1985; Black and Crann, 2002), whilst others like Whyte (1988) observe how external plazas function around central public buildings. Németh and Schmidt (2007) developed a combined methodological approach to study *“the security of publicly accessible spaces.”* This was based on what they termed empirical observations based on a literature review. Black and Crann (2002) gathered data by engaging with the public using a mass observation archive (MOA) technique to gather written evidence of observations directly from some volunteer users. Whyte’s renowned work ‘The Life of Plazas’ (1980, 2009) describes in detail the observational techniques used to identify the categories of the public in a city centre who used the central public plaza the most. The personal observation methods Whyte used to record pedestrians’ movements, characteristics, and physical

attributes included photography with a wide-angle lens and a spirit level in order to enhance data collection while remaining unobserved (Whyte, 2009).

However, the installation of video cameras to record the activities of users inside public buildings has been rejected by some researchers, because of the possible impact on the phenomena observed, which can limit the validity of findings (Barnes, 1985). Barnes investigated people's interactions with public library staff by means of '*non-participation observation study*,' and highlighted that "*the issue of possible observer bias and the necessity for describing behaviour without inferring meaning at the time of observation*" are very important. One possible drawback of using video and sound recording methods in public buildings is that "*they do not allow the human observer's potential for absorbing the 'feel' of the situation, which can sometimes produce insights which are not planned for but which allow a greater understanding of the situation*" (Barnes, 1985:78). In response to these suggestions, and most importantly because of other security considerations related to the restrictive Gaddafi regime at the time of the study, observation was conducted without utilising any electronic recording devices. Without the permission of the government, which proved to be suspicious and reluctant to afford any form of cooperation with this study, the use of such recording devices would have been unwise.

The main objectives of personal observation in this research were threefold:

1. To observe the urban and architectural characteristics and current conditions of the building studied, in order to evaluate its physical significance in relation to its context in Tripoli city centre. The physical features and spatial arrangements of the building were recorded using ordinary walk-through analysis, making freehand sketches and taking digital photographs when possible. This data was then compared with pre-existing drawings of the building and the results of other research methods used.
2. To observe the dynamics and sites of public gatherings and interactions between the building's different users and to highlight them on a building floor plan to analyse the spaces identified for interaction, the space mapping technique explained below was used.
3. To observe nearby public places, spaces and streets, to identify the most visited places and to trace where building users went after or while they were waiting for services to be delivered.

In the light of the research challenges and restrictions detailed at the end of this chapter, the study's observations were conducted during personal walk-through visits in the field, and the objectives were limited to the three detailed earlier rather than to provide a *"highly structured, detailed notation of behaviour guided by checklists"* (Marshall and Rossman, 1995:79).

Preparation for the planned observations at the site began on Thursday 11/02/2010, the day when the official consent letter was obtained from the TM authorities (see Appendix B). This was a quiet day which is usually a working day for 'staff use only' around most Libyan public institutions. This provided the researcher with the time and space to practice and spontaneously navigate around the TMB. The following day (Friday 12/02/2010) was a weekend day in Libya and was used to reflect on the experience and inspect the notes gathered. Extensive observational visits then resumed on Saturday the 13th and successfully continued for three weeks, ending on Sunday 7/03/2010. The frequency of the observations varied during a total of ten weekday visits to the TMB, but the average duration of the internal walk-through period was about 4 hours (9:00am to 1:00pm) of the full working day (7:30am to 2:30pm), with another five days spent visiting its surroundings.

Because of the restrictions of filming, most observations were taken while standing and walking among people and places. They were therefore mainly mentally noted during the fieldwork and subsequently written up and sometimes drawn on prepared layout plans as soon as possible. This usually took place while sitting at nearby office desks, alone and in some cases in consultation with a municipal worker. The data collected from the observations taken from the most desirable places for user interaction were marked on the layout drafts of the TMB in the field, and were later transcribed in conjunction with the analysis of other relevant data collected from the questionnaires.

Finally, it should be noted that watching people in the field helped the researcher to learn more about how they operated in space and allowed him to sense more meanings attached to those activities (Marshall and Rossman, 1995). However, according to Daymon and Holloway (2002:203), *"observation methods are rarely used on their own but are often linked to interviewing."* Some of the building users were therefore asked to help gather other information to help to understand the reasons behind some of the actions manifested.

4.3.3 Space mapping analysis

Several spatial analytical techniques have been developed to explore how the design and layout of public buildings affect their users' activities. For example, Moore (1996) explored 'social control' by studying spatial arrangements and passageways in the ruins of ancient Andean public buildings. This analytical approach allowed him to understand Andean society's religious, social, cultural and political life in a selection of archaeological sites more than five millennia old.

The principles of Moore's spatial analysis were introduced in the field of architectural and urban studies in the 1980s, when Hillier et al. (1984) developed the theory of space syntax analysis, arguing that "*space is the machine,*" and that when considering "*more carefully about how human beings operate in space, we find everywhere a kind of natural geometry to what people do in space*" (1996:43-44).

Furthermore, Hillier and Vaughan (2007) cited Hillier et al.'s (1996) "*visual integration analysis*" to study the use of London's Tate Britain gallery's internal space. It was claimed that in theory such analysis makes public buildings "speak," telling "*how social and cultural patterns are imprinted in spatial layouts, and how spatial layouts affect functioning*" (Hillier and Vaughan, 2007:212). The authors reported that they observed users' activities carefully and analysed the spaces of the building studied by tracing the movements of a number of users entering it during a ten minute period. Then they mapped the user's movements on the building plan, measuring the "*visual fields*" that the users need to see the entire gallery.

Markus (1993) applied a more complicated space syntax analysis technique using mathematical measures in the study of public buildings to understand the relationship between "*buildings and power.*" He discovered that "*in public buildings there is a shallow visitor zone*" and that when more spatial obstacles are arranged by building inhabitants to prevent visitor contact with the building, the more the building is controlled. Markus thus argued that "*depth indicates power*" (1993:14-16). The use of such research methods to analyse public building spaces and thresholds indicates how the form of space can potentially reveal the politics and sociability of access to these buildings.

The present research attempts to explore the natural geometry of users' behaviour in the spatial layout of the TMB. However, although the use of intricate syntax analysis

tools might seem to offer rich detail from studying building spaces, their general application in different types of public buildings is controversial.

Graham (2003), for example, strongly criticised the sole use of space syntax analysis to study how public buildings work. She argued that limiting the study of these powerful buildings to a science of spatial analysis may weaken the overall architectural analysis, and as a result other emblematic features are not accounted for. In her study of the low-court type of English public architecture, she convincingly explained that:

“Though access and control are important issues, they are not the whole of the story, and it is unfortunate that the effect has sometimes been to reduce architecture to a business of crude mechanics plus a bit of bolt-on decoration; the building’s users become passive victims, propelled along fixed routes by relentless social machinery. Other factors have contributed to this state of affairs.” (Graham, 2003:2)

While the work of Hillier and Markus is appreciated as a practical yet sophisticated methodology to provide visual interpretations of human activity in space; nevertheless, Graham’s viewpoint is compelling. The use of spatial analysis in this study is therefore simplified and, most importantly, not used on its own. In addition, although the application of space syntax analysis to the spaces of the TMB seemed tempting, there was in fact no logical necessity to mathematically prove how strongly controlled the municipal building was under the Gaddafi regime.

The use of spatial mapping in this study is therefore illustrative rather than analytical. It was utilised to track how deeply public visitors could penetrate into the municipal complex, tracing their movements and those of other staff and visitors, along with the use of qualitative methods specified below.

Spatial mapping was helpful, firstly, in visualising patterns of where interactions took place, among and between visitors and staff. An understanding was thus developed of the nature of the relationships between local government and the public, from highlighting the patterns of exactly where these two types of users regularly encountered each other and interacted in the internal floor space. Another possibility is to understand the patterns of interactions between visitors in specific places inside the building, which can potentially imprint their socio-cultural patterns on the building’s spatial layout.

Secondly, spatial organisation could be understood in relation to accessibility and the penetration of the municipal building so that the extent to which it is truly ‘public’ or

strictly controlled can be determined. This should then help in assessing the quality of publicness of this civic centre. User interactions within the TMB's municipal environment were examined to understand the relationships between the public and local government in this site. The findings from these multiple methods are then used to assess the publicness of TMB during the fieldwork (Table 4.2).

Table 4.2: Research framework for assessing the publicness of TMB

Penetration	The degree and depth of accessibility into all public spaces inside the public building: how deep can the public users reach? To what extent is the public building under control (by its both users, the inhabitants and visitors)?
Control	Official control over the public building and its spaces: Who 'really' owns the space? Is it the state, a private agent, or a public-private ownership? For whom was/is the public building actually designed?
Practice	<p>The actual freedom of use of the public building spaces by public visitors: How are the spaces of public gathering: 1) actively used; and 2) publically configured (made appropriate for common uses)?</p> <p>Also, the diversity of users allowed to access the public building: Is the place actively shared by different groups of citizens and individuals? How satisfied are these public users with this public place, its spaces, and public services?</p>

Colour coding scheme used for space mapping analysis

The mapping analysis of user's activities in space is based on a colour coding scheme modified from the simple accessibility analysis undertaken at Hillingdon Hospital as seen in Figure 4-2 (Space Syntax Ltd, 2014).

The scheme involves the illustration of the regular observed presence of the building users in space with a scale of six colours: dark blue indicates that no (0) users were observed on 1.2 m² pixels of coloured space (an area covering 9 floor tiles, each of which is 40x40 cm; (see sketch in Figure 4-3 below); light blue = 1 user; green = 2 users; yellow = 3 users; orange = 4 users; and red = 5 users or more.

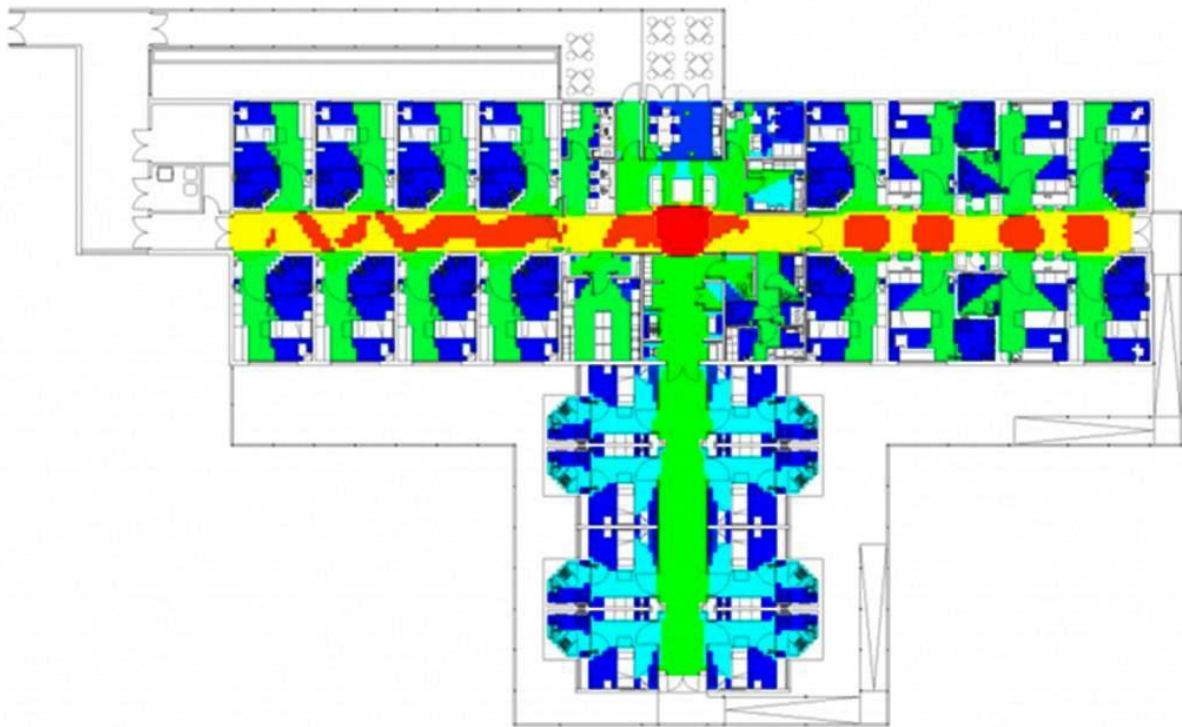


Figure 4-2: Example of colour coded spatial accessibility analysis

The existing building of Hillingdon Hospital (Space Syntax Limited: www.spacesyntax.com, 2014)

Therefore, the more blue the space is, the more inaccessible and deep it is considered to be; likewise, the more red pixels there are, the more accessible and apparently favourable for public use that area is.

Personal observation, with the help of former municipal staff and the qualitative information gathered, was conducted to identify exactly where users stood and interacted inside the building. Due to the limitations of the study listed at the end of this chapter, detailed spatial analysis was mainly conducted in the Planning Department zone on the third floor of the TMB.

Points of users' presence in space were noted on a copy of a self-drawn plan of the observed floor layout and to show places of interaction, looking for patterns of gathering and accessibility inside the building. This was implemented whenever an observed subject was seen to stop for any reason, whether to meet with others or on their own. The timing of such actions was not considered due to limited research resources. This means that the moment the user took specific actions, the mapping procedure was noted on paper.

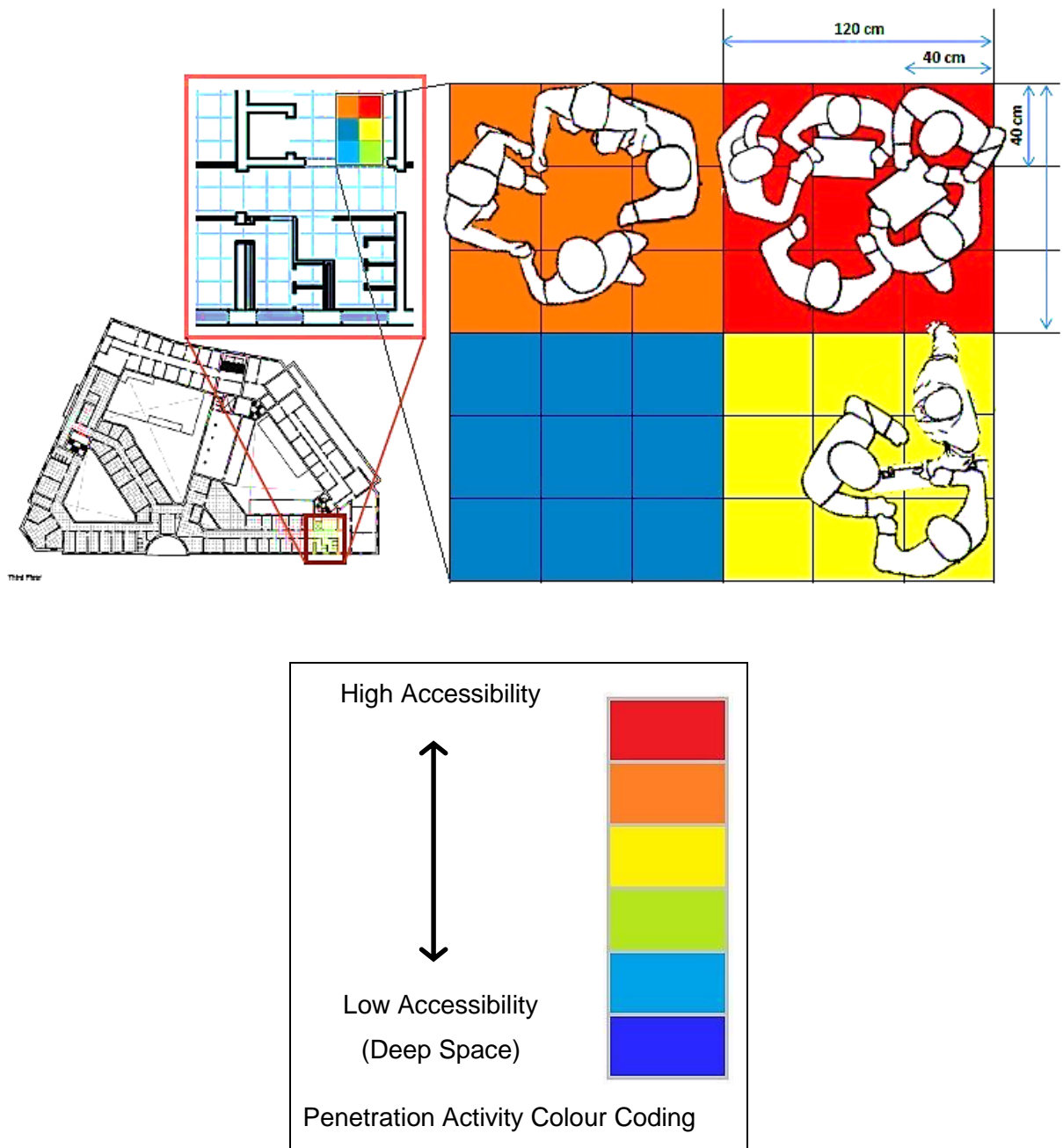


Figure 4-3: Colour coding to map accessibility and penetration inside the TMB

Based on the observations and qualitative data gathered at the site, the regular presence of the building's users in space was mapped on the layout plan.

Initial observations suggested that it would be extremely difficult to recognise and then distinguish between all different types of users of the huge TMB during the fieldwork observations. This would possibly make the observation results vulnerable to questions over whether the data is a good representation of the intended study of different types of users and their interactions or whether it is misleading. The qualitative data from the research observations on user interactions gathered and then reviewed with the help of some former colleagues working in the building therefore need to be interpreted with caution.

One possible analytical implication of this potential lack of accuracy is that the second objective of the observation (that of the fourth research objective, see Table 4-1 and Figure 4-1), which was to study the relationship between the two different types of users in the TMB in order to assess the impact of political change and the TMB publicness during the Gadhafi regime, would be undermined.

If users were not accurately distinguished when an interaction was detected then any gathering of users could be misinterpreted unless they were asked. Such interruptions were, however, avoided due to the recommendations of Barnes (1985) as discussed earlier. It was possible to observe where interactions happened, how, when, and for how long, but not between who and why. It was therefore important to find different research methods to enhance the data about user interactions other than by direct observation, and so the question of motivation was left for the questionnaire. This is why the analysis of the results from the observation on different user interactions was considered insufficient and more quantitative data were gathered from the questionnaire survey. Therefore, Figures 8-15 and 8-16 present statistical analysis of the relevant data. Further explanations about the questionnaire questions regarding this matter can be seen in questions Q15-19 (Appendix A).

The spatial analysis also includes some investigation of user movement and walking directions in order to understand the overall pattern of the flow of users in space. This limited analysis helps in making links between building floors, with an emphasis on the most-used public access points, which are then presented in an isometric perspective to represent vertical penetration in relation to the building's main entrances (presented in chapter 7, Figure 7-7).

Finally, archival drawings of the building plans, showing the TMB layout in 1972, were also used to compare how the building's spatial arrangements have changed over the past four decades. This process particularly helped in understanding current accessibility conditions, such as how many public thresholds were open or closed in the building during this period (the results are presented in chapter 7, Figure 7-6).

4.3.4 Interviews

An interview is defined as *“an interchange of views between two persons conversing about a theme of mutual interest,”* hence the combined term *“inter-view”* (Kvale, 1996:2). The use of interviews is useful for this investigation to better capture and

understand *“the experiences and lived meanings of the subjects’ everyday world”* (Kvale, 1996:70). Interviews are generally classified in three main categories: informal conversational interviews, general interviews, and standardised open-ended interviews (Patton, 1990). These *“differ in the extent to which interview questions are determined and standardized before the interview occurs”* (Patton, 2002:342).

The first two types of interviews were utilised in this study to gather the required relevant qualitative information. Table 4.3 below shows the relationship between the study interviewees and the type of interview used, as well as the type of questions asked.

The informal conversational interview is a non-structured narrative interview that was directed toward key informants with relevant experience and knowledge. Those were some elderly residents in Tripoli, senior municipal workers, officials, historians and academics. The general topic of the conversations was to talk about the history of the municipal place and its urban environment and life. These open talks helped in identifying the respondents’ previous experience of using the TMB and its services in the past, and their understanding of and reactions to the causes and effects of changes which have occurred. The aim was to develop a better understanding of the TMB’s historical transformation in its urban, social, economic and political context.

The general guided interview is a semi-structured interview, which has been defined as *“shaped by the operationalization of the research questions, but retaining an open-ended, and flexible nature”* (Alexiadou, 2001). This allows *“the interviewees to ‘define’ the situation on the basis of their own experience and so to focus on what they consider relevant”* (ibid:52). The questions in this second type of interview were designed to explore attitudes towards the current significance of the architecture of the TMB and its roles and relationships with the city centre as well as with users, and how people used and understood its spaces and the surrounding area when visiting the municipal environment. The key informants interviewed were shopkeepers, senior municipal workers, and city centre residents.

The questions listed in Table 4-2 were selected based on the research objectives mentioned earlier in this chapter. In the case of the semi-structured interviews, further relevant explanatory questions were developed as needed in order to clarify meanings in the interviewees’ answers and to try to extract more detailed explanation.

Table 4.3: The study's main actors and types of interviews and questions

Study Key Informants*	Type of Interview	Targets of Asked Questions
History Informers: 2 Historians 2 Elderly citizens 2 Senior academics	Narrative	Historical facts about Tripoli's historical municipal buildings Present information and explanations of gaps in knowledge Previous experience with the case study building Other personal experiences and narratives
Decision-makers: 1 Local Governor 2 Senior planner 2 Senior consultant	Semi-Structured	Explanations of personal observations and experiences of the use of the studied place (personal use and of others). Justifications of relocation and concerning change decisions Enquires about specific conditions, changes, topical facts and information, challenges, and expectations. Opinions, attitudes, and reactions toward the studied building and its surroundings, and how they have changed.
People working in the TMP: 2 Senior staff and administrators 2 Frontline service staff 4 Municipal architects, planners, and engineers		
People from around the TMB: 5 Shopkeepers 2 City centre residents 0 Pedestrians nearby (see section 4.7, for reasons)		
The general public: A sample of Tripoli citizens (132 participants, out of 200 distributed copies, response rate of 66%) between the ages of 18 and 75. 31.06% of the final participants (n=41) were women, 85 (64.39%) were men, and 6 (4.54%) did not specify their gender. The results also show that the number of participants who declared that they are visitors of the TMB were 56 users (42.42%), 25 participants (18.93%) said that they are members of staff, 24 (18.18%) identified themselves as observers, and the number of participants who did not answer was 27 (20.45%).	Questionnaire	See section, 4.3.5 and Appendix A.
* See Appendix C for full list and details of key informants.		

Accordingly, the general guidelines set for these interviews was to ask the subjects about their personal observations and experiences of using and perceiving the TMB, and also how they thought other users used and operated in and around the available public places when visiting the building, including before, during, and after visiting or working in at the building. The conversations also involved their opinions and attitudes towards the importance of the building and the built environment of the city centre.

The design and process of the interviews was divided into the recommended seven stages: thematising, designing, interviewing, transcribing, analysing, verifying and finally reporting (Kvale, 1996:88). Nevertheless, Fink (2000) rightly explained that Kvale's seven steps do not *"imply that researchers ought to work in this orderly progressing way — in fact this is probably impossible."* This is apparently because *"qualitative inquiry designs cannot be completely specified in advance of fieldwork"* (Patton, 1990:61).

Before the interviewees were contacted, when, where, and for how long the interviews would last and how they could be recorded without compromising the flow and validity of the answers were planned. The sites for interviews varied from offices in the case of the municipal workers, academics, and other officials; in shops with the shopkeepers; in houses and public places such as cafes in the case of retired elders and residents of the city centre. Some of the interviews were digitally audio-recorded when permission was granted and it was felt secure to do so. It was observed that some interviewees were worried when asked about sensitive political issues. Some asked to stop the recording so as to be able to clarify what they considered as confidential information that they did not wish to say in public.

At the end of each session, the notes taken were reviewed with the participant. In some cases, they would add more information, and some would write comments themselves. Sometimes the interview session would be interrupted by others who would very often join the conversation. Irrespective of how many were involved in such unplanned talks, it was important to make sure that the questions asked were meaningful and precise, and that the respondent's replies were as accurately expressed as possible to avoid ambiguities. The answers were then transcribed and entered into Nvivo8 and 9 software which allows large amounts of qualitative data to be analysed. Details of the qualitative analysis of interview responses are explained in section 4.4.

4.3.5 Questionnaire survey

Questionnaires are not necessarily the most practical method in qualitative research, because subjects are usually required to respond to a stimulus, so they cannot be expected to act naturally (Woods, 2006). However, according to Kvale (1996), compared with interviews they can be very useful tools in reaching a much wider sample of participants in the field.

Furthermore, in limited investigative situations, *“questionnaires will usually be faster to administer, analyze, and report than interview studies”* (Kvale, 1996:104). The distribution of questionnaires in this research has in fact helped overcome some of this project’s management and financial limitations, especially in terms of fieldwork overseas.

The questionnaire included questions about public opinions, perceptions, and the use of the TMB and its urban context. It aimed to discover what respondents felt and thought about the historical municipal environment in the city centre, and also to gather data concerning where users gathered and interacted inside and around the building.

A mixture of structured and unstructured questions were asked to cover four different aspects of the respondents:

1. General attributes (gender, age, place of residence, and other personal data).
2. Perceptions and opinions about the significance of the architecture of Tripoli civic centre and its relationship to the city centre
3. Their attitudes towards their relationship with the TMB and its services, as well as their reactions to previous changes and to its transformations; and
4. Their experiences and levels of access, penetration, and interaction inside and around the civic municipal environment, where and how frequently they met and interacted with other users, for what purposes, and where they saw other users interact?

The questionnaire was formulated in Arabic and was made easy to read and answer after seeking advice from experts on conducting surveys in Tripoli, including Said Khalifa, a former senior municipal architect at the Department of Housing in Tripoli during the 1980s, and Dr. Daza (Daza, 1982), a senior academic at the University of Tripoli. The questionnaire was translated into English for the purpose of this thesis (see Appendix A). It was designed to be self-completed by respondents, given that O’Brien (1997) suggested that more honest answers can be attained when the researcher’s critical eyes are farther away from the participant.

Nevertheless, in case the participants required further details about the research and the questions, a covering letter was attached to each copy of the questionnaire to explain the study and its purpose alongside details for contact with the researcher.

Sampling methods and process, and distribution of the questionnaires

The sampling methods used for the survey were twofold: snowball and basic random sampling. The choice of sampling approaches followed the identification of the evidence required to achieve the empirical objectives of the survey. The purpose of selecting these two sampling methods together was to select a fairly reliable sample that would be representative enough for the purpose of the questionnaire; however it is understood that reliability cannot be fully guaranteed given the limited time and resources available.

Research in social sciences has shown that random sampling techniques are often favoured. The choice of random sampling was necessary in order to select from large populations in the relatively short time available for the research project, so as to easily reach as many participants as possible while minimising the risk of a biased sample. Other methods of non-probability sampling approaches were deemed to be prohibitively expensive and time-consuming. The principles of randomness therefore entail approaching potential participants in such a way that they must all have equal chances of receiving copies of the questionnaire, with the same probability of being selected.

Meanwhile, the adoption of the snowball sampling approach helped to achieve a sample of questionnaire participants who would otherwise be difficult to reach to and to gain their trust and honest responses. The selection of participants using this method was *“based on choosing one respondent as a starting point and then asking him or her to recommend other suitable respondents”* (Grifa, 2006:149). Research assistants helped in achieving this, as discussed later.

The scope of sampling was to target the defined population of the geographical area that Tripoli municipality actually covers. No particular district in the city was favoured. Due to insufficient resources it was impossible for the research sample to cover the entire geographical area. The sample size and technique adopted for selecting it were influenced by the segments (frames) of characteristics of the individual subjects of the targeted population from which a representative sample was ultimately selected.

There were four main sampling frames established for the study survey in the selection of respondents from four categories of the general public in Tripoli. These were: workers in the TMB; visitors to the building; people who lived, worked, or regularly walked close to the building; and other citizens of Tripoli who lived in the city and were

between the ages of 18 and 75 years. One control condition applied in the research sampling was to ensure that equal numbers of the targeted groups were approached when distributing the 200 copies of the questionnaires.

The distribution strategy was based on the help of research assistants, in order to reduce the probability of sampling bias as well as considering time management issues in the relatively short field trip period. The role of the 4 male and 4 female voluntarily employed assistants was vital in this survey, as the traditional conservative culture in terms of social relationships is still very influential in Tripoli. Trusted research assistants were employed to ensure an equal distribution of questionnaires in order to improve the response rate and to ensure that completed copies were collected a maximum of two weeks after distribution.

The selection of the 4 female assistants was made from family members (the researcher's wife and 3 sisters). This was considered necessary to tackle the highlighted conservatism and other cultural issues in Libya, including the fact that it would be difficult for a 'stranger' researcher to survey female participants in Tripoli. The assistants were employed as trained volunteers to help distribute and then collect copies of the study's self-completed semi-structured questionnaires from a number of eligible female subjects in Tripoli. They were asked to choose eligible female subjects from among their companions, friends or colleagues, and collect the completed questionnaire from that respondent when ready. A timeline of two weeks was given before the respondents should return their copy to the assistant. This was seen not only as an advantage in being able to access more female respondents, but also to improve the survey's credibility, since such trusted relationships would lead to honest responses to the questions. The assistants' role also involved liaising between the researcher and the respondents to clarify aspects of the questionnaire, and making sure that the participants understood the questions during self-completion.

They were gathered to discuss their willingness to help, their understanding of the research background, the nature of the survey, and their roles. A brief presentation was delivered to introduce the study's subject and the questionnaire and how it should be distributed. A copy of the questionnaire was provided and explained. Their questions were answered and those in the questionnaire were clarified before their involvement began. They were asked to keep a coded list (of numbers, while names were protected unless provided) of the respondents taking part in the study, and were asked to remain in touch with the participants and collect the questionnaire copies

once completed. They were always in contact with the researcher before, during, and after the start of questionnaire distribution. This helped maintain their level of motivation and efficiency as far as possible. The final number of female questionnaire respondents reached a total of 41 participants (31.06% of the 132 respondents, while 6 participants did not specify their gender).

It was important that the whole process of sample selection was free from bias that might arise if participants were directly chosen. In order to increase the degree of accuracy and representativeness of the sample, it was emphasised that each eligible subject should have the same probability of being represented in the sample. No particular preferences were made for a particular area, affiliation, age, gender, or any other category. Finally, it is realised that the relatively small sample size would affect the degree of accuracy in the data gathered and would limit the ability to generalise the survey results to the wider population in Tripoli.

Before deciding to involve the wider selection of citizens of Tripoli, the initial sample of participants for the survey before the pilot study was intended to be limited to TMB users (inhabitants and visitors). At first, a suitable location to meet building users to complete the survey was found to be the central reception desk in the main entrance hall, for the following reasons:

1. A majority of the civic centre users could be observed and approached.
2. Working with the permission of the municipality authority was thought to be more secure and convenient for building users as well as the researcher.
3. It would be easy to gather supportive quantitative data about the number, frequency, and duration of stay of people visiting the site.
4. The reception area was considered an ideal focal point for the distribution and collection of questionnaires and to provide further explanations about the research project if needed, and especially for meeting people of the opposite gender (for social and cultural reasons it would be very difficult for a strange man to interview women exiting the building).

However, soon after conducting the first pilot study in the field to observe the social and spatial arrangements and conditions of the TMB, it was found that the central reception desk was not suitable since it had surprisingly been evacuated. As a result, building visitors were left to enter and navigate the building for customer service affairs

with no guidance provided. This was then one of the findings concerning the deterioration of TMB's conditions and functionality.

Participants from the general public were targeted not only because of the absence of a functioning reception desk, but also due to insights following the pilot study that the awareness and opinions of the general public, and not only building users, are an important factor that this research must consider.

Following Crawford's (1997) recommendations, the survey was pilot-tested in Tripoli in January 2010, a few weeks before the revised questionnaires were finally distributed on February 16th, 2010 after the wording, order, clarity, and extent of coverage of the questions and instructions were checked. Twenty questionnaires were initially distributed personally by the researcher, and feedback from the participants was acquired and discussed afterwards. This helped in the following ways:

1. Revising the content of questions, ensuring they were relevant to the research questions and objectives.
2. Developing the question wording and format, and checking the suitability of the options given.
3. Assessing questionnaire length according to the public's experience.
4. Organising the question order and developing the layout of the questionnaire.

Eventually, two hundred copies of the final questionnaires were distributed, and a total of one-hundred-and-thirty-two copies were successfully returned at the end of the field trip to Tripoli by February 2010, a response rate of 66%.

4.4 Data Analysis

Once the process of data collection started, the stages of data analysis (Miles and Huberman, 1984) including data deduction, data display, and conclusion drawing and verification were also initiated. According to Folkestad (2008:4), *"this is because researchers are continuously interacting between the respondents and the research tools."* Thus the process of qualitative analysis started prior to the completion of data gathering. Frechtling, et al. (1997) stressed that such analytic processes are fundamentally iterative, and as soon as the early data is collected the researcher starts to make sense of and evaluate it in manifold rounds of qualitative analysis that overlap in time. The data analysis in this research was performed as follows:

- 1) Archival content analysis (descriptive and comparative) of historical documents, with narrative and descriptive interviews conducted and observations made of remaining physical evidence.
- 2) Qualitative and quantitative analysis of questionnaire and interview data. Nvivo8 and later Nvivo9 software versions were used for data management and analysis. Access and training to use the software were provided by Newcastle University (see Appendix F: Snapshots of data retrieval and analysis of questionnaire data using Nvivo9).
- 3) Space mapping analysis of the spatial configurations in terms of users' accessibility, penetration, and interactions inside the municipal building.

The analysis of the questionnaire data was both statistical and qualitative, and included the following steps considered during the quantitative analysis using Nvivo8.

1. Making statistical comparisons such as the percentages of respondents who answered questions positively, negatively, and neutrally.
2. Looking for inferences.
3. Extracting trends/themes, through finding indicative data of:
 - i. Trends of growth or decline.
 - ii. Classifying attitudes, for example, indications of how good or bad.
 - iii. Summarizing and/or expressing respondents' opinions.
4. Focusing on the most relevant and significant findings.

The relevant qualitative data was processed as per the recommendation of Alexiadou (2001) and Frechtling, et al. (1997) concerning the analysis of interviews, including:

1. Looking for emerging patterns, relevant themes and formulations in the participants' responses to each item, and checking their relevance and support in developing better explanations of the broad research topics.
2. Being responsive to deviations in these patterns, and seeking further explanation for such deviations to understand atypical responses.
3. Extracting interesting specific descriptions and stories to unearth new connections and see whether they might potentially be linked together to help answer the study questions.
4. Checking if there was a need to revise the current questions or acquire additional data while evaluating the findings and, if so, to think about how to gather it in the limited time available.

5. Finally, trying to understand how these emergent patterns and themes might verify the findings of other qualitative analyses. For example, comparing data from the questionnaire's open questions with that from the interviews. In cases of discrepancies, further attempts should then be made to explain why.

The above steps were followed during the fieldwork in Tripoli. After organising the collected information, it was then read several times in order to become more familiar with it and to identify relevant topics to formulate key themes and trends. The main statements, assertions, or claims were later examined by conducting further in-depth investigations of the complete collected data, but this time in search of specific indicators and evidence to support or discard the initial assertions. In summary, the following systematic steps were followed after returning from the fieldwork trip:

- Organising the data collected by means of numerical labelling and colour coding.
- Translating and transcribing the information collected into English.
- Further data analysis while conducting translation.
- Data entry (NVivo8).
- Preliminary data analysis (NVivo8, then NVivo9).
- Further data management and in-depth analysis of significant results and emergent themes.
- Making sense of the findings and linking them back to the main research questions.
- Formal reporting of findings.

4.5 Validity and Reliability

The *“Triangulation Method for Cross-Checking Data”* (McDermaid and Barnstable, 2001:36; see Figure 4-4) was used to link findings from all research sources used and to overcome issues of the reliability and validity of the results. This has also provided the opportunity for the researcher to reach to unexpected relevant findings. Although, *“triangulation is typically a strategy (test) for improving the validity and reliability of research or evaluation of findings,”* it is also acknowledged that it *“does not suggest a fixed method for all research”* (Golafshani, 2003:603-604).

Triangulation in this research helped to develop a better understanding of the building studied and its historical and current context from the perspectives of many different historical narratives, including government publications, key historians, the testimonies

of elderly citizens, and the personal observation of what can still be visually detected today.

For example, besides evaluating the historical locations of the sites of previous municipal buildings of the city, a clearer picture was formed using the different research resources and methods about the architectural, political, economic, socio-cultural, and technological transformations which occurred during the urban history of the city.

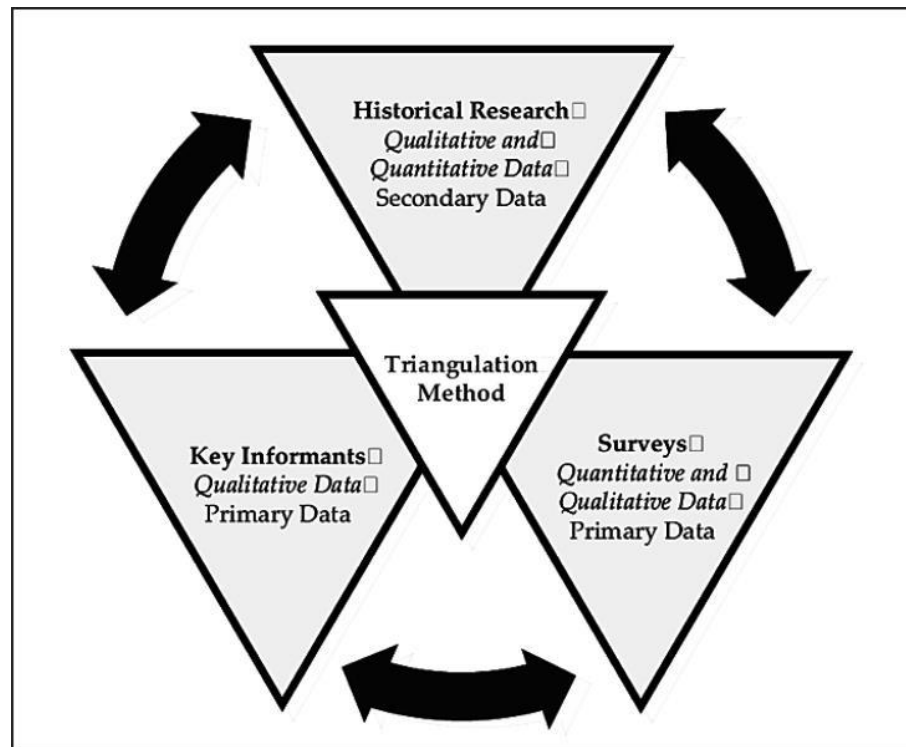


Figure 4-4: “Triangulation Method for Cross-Checking Data”

McDermaid and Barnstable (2001:36)

Any historical interpretations required more analysis and cross-checking, usually with support from findings obtained with other qualitative methods such as interviews. For example, academic work about the urban and architectural history of Tripoli was also reviewed. A senior academic and author of one of the most significant theses in this field, MD, was interviewed in person to clarify some of the identified shortages in the historical narrative; additionally, he provided other valuable historical sources from his own library which were not found elsewhere. Additionally, Tripoli’s most senior municipal legislative consultant (MSH) was also approached to provide further explanations of the municipal archival accounts and was interviewed twice for other relevant purposes as explained later.

4.6 Positionality and Ethical Issues

The researcher was a personal observer in this fieldwork, as a regular user of the TMB as a visitor and a legitimate citizen of Tripoli city, and as a staff member (as an architect in the official Municipal Department in 2004). This gave me more flexibility and opportunities to capture and understand specific situations and conditions of the physical, functional, and social attributes of the case study building. However, the ‘positionality’ that a researcher occupies when interacting with participants and environments *“is still a significant aspect of the ways in which researchers are read and interpreted by research participants”* (Hopkins, 2007:387). It is therefore crucial to reflect critically upon the researcher’s positionality and research ethics in this study, to recognise the possible impact on the research participants and the historical findings. It is realised that there are three factors that might influence the researcher’s position in this study: (1) the personal attachment of the researcher to the TMB and its site, and the building’s architectural and urban environments; (2) the researcher’s social relationships with some of the TMB users, municipal staff members and regular visitors; and, (3) the researcher’s personal domestic and national affiliations as a Libyan citizen of Tripoli affected by national folk memory of ‘us’ and ‘others’ (e.g. the colonised and the colonists). Ethical research considerations therefore required the researcher’s reflection on the level of involvement and interaction with participants, and how that was recorded and exposed throughout the study.

Understanding research ethics

The ethics of research studies differ from one academic field – even an individual study – to another. The evaluation of ethical issues in social sciences tend to be based on either moral principles (or common regulations) or on discrete prejudgments of the prospective negative consequences of the research undertaken (its subjects, sensitivity of data, and published results) for the targeted participants.

Examples of approaches to social research ethics are detailed in the general guidelines and rules produced by social research institutions such as the Social Research Association (SRA, 2003). Common within such guidelines is a great emphasis on the researcher’s responsibility to ensure the commitment to protect the rights of participants. This involves the respect and protection the researcher should show to the participants’ privacy, well-being, and knowledge.

Furthermore, these rights have long been recognised and recommended in the academic field of social sciences research. According to Corti et al. (2000) and Cohen et al. (2000) the rights of participants can be summarised in the following key ethical issues:

- i. The participant's right to know about their participation in the research, and that they are able to refuse to take part in it if necessary.
- ii. The right for their privacy to be protected (the confidentiality of sensitive data they may produce), and;
- iii. Their right to be protected from any harmful consequences.

However, one criticism of these guidelines is that they seem to be kept deliberately general and vague, perhaps to fit wider rather than specific purposes. It is therefore argued that the use of these guidelines should support, but not hinder, the researchers' ability to make their own evaluation of the ethical considerations applicable to the specific needs of their research project and context. The specificity of this research context and time is an important factor in the application of such approaches in Tripoli under the rule of the Gadhafi government. This is because of the different ethical problems reported by many experts in the field (e.g. Abdalla, 2007; Aldabbus, 2008).

Moreover, with respect to the aforementioned general ethical guidelines, two other important considerations cited in the literature of social research ethics have been carefully reflected upon in this study: (1) the researcher's legitimate right to be legally protected from the regime at the time; and (2) the right for other people to know about significant public matters that the research may cover and which the public ought to be aware of. In the case of this research, how the TMB operated under the previous dictatorship is considered to be one such subject.

Research ethics in the Libyan context before 2011

Scholars in the social sciences concerned with the Libyan context before the 2011 uprising came to the general conclusion that academic research in social science in Libya was *"still limited, therefore people still feel sensitive about and reluctant to take part in research, especially if interviews or observations are included"* (Aldabbus, 2008:64). Moreover, in this regard, Abdalla (2007:109) cited:

"The reluctance of many key figures working in government departments ... to provide the researcher with relevant and up to date information and statistics or to express their views. This was thought to be due to their belief that such data and views might harm their own positions if it was revealed."

In another similar observation, Grifa (2006:149) reported that *“owing to the social and cultural characteristics of the context of the study [in Tripoli, Libya]...many respondents would be unwilling to participate in the survey or may provide unserious answers.”* From these accounts, it can be argued that Libyan social scientists during the rule of Gadhafi tended to avoid an explicit attribution of the participants' reluctance to the power of the regime, and rather very often linked it to much safer and less controversial social and cultural factors. As a result, this is perhaps why Aldabbus (2008:65) stressed that obtaining consent permission was “uncommon” in Libya at the time, and that despite the researcher's ethical procedures and concerns, some unexpected ethical issues might still arise during data collection.

Tackling ethical issues in this research

In spite of the aforementioned ethical challenges in Libya, and in order to *“protect the well-being of participants in addition to maintaining the integrity”* of the researcher's profession (Corti et al. 2000), the following considerations were underlined to deal with the ethical issues in this research:

1. An official letter of consent was presented to all participants surveyed (a copy was attached to all questionnaires and personally handed to interviewees). The letter is a formal approval signed by the municipal authority in Tripoli (see Appendix B), allowing the researcher to access and conduct this research inside and around the TMB. Even with the presence of a letter of consent, some key municipal informants did refuse to take part in the study, perhaps because they feared that there might be an impact on their job. Their decision was respected and their identities were not revealed. Furthermore, the subject, nature, and purpose of the survey were explained clearly in a covering page of each copy of the questionnaire. These precautions were conducted to adhere to the advice that:

“Research should, as far as possible, be based on participants' freely volunteered informed consent. This implies a responsibility to explain fully and meaningfully what the research is about and how it will be disseminated. Participants should be aware of their right to refuse to participate; understand the extent to which confidentiality will be maintained; be aware of the potential uses to which the data might be put; and in some cases be reminded of their right to re-negotiate consent.” (Corti et al. 2000)

2. With regards to covert observations, however, the presentation of the consent letter to all participants witnessed during the walk-through observations was impractical for many reasons. Firstly, it was impossible to know and arrange to reach all the subjects observed before the observation took place. Secondly, due to the political

issues explained earlier, it is thought that if it was revealed that the subjects observed were being watched, this might make them feel worried about their own security, and thus this might harm rather than comfort them. Thirdly, it might affect the reactions of users observed and their natural interaction in the field. Finally, according to Corti et al. (2000):

“The issue as to what extent participants can ever be fully informed is a much disputed one. Explaining the details of a research project and the intentions of the study [...] is a prerequisite before entering into fieldwork, but we should never assume that all participants have a detailed appreciation of the nature and aims of academic research. Finally, consent alone does not absolve the responsibility of researchers to anticipate and guard against potential harmful consequences for participants.”

So to overcome this ethical stalemate, the following steps were taken to protect the rights of the participants:

- a. The walk-through observations were carried out after official permission from the TMB authority concerned had been agreed.
- b. Although it is realised that *“video recordings offer a relatively cheap and semi-permanent record which can be played back repeatedly, allowing for in-depth analysis”* (Breakwell, 2000:233), the use of photographs and video recordings was not utilised to capture the identity of the subjects witnessed during the walk-through observations. When found, their faces were deliberately blurred to ensure their protection. In effect, only a very limited number of images recorded at the beginning of the fieldwork walk-through observations were kept, and faces were blurred afterwards in order to maintain anonymity (see Appendix G). Also it is worth noting that this type of observation was conducted to discover levels of accessibility of the site and interactions, rather than conducting an in-depth systematic study of the behaviour of users.

- c. According to the SRA (2003:31):

“In observation studies, where behaviour patterns are observed without the subject’s knowledge, social researchers must take care not to infringe [on] what may be referred to as the “private space” of an individual or group. This will vary from culture to culture ... Where indications exist or emerge that the subject would object to certain Information being disclosed, such information must not be sought...”

In this respect, when any sort of objection was made by a subject, the recording was stopped and the material collected was disposed of immediately.

- d. It is, however, realised that the consistency and accuracy of the research findings from unstructured walk-through observations would be prone to critical methodological questioning in two areas: (1) the degree to which the qualitative

results can be credibly analysed; and (2) the degree to which they can be generalised to apply to the larger population of users of the main civic centre in Tripoli.

3. To reassure the participants of confidentiality, the questionnaire states clearly that the provision of the respondent's name is optional and that numbers will be used to protect the identities of all participants. Even when names were provided, these were not disseminated, and the participants remained anonymous when data were presented and reported in the thesis. The fact that questionnaires were self-completed also helped limit any direct interference of the researcher and protected the participants' identities.
4. Interviewees were given the same option; however, the majority of them were known personally to the researcher and they were assured that the information they provided would remain confidential and pseudonyms would be used. Moreover, photographs and digital recordings were negotiated before interviews started. When rejected, the researcher had to write notes of the answers and to make sure that the interviewees were able to check their accuracy before the data analysis process. In some cases some interviewees preferred to write their own answers.

4.7 Methodological Limitations and Fieldwork Challenges

Eventually, a number of caveats and unavoidable limitations need to be considered regarding the study.

First, the generalizability of the study's results is subject to certain limitations. Caution must be applied with a relatively small sample size of 132 participants, as the findings might not be transferable to include the opinions and attitudes of the general public in Tripoli towards the matters investigated at the time of the fieldwork.

Secondly, asking people to stop on city centre streets in Tripoli to participate in an informal interview was very difficult to achieve, unless the person was an acquaintance. This affected the initial plan to interview randomly selected pedestrians to ask them about their perceptions and use of the chief municipal building in front of the building's main façade in Algeria Square. Alternatively, people were approached inside some of the cafés and shops nearby. However, the numbers of people willing to participate were very low, and only five unknown people agreed to informally discuss the questions raised.

Third, weather conditions play a considerable role in shaping the moods of many local people in Tripoli, especially when the temperature and humidity are too high in the summer. Thus, the fieldwork was carefully planned to take place in February 2010. Nevertheless, it must be noted that the outcomes of this data might reflect relatively low numbers of people using outdoor public spaces during these comparatively cold days before the warmer spring season.

Fourthly, although the scope of this research was not directly political, it is true that public discourse in Tripoli was not commonly practised outdoors. Difficulties arose when any attempt was made to discuss political issues whereby participants might consider criticising the Libyan central government before 2011, especially with strangers in open public places. It must be emphasised that very careful precautions were taken and official approval sought to convince local officials and participants to participate without restrictions and hesitation in this study. However, the majority of participants were very reluctant to express their negative criticisms directly and openly in the Gaddafi period (either formally, or in any written or audio recording), although some criticisms were expressed indirectly in informal conversations with the researcher, particularly when trust had been built.

Fifthly, given the politically dangerous atmosphere in Tripoli at the time of the study, a very threatening incident was experienced by the researcher during the final data collection period in Tripoli which ended in March 2010. The fieldwork in Tripoli was constrained by the radical restrictions imposed by the Libyan security system, particularly inside or around any government institution. I was detained for one day by security officers in charge of the Civil Status Registrar's (CSR) department. The arrest happened while trying to conduct a regular walkthrough observation of the decentralized CSR building in its new location to see how it appeared and functioned after being transferred from inside the central TMB. Some digital recordings (pictures and videos using a mobile phone device) were taken during the first fifteen minutes to record and investigate how people used the new site.

However, after an embarrassing investigation during detention, in which the officers used humiliating language asking me to justify taking photographs and video recordings in this sensitive place, the letter from the TM giving me the permission to conduct the research was checked and it was later decided to release me on the condition that all the recorded data was deleted. The lesson learned was that official

permission from every single governmental subdivision is always necessary before conducting such observational studies in countries under dictatorial regimes. As a consequence of this experience, considerations of the impact of relocation to decentralise the CSR was omitted from this study.

Sixthly, the archival research on the building's design, particularly concerning how it was planned and has been changed since its construction in the late 1930s, suggest the following considerations in evaluating the spatial significance of the TMB at the time of the study:

1. The original design drawings of the TMB do not appear to be available in any of the municipality archive units, nor can they be found in any public library or government centres in Tripoli. Not one of the official interviewees had ever seen the building drawings or any printed replica of authentic plans anywhere in Libya, not even in Rome, according to the senior academic architect (AA, who was conducting PhD research in Italy to study Tripoli's colonial architecture). The only reliable design plans found at the time of this research were documented in an archival draft of photocopies showing some plans of the TMB layout dating from the 1970s, drawn by hand by a municipal worker. Unfortunately, even these old A4 sheets only display the ground, first, second and part of the third floor plans of the building. The basement, the other part of the third floor, and the fourth floor were not depicted. Also, these drawings do not provide much information on the physical and functional aspects of the site. Even the precise dimensions of the internal spaces were not specified.
2. General information about the TMB design and the use of its spaces is very superficial. What was found was often indistinct and fragmented. Each administrative division in this large building has authority over its own workspaces and facilities. Most of these services did not seem to pay attention to recording and drafting spatial data and keeping them safe. Even the central municipal authority appeared not to be concerned about monitoring such important information about the property and its maintenance in one place. In addition, previous adaptations to the existent spatial arrangements and functions do not appear to be regularly reported and updated.

For example, there is very little information about the different functions housed in the building in each floor to date. Also, other information about staff numbers and

their distribution, numbers of visitors accessing the building and the reasons and timing of their visits, the spaces themselves in terms of size, area, amount and types of furniture, and efficiency of use, and how they were/are used do not appear to have been noted in any published or unpublished municipal report at the time of this study.

Consequently, redrawing the building plans and identifying its current dispersed functions was an additional task for this study, in order to be able to conduct a spatial analysis. This was achieved by comparing and contrasting the information gathered from different resources, including personal observations; the above-mentioned 1970s drawings; some supplementary verbal descriptions gathered from several informal personal discussions with senior municipal officers; an unofficial draft made by a junior member of staff in the planning department documenting its workplace in part of the third floor; and finally an AutoCAD file drafting a small section of the recently maintained area of the offices of the city council department on the first floor, obtained at a very late stage in 2013.

Due to the limited time and resources for utilising advanced measurement techniques, and the constrained access to different parts and spaces of government institutions at the time of the study in 2010, the accuracy of the plans may vary significantly. The results of this research effort are shown in the plans presented in chapter 6.

In addition to the previous six points, the following unforeseen complications affected the data collection during the fieldwork trips in Tripoli:

1. Traffic conditions, often due to severe shortages of parking areas and insufficient controls over driving regulations and discipline, especially around Tripoli's central governmental public institutions and during rush hours, made it very difficult to reach prearranged interviews on time (by both interviewees and the researcher).
2. Very complicated bureaucratic procedures impeded the performance of many of these public institutions in many ways. This might be a source of error in understanding the actual responses of the participants. For example, it was very difficult to identify the reasons for some of the negative reactions of some users of the building regarding how significant the building is because of these time-consuming problems that they experienced when visiting it.

Secondly, such problems in time management caused delays and cancellations of some important prearranged appointments with key interviewees (such as the Minister of Urban Utilities). Some had to cancel or cut short meetings (as in the case of Tripoli's then mayor, FD) because of constant unexpected interruptions during the time dedicated to the interviews.

3. Translating the questions and answers from English to Arabic (Libyan dialect) and then back into English was a complex and very stressful process with the limited time and means available for this research.

4.8 Conclusion

This chapter began by restating the study's purpose and scope. An overview of the methodological approach employed, and the research types, activities and research design adopted were then explained, demonstrated, and justified when appropriate.

Clarifications of the research methods used for data collection were given, including: the collection and analysis of relevant government and historical materials and documents; conducting personal walk-through observations to witness and identify specific social and spatial physical aspects of the TMB and its surrounding urban environment in Tripoli city centre; the adopting of simple space mapping and analysis technique for the floor plans of the TMB; interviewing (26) key informants; and finally, the collection of 132 self-completed questionnaires.

The research flowchart in Figure 4-5 is based on several recommendations in the literature, particularly the research design and development processes advocated by Crawford (1997). The data gathered indicates a successful final fieldtrip to Tripoli between January and March 2010. However, several considerations and modifications made during the early pilot-testing, as well as critical challenges and limitations have been reported before presenting the research findings in the following four chapters.

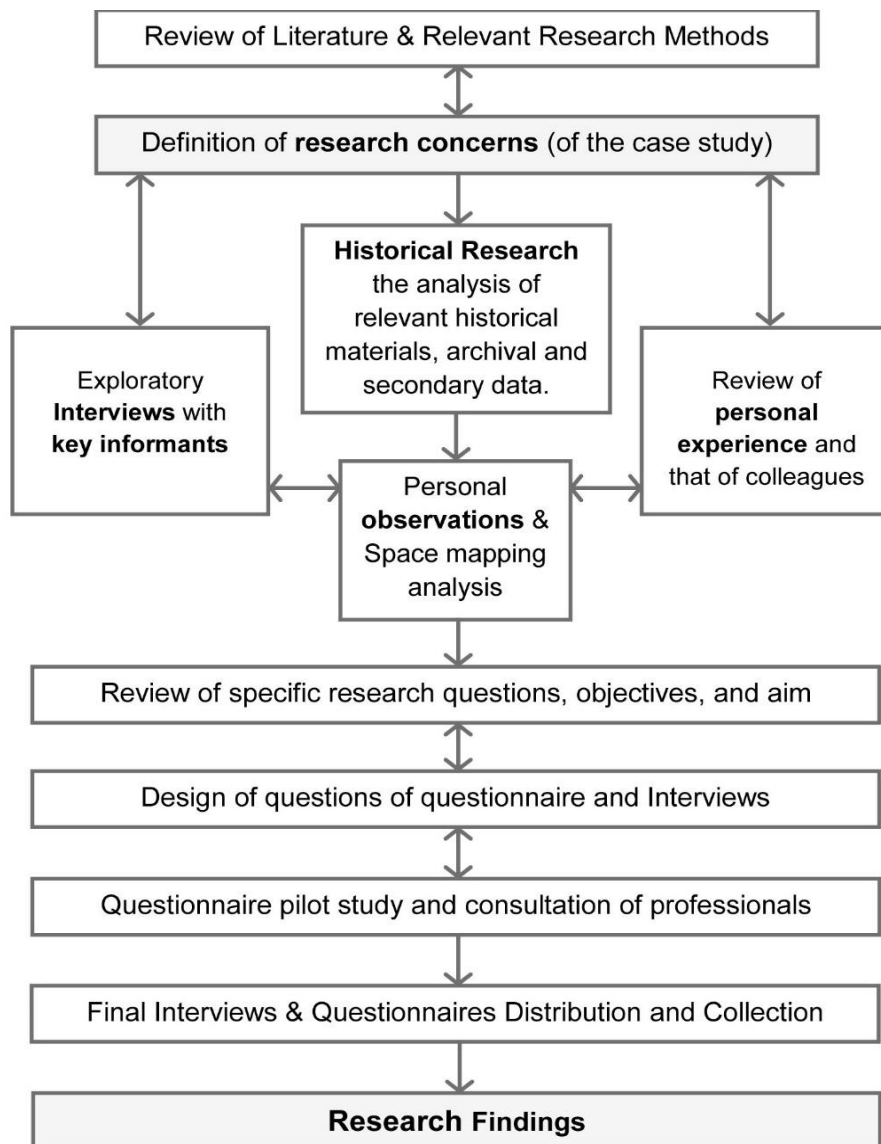


Figure 4-5: Flowchart of the present research design and development

Chapter 5 : Tripoli and its Councils before Italian Colonisation

5.1 Introduction

This chapter reveals the research findings concerning the historical transformations of Tripoli city and its models of city council places, tracing the roots and origins of the sites and buildings of local urban administrations and how they developed before Western colonisation.

The chapter is divided into six main sections. The following two (5.2 and 5.3) present a narrative of the transformation of Tripoli and its local council places from antiquity until the arrival of the Ottomans in the 16th century, and the subsequent sections 5.4 and 5.5 analyse transformations during the entire period of the Ottoman occupation (1551-1911). The historical analysis of each period addresses key political, economic, demographic, social, and urban factors that have shaped the city's structure and the building and location of the local council at that time. The locations of these places on the map of Tripoli are also shown.

Section 5.6 elaborates on the last key transformation of Tripoli city council to the new modern-style of municipalities following the Ottoman act of municipal reform, known as the 'Baladiyat' system in the late 19th century.

Before the chapter's conclusion, section 5.7 is dedicated to the urban, architectural and socio-cultural aspects of the last municipal building built in Ottoman Tripoli in the expanded urban context outside the ancient city walls and before the beginning of Western colonisation in 1911.

5.2 The City of Tripoli before the Ottomans (7th C BCE to 1551)

5.2.1 Ancient Tripoli (7th C BCE to the 7th C CE).

With the exception of the location of Tripoli's original seaport, nothing appears to have survived from ancient *Marka Uiat* or *Oea* to help reconstruct how the ancient city was planned and built during the Phoenician era. Little evidence has been found to determine whether the Phoenicians built their settlement upon an existing native Berber town or if they erected the city on virgin land. However, more could be located concerning late invaders.

Following the emergence of the Roman Empire and its subjugation of the Carthaginians, the direct rulers of Oea at that time, the 'Regio Tripolitania' became a Roman protectorate in the second century BCE. The Romans probably constructed their own city on top of Oea's ruins. The intersection of the two typical Roman streets (the *Cardo* and the *Decumanus*) can still be clearly observed in the Roman city of Tripoli with the marble victory arch dedicated to the Roman Emperor Marcus Aurelius in 163 CE (see and Figure 5-1 and Figure 5-2 below). The arch and a few other archaeological discoveries from the defensive wall built around the Roman city are the only archaeological remains of the legacy of the Romans in modern Tripoli (Al-Keep, 1978:27; Amoura, 1993).

Little visual evidence can therefore be provided about the types of governmental public buildings the Romans constructed in Tripoli, who constructed them, where exactly they were positioned, or how they were used. However, evidence from the ruins of the nearby Roman city of Sabratha (one of Oia's two ancient sisters in Tripolitania) reveals the construction and significant use of a typical Roman assembly hall called the *Curia* (the city council's administrative building) in a very important location in the city centre, close to the city's main Forum (see Figure 5-3).

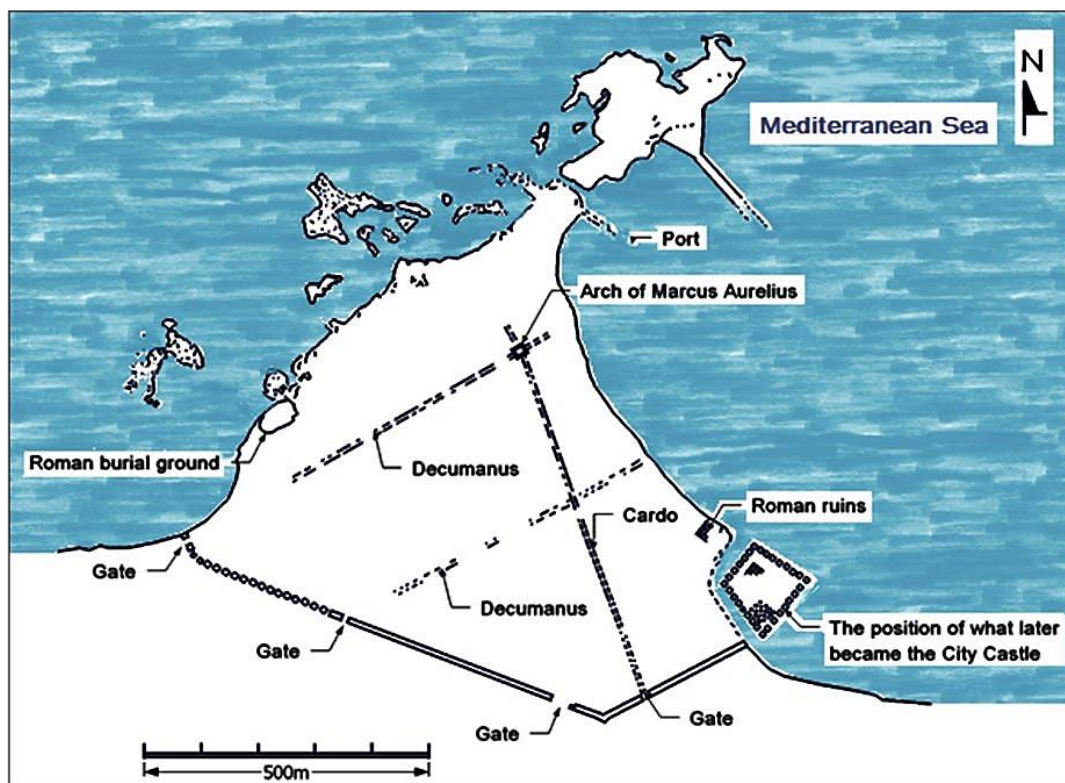


Figure 5-1: Reconstructed Map of Roman Tripoli
 Depicting the layout and origins of the city from Roman times, ca.160s CE.
 (Modified from the description of Amoura, 1993:67)



Figure 5-2: The Roman Arch of Marcus Aurelius in Tripoli Old City today

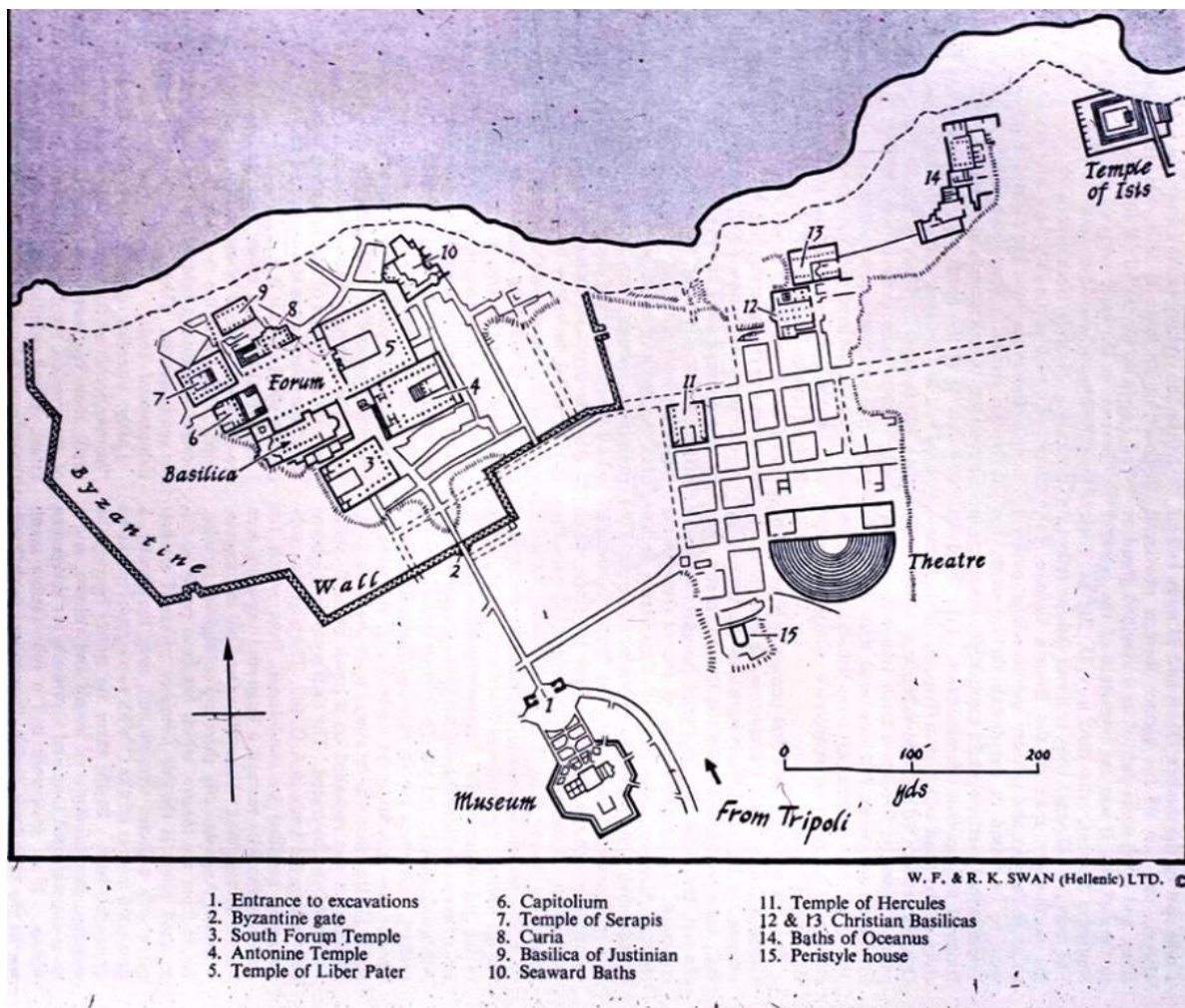


Figure 5-3: Map of Sabratha City (Oea/Tripoli's Roman sister-city)

Showing the position of the Roman Curia building (N:8) close to the city Forum until the Byzantine era in Libya c. 500 CE (Source: Schoder, 1989)

After the decline of the Roman Empire, Tripoli was brutally attacked and almost destroyed, and it was razed by the aptly named Vandals in 439 CE. Following its re-colonisation by the Eastern Roman Empire (Byzantium) in 534 CE, the city did not see any notable change until the arrival of the Muslim Arabs who besieged Tripoli and entered it in the 7th century.

5.2.2 Arab-Islamic Tripoli (643-1500s)

The long lasting occupation of Tripoli by the Muslim Arabs started in 643 CE (23 AH in the Islamic calendar); their conquest spread over most of the coastal lands of North Africa. Tripoli soon recovered from the destruction and negligence caused during the previous periods. The new rulers, with long traditions of convoy trading, boosted the city's commercial prominence through caravan trading, linking Africa beyond the Sahara in the south with Asia in the East and Europe in the North.

Since it is known that economic improvement encourages urbanism, the city of Tripoli began to reap the benefits of its commercial activities and its urban social and built environment started to consolidate and develop again. Al-Keep (1978:53), for example, emphasised that the economic and political stability that the city witnessed during the early Muslim Arab period influenced the later reconstruction and architectural movement and encouraged the creation of markets, leading to the prosperity that formed the city's new urban and cultural landscape.

This in turn given Tripoli (*Taraboulus* in Arabic, pronounced as *Itrablus* by Tripoli's residents today) its Islamic and Arabian characteristics, and shaped the urban identity that still very much predominates in Tripoli today. Historical evidence reveals that mosques, court-houses, and Arabic-style residential buildings and market places were built and carefully positioned inside the walled city from the days of the early Muslim Arabs (Amoura, 1993). The types of architecture used in this period have played a significant role in shaping the city's Islamic image and the form of the old walled city (Medina).

The socio-cultural environment of the local people who lived in and moved to Tripoli during and after this period was also reshaped by the latest spiritual and physical changes. Social change was facilitated by the rebuilding of most of Tripoli after it was sacked by the Vandals. The consequent emergence of the Islamic and Arabian social and cultural identity of Tripoli subsequently permeated society over the years and

endured despite later European and Turkish incursions. In his study “The changing identity of the built environment in Tripoli city, Libya,” Shawesh (2000:48) asserted that *“it is from this Islamic background that the city entered the twentieth century. Any study of the city’s built environment identity should take this into account.”*

Nonetheless, other ethnic minorities also resided and worked with the Arabs and Berbers in and around the city during this period. Jews and Christians were reported to live and work here long before the Ottoman occupation in the 16th century. Consciousness of Jewish people lived in ‘the parts of Libya near Cyrene’ during early Christian proselytization is attested to in the New Testament (NIV, Acts 2:10); As the official religion of the Roman and Byzantine Empires, Christianity was later predominant in North Africa prior to the coming of Islam.

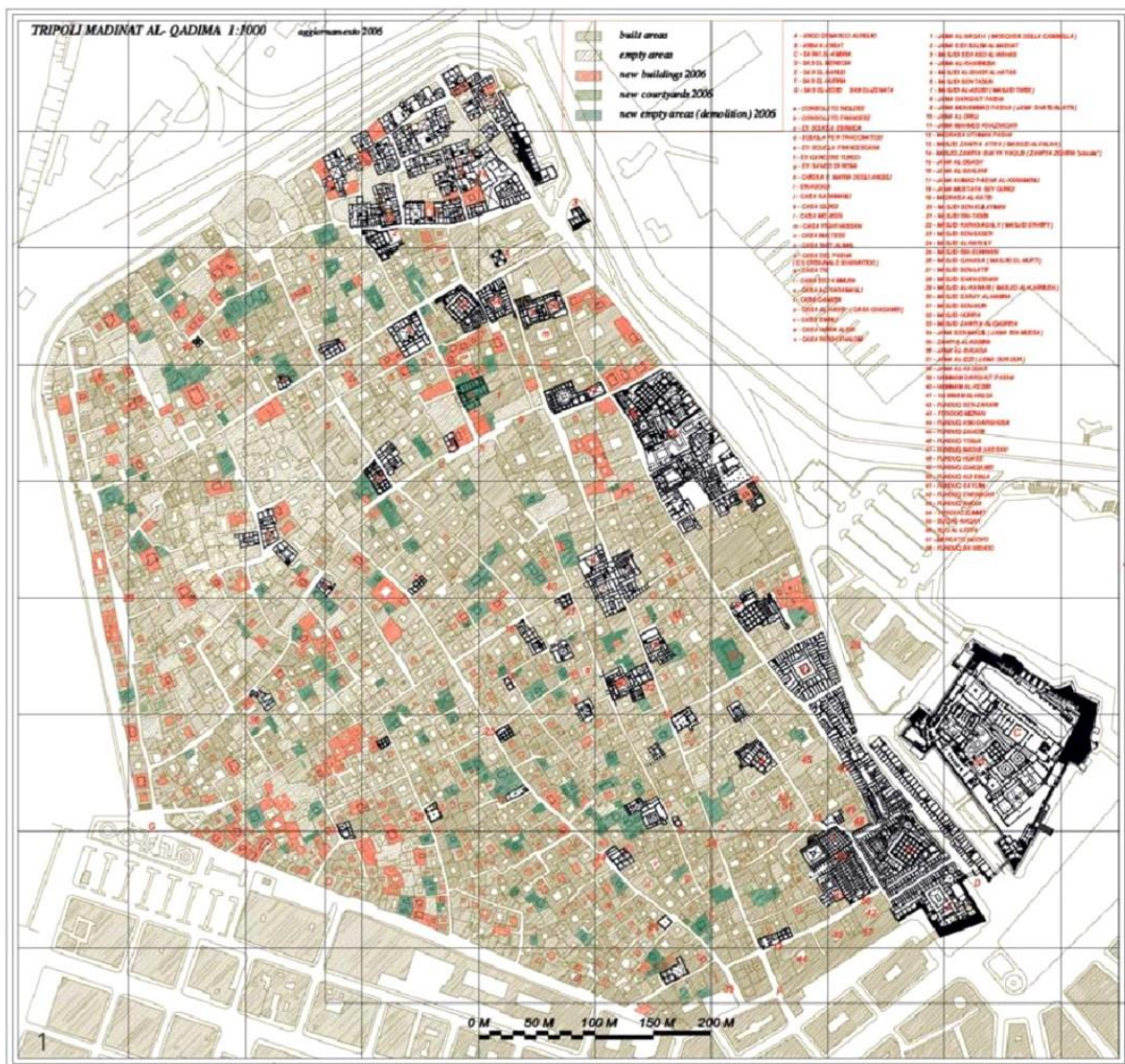


Figure 5-4: Recent map of the walled city of Tripoli

Showing a recent diverse and compact urban tissue of ancient Medina. (Source: Micara, 2013:30)

It was noted by the Spanish officer Batistino de Tonsis during the Spanish siege of Tripoli in 25 July 1510 that the city's population numbered about 10,000 Arabs and Jews (MOT, 1972:45). Ultimately, despite the dominance of the Islamic urban and architectural styles in Tripoli in that time, religious buildings from other faiths survive, such as historical churches and synagogues alongside the city mosques. This is clear evidence of the coexistence of different ethnical groups of residents who once lived and traded within the same compact society (see Figure 5-4) using different spiritual public places in the Medina.

5.2.3 Tripoli after the Spanish conquest (1510-1551)

The Spanish incursion of 1510 CE was not followed by a full-scale occupation, and the Spanish subsequently entrusted the city to the Knights of St. John of Malta in the 1530s. According to the MOT (1972), the Spanish and then the Knights of Malta did not do much to change Tripoli's architectural and urban structure. Some of the few construction works they undertook included erecting scattered churches and some protective structures.

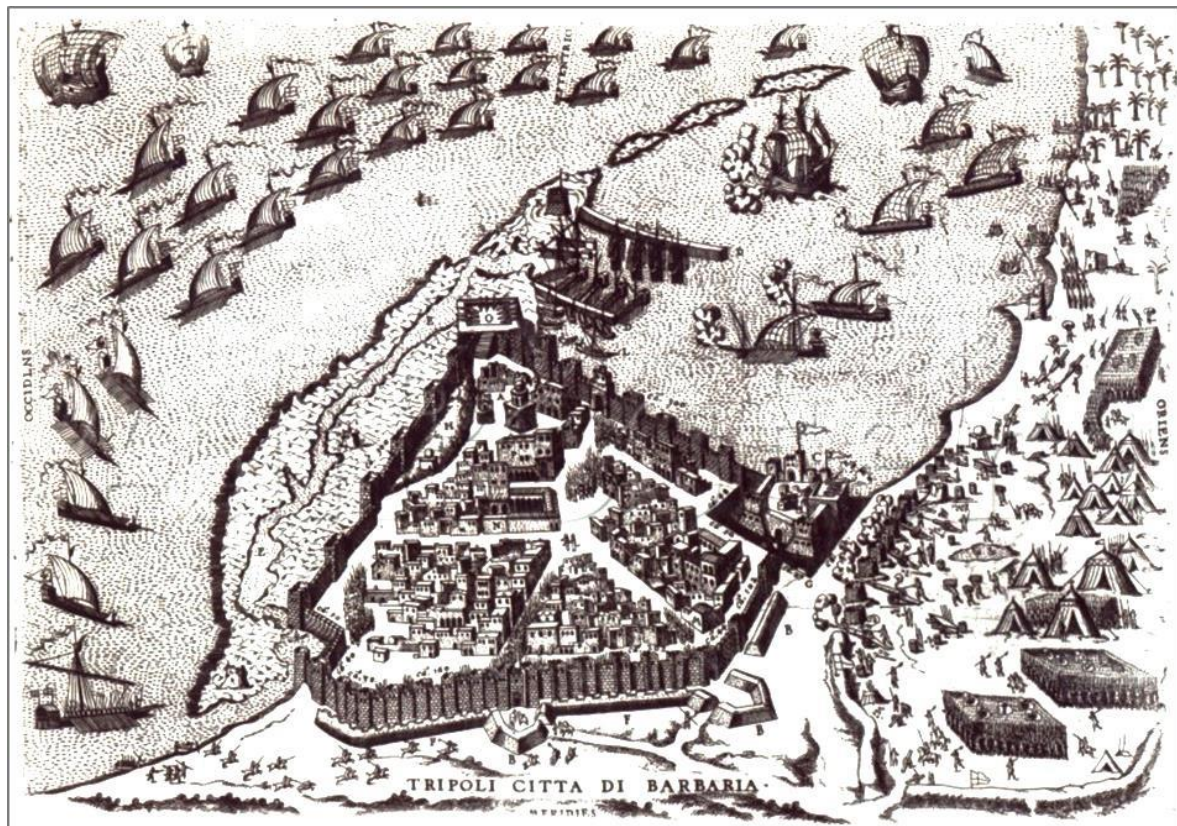


Figure 5-5: Tripoli in 1559

(Jayyusi et al., 2008:1225)

Arab-Muslims from the late 7th century. Since then, and prior to the emergence of a single dedicated city assembly house in Tripoli, the central mosque was reported to be the earliest multifunctional gathering place for the organisation of the city's political, social, educational and religious affairs. The earliest mosque established in Tripoli was the Mosque of 'Amru,' which is believed to have been built as early as 23 AH, 643 CE (Hamid, 1993:84). According to Amoura (1993:106), the Arab-Muslims established their urban and political centre in Tripoli around the city's central mosque in a core area referred to as al-Riath near to the main ancient gate of al-Menshiah.

However, Hamid (1993:84) mentioned another urban place called al-Ribat (established in 181 AH of the Islamic calendar, around 796 CE, under the rule of Hurthama Ben Aayan) that was perhaps used for this city assembly. In Arab-Muslim Tripoli Al-Ribat was used at first as a military base then later developed to be an open public place, a cultural centre for men and women alike. Hamid also mentioned that al-Rebat of Tripoli was reported to have included a mosque, library, and a letterpress workshop.

It seems that this centre of al-Riath or al-Ribat was the place where the reported ancient central mosque of Tripoli, 'Masjid al-Asharah' (the Mosque of the Ten), was first built. This central mosque served as the city's "*parliament*," in which the city's affairs were discussed daily (Al-Keeb, 1978:52). Furthermore, we know that the Ottoman leader Ahmad Pasha al-Qarahmanli (1711-1745) built his central mosque in 1738 on top of the ruins of these ancient public religious and government centres (Hamid, 1993:84) (see Figure 5-7 and Figure 5-8).

It seems reasonable to conclude that the assembly of the city's ten senior consultants gathered within the Masjid of the Ten and perhaps the nearby open public spaces to discuss and manage the municipal and juristic affairs of the city at that time. It is certainly likely that notable male citizens would have been allowed to attend or even participate in such meetings, as the nature of the accessible open space and simple design layout inside and around mosques must have allowed for such meetings and interactions between the public and their local rulers, at least during the five daily prayers.

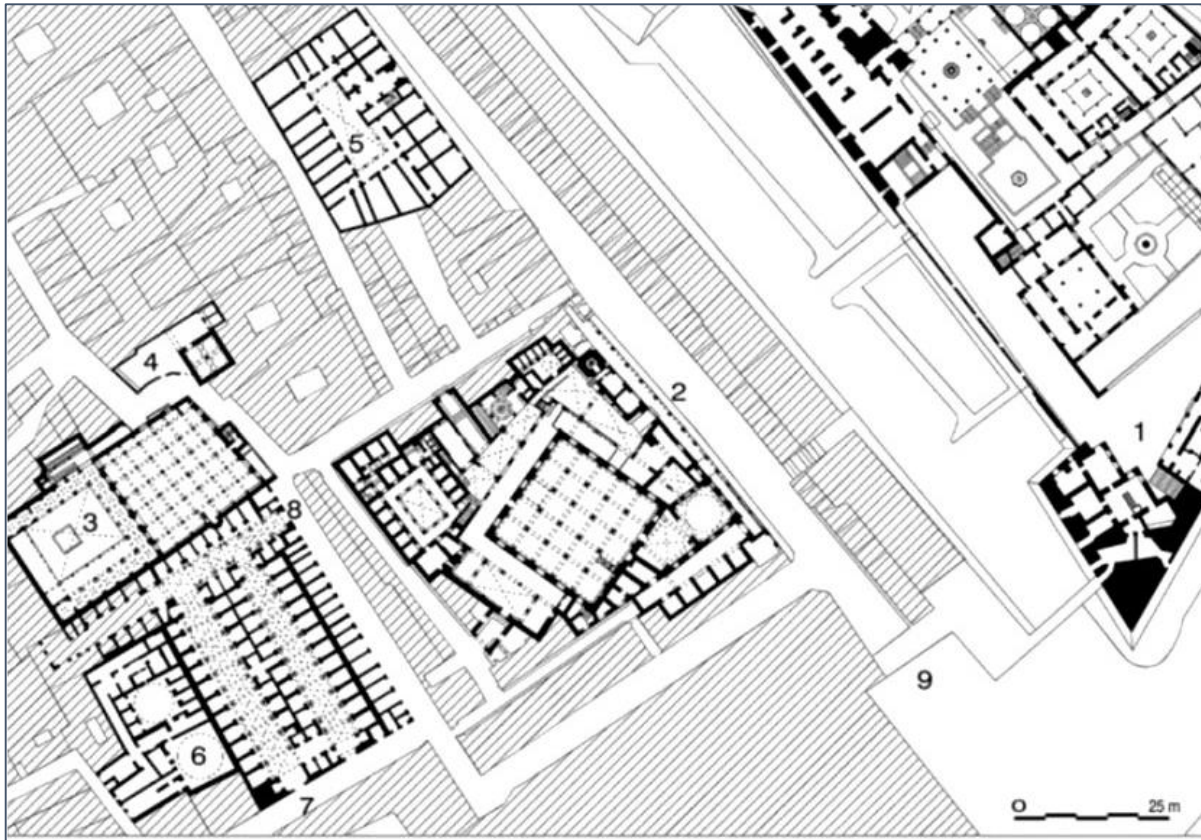


Figure 5-7: Site plan of Ahmad Pasha al-Qarahmanli mosque (built in 1738)

Showing the mosque location on al-Musher Street and Souk (N:2) close to Bab-al-Menshia gate (N:9), and the Red Castle (N:1). (Source: Micara cited in Jayyusi, et al., 2008: 1235)



(b) The main elevation of Ahmad Pasha mosque in 1912

Figure 5-8: The mosque of Ahmad Pasha al-Qarahmanli 1912

(Sources: LCAHS: photo 8, Album 2A-12.)

Al-Qasabah Hall

A significant governmental complex called al-Qasaba hall was built later, close to the central mosque, to house the city's Governor General. Unfortunately, none of these buildings surviving in Tripoli today. Amoura (1993) suggested that when the Spanish ruled the city (after 1510) they might have reclaimed the building materials used in al-Riath and/or al-Ribat to support the defensive structures around the city and perhaps also to maintain or rebuild the Red Castle, the Saraya al-Hamra. He reported that the location of the al-Riath site now covers most of the area where al-Musher Market Street is located today (location number 1 on the map of Tripoli, in Figure 5-9).

It should be pointed out that the al-Qasba concept was modified from the urban administrative system developed in the cities of Islamic Iberia and was presumably implemented in Tripoli due to the increasing urban and civic functions in the city. It seems conceivable that the city at that time required a separate local administrative building to manage the city's affairs, perhaps with appropriate offices and archival space. This was apparently the beginning of the creation of dedicated government buildings in Tripoli, a critical historical move that since then has limited the opportunities of public residents to freely access the space where the local city consultants gather and perform their duties.

5.4 Ottoman Tripoli (1551-1911)

Tripoli's Historical Transformations and Urban Development during the Period of Ottoman Occupation

In the mid-16th century the Knights of St. John of Malta were defeated by the Turks and Tripolitania was incorporated into the emerging Ottoman Empire. Ottoman administration of the city lasted until the Italian conquest in the early 20th century. Ottoman ascendancy in Tripoli is divided into three main periods: the First Ottoman Period (from 1551-1711), the de-facto rule of the Turkish hereditary Qarahmanli Dynasty (from 1711-1835), and the Second Ottoman Period (from 1935-1911). During the first and last periods, Tripoli was directly ruled by the Sublime Porte in Istanbul, while during the middle period the city was provincially governed by the Qarahmanli Pashas. Tripoli was renamed *Tarabulus el-Gharb* ('Tripoli of the West') to distinguish it from the other Ottoman-ruled Tripoli in modern Lebanon.



Figure 5-9: Map of Tripoli showing historical landmark buildings

Shows location of demolished 'Masjid al-Asharah' and later 'al-Qasabah' Hall, and the current location of Ahmad Pasha Mosque (c.1738) on al-Musher Marketplace Street.

As shown in the map of Tripoli (Figure 5-10, below), the city was predominantly intact and maintained inside the city's ancient confines reconstructed by the Spanish and continually improved by the Ottomans during their first two periods. However, it was within the Second Ottoman Period (the last) that Tripoli started to grow rapidly in size to the point when its development expanded beyond the Medina's ancient walls. In 1881 the city doors were no longer closed at night (Amoura, 1993:256), and some early demolition work began to break through the historical confines of the traditional city by 1909, *"to encourage outside building developments after the overpopulation of residents"* (MOT, 1972:50).

Such a prominent urban explosion was a reaction to the sudden increase in the overcrowded population inside the Old City, yet it must be considered that growth outside the walls might not only be related to internal forces. Other external changes must also be accounted for. Factors that dominated the 19th century world most certainly affected Tripoli at times when many cities were undergoing significant urban transformation, especially in the West. This era was a period of urban and architectural

advancement in Europe, mainly because of the advanced technological innovations that transformed the daily life of many after the industrial revolution.

Amoura (1993) suggested that the leaders of Tripoli during the 19th century wished to create rail networks to more easily transport goods and people, electricity systems and the telegraph and telephone, in addition to the development of new industries and manufacturing schemes after the invention of the steam engine and other sources of energy. Following these new ideas and potentials in industrialisation, the rulers of traditional cities worldwide were faced with the realisation that there was no necessity to maintain historical city walls, as they were obsolete in military terms.



Figure 5-10: A map of the city and port of “Tripoli in Barbara” (1675).

By John Seller (source: *WesScholar*, Wesleyan University)

A compounding factor in the failure to preserve ancient defensive systems is the fact that thick walls were a hindrance to the spread of advanced networks and constructions for the industrial urban infrastructures of the time. In other words, it seemed that in order for a developing city to boost its local economy and respond to global demands

it had to open up its walls, attract more skilled labour, and increase its manufacturing environment and infrastructure. All of this required wider areas and building projects with extensive spans and more open spaces to absorb different sizes of machines for the new industries.

At this critical time, the Ottoman authorities in Tripoli seem to have embarked on developing the urban built environment of the city not only to improve its economy, but also to buttress the position of the city as a bastion of Ottoman influence in North Africa in the face of advancing European imperialism throughout the late 18th and 19th centuries. They were also trying to maintain their networks in the global market by catching up with the rapid increase in industrial advances that ultimately influenced its urban growth.

Advanced infrastructures were first introduced to the urban context of Tripoli in the late 19th century. The installation of the first fresh water pipe system in Tripoli in the early 1870s, and the spread of telegraph wires connecting Tripoli with Benghazi about 1,000 km to the east (MOT, 1972:50) are both excellent examples of how Tripoli entered the industrial era under the Ottomans long before any European intervention. More evidence cited in the MOT about these stimuli in Tripoli in the late 19th century before Italian colonisation proves that:

“As of 1862, the city of Tripoli began to see a series of reforms and urban achievements (for example, the establishment of industrial and technical schools, the construction of hospitals, courts, public restaurants and the fetching of drinking water from the peripheral regions of Abu-Miliana and Ain-zarah water wells, in addition to starting conducting a census of the population at that time. As a result of the continuing efforts (under the control of some of the II period of Ottoman rulers over Tripoli) the city was witnessing a renaissance in architectural construction and progress in the provision of social services.” (MOT, 1972:51)

The official records presented in the MOT confirm from the early census mentioned above that in the last Ottoman period of the governor Ibrahim Pasha (1905-1911), the population of Tripoli was about 30,000 people including residents of the walled City and the al-Menshia peripheries, comprising 19,000 Muslims, 6,500 Jews, and 4,000 reported as Europeans, along with a few others from other different ethnic minorities and nationalities. It was also recorded that, at the time of this survey, inside the administrative boundaries of Tripoli there were 29 mosques, 7 synagogues, 5 churches, 19 primary schools, 1 secondary school, 2453 houses, 20 bakeries, 22 mill

stores, 1019 shops, 22 coffee shops, 14 'foundqs' (traditional inns, which were mainly and heavily used by travelling traders), and 7 foreign consulates. (MOT, 1972:51).

Another important achievement of this period is the significant efforts that the city rulers undertook in the second half of the 19th century to improve Tripoli's overall municipal and economic status, including the following development projects:

- Reforming municipal administration and creating the local Baladyiat system between the late 1860s and early 1870s.
- Organising and promoting more new industries and crafts (i.e. metals and leather industries).
- Establishing the School of Islamic Arts and Crafts in 1898 to teach apprentices, mainly orphans, the required knowledge and skills for industrial crafts.
- Encouraging farming within the peripheral areas surrounding the city; for example, endorsing the planting of Mulberry trees outside the city to feed the newly introduced silk industry in the 'Souk al-Hareer' (Silk Marketplace) inside the city walls (around 1882-1897).
- The 'al-Meri' taxation scheme based on statistics gathered from the 1899 census.
- Introducing the first land registration records to register the real estate of private property and to distinguish it from the property of 'Awqaf' and Government Property (1899-1902).
- Encouraging more trade between Libya and the Sudan (the African regions in the south of the Sahara).

As a result of economic interests and trading dynamics, urban markets ('Souks') were sustained and other new ones were created. These indoor and outdoor marketplaces were carefully placed in central locations, linking the inside-the-walls commercial activities with the external ones, especially after the destruction of many parts of the ancient walls, as seen later in section 5.7.

5.5 Tripoli's City Councils during the Ottoman Periods (16th C to 1911).

Table 5-1 summarises the detailed results obtained from researching what local government systems were used in Tripoli and the type and places used to house their meetings during all the Ottoman periods.

Gradually, assembled clues and indications deduced from the content analysis of the visual and textual historical materials has assisted in clarifying where and how these government centres actually stood. For example, by comparing historical maps and photographs and different archival videos of Tripoli city centre (from the resources mentioned in chapter 4 and listed in the bibliography).

The specific geographical locations of three distinct sites were found to have been used to house the local city councils during the Ottoman occupation of Tripoli as shown below (Figure 5-11) on a map of Tripoli showing different historical layers around its traditional city centre.

Table 5-1: Chronology of Tripoli's urban administration models and types of public buildings

Regime	Form of Local Municipal Administration	Place of the City Government
First Ottoman Period	1551-1711 Traditional Assembly of ' <i>Mashiyakhat al-balad</i> ', Arabian-style local urban administration system.	- City castles, central mosque, and Qasaba hall. - A donated residential place to be used as the city Dar al-Nadwas (Town Hall, and later Baladiya) in the 16th C.
The Qarahmanli Dynasty	1711-1835	
Second Ottoman Period	1835-1911 - ' <i>Mashiyakhat al-balad</i> ' Assembly (until 1860s) - A reformed (modern) local municipal administration system. An official Baladiyat system (local municipal governments) was established after the 1850s municipal reforms, following the 1835 Ottoman 'Tanzimat' reforms in Istanbul. Tripoli became an official 'Wilaya' (province). The city Governor became a Wali. He negotiated with the local leader ' <i>Shaikh al-balad</i> ', who became Mayor, to activate the 'Baladiyat' system in Tripoli officially in 1870s.	- Donated Baladiya House. - Coffee house of the ' <i>Shaikh al-balad</i> ' of Tripoli (Ali al-Gargany) as well as the nearby Baladiya House was mentioned as places where the city municipal and civic affairs were publicly discussed in the early period of the municipal reforms. - A new building for the reformed Baladiya was constructed outside the city historical walls in the early 1900s.

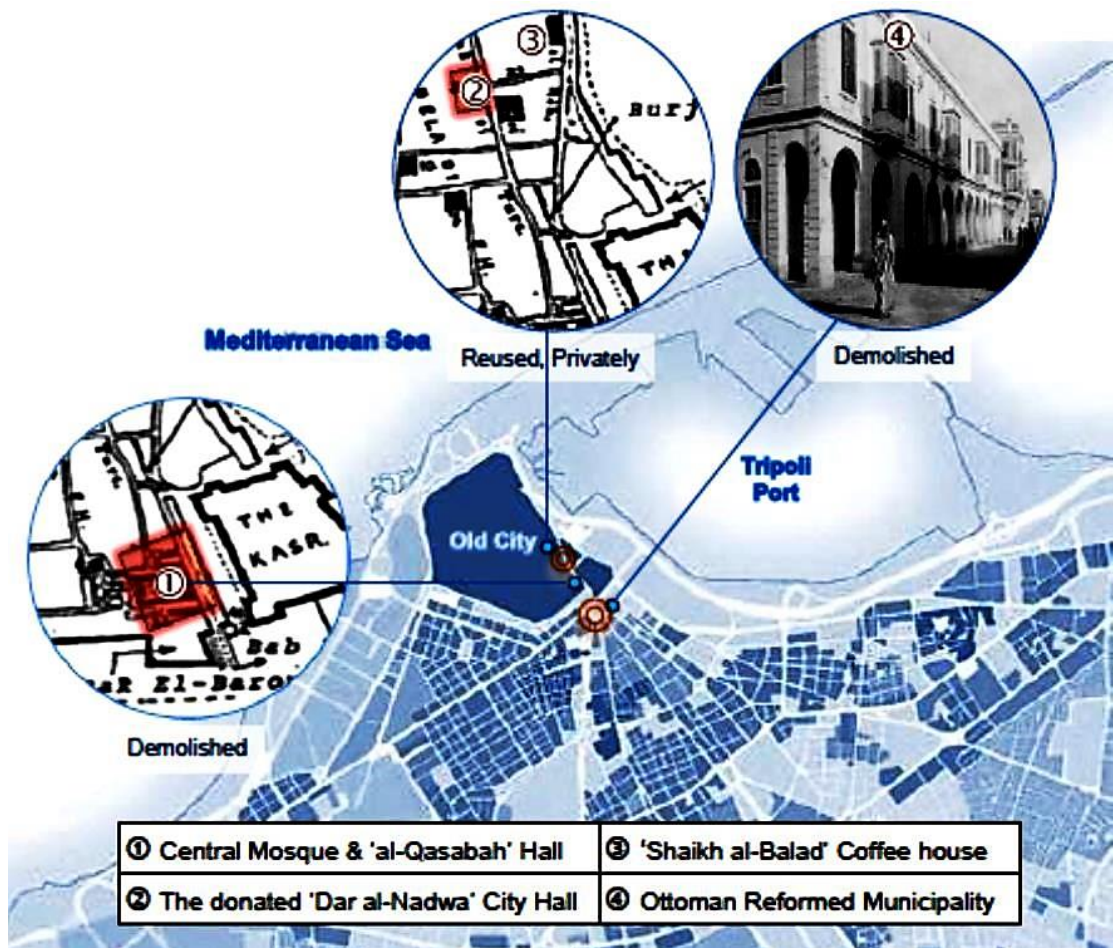


Figure 5-11: Map of Tripoli showing historical locations of main city councils pre-1911

It is difficult to envisage how the public in Tripoli perceived, behaved, and interacted with those now vanished civic places and the spaces surrounding them. The lack of studies concerning social activities and behaviour during each historical period of local government makes it almost impossible to arrive at a satisfactory answer, without relying on conjecture. This imaginative process is not, however, pure invention, it can be deduced from the relevant records of social and cultural aspects of the urban life of the societies living in and around public centres. An outline of the history of local government in Tripoli under the Ottoman occupation is summarised below:

1. The Donated City Hall (Dar al-Nadwa, early Baladiya House)

From the 16th century until the late 1860s, a typical Medina residential house, referred to in the MOT (1972) as the 'Baladiya House', was donated by a noblewoman to the city's local officials to be used as the 'Dar al-Nadwa' (city hall) of Tripoli.

This house, which is still present today and is used as a seafood restaurant (with no sign to explain its historical function) is located in the compact urban fabric inside

the old city walls in the central al-Baladiya District of ancient Tripoli (see Figure 5-11 and Figure 5-13). The building is very close to Souk al-Turk, near to the city's Clock Tower and the historic central mosque of Mohamed Pasha (also known as Shaieb al-Aien).



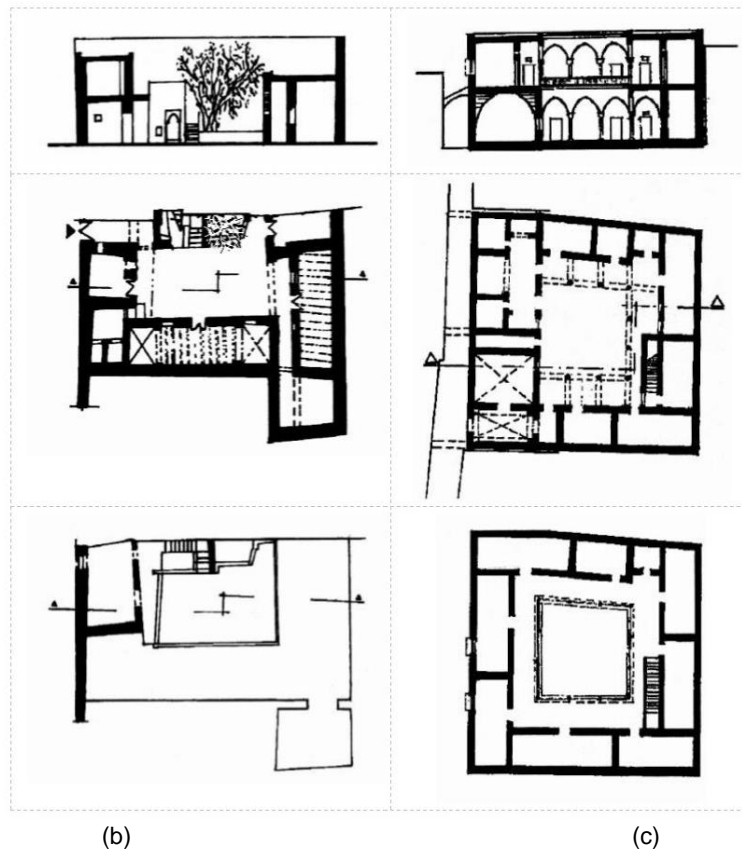
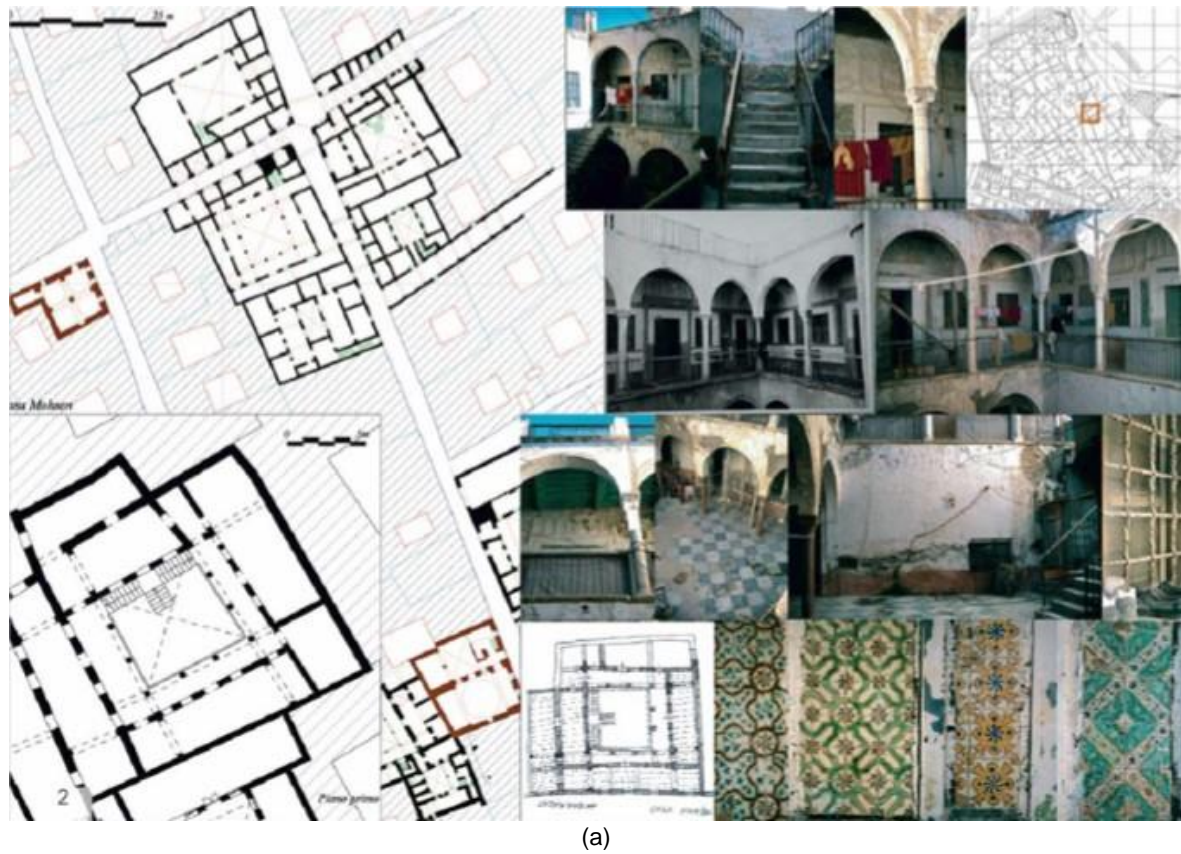
Figure 5-12: Main entrance of house donated for Tripoli 'Dar al-Nadwa'

Donated in the 16th century, currently a seafood restaurant

2. The Coffee House of *Shaikh al-Balad*

The coffee shop of *Shaikh al-Balad* (Ali al-Gargany, who was the local leader of the traditional Mashaiakh al-Balad organisation) was then used, presumably in conjunction with the donated Dar al-Nadwa city hall, for the newly reformed municipal administration of the 'Baladiya' of Tripoli, established in 1868 pursuant to the Ottoman Municipal Reformation Act of 1855.

The appointed *Rais al-Balad* after the municipal reformation, al-Gargany, used to regularly interact with the city residents in public in this central coffee house, which was reported to have also been given in 'waqf' to the city before it became an official meeting public place (Lafi, 2007). Situated in the Baladiya Quarter district of Tripoli's old city, in close proximity to its famous al-Turk central marketplace, the exploitation of the mayor's own coffee house had perhaps appeared to city officials as a more practical choice at the time to provide a public meeting space while planning an adequate office building in the newly expanding urban area outside the confines of the wall in the 1900s.



Example of a traditional single story house in Tripoli in the pre-Ottoman period

Example of a traditional two stories house in Tripoli during the Ottoman period

Figure 5-13: Plans and illustrations of typical traditional houses in Tripoli Medina.

Showing architectural analysis of some traditional buildings similar to the Baladiya house within the same Baladiya quarter. Sources: (a) Micara, 2013:22; (b and c) Modified from Shawesh (2000:112).



Figure 5-14: The Hall of al-Arabi coffee-house, Tripoli Old City

Within the traditional crafts market, near al-Musher Marketplace.

Source: The digital photographic collection of 'Al-ayam Altrabsiah' (The Days of Tripoli);

It must be noted that, although the economic motivation for the chief of the city's local government, *Shaikh al-Balad*, to meet city residents in his private coffee house cannot be totally denied – although this lies beyond the scope of this research – the significance of the selection of this particularly culturally rich context in Tripoli at the time should be recognised.

This coffeehouse, which is thought to be similar to, if not at the same site of, the coffeehouse shown in Figure 5-14, was also located within the Souk al-Turk marketplace. It seems that it was used for a short time until the new reformed municipal administration was relocated in a new public office building that constructed outside the old city.

3. The Reformed Municipal Building

The next relocation, and indeed the first purposefully dedicated municipal administrative building was located outside the city walls, apparently due to the aforementioned demographic and technical factors influencing the urban development of Tripoli in the early 20th century.

The map of the old city of Tripoli dated 1897 (Figure 3-8 in chapter 3) reveals that, until this date, Tripoli city hall was still marked in the location of the donated town hall near al-Turk central market.

It is therefore suggested that the newly built municipal building was constructed during the last decade of Ottoman influence in Tripoli around 1910, and to have been demolished by the Italian military forces in the early 1920s to create space for their first colonial model of the TM, built by the late 1920s, as discussed in the next chapter. Further details of the latest significant municipal administration are elaborated in section 5.6; meanwhile, consideration of the roots and origins of the traditional model of the 'Mashiakhat al-balad' and 'Dar al-Nadwa' concepts adopted by Arab-Muslims and the early Ottomans in Tripoli can indicate the nature of city governance and the meanings attached to it before the municipal reformation took place.

5.5.1 Roots and meanings attached to the 'Dar al-Nadwa' house

A brief historical review was conducted to illuminate the early model of urban local government in Arabian cities, in order to identify the meaning of the term *Dar al-Nadwa* mentioned by the MOT and the origins of the city assembly house in Tripoli. The story was found to date back to the pre-Islamic city of Mecca in the Arabian Peninsula, where a place called *Dar al-Nadwa* ('Symposium Room') was in effect the city's earliest officially known council assembly space. This residential house was the residence of the King Qusayy ibn Kilab, a member of the elite Quraysh tribe, who opened his own home to be used as a meeting place in which the Quraysh used to discuss their daily affairs, ca. 400 CE (Peters, 2004:22):

"Qusayy built—or perhaps simply appropriated—the dar al-Nadwa to serve as his own residence as well as the council hall for the community, 'in which the Quraysh used to decide their affairs'. These affairs included all community activities from political acts like declarations of war to religious rituals, circumcision, and marriage rites." (Peters, 2004:23).

One of the important points here is that: *"Qusayy's house gave direct access to the Ka'ba,"* the holiest building to the pagan Arabs and subsequently to all Muslims (Peters, 2004:23). However, the questions arise of whether *Dar al-Nadwa* acted and was perceived as a proper municipal or administrative centre, and what its roles were in city management and the provision of services for residents.

Al-Sulami (2003) traced the roles of *Dar al-Nadwa* and stated that the discussions help there concerned affairs of peace and war, solving internal and external tribal disputes, dealing with market and trading issues, preparing and managing the annual pilgrimage

to Hajj⁶, and discussing different social and civil matters such as marriage and divorce, where “*no contract of marriage or issuance of divorce took place unless formally discussed in Dar al-Nadwa*” (Al-Sulami, 2003:37-38). However, some historians do not acknowledge the *Dar al-Nadwa* assembly as an official local government. Peters (2004:26) argued that:

“What passes as the ‘municipal offices’ of Mecca have to do only with military operations, which our sources never show us in operation, and with the control of the shrine... the principal functioning offices, as far as we can tell, were all connected with the shrine and the pilgrimage, and were regarded as religious in character.”

Nevertheless, Mukarram et al. (2005) drew attention to the fact that there were “*certain traditional offices*” and management functions performed by the *Dar al-Nadwa* urban organisation, explaining that:

“Among these are the nasi (the privilege of deciding when a month was to be intercalated into the lunar calendar to keep it in line with the solar year), the siqayah (the superintendence of the water-supply, especially with a view to the needs of pilgrims), the rfadah (provisioning of pilgrims), and the liwa (carrying the standard in war, or arranging for this).” (Mukarram et al., 2005:14)

Given this mixture of political, ritual, social, public and economic services that it provided for society, could this ancient city council organisation then be classified as a proper municipal office? To Al-Sulami (2003:39), “*Dar al-Nadwa was organised as a socio-political order. In this sense, age played a key role in any decision to allow membership of it,*” which Mukarram et al. (2005) identified as evidence of privileges not associated with the modern understanding of municipal offices:

“This is hardly a municipal administration as we now understand it, or even as the Greeks and Romans understood it. These offices are rather privileges, some of which at least offered opportunities for making money; in connexion with the siqayah, there was some charge for the use of the well of Zam Zam by pilgrims. We also hear of taxes of various kinds levied from pilgrims and merchants, but it is not clear how these were collected.”

However, although *Dar al-Nadwa* was undoubtedly an undemocratic hierarchal tribal organisation according to the modern understanding, this does not necessarily preclude it from being some sort of a site of city civic management and governance, especially when compared to other commonly acknowledged traditional governing institutions. The important point is that “*the major purpose behind the establishment of*

⁶ _Mecca was a site of ancient pilgrimage rituals during the pre-Islamic period; its origins ultimately traced to the rites of the Prophet Abraham.

Dar al-Nadwa *was to allow people to participate in conducting Mecca's affairs*" (Al-Sulami, 2003:38), and that it delivered, in conjunction with the services it provided, a very symbolic value for the city and its people for generations that followed in the very centre of the city core near the holy Ka'ba. Eventually, it is these symbolic meanings attached to the Dar al-Nadwa terminology that certainly lasted in the minds of many Muslims and the civilisations they created in newly established provincial cities such as Tripoli.

5.5.2 The '*Mashiakhat al-balad*' local administrative systems

The work of Lafi on the 'old-regime' of local urban administration during Ottoman Tripoli before the late 1860s municipal reforms, which can also be supplemented by other historical work in the field (e.g. MOT, 1972; Al-Ousta, 2005), describes numerous administrative archival records and details the nature of governance during Ottoman ascendancy. It indicates that a high degree of local autonomy was incorporated into the administrative framework under Ottoman suzerainty.

As in other Ottoman Arabian Islamic cities, the newly introduced local urban governments, the *Mashiakhat al-balad* system that lasted in Tripoli until the 1860s, was essentially a continuation of an Arab-Islamic system called '*al-Hisba*,' practiced during early Islamic times and based on Islamic economic and judiciary principles. The representative of the *Hisba* office would carry out the duties of protecting market prices, assuring the prevention of fraudulent practices and fraudulent transactions, and penalising dishonest traders.

5.5.3 The role of '*Shaikh al-balad*,' '*Mashiakhat al-balad*,' and the city '*cadi*'

In most cases, the form of the then existing *Mashiakhat al-balad* system of local urban government in Tripoli was run by the town's *Shaikh al-balad* (the Arabic term for an elder, a religious scholar, or a tribal or public leader). Tripoli's *Shaikh al-balad* was responsible for overseeing markets, inspecting prices, assuming duties of arbitration between the general public and business owners, and overseeing government construction projects such as road building, maintenance, and cleanliness, maintaining city barriers and fences, and collecting taxes and fees from businessmen and professional craftsmen (Al-Ousta, 2005).

The system of patronage of local rulers was deployed throughout the Ottoman Empire, most notably in the case of the Sharif of Mecca, and these notables were a bridge

between the Turkish *Wali* and the local indigenous population. The *Shaikh al-balad* was also accompanied by the town's elders and trade supervisors, *Jamaât al-balad*, in managing the city assembly. His salary was provided from the state's treasury, and also from collected fees and taxes.

"[Tripoli] was ruled by its merchants and notables and was organized according to principles that qualified as constituting an urban old regime. Both in local archives, in central Ottoman archives and in chronicles, I found echoes of the existence of a city assembly and of the charge of chief of the city." (Lafi, 2007:4)

However, the actual role of the local *Shaikh al-balad* in organising the city assembly of *Mashiakhat al-balad* or *Jamaât al-balad* in the donated council house is not clear in the references quoted.

"The urban old regime institution was fully [incorporated] into the Ottoman system. The notables were in direct contact with the Governor and the chief of the town embodied the city as a symbolic entity during official celebrations, be it of dynastic interest before 1835 or Imperial interest after." (Lafi, 2007:4)

The role of *Shaikh al-balad* cannot therefore be considered as synonymous with the modern role of mayor. Who was truly in power in the early city assembly in Tripoli, remains uncertain.

According to the MOT (1972:95) the local authority of the '*Mashiakhat al-balad*' assembly in Tripoli was in direct charge of the administration of the city, entrusted with the control of a multitude of commercial and social management functions. However, the '*Muhtasib*,' the individual officer under the '*Hisba*' system, had the authority under the commands of the city judge ('*Cadi*'), to implement legitimate punishment of deceitful and fraudulent individuals. In this sense, the '*Hisba*' officers were the frontline municipal guards during the '*Mashiakhat al-balad*' city council regime. With regards to his powerful role in running city affairs, Lafi (2007:4) argues that *"the Cadi ... often seen as an urban ruler, only had a judicial competence in urban field: he intervened only to solve conflicts. The true essence of the Ottoman urban old regime lies in the hands of ... merchants and guilds."*

It is interesting to note that the *Cadi*'s office ('*Dar al-cadaa*', the city legislative court) was also situated in the central al-Baladiya Quarter of Tripoli old city. In fact an 1897 map of Tripoli's ancient city (presented in chapter 3) reveals that there was a house called the *Cadi* House ('*Dar al-cadi*') located at the end of the urban block behind the donated *Dar al-Nadwa* house used by the *Mashiakhat al-balad* assembly. This might

appear politically irrelevant, but it is important in the context of social and architectural urban research. The relationship between the politics of local services provision and its geography tend to be significant in urban environments (e.g. Post, 2002). However, this is unfortunately not remarked upon in studies of Tripoli so far.

It can be argued that the city's main court house, 'Dar al-cadaa,' was possibly in existence long before the donation of the early 'Baladiya' house, although this could not be proven due to a lack of evidence. But this geographical marriage between the two powerful official local public buildings, even if accidental, might have influenced the functions and role of these public places, and this would have added significantly to perceptions of the use and role that this traditional city hall house and its inhabitants played in downtown Tripoli during these early periods before the modern reformation of the TM in the late 1860s.

5.6 The First Modern Municipality in Tripoli (1870-1911): the 'Baladiyat'

So far, since the 16th century, the city assembly of *Mashiyakhat al-balad* used the donated *Dar al-Nadwa* house in Tripoli old city. During the Second Ottoman period in Tripoli (1835-1911), a significant political and administrative renovation programme was launched after a direct order from Istanbul abolishing the *Mashiyakhat al-balad* assembly system in Tripoli and approving a new municipal system in 1870. The following section describes the process of change from the old regime of traditional local urban administration in Ottoman cities before the mid-19th century to the reformed city municipality, discussing the nature and origins of the reforms and their adoption in Tripoli.

5.6.1 The Ottoman 'Tanzimat' and 'Baladiyat' reforms

In its bid to develop the Ottoman Empire, the Astana (the Sublime Porte) decided to establish the *Tanzimat* Reforms during the 1830s. This crucial reorganisational effort represented the Empire's attempt to retain its power and maintain its territories against European rivals. The first target was to reform the military administration and its technology, soon followed by the reform of government administration, including both central and local bodies throughout the Empire.

One of the sectors which benefited most from this programme was local urban authorities, where a modern urban administration structure was planned and tested in the mid-19th century. An Act of Municipal reforms was enacted in Istanbul in 1855 and

them implemented in many major cities in the Ottoman territories. Tripoli was at the heart of the reformation as it was in close proximity to the European imperial rivals.

In practice, the distributed Ottoman *Eyalet* (imperial territorial regions/states) were effectively reduced in size into smaller authorised local urban units called *Vilayet* (States, *Wilayia* in Arabic). Each *Wilayia* was governed by a Wali. The Wali was directly appointed by the Ottoman Porte, very often for a short period of time, however it was up to the Wali to decide on the method used to deploy the reformed *Baladiya*.

The Ottoman municipal reform efforts in Libya started with the establishment of municipalities in areas with higher population density in cities like Tripoli and Benghazi. Responsibility for the developments was delegated to these municipalities, which were subject to the Wali for decision making and funding.

The Ottoman municipal reforms were arguably similar in principle to the contemporary urban reforms in Europe. However, the municipal model adopted in Ottoman cities, particularly in Tripoli, was not imposed on society, but was rather the result of negotiation between the Wali and local elites, being specifically designed to suit the social and urban context of the city, as explained below.

5.6.2 The reformed wilayia of Tripoli and the key role of its wali

Tripoli's reformed municipal administration was inaugurated in the early 1870s (MOT, 1972). It was legitimately established in accordance with an Ottoman *faraman* (decree) issued on December 7th, 1870, during the period of the rule of the Wali Ali Ridha Pasha Aljazaeri. The official negotiations to transform Tripoli into an official *Baladiya* were completed in 1868 (Lafi, 2003).

The MOT (1972) argues that the Ministry of Interior Affairs in Istanbul had apparently felt that the system of *Shaikh al-balad* in the Ottoman state of Tripoli, and almost certainly in other Arabian states, was no longer suitable for the advancement of the city and its services. Accordingly, an official letter (No: 5, dated 2 Safar 1285 AH, 1869 CE) was sent from Istanbul to Tripoli requesting the opinions of the Wali (Ali Ritha Pasha) concerning the institution of a novel municipal management body in the Wilaiya of Tripoli (MOT, 1972). The Wali replied with a report in support of the new scheme. The letter was signed by him personally and the official committee of the state.

According to the MOT, Ali Pasha was in favour of the creation of 'stand-alone' local urban administration, observing that: *"The establishment of such an institution would be an effective tool in the reconstruction of the state"* (1972:51). In a detailed consideration of Ali Pasha's report of, Lafi (2003) revealed that:

"On 1 August 1867, the Pacha replied favorably to the idea of creating a European type of municipal management in Tripoli, and included with his reply a report on the Situation of Tripoli in terms of urban administration. He thus aimed to get the Porte to understand that modernization would be linked to this new type of city management and that at the same time certain element of local administration should be retained given that they would benefit the reforms." (Lafi, 2003:196)

In contrast to the previous assumption made by the MOT (1972) about the unsuitability of the existing local system of *Shaikh al-balad* in managing the city of Tripoli, Lafi mentions that the governor presented his argument for the new municipal model in Tripoli *"based on a presentation of the merits of the Shaykh al-balad's function, and of the person holding the position at the time, 'Ali al-[gargani]"* (Lafi, 2003:196). Lafi (2007:9) elsewhere emphasised that the municipal reforms in Ottoman Tripoli in the 1870s were negotiated and not imported. She asserted that:

"Ottoman governors, such as 'Ali Ridha Pacha al-Jazayri (himself the son of an Algerian Ottoman urban notable exiled in Istanbul) negotiated not only the implementation of the reforms, but also the content of the reforms. The municipality is in no way only the result of the importation of an external model: it is rather the result of a long negotiation (with phases of conflict) with the local notability, which embodied the old regime. In Tripoli thus, the creation of the modern municipality is in no way a reform that comes in a context of a lack of local urban government. It is just a passage from old to new régime, with all the usual ambiguities of such a process."

Ali Pasha was indeed the crucial figure in the success of this political and administrative transformation in Tripoli, and his motives and enthusiasm for reforming Tripoli's administration deserve more attention. Nicknamed 'al-Jazayri', Ali Pasha was the governor general over Tripoli from 1867-1870 and then from 1872-1873. According to Lafi (2003:193) He *"was a fervent partisan of reforms and of the modernization movement ... the leading figure in the implementation of municipal reform."* He was obsessed with institutional organisation and the reformation of municipal work in Tripoli, and thus it is no surprise that one year into his appointment as Wali, he decided in 1868 to build one of Tripoli's key landmarks, the famous Clock Tower in the central city square of *Maidan al-Saah* (Clock Square) inside the Baladiya Quarter (see Figure 5-15 and Figure 5-16).



Figure 5-15: Panorama view of Tripoli Old City 1930

Showing part of the Baladiya Quarter with the Clock Tower and the minaret of Mohamed Pasha Mosque. Source: Itrablus Zaman.



Figure 5-16: Tripoli Clock Tower in 'Maidan al-Saah' (Clock Square, c.1940s)

Built under the rule of the Ottoman governor Ali Ridha Pasha in 1868 in the Baladiya Quarter of Tripoli walled city. Source: Al-ayam Altrablsiah.

Al-Keep (1978:113) asserted that the erection of this unprecedented building at that time should not merely be seen as an act of righteousness and charitable work, because of its functional utility. The landmark of the Clock Tower might seem virtuously symbolic, with its hybridised Ottoman architecture and significant central position close to the old donated Baladiya house, and was perhaps also intended to help encourage public time management; the tower manifested the value of time, the Clock is Time (literally, in Arabic semantics) and time is discipline.

Ali Pasha was a native Arabic speaker and the son of an Algerian judge (*Cadi*). Ali went with his father to live in Constantinople after the French conquest of Algeria in 1830 and completed an Ottoman education before being sent with other youngsters to Europe for eight years to receive a French education. There is evidence that as governor of Tripoli he maintained very good relationships not only with Arabs and Algerians but also with the French consulate in Tripoli, in addition to having “*close links with the sultan of the day, ‘Abdul-Aziz’ (1861-1876)*” (Lafi, 2003:193).

The individual interest in and efforts made by Ali Pasha to modernise the city of Tripoli and in the late 19th century were key to his reforming ambitions supported by knowledge and experience of Western urban solutions as well as friendly relations with powerful Ottoman leaders and his negotiation skills with local elites; and, most importantly, his understanding of the social and urban context of the city of Tripoli. These were all important factors in the successful development of a reformed *Baladiya* in Tripoli by 1870.

It is, nevertheless, just as important to understand the linguistic meanings and connotations of the *Baladyia* municipal institution and its building in Arabic, and how this was exploited to secure the success of municipal reforms and guarantee their acceptance amongst the general public in the Ottoman provinces.

5.6.3 Significance and meanings of ‘al-Baladiya’ terminology in the reforms

Lafi (2003) revealed the significance of exploiting the language used to interpret the proclaimed Ottoman municipal reforms in order to distinguish them from those already established in the West. Based on a the review of a number of local and imperial historical records concerning the newly reformed municipalities in case studies from Istanbul and *Trâblus al-Gharb* (‘Tripoli of the West’), Lafi argues that in their endeavour

to modernise their Empire, the Ottomans did not just blindly implement European-model of municipality without testing it in the Ottoman context and giving it familiar terminology, stating that:

“While borrowing from the West, the achievements and organization of which were evident, a considerable effort was necessary to adapt such achievements to the Ottoman context – in short they had to be ‘Ottomanized’.” (Lafi, 2003:188)

The initiative to ‘Ottomanize’ the new Western model to be adapted to local realities was initially implemented by establishing pilot municipalities in two neighbourhoods of Istanbul, Beyoghlu and Galata. This experiment helped in avoiding possible pitfalls and reinforcing the benefits before the deployment of the model in local contexts.

It can be argued that the terminology used played a crucial role in the success of this new Ottoman municipal model, at least in the case of Arabic-speaking territories such as the Wilaya of Tripoli in 1870.

“This Ottomanization began with the selection of a suitable translation for the term municipality within the Empire. According to Bernard Lewis, the neologism belediyye in Turkish and other Near Eastern languages (in Tripoli, the Arabic adaptation is baladiyya) was chosen specially to designate the European-style municipal institutions in contrast to older Muslim forms of urban government. However, the term, derived from the Arabic balad, often used to designate the town, should be seen as an expression of the will of the reformers to modernize in accordance with local conditions without alienating the population.” (Lafi, 2003:191)

The specific local context and perceptions of its population can be seen as one of the key elements in the successful adaptation of the transformed municipal system in Tripoli in 1868. However, the Ottoman reformers did not coin the *Baladiya* terminology. *“In fact, one quarter in Tripoli has been named baladiyya since at least the end of the eighteenth century; an important figure of the management of the city was located there — the shuykh al-b[a]lâd, chief of the council of notables” (Lafi, 2003:191).*

Considering the native assignation of the Baladiya Quarter, the local people in Tripoli still refer to *Homat al-Baladiya*, meaning the precinct (or neighbourhood) of the *Baladiya*. It is obvious in this Arabic expression that the grammatical use of the noun *Baladiya* here is referring to a functioning object and not merely a plot of land or administrative division. This is a defiant reference to the 16th century donated Baladiya House, explained earlier as Dar al-Nadwa, but what does Baladiya actually mean?

The lexical meaning of *Baladiya* is 'municipality'. According to Wehr (1966:72), the feminine *Baladiya* was originally derived from the masculine Arabic root *Balad*, meaning country or region, or from the feminine root *Baldah*, which means a geographical area or urban settlement like a town or city. The adjective *Baladi*, literally meaning anything 'municipal' or 'regional', generally refers to everything that is formally related to and under the control of the specific administrative central and local affairs of that town, city or country; for example, state-subsidised bread is colloquially referred to as *khubz baladi* ('national bread') in modern Egypt.

The word 'municipality' in English can be defined as a type of self-governing urban administrative division over a defined geographical area. However, when conducting the fieldwork for the purpose of this study in Tripoli, the word *Baladiya* was found to also refer to – and in some informal dialogues only attached to – the specific current historical municipal building of Tripoli in Algeria Square in the city centre, hence the renaming of the adjacent street 'al-Baladiya Street' instead of 'Emilio De Bono Street' after the end of Italian colonisation.

Finally, the use of the term *Baladiya* by this study's respondents in Tripoli can be seen as a sort of a coded language, a common local expression given to a particular functioning urban object, and should not only be seen as a meaningful description of what that object – in this case a municipal building – does. This specific code might then be considered as inherited folk knowledge, information carried by locals through accumulated cultural, social, and historical experience and memories of using the physical environment. These inherited meanings and connotations could then be passed down the generations.

5.6.4 The role of the reformed *Baladiya*: its impact on the city and public

From information revealed in the MOT (1972:95-96), Tripoli's early official municipality played a very important role in the life of the population of the city during the late 19th century. That the reformed administration undertook multiple functions of several ministries, and was the sole professional governing body that the State Board of Executives relied upon in any works (MOT, 1972:96). Accordingly, the new *Baladiya* provided the city residents with basic daily urban public services. This included responsibility for the management of public civil; social, and health affairs, and the organisation of the civic status of residents (MOT, 1972:96). It provided the most

advanced municipal services of its time, such as street and alley lighting, and supplying clean drinking water to the city centre.

Due to its political and economic potential, the scope of the municipality's services by the beginning of the 20th century exceeded the traditional urban confines of the city of Tripoli to serve the entire region of the Wilaiya of Tripoli (Tripolitania), providing other smaller districts with technical and medical assistance. In short, the Baladiya of Tripoli was more like a regional government than a city-based local municipality. The formal changes that the new *Baladiyat* system introduced in replacing the traditional administration of *Mashiyakhat* or *Jamaat al-balad* in Tripoli are summarised by Lafi as follows:

"The cheikh al-bilâd becomes mayor (rais al-baladiyya). The jama'a al-bilâd becomes municipal council (majlis al-baladiyya). The competences remain mostly the same, such as the composition of the assembly. Same families of notables, same social networks. The place where the assembly (qahwa al-cheikh-al-bilâd, a café given in waqf to the town) used to meet becomes city hall (baladiyya)." (Lafi, 2007:9)

The first local chairman of the *Baladiya (Rais al-Baladiya)* was the former *Shaikh al-balad*, Ali Algarganni, and the last was Hasan Pasha Algaramanli, in charge until the Italian occupation of Tripoli after 1911. During the relatively short period between the 1870s and 1911, the council was directed to take the municipality beyond the conditions of the previous 'old regime'. Notable administrative changes and many public projects and urban improvements were undertaken during this period in Tripoli. Some of the significant achievements are as follows:

1. The first municipal budget was managed and authorised from the proceeds of the levies obtained from selling goods and from numerous other municipal transactions, such as weighing of goods, slaughtering, and endowment leases.
2. Great care was given to general health and asepticism, fighting disease, and the creation of local committees to oversee the city's cleanliness. Penalties were imposed for violating hygiene regulations.
3. An official census was conducted for the city of Tripoli to record its population and urban activities.
4. Currency control was also undertaken by the municipal council during this period, as well as choosing certain samples of agricultural and industrial products to participate in international exhibitions in Europe and the United States.

5. Embarking on the introduction of advanced urban infrastructure, such as digging wells for drinking water for key public centres, the establishment of telephone lines and a facsimile system between Tripoli and Benghazi.
6. The lighting of the city's roads and alleyways was carried out by charging the local people the cost of street lights fuelled by kerosene. One edict issued in 1872 was the obligation for all residents to carry lamps while out at night, with fines imposed on violators.
7. The issuance of a decree to commission the municipality council with the imposition of the Public Morality Protection Law.
8. The establishment of a rehabilitation institution for educating the needy and orphan residents. Shelters were also created for the poor and the sick, and food was also allocated for them in years of famine.
9. In October 1877 the Act of the Municipalities was issued in Tripoli, followed by the regulations governing the council's functions, such as prohibitions, on spoiling roads, selling of spoiled food, and the use of uncovered metallic vessels in restaurants, and some city planning practices.

Municipality city planning activity was unpretentious and pragmatic, and the abovementioned municipal regulations only considered some ephemeral aspects of urban planning. Modest consideration was given to the identification of growth outside the old city walls and the basic organisation of construction work, especially when the tradition of Tripoli's gate closure was discontinued by the late 19th century. Urban planning activities were limited in Tripoli despite a great need for them in developing the city beyond its walls possibly becomes of the conviction at the time that city maps should be considered military secrets that should be withheld from general circulation (Amoura, 1993). However, in this study, diverse historical materials were gathered and analysed to develop a better picture of the urban, architectural, and socio-cultural conditions surrounding the municipal building within its newly established urban context, as presented in the next section.

5.7 The Urban, Architectural, and Socio-Cultural Aspects of Tripoli's First Municipality outside the Ancient Walls

5.7.1 The urban aspects

As mentioned previously, Tripoli's historical gates were left open after 1881, and by 1909 significant parts of the city's ancient walls were obsolete in linking the inside of the Medina to the newly expanded urban structure outside, see map of Tripoli in 1910 (in Figure 5-17 below) as well as the historical photos showing these urban activities around the same period before 1911 (Figures 5-18; 5-19; and 5-20).

The city's main marketplaces played an important role in shaping its newly planned urban structure and life outside the traditional medina. According to Ardalan (1980:11-12) the role of central Souks was vital in holding the physical and spiritual structure of many Islamic cities together:

"The unifying element which linked the disparate parts of a city together was often the bazaar or sūq [souk]. Through a system of linear and grid pathways that were often covered, the bazaar network created the madinas and casbahs [Qasbahs] of traditional Muslim cities. Here, within a compact space and a highly image[in]able framework of pedestrian scale, many functions had been included".

Tripoli city was no exception, the physical and social position of the most recently created Souks in the expanded Ottoman Tripoli, almost two decades before the Italian invasion, was most significant. One noteworthy marketplace of this period was the al-Mushier street market. Opened at the time of Al-Mushier Rajab Pasha in the late 19th century, this was created to cope with increasing demand for diverse trading activities. The Souk was located on both sides of the city's central Baladiya district, in near the mosque of Ahmad Pasha, and was a significant meeting-centre for the public to gather and socialise near the city's main gates of al-Menshia in the Medina's south-eastern side (shown in Figure 5-7).

Another central open market created in this period is Souk al-Khobza (the Bread Market). This was one of Tripoli's most vital outdoor marketplaces outside the city's walls benefiting from the prosperous trading and industrial activities during this critical era of urban change. It was located in close proximity to the city's renowned main entrance, 'Bab al-Menshia' (the Door of al-Menshia) to the south-eastern side of the old city (see Figure 5-18).

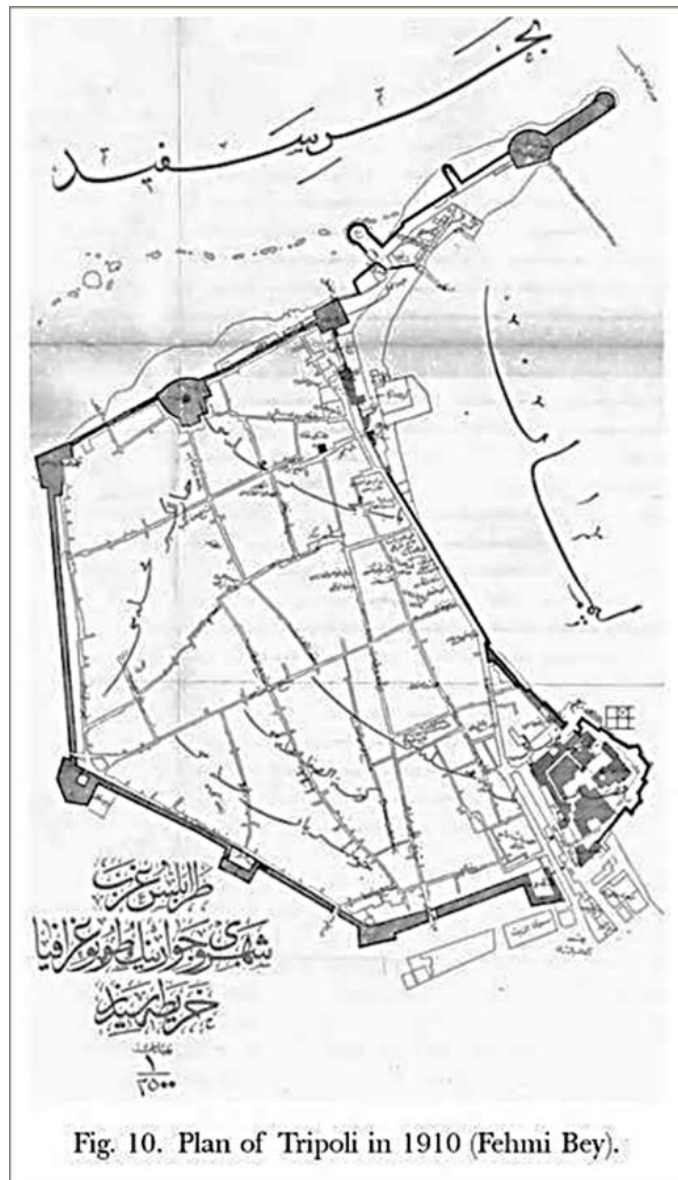


Figure 5-17: Tripoli in 1910 (The map of Fehmi Bey)

Showing the start of building activities outside the ancient city walls and main gate of Bab al-Menshia' (the Door of al-Menshia) in the south-eastern side close to the city's ancient Red Citadel. (Jayyusi et al., 2008:1230)



Figure 5-18 :Aerial view of Tripoli's early urban activities outside the city walls c.1910s

(Source: cited in Mezughi, 2013)

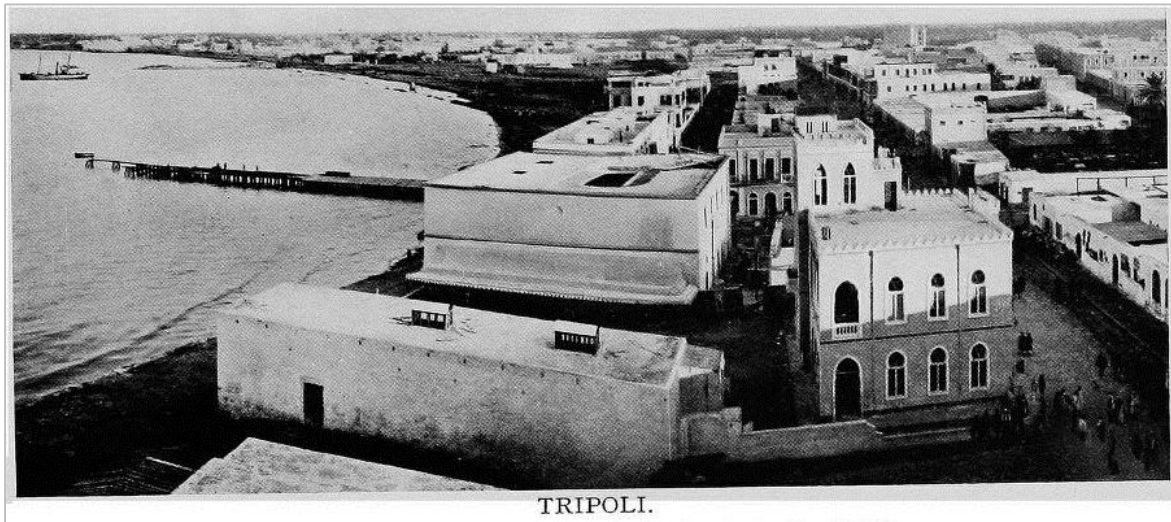


Figure 5-19: Early building activities outside Tripoli ancient walls (1910s)

Looking from the city ancient Castle towards the south-east, showing the main city street diverted from Souk al-Khobza marketplace in the direction of al-Aziziya Street.

(Source: Lapworth and Zimmern, 1912:112)



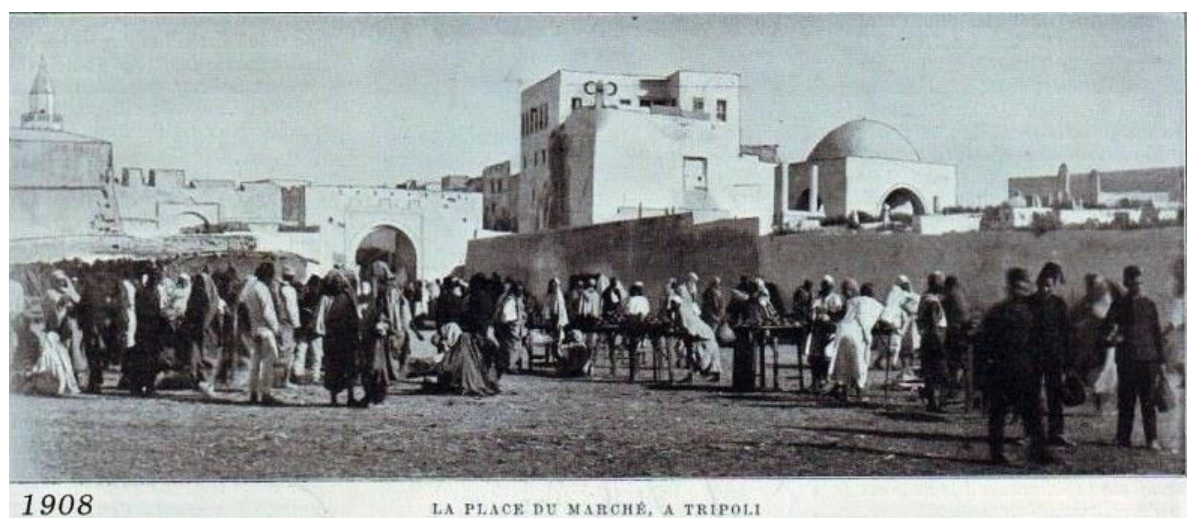
Figure 5-20: Photograph of Italian troops entering Tripoli in 1911 in Al-Aziziya Street

The last three pictures show the size of the urban development undertaken outside Tripoli ancient city before the Italian colonisation. The main city street diverted from Souk al-Khobza marketplace is also shown, and the relocated office building (right) of the Ottoman Wali/city governor of Tripoli.

(Source: The Library of Congress's Photostream, Flickr Commons Project, 2011)

This marketplace was where the main traffic routes of the active trading caravans met, coming from different directions, mainly from the east and the south (see Figure 5-18). It was within this public centre that the unloading and reloading of trading goods once took place, and where residents and visitors presented and traded local merchandise and commodities during the week. Due to its unique location within the newly developed expanse outside the city's main threshold, the marketplace of al-Khobza gained significant prominence during the subsequent years until the present day. Nevertheless, other economic, social, and cultural factors also contributed to the establishment of this open space in the first place, and these were possibly what gave it its public status and motivated its dynamic historical use, as seen in Figure 5-21.

Looking at the condition of al-Khobza square in the early 1900s (Figures 5-18; 5-20; and 5-21) it seems that the outdoor marketplace was an energetic urban public hub for city inhabitants and visitors to gather and communicate for different purposes, a vigorous open breathing space that possibly naturally responded to the ever-growing demand for wider urban spaces that the increasing population and industrial urbanisation of the time required. This appears to respond to the need for urban change from the compact indoor market and public space to a more expansive zone that remained close to the traditional city and its central amenities. Soon after the demolition of the historic confines, al-Khobza market was enclosed by a number of new public and private buildings constructed and mostly aligned on both sides of the five main caravan routes.



(a) Al-Khobza marketplace and the main gate of Bab al-Menshia,' Tripoli in 1908

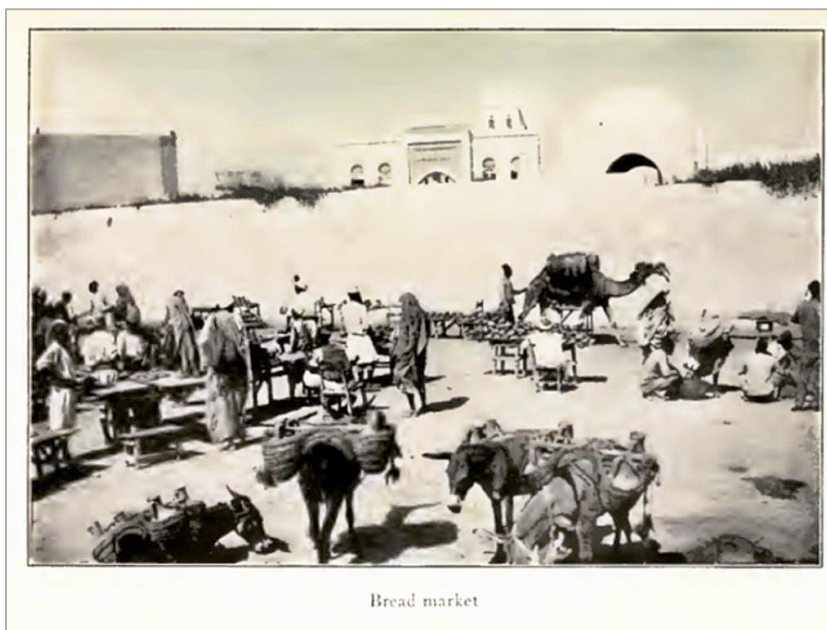
(Source: Itrablus Zaman)



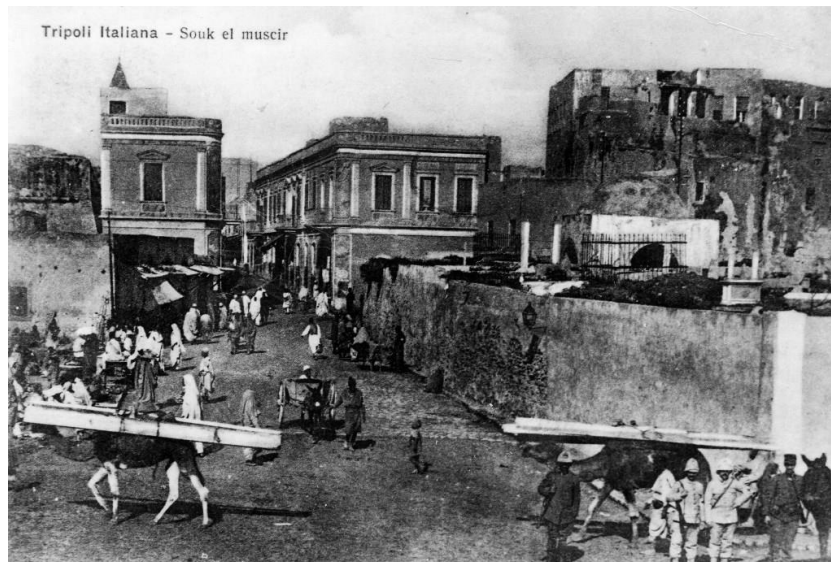
(b) Tripoli 1911. (Source: Khuga, 1969: 58-59, [Plate 2.4A])



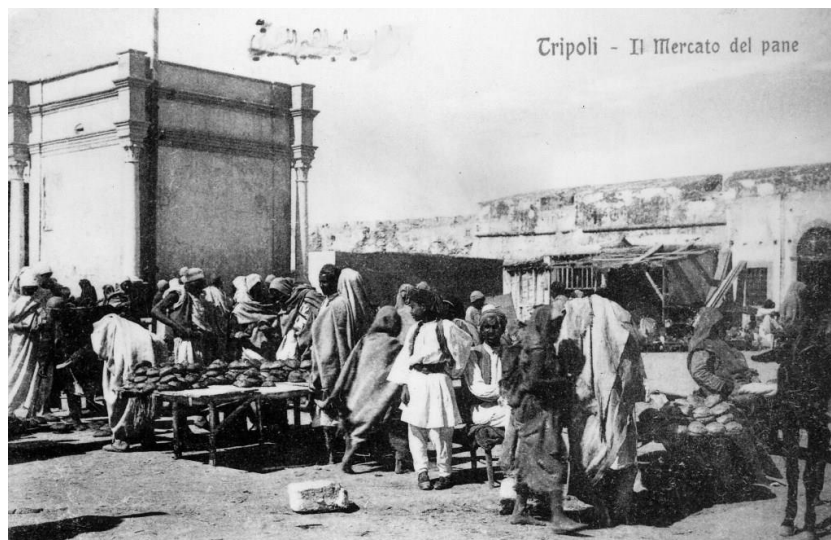
(c) Tripoli 1911. (Source: Al-ayam Altrablsiah)



(d) Tripoli 1912. (Source: Todd, 1912:134-135)



(e) Tripoli 1912 (Source: LCAHS: photo 6, Album 2A-7)

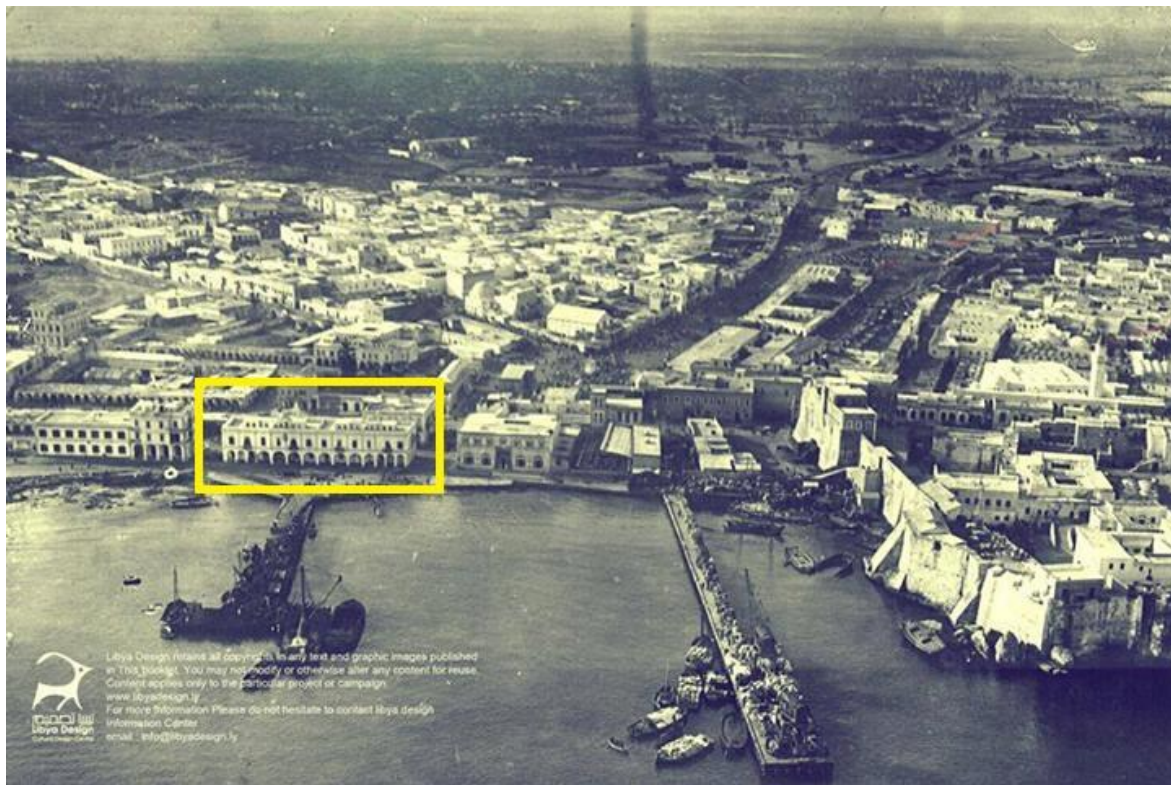


(f) Tripoli, c.1912 (Source: LCAHS: photo 14, Album 2A-7)

Figure 5-21: Views of Tripoli's Souk al-Khobza marketplace outside its walls

From the south-eastern side of the city, the square of Souk al-Khobza marketplace outside the city main gate of Bad al-Menshia (seen in a,b and e). All images show the increasing public activities of trading and possibly social gathering. Some also show people fetching fresh water from the water-well fountain built in the early 1900s (c and d).

It was within this growing urban organism that the new offices of the city municipal building (the reformed Baladiya) was constructed, presumably in the early 1900s. The content analysis and photographic survey undertaken in this research concerning the expanded area outside the city walls in the early years of the 20th century (all figures in this chapter) reveal that the building was located in today's Garnata Street parallel to the main city street of al-Azizia (as positioned on the map of Tripoli in Figure 5-11). The city governor (the Ottoman Wali) was also among the first who decided to relocate their offices to the newly expanded urban structure in al-Azizia Street (see Figure 5-20, and later Figures 5-27 and 5-28).



(a)



(b)



(c)



(d)



(e)

Figure 5-22: Images of Tripoli's new Ottoman municipal office building erected for the reformed Baladiya outside the ancient walls (c.1910)

The building is located on Gharnata Street, parallel to and north of Azizia Street. From looking at the pictures (a, b, c and d) it is clear how important its location is in the new expanding Tripoli outside the ancient walls, facing the Mediterranean sea directly on its Northern elevation. The furniture of the office of the *Rais al-Baladiya* used to be preserved in Tripoli Islamic Arts Museum today (e).

Sources: Libya Design, Cultural Design Centre (a); the digital collection of Al-Zawi (b,c,d); and Al-ayam Altrabsiah (e), verified with the photographic collection of LCAHS.

Finally, the place where the last Ottoman municipal building in Tripoli was built suggests that the building was significantly valued, because of its close relationship to the vital urban form and social position of al-Khobza marketplace and the main streets branching off from it. This strong urban relationship is further endorsed by the affirmation of its location at the time of the Italian occupation. The colonial planners, as explored in chapter 6, maintained the position of the city's municipal building and this central marketplace. They even made this key city square the new urban core mediating between the traditional walled city and the new colonial city they established in Tripoli, changing its name to Piazza Italia. The square was redubbed the Martyrs Square after the independence of Libya, and during the Gaddafi era (1969-2011) it was expanded and renamed Green Square, before reverting to Martyrs Square after the liberation of Libya from the Gaddafi regime.

5.7.2 Public architecture in the late Ottoman Tripoli

Due to the aforementioned factors and need for urban expansion in Tripoli at almost the same time when the municipal reforms were decided, and also because of the complexity of the newly improved municipal administration system, there must have been great demand for new municipal buildings with more office space to cope with the evident physical changes and house the increased number of visitors and staff required, which could no longer be accommodated by the small existing Dar al-Nadwa (early Baladiya) house.

The nature of the new bureaucratic system meant that more official staff encountered and served the public more often in larger numbers and in more systematic ways. A more complicated design layout therefore demanded a modern municipal administration in Tripoli. It is also possible that the Ottoman rulers at the time wanted to celebrate the introduction of this new modern culture of municipal organisation through the medium of exceptional civic public architecture for the first time in the heart of the open urban environment of the new city centre of Tripoli at the beginning of the 20th century. Perhaps as Ottoman influence in Egypt decreased during the late 19th century, Tripoli and Tunis became more important as outposts of Ottoman civilisation in North Africa

Apart from the images revealing the external form of this newly erected municipal building in Tripoli (see Figure 5-22 and Figure 5-25), we unfortunately do not know

much about the building internal design. The lack of official accounts and design drawings of this vanished building is not explained in the MOT reference. However, one reason for the absence of such important documentation is perhaps the very limited time during which this structure was used in Tripoli before the 1911 Italian conquest.

Before looking at the architecture of the municipal building shown in the only clear picture of it which could be found (Figure 5-25), the type of public architecture used in official public buildings in the late epoch of Ottoman Tripoli, during the period of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, needs to be described. A particularly fine example that represents the architectural style used in public buildings in this period in Tripoli is the architecture of the central branch of the Italian Bank of Rome (Banka Di Roma, see Figure 5-23) built inside Tripoli's ancient city in 1907, only four years before the Italian invasion and situated almost in the middle of the old city near the small 'al-saida Mariam' square (see site plan, Figure 5-24, top).



Figure 5-23: Banka Di Roma in Tripoli in 1911
(Capresi, 2007:35)

The design of the building reflects the Mediterranean architectural style typically used by the Ottomans in office buildings in Tripoli during the 19th century. The exterior characteristics emphasise the assorted use of repeated patterns of classical semi-circular and three-centred basket arches on different floors. The use of cantilevered balconies, usually with three decorated corbels underneath, is also adopted in this building, particularly in the middle of the front elevation and on top of the main entrance.

The humble use of ornamentation on the three main floor elevations is supplemented by the use of simple balustraded parapets on the flat roof and in coping the non-cantilevered balconies; the plain and straight lines of architraves; and with the floral

cast-iron railings on the cantilevered balconies to protect the ground floor arched windows, with double winged shuttered windows used in the upper floors.

The heavy walls seen in the design layout in Figure 5-24 illustrate the use of a system of shear walls to support the building structure. The internal office spaces are relatively compact in most of the available plans; the exception is the huge open-plan hall on the first floor (space number 4). A significant feature of the layout of this public building is the humble compact staircase and a modest courtyard. The central courtyard is a very common design element widely used in many buildings in Tripoli Medina for centuries, for environmental and cultural reasons (Daza, 1982). The courtyard penetrates the core of all upper floors, whose walkways overhang and circumambulate the middle courtyard (as seen in number 1 of the first floor).

Another essential external design element in the form of this important building is the use of the cantilevered 'cumba'. Finkel (cited in the Turkish Cultural Foundation [TCF] website) outlines the use of the *cumba* and explained its customary significance in the Model East Turkish houses of the 19th century:

"A popular element of houses from this period were the bay extensions (cumba) or cantilevered overhangs in which the house itself appeared to stretch out in search of a better view. These not only provided extra space for upper storey rooms but shelter and shade for the pedestrians below."

Overall, it is significant to note that there was nothing in the public architecture of the Bank of Rome in Tripoli that can be identified with the origins and policies of the property-owners (the Italians); instead, the design approach suggests convergence with the local context that the official owners perhaps intended in marketing themselves to the city players and general public.

Economically, however, one might say that the cumbas of Banka Di Roma were figuratively used by its inhabitants to transcend the building's physical confines in search of better views over the economic activities of the country rather than the narrow streets of Tripoli old city, as discussed in the next chapter. Meanwhile, compared to the cumbas of the building of the Bank of Rome, the four cumbas designed in the latest Ottoman municipal building (seen cantilevered in the building's main façade in Figure 5-25) are, conversely, suggestive of looking for better views over the new urban streets of Tripoli in order to develop the new city outside of the confines of the ancient city walls.

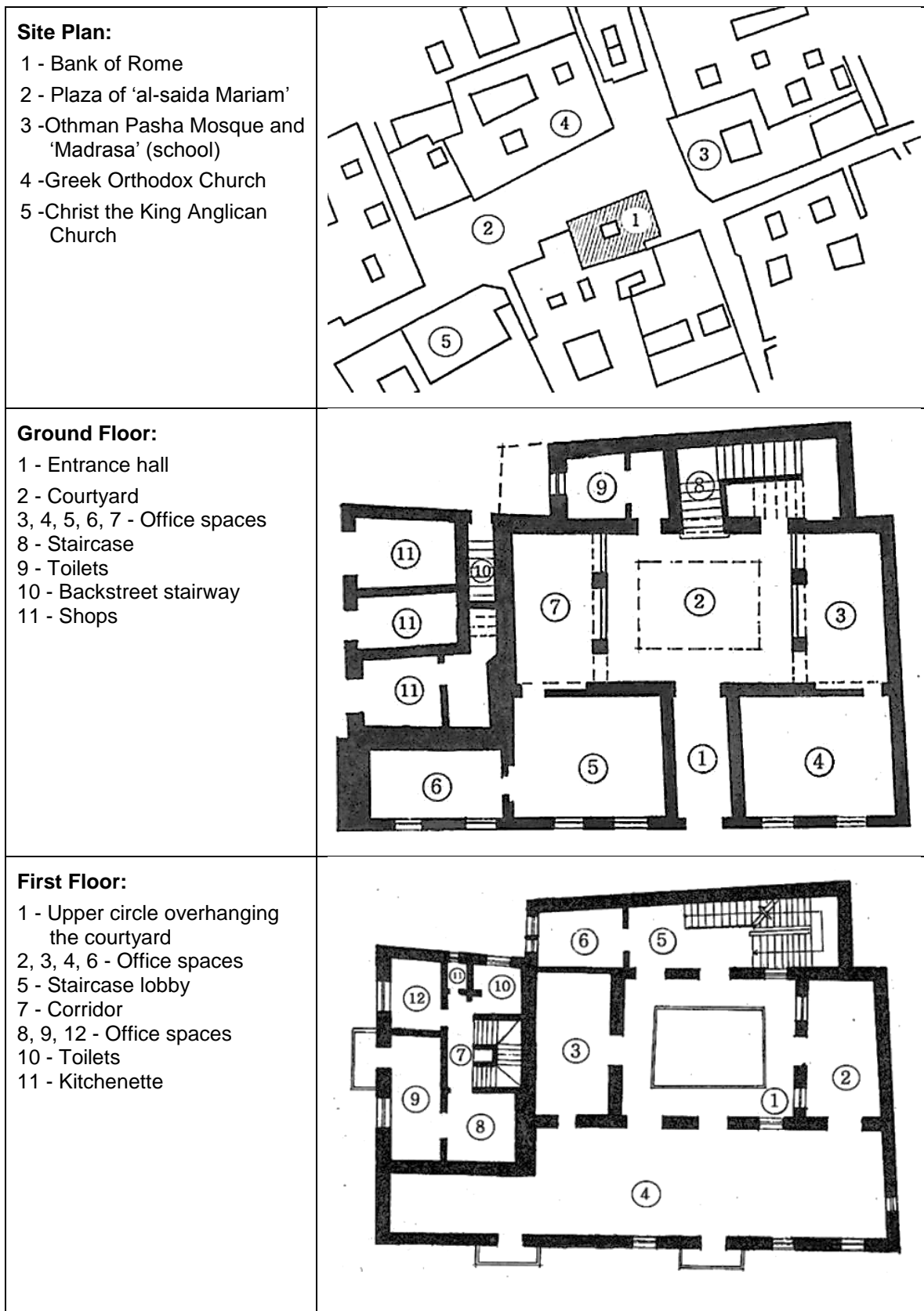


Figure 5-24: The original design layout of the Bank of Rome in Tripoli, built in 1909

(Source: modified from Mukhtar, 1992:124-125)



(a) Source: LCAHS: photo 19, Album 2A-12.



(b) Source: Al-ayam Altrabsiah



(c) Source: www.delcampe.net

Figure 5-25: Tripoli's Municipal building during the last Ottoman period, c. 1910

Showing the demolished building before the early 1920s. What appears to be an informal public gathering of local Libyans in their traditional customs seen as coffee servings (c).

The new Ottoman municipal building in Tripoli (seen in Figure 5-25) is a modest two-storey structure. Its architecture is characterised by a rectangular articulated exterior. The main façade, the building's south-western elevation (opening onto Garnata Street), is symmetrical and is subtracted in the ground floor to create a wide yet diminutive arcade, which is draped with the alignment of 13 classical plain semi-circular arches of friendly proportions (compared with the local resident standing nearby in the picture). What perhaps influenced the design choice of such a long portico in this elevation, besides the identification of the main entrance in this façade, is the climate.

The orientation of this elevation towards the unpleasant south-western direction (because of climate considerations) conceivably required the provision of a wide shaded space outside to protect the users standing in the aggravating noon heat. The simple portico has a raised single step platform from the unpaved road in front. The entrance to the building from this street seems to be through the arch of the arcade fourth from the left (closer to the old city), topped by a flagpole. The building is lit by a number of relatively long windows that can be closed by double-winged shutters only in the upper floor.

The building is humbly decorated with clear straight lines and plain closed rectangular shapes of plasterwork architraves, possibly to break the wide clean surface of the smoothened building façade and its simple featured edges. Unlike the previous example of the Bank, the use of Ottoman classical ornamentation on the exposed elevations is very limited in this building, perhaps due to the rigid nature of its formal administrative function. There was no use of balustraded parapets on the building's flat roof. Floral cast-iron railings were only used to protect the arched windows on the ground floor of the north-western elevation. Moreover, what also distinguishes this municipal building is the absence of cantilevered balconies overhanging from its main façade.

One can easily compare the architectural style used in this significant building with the revival architectural style, which Bozdogan (2001) mentioned to have been developed in the early 20th century in Istanbul, named the "National Architectural Renaissance." During the twilight of their Empire, according to Bozdogan, the Ottomans tried to create a multi-ethnic identity and promote patriotism across the Empire by the use of 'modern' architecture, using the latest building techniques of the time, and also by reviving some

historical inspirations in the use of simplified aesthetic motifs associated with ‘original’ Ottoman architecture styles.

The reuse of traditional Ottoman stylistic motifs like the ‘cumba’ in the design of the main façade of the modern building of TM in this may indicate period the spread of such architectural movements to the Libyan province. It also represents the achievement of the Ottoman design goal, to create a reformed, modern yet somehow local and traditional civic public architecture to counteract the imported Western municipal styles undertaken during this critical period in Tripoli.

5.7.3 Socio-cultural aspects

Background, public life during Ottoman Tripoli

How public life in Ottoman Tripoli manifested itself inside and around official public centres is very difficult to envisage in the absence of detailed historical qualitative and quantitative records. No relevant information could be found in any of the literature mentioned and historical research centres in Tripoli. However, from the review of the historical resources mentioned in chapter 4, it is clear that central urban public places and spaces in Tripoli during the entire Ottoman period seem to have been welcoming, easy to access, well located, plainly featured, and very comfortable for the general public, local indigenous Libyans included.

The fact that a traditional coffee-house was used to conduct the early meetings of the reformed municipal system inside the old city is itself an indication of such public integration and interaction with the local leaders of the city. However, more clues to the nature of general occupation of urban public gathering places in Tripoli support this assertion (see Figure 5-26).

The urban life in Tripoli’s traditional city centres has been vibrant in many common public places, identified as ‘third places’ by Oldenburg (1989), in past and present times. Societal communication and interaction were and still can be seen around most urban public spaces and places, in the streets, around mosques and marketplaces and many key governmental public places. The historical rituals of public gathering in Tripoli for socialising and celebrating – at times of war, colonisation, and peace – is evident in many historical records (see Figure 5-27).



(a)



(b)



(c)



(d)



(e)



(f)



(g)



(h)

Figure 5-26: Historical photographs of life in Tripoli, before 1915.

Showing the vibrant urban life and traditional culture of sitting and socialising in front of key urban public places, coffee shops, mosques, public buildings, and main streets via central marketplaces.

Source: LCAHS (a); Al-ayam Altrablsiah (b,d,f, h); Itrablus Zaman (e); www. delcampe.net (c); Al-Zawi (g), verified with the photographic collection of LCAHS.



Figure 5-27: Mussolini arrives in Tripoli, Italy's Libyan colony (visits dated as 03/31/1926)

Shot on minute 01:34 shows the parade in Piazza Castello in front of the palace of the city governor, built for the Ottoman Wali in early 1900 outside the city walls on 31st March (source: MIRC-DVR, *Mussolini Visits Libya—Outtakes*). The video generally captures a unique the real-time feeling of how urban life must have felt like at the presence of the remaining Ottoman urban forms in Tripoli from different angles.



Figure 5-28: The palace office of Tripoli's Ottoman Wali (governor) outside the walls, 1910s.

(Source: Ottoman History Picture Archives)

At this important historical juncture in the early twentieth century, urban decision-makers in Ottoman Tripoli were dealing with the development of the city outside the walls, and it seems they acknowledged the significance of the socio-cultural characteristics of the local public, as discussed in the following section.

Consideration of local socio-cultural life in urban solutions adopted

Contrary to what transpired in the North African water-well village mentioned in chapter 2, when French engineers imposed advanced water technologies without considering the socio-cultural needs of local villagers, when the city government of Ottoman Tripoli introduced the same technology in the city they adopted a different approach that respected how the locals used and conceived the urban environment.

According to Al-Ousta (2005), the city rulers launched a mission to bring the advanced water technologies of the time to Tripoli in the 1860s. The project aimed to pump fresh water from the Abu-Miliana well in the countryside and deliver it directly to the new city centre (outside the ancient walls). An iconic architectural structure in the shape of a cubical public fountain (see Figure 5-29, below) was built at the end of a long water pipeline, very close to the main ancient gate of Al-Manshia and the marketplace of Souk al-Khobza.

It is important to note here that, although the source of the Abu-Miliana public fountain was not an actual hole dug underneath this architecture in the busy central urban square, and that the actual main source in Abu-Miliana province was far away from the city centre, the wording used to name this innovative public fountain was still termed 'Ber' ('water-well'), as if the new technology had shifted the main traditional well to the city centre. The practical function of the finely decorated structure of the Abu-Miliana water fountain was perhaps to hang water taps on its festooned walls, for the public to easily fill their buckets. However, the expressive function of this urban object is no less significant; to commemorate the significant location of such a functional element and to make it easily identifiable for any user to find; but perhaps also to celebrate the arrival of the new technology to Tripoli under the reformed Ottoman Empire.

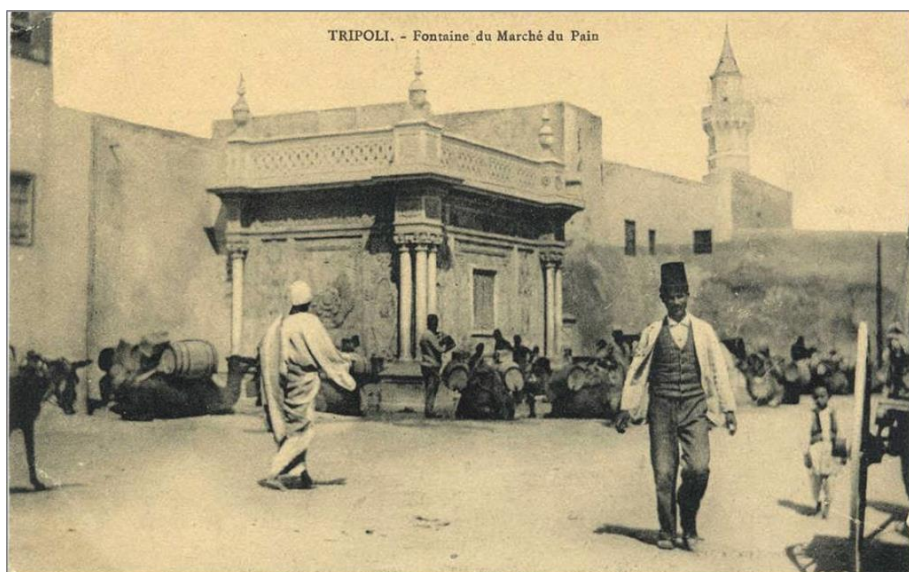
From Figure 5-29 the Ottomans seemed to have consciously paid more attention to respecting the social and cultural traditions of local people and their architectural heritage as shown in the background vista of this historical snapshot of Tripoli Medina.



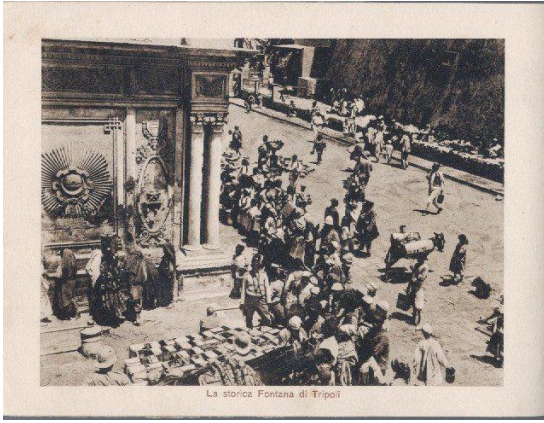
(a) Source: LCAHS: photo 35, Album 3A-7



(b) Sources: Ottoman History Picture Archives



(c) Sources: www.delcampe.net



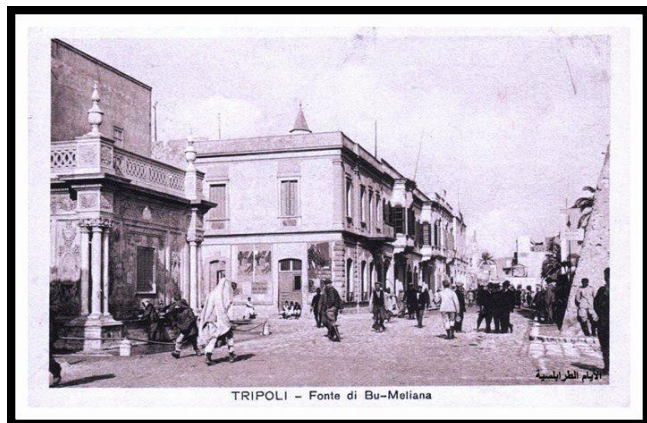
(d) Source: Al-ayam Altrablsiah collection



(e) Source: Todd (1912:26)



(f) Source: LCAHS: photo 14, Album 3A-7



(g) Source: Ottoman History Picture Archives



(h) Source: Al-ayam Altrablsiah collection



(i) Source: Al-Zawi collection

Figure 5-29: Photographs of Ber of Abu-Miliana Public Fountain near al-Khobza Market, 1910s

Built by the Ottomans around 1890 and destroyed during the Italian occupation. The pictures show the fountain's architectural features and background. Diverse people and active public gathering around it is clearly presented (in a,b,c,d, and h)

Although it was a uniform adopted in the Ottoman administrative reformation, and a conscious departure from the traditional sartorial laws and traditions of the Ottoman Empire, the fez hat shown in Figure 5-29 (a, b, c and f) is considered clear evidence of sympathy with the locals, unlike the contrast between Western and traditional clothing in other North African colonies of the time.

The architectural style of the central public fountain of Ber Abu-Miliana also appears to have been designed with such empathy for local history and the diverse architectural context of the ancient city. The combination of different celebratory design elements suggests that perhaps this was a conscious pastiche by the architect to reflect Tripoli's past: Classical Roman (e.g. columns and plinths), Moorish (e.g. lattice style ornate balustrade), Arabian (the proportions of the blind window) and Ottoman styles (e.g. the use of balustraded parapets and sharp spires on the rooftop, set off by the minaret in the background).

According to Tood (1912:26-27), the fountain was a “*great rallying point in the city was the Turkish fountain, erected in honour of the present Sultan's predecessor, and always surrounded by a varied throng at all hours.*” The Abu-Miliana public fountain thus became a significant landmark and a focal point for public gathering in the new central open public space. There is no doubt that many residents and maybe visitors benefited from its functional services and seemingly enjoying their time around it, as in the expressions of users in Figure 5-29, before it was demolished during the Italian colonial expansion in Tripoli.

What the Ottomans did in Tripoli to pave the way for the Abu-Miliana water technology was indeed different in many ways to what the French did in Tunisian or Algerian villages. Firstly, it could be argued that Tripoli was a town and not a village, and that there are many more public places available for the residents to socially interact and enjoy, whereas the locals in the French colony were fighting to keep one of the few accessible meeting-centres when the new water technology was applied, threatening the traditional culture of gathering around their central water-well.

Secondly, it could also be said that the Ottomans ruled the city of Tripoli for a very long time and most likely shared the same moral and religious principles as the local indigenous public in Tripolitania, so they were perhaps not seen as aliens or even clear enemies to the degree that Western Europeans in North Africa were. This was presumably why the people of Tripoli did not totally reject the technology introduced in the way their North African neighbours did with the application of French technology.

However, it can also be argued that the Ottoman's latest administration in Tripoli appreciated, whether intentionally or not, the socio-cultural, architectural, and urban context of the local population with much more caution in their design process in the way they introduced this new technology to the public.

The creation of an urban gathering centre in the form of an iconic, humanly-scaled, architecturally familiar object (a cube) with a sensitive public function (water for all), and a familiar Arabic name (*Ber*, 'water well') near the city's lively main public square (al-Khobza market), instead of distributing the piped water directly to where the city residents lived, indicates that this design approach and its implementation by the city leaders was not accidental.

Finally, since the move towards what is supposed to be a progressive urbanism and modern development is still in question in Tripoli, and before exploring the development of Italian Tripoli in this crucial period, it is important to learn from this experience when trying to understand subsequent transformations and the impact of urban developments that involve the use of the latest global advances in contexts different from those in which such technologies were invented.

5.8 Conclusion

Returning to historical questions about the establishment of and changes in civic public architecture in Tripoli, it is now possible to appreciate the roots, types, and locations of Tripoli's previous city councils and how have they developed and changed, until the Italian invasion in 1911. The following conclusions can be drawn from this chapter.

Firstly, not only has the political concept and role of Tripoli's local urban government been transformed over time, but also the type and location of the public buildings occupied have changed. The types of places used since the 7th century until 1911 range chronologically from a simple multifunctional religious and communal centre, the city's central mosque, an early Islamic style town hall (al-Qasabah hall), an adopted private residential house near the city's al-Turk central marketplace, a temporary private (later public) coffee-house again near al-Turk marketplace, and a purposefully built modern Ottoman-style public office building outside the old city walls near the newly established central urban square of al-Khobza market place.

Secondly, to understand the origins and roles of Tripoli's early city assembly house (the donated city hall), a brief outline was presented tracking the early models of local urban administration places in the Arabian context. The significance of the places, meanings, locations, and roles of the concept of the *Dar al-Nadwa* was traced back to the pre-Islamic city of Mecca in the Arabian Peninsula. Regardless of the changes that Islam brought altering the political and urban landscape of many Arabian and other

cities, including Tripoli, where the central mosque became the city's ultimate multifunctional public religious, educational, and governmental centre, the traditional meanings attached to the *Dar al-Nadwa* terminology and seemingly its place as a central residential house in the middle of the city were retained for generations.

It appears that the *Dar al-Nadwa* is still remembered, notionally at least, as the city house that not only provided the practical functions of basic management of affairs for the city residents, but also as the respected public arena for city leaders and intellectual seniors to discuss serious civil, municipal, social, cultural, economic, and other public concerns. In its Arabian and Islamic context, this inherited notion of local urban government functioned administratively and symbolically, albeit hierarchically and socially – even tribally – oriented as a meeting-centre for representative members of the public to gather in the very spiritual and physical centre of the city. Tripoli's first city hall, from the 16th century up to the late 19th, should be understood within this historical perspective.

Thirdly, it has been argued that the period following the Ottoman reformations of the late 19th century was a major turning point in the development of TM. This critical urban administrative move had a direct influence on how the city was organised and managed for the better at the beginning of the 20th century. It changed the traditional methods of local governance and physical, social and civil life in Tripoli. Hence it should be regarded as the actual beginning of a genuinely modern municipality in Libya, years before the Italian colonisation of Tripoli in 1911. The success of the Ottoman municipal reforms in Tripoli is believed to be due to the following factors:

1. The Ottomanisation of municipal reforms. The process undertaken by the authorities to test the imported European-style of municipalities in Istanbul was vital to check the suitability of the new system for local reality.
2. The utilisation of the familiar terminology of the *al-Baladiyat* concept. Consideration and respect for local idiom which was more amenable in the social context of the Arabian Ottoman territories. The careful selection of familiar leaders and names to attach to the reformed *Baladiyat* model was an important step to encourage its local acceptance.
3. The leadership's determination concerning development. The reported willpower and personal achievements of both the city's general and local leaders to negotiate

the imposed Ottoman reformation enterprise, and to adopt a model which would work best in Tripoli.

4. The appropriateness of the selected MB and its architecture to promote and deliver the new municipality. Respect for the socio-cultural and urban context of places where the public regularly met and socialised in Tripoli appeared to be vital to increasing general public awareness and engagement with the reformed system. The use of a *third place* like the mayor's coffee house and then building a modern public office building beside the city's new central market place using familiar architectural and linguistic language is a clear endeavour to gradually custom-fit the new municipal style to Tripoli's specific urban context.

In respect of the latter point, there is enough photographic evidence of the vibrancy and liveliness of the public gatherings in many urban public places and spaces that are very close to some of these city government buildings. The next chapter describes how Tripoli and its MB were transformed during the Italian occupation.

Chapter 6 : Italian Tripoli and its Colonial Municipalities

6.1 Introduction

The previous chapter has presented the findings concerning the emergence and nature of Tripoli's past city councils and city centre changes until the end of Ottoman occupation. This chapter, continues the presentation of the historical research findings on the transformation of Tripoli and its municipal buildings during Italian colonisation (1911-1943) where the currently used TMB was built.

The first section describes the circumstances leading to the Italian colonisation of Tripolitania. In the second section a historical analysis of urban development in Italian Tripoli is outlined, focusing on the main local and global driving forces transforming the city's urban structure. These are not necessarily limited to political and military matters, but include other agents of historical change with dramatic impacts on Tripoli's physical and social environment, including economic, natural, demographic, technological, and social, and cultural factors.

The results concerning the established colonial municipal buildings in Italian Tripoli are then summarised and explained after considering the effect of colonial transactions from the Ottomans to the Italians on the architecture of Tripoli's municipal buildings. The urban, architectural, and socio-cultural significance of the Italian-era central municipal building is then investigated to understand how and why the colonial decision-makers shaped and reconfigured the colony's last TMB, including this building and the motives behind planning decisions and how local Libyan users were factored into the design process.

6.2 Early Economic Interventions in the Emergence of Italian Tripoli Colony

The literature shows that the unification of Italy in the late 19th century allowed the government of the new state to benefit from the industrial revolution in Europe and achieve steady progress in technological development, leading to strengthening of Italian financial capital and military capacity, which seemed to give Italy the confidence to start their ambitious move to the North African coast (Al-Abiath, 2009; Amoura, 1993).

In October 1911 Italian forces resumed their push into Africa (the most recent major effort having been the abortive Italo-Abyssinian War of 1895-1896) and crossed the Mediterranean to enhance their imperialist prestige and establish a colony in the strategically attractive Libyan territories of Tripolitania and Cyrenaica.



Figure 6-1: Italian postcard depicting the imperial mission in Libya

The geographical barriers between Rome and Tripoli are shrunk to facilitate the aspiring colonial footstep of Italy on North Africa (Sources: www.delcampe.net)

Some historical accounts (e.g. Al-Abiath, 2009; MOT, 1972) hold that the Italian desire for Tripolitania was primarily motivated by economics and dated from the 1860s. Al-Abiath (2009) emphasised that the early steps towards Libya started with the organisation of geographical expeditions and reconnaissance aiming at assess the internal political and economic conditions and resources of the country.

The first official – and peaceful – Italian permeation of Tripolitania was financial, with the launching of the central branch of the Bank of Rome in Tripoli in 1907 (Banka Di Roma, depicted in figures 5-23 and 5-24), which later led to significant Italian financial investment in Libyan land and property. For example, it was reported that the Bank was keen to buy land from local residents, paying prices often three times higher than the actual market value. This helped in exerting control over the economy and paved the way for the later occupation of the city. The Bank's capital assets were reported to have reached five million US dollars by the time Italian forces entered Tripoli in 1911 (Al-Abiath, 2009:268).

However, what was apparently missing from existing historical analysis of this early Italian economic intervention is the fact that the bank was also involved heavily in trading and manufacturing activities that were already shaping the city's economy. One of the most profitable such activities of the time was the tamping of esparto. Esparto (locally known as 'Halfa') was amongst the most prized plants that were exported to Europe through a dedicated sea platform near an outdoor open market outside the city walls (see Figure 6-2). Reflecting on the significance value of esparto, contemporaneous observers (Lapworth and Zimmern, 1912:154) noted that:

"Although agriculture finds itself in a miserable state, independent of that, Libya has a certain source of wealth represented by esparto, a grass nearly allied to the well-known feather-grass. It requires neither water nor care, and grows in abundance on the uncultivated hills which form the zone. From very ancient times it has been used on both sides of the Mediterranean for the making of carpets, sandals, ropes, baskets, nets, and sacks, and as a substitute for horsehair. But its chief application is now as a component in paper-making, for which it is mostly exported to Britain."

The significance of esparto and its relation to Britain, the most advanced industrial economy at the time, reflects the general milieu of early Italian colonialism as an ancillary phenomenon to the prevailing Anglo-French imperialism prior to WWI.

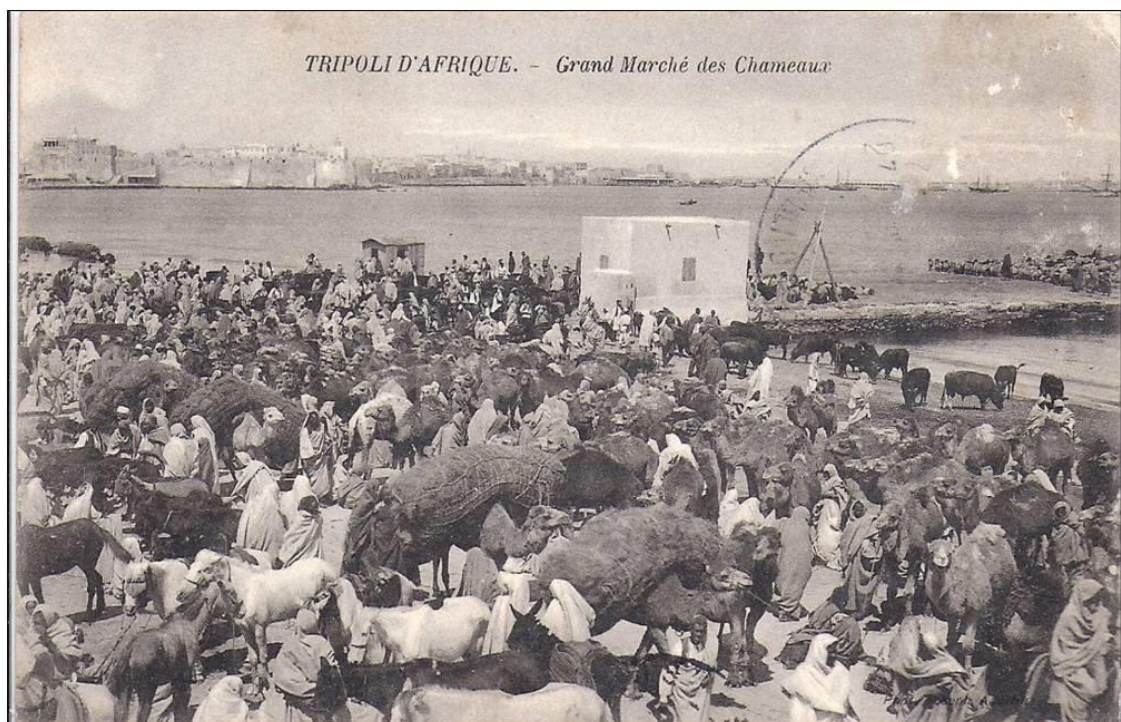


Figure 6-2: Vibrant public activities outside the citadel at the esparto sea platform, c. 1900s

The city ancient castle of al-Saraya al-Hamrah appears in the background. Source: www.delcampe.net. A similar poor quality photo found in LCAHS, photograph number 18 Album 3A.

This established the strategic significance of Tripoli's port on the world's trading map as a node on the global commercial network. Secondly, the excellence of the fibre of this naturally grown (and cheaply produced) grass lies in its substantial use in paper-making, book manufacturing, and the wrapping of products. Paper was obviously a fundamentally important substance in the pre-computer age, and the dry fuel of the bureaucratic age of human organisation.

Through the Bank of Rome, Italy seemed to have realized the potential of Libya more than anybody else, perhaps even than the recently reformed municipality of Ottoman Tripoli. It could be argued that the Banca Di Roma played a malign role in weakening the city municipality, subverting indigenous economic development and monopolizing the reliable esparto market (including the tamping industry and supply chains). In any case, the Tripoli sea port came under the direct control of Italian colonial military forces in 1911.

In understanding the transformation of Tripoli from a peripheral Ottoman town of a kind common throughout the southern Mediterranean to a global trading hub, it is necessary to look beyond the conventional military narrative and consider its logistic geographical position as a major seaport, and the goods it produced or transited. Tripoli was integrated into the world economy by Italian colonialism, and this determined the direction in which the new Italian colonial government wanted to take the city.

6.3 Periods of Urban Development of the Colony of Italian Tripoli

According to an academic scholar of Italian colonial architecture, Fuller (2000:121), in the three decades of their rule in Tripoli the *"Italians had sufficient time to be both destructive and constructive in significant ways."* However, despite this relatively short yet very dramatic colonial period in Tripoli history, Fuller concedes that, until 2000, *"only a handful of scholarly efforts have been devoted to Italian architectural and urban policies in Tripoli"* (2000:121).

The thesis of Daza (1982) is one of the few studies to partially address urban and architectural change of Tripoli under Italian colonisation. He looked at Italian colonial building activities in Libya and divided them into three main phases: from 1911-1913; then to the rise of Fascism with the spread of its ideology and power in Italy in the late 1920s; and finally from 1929 until 1943 when Italy was defeated and lost its Libyan colony in the Second World War.

Fuller (1988) also discussed the architectural discourse used by the Italians had in building their colonies in three slightly different phases, which “*correspond to breaks and reorientations of that discourse in the architectural journals*” (1988:456). Her classification of these phases is important in that they help in understanding the changes affecting the built environment and its architectural orientation in Italian Tripoli during their 32 years in Libya. Fuller’s three phases are:

“(1) from 1923-1928, when the topics were principally archaeology, geography, and architectural history, and the extent to which they were useful in the colonial enterprise; (2) from 1929, when the nature of colonial architecture emerged as the dominant concern, to 1936, when the shift to a discourse of planning began to occur; and (3) from 1937-1940, when the new questions of colonial urbanism became fully pronounced. I am primarily interested in the strikingly different treatments in these journals of Libya, a space for the realization of modernità, and of Ethiopia, where it is barely even mentioned.” (Fuller, 1988:456)

From the studies of Fuller and Daza in conjunction with the work of other researchers including, Shawesh (2000), McLaren (2006), and Burdett (2010), the main urban developments in and changes to the physical, political, economic, architectural, and socio-cultural structure of Tripoli between 1911 and 1942 are analysed below under three headings:

- 1) The period of military struggle;
- 2) The period of Fascism and colonial modernism; and
- 3) The period of national reform and the big metropolis.

6.3.1 The period of early military struggle

Italian troops struggled to enforce their military predominance during their first decade in Tripoli. They had persistent battles with the Turks and their local allies among the native Berbers and Arabs who either lived inside and around the city walls or were semi-nomadic in the wider Tripolitania region. Consequently there were few construction activities during this early period of occupation (see Figure 6-3). In effect, according to Dasa (1982: 239) this, “*did not exceed the establishment of barracks and a few simple buildings to house the army, army officials and some administrative bodies.*” Daza (1982, 239-240) explained early colonial urban development in Tripoli was very limited as they remained unable to effectively control the wide expanses lands of Libya. In this respect Fuller (2000) comments that “*they were nothing if not conscious of France's apparent successes in neighbouring North African territory, and they were susceptible to both imitation and competitive one-upmanship with regard to French administrators and planners*” (Fuller, 2000:123).

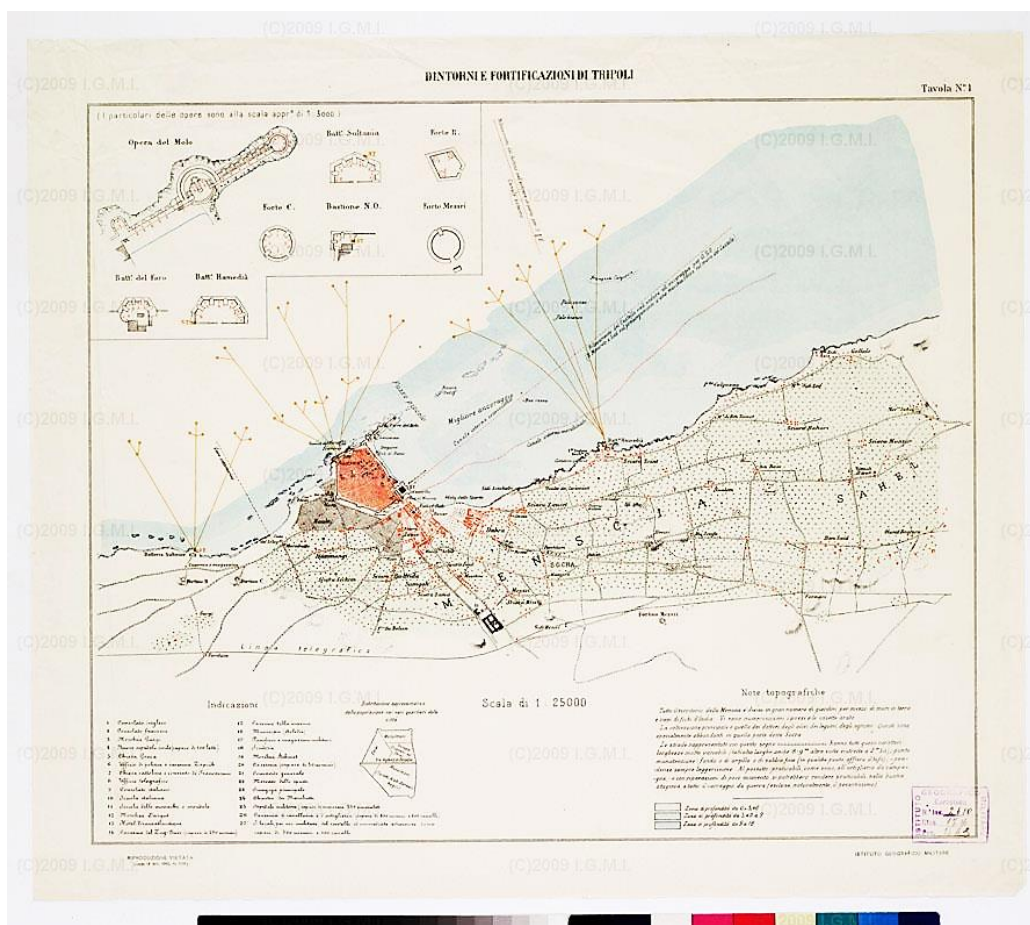
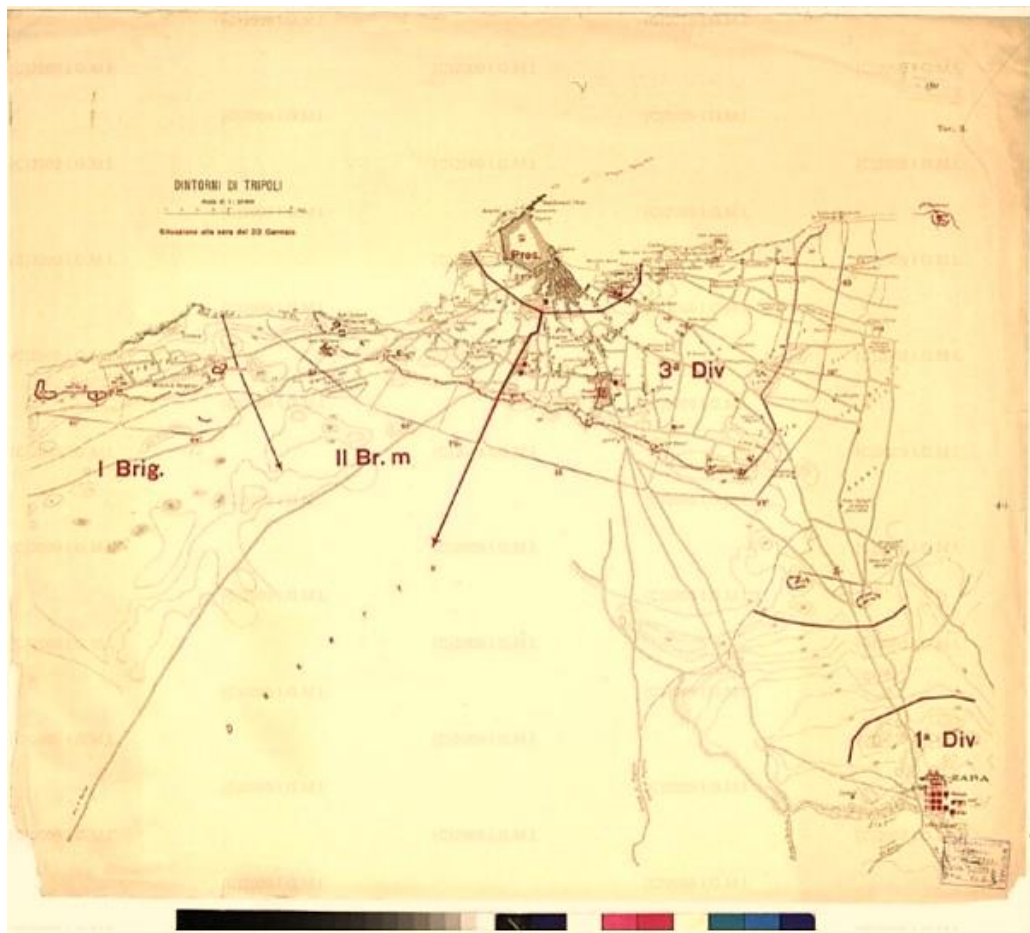


Figure 6-3: Maps of Tripoli during the military struggle period (1912)

Both maps illustrate the fortification of Tripoli by Italian military troops in 1912. The surrounding Italian city walls are highlighted in red (top map). They also depict few changes in the city, compared with other maps of Tripoli before the invasion (see figures in chapter 5).

Sources: Istituto Geografico Militare (IGM, the Italian Institute of Military Geography, Catalogue of Old Maps: Image=b0011071 (top), and image=b0010999 (bottom).

In the few scattered structures that were built during this early period after the invasion, Daza (1982:238-239) stated that:

“The Italians at first tried to learn from the French experiences in North Africa in the field of architecture and urbanism, adopting styles similar to those which had been tried in Tunisia and Morocco, known as “Morisco” or “Arabisance.” The results are demonstrated in the early examples of government buildings in Tripoli and Bengazi. Later, they abandoned that policy for one of national classicism.”

Unrest continued between the Italians and the locals in Tripoli until after WWI when the two sides arranged a political treaty that would allow the local leaders of Tripolitania to declare their first state under Italian governance. According to the MOT (1972) the Republic of Tripolitania was declared after the Reconciliation of the ‘Swani Ben-Yadem’ meeting in 1919, but was not officially implemented due to political manipulation in favour of the Italians.

When the conflict subsided, the colonists implemented their initial development plans (see Figure 6-4). According to Fuller (2000:126):

“The essential principles of the master plan (piano regolatore) were hammered out during the winter of 1912. The most pressing problem faced by the planners was the need to halt speculation outside the city walls, not only because of the potential loss of economic control and the risk of ever-worsening housing shortage, but also because of public indignation. This first plan was completed in Rome, on the basis of inadequate site data, and was sent to Tripoli. Its main purpose was to shape the ongoing growth of the new town, while leaving the original one nearly untouched.”

The plan was to avoid the old city and expand beyond its walls in the direction of the main city routes that the Ottoman planners had conserved when they first built outside of the walls. Maintaining the street layout emphasised the location of the market of al-Khobza (bread market), making it the focal city square of the new city of Tripoli under a new Italian title. The ‘Piazza Italia,’ as it was renamed, was readjusted reshaped by the demolition of most of what remained from the ancient city walls, *“mostly executed in 1914 and 1915, despite some administrative opposition and almost immediate regret”* (Fuller, 2000:130).



Figure 6-4: Master Plan of Tripoli 1914.

Source: IGM, the Italian Institute of Military Geography (Catalogue of Old Maps: Image: b0011359)

Many other buildings dating from the Ottoman era were also demolished in this early colonial urban regeneration project (see Figure 6-5). However, the majority of the advanced urban reconstruction work undertaken by the colonial authorities in Tripoli was carried out during the years following the completion of a new city master plan encapsulating the new Fascist colonial vision in the early 1930s.

This political change and its implications for the city's urban and social environment is explained later, but in general, expansion beyond the square of Piazza Italia was recognised as a new urban zone, known by some researchers as the new European City, and that *"two neighbourhoods and a part of the city wall were demolished to provide space for the new city"* (Shawesh, 2000:64). The ascension of the National Fascist Party to political power in Rome in early 1922, led by Benito Mussolini transformed the vision and strategy of colonization adopted in Libya and East Africa.

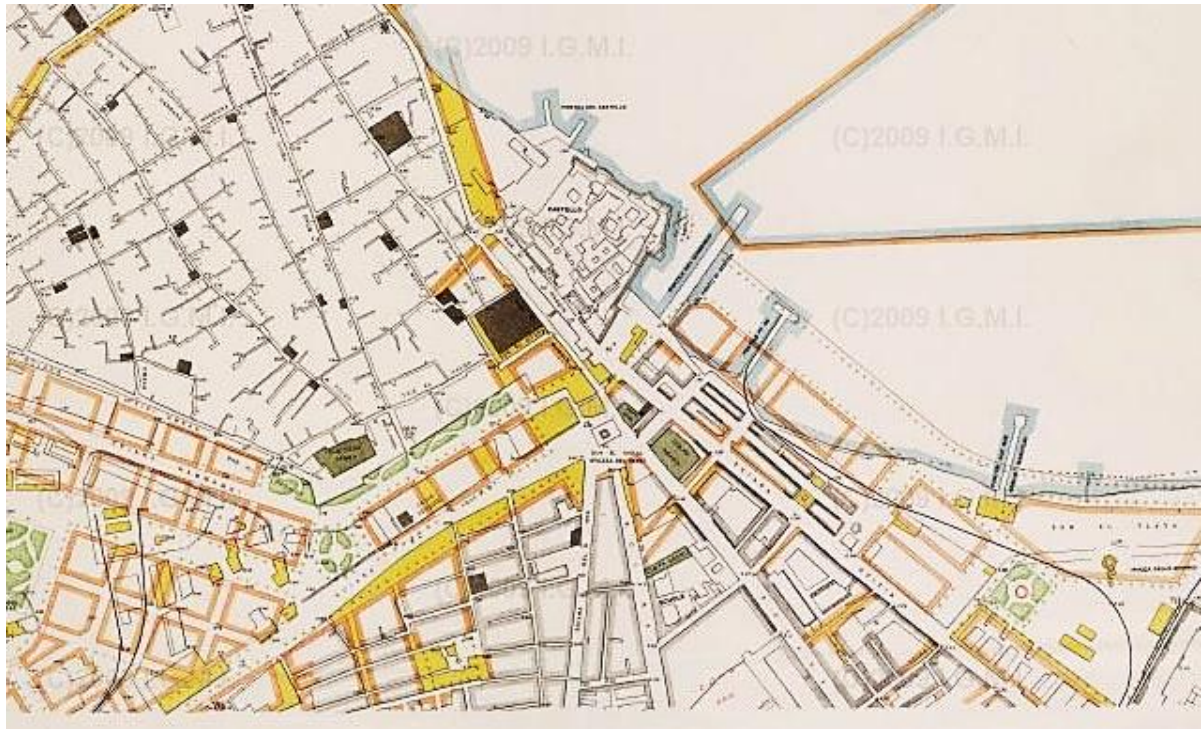


Figure 6-5: Early colonial reconstruction plan to reconfigure the Piazza Italia on the footprints of al-Khobza Marketplace (1914)

Source: IGM, the Italian Institute of Military Geography (Catalogue of Old Maps: Image: b11371-2)

However, another important change was already happening in Tripoli at the same time during the significant period after the appointment of Giuseppe Volpi as governor of Tripolitania in August 1921. McLaren (2006:23) wrote concerning the importance of this period of colonial development and its players that:

“Military campaigns were the necessary pretext for what was the first serious attempt to modernize the infrastructure and improve the colonial economy—an effort that was a central component of Volpi’s attempt to revive Tripolitania. This modernization was largely based upon a firm political will and a careful confederation of the regime’s economic development. As a wealthy Venetian financier and industries who had considerable experience trading with the East, he was brought in for his business skills rather than for his political and military acumen.”

During his tenure which lasted until 1925 Volpi put his effort into stabilising the economy and constructing the first modern infrastructure that led to the following colonial period.

6.3.2 The period of fascism and colonial modernism

This careful selection of leadership skills for Tripolitania shows how the colonial authorities were concerned about developing Tripoli after years of conflict with the locals. This became more evident when the Fascists came to power and their philosophy was implemented.

By repairing the ancient Roman ruins and reviving their ancient history, the new Fascists played on reliving the glories of the Roman Empire on the Mediterranean coastline to impose Fascism and legitimise their occupation of their colonies, claiming that Libya, which they unified with their motherland in the 1930s, was Italy's 'Fourth Shore'.

Burdett (2010) studied how the Fascist regime's ideology stressed the transformation of the "existing reality" of its time and place, explaining that:

"By writing at length on the imposing structures of Roman architecture and by filling their texts with references to the speeches of Mussolini delivered against the background of the ruins of ancient Rome, Italian administrators and observers participated in a practice that may have seemed simply propagandistic but which in reality involved a complex manipulation of the perception of time. The constant verbal or photographic representation of the buildings of antiquity and their astonishing endurance through the centuries encouraged an understanding of the process of time where the ancient past was not only brought into closer proximity with the present but was also portrayed as symbolic of the future to which Italian society under Fascism was moving." (Burdett, 2010:15)

With the Fascists' philosophy of retention of the past to move to the future, the urban achievements during the significant period after 1923 were therefore vast and very rapidly constructed and widely spread around many Italian colonies, including Tripoli:

"In Libya and subsequently in Italian East Africa, the evidence of major architectural development, the rapidity of infrastructural improvement and of extensive agrarian colonisation equally served the purpose of demonstrating the collective experience of an accelerated sense of time." (Burdett, 2010:13)

To gain a sense of the Fascists architectural development practised in their colonies, Antoniades (1984) compared Italian colonial architecture in the 'Isole Italiane dell'Egeo' (the Italian Islands of the Aegean Sea) after the fascist invasion of the island of Rhodes with the rest of the Dodecanese Islands of the South Aegean (modern Greece) in the 1920s, highlighting five architectural styles that were adopted by the colonial architects in Rhodes, most of which were used to a great extent in Libya.

For example, *"oriental eclecticism was very common in the buildings built by the Italians in the occupied lands of North Africa [in Libya] and may be seen as having Islamic roots both in Africa and the Dodecanese"* (Antoniades, 1984:18). The architectural language used in Italian Mediterranean colonies as summarised by Antoniades (see Figure 6-6) are classified as follows:

1. Renaissance eclecticism, buildings based on the architecture of Northern Italy.
2. 'Gothic-Venetian' eclecticism, *"buildings based on 'Oriental' and 'Arabesque' themes. Domes, arches, apses, plastered exteriors frequently decorated with what one would call 'Mediterranean details'."*
3. A combination of Arabesque and North Italian eclectic.
4. The Fascist style, buildings characterised by Italian state architecture. Its architectural language is defined by "frontal monumentalism," which goes beyond human scale.
5. The International Style, an architecture style developed in the 1930s *"classified by Hitchcock and Johnson and as demonstrated by projects of Gropius, LeCorbusier and many of their followers in many parts of the world."* (Antoniades, 1984:18).

This architectural expression was more evident in Tripoli in the mid-1920s and was strongly linked to other economic and political changes. Politically, the appointment of the new general governor Emilio De Bono in July 1925 strongly affected the urban physical and economic landscape in Tripoli.

One of De Bono's greatest contributions was the encouragement of agriculture throughout the Tripolitania region; nonetheless, the most famous achievement under his administration was the Tripoli Trade Fair, which opened the doors for the tourism industry as an economic resource for the colony (McLaren, 2006).

Figure 6-7 shows the Pavilion of the Governorate of Rome at Tripoli Trade Fair in 1929, which was designed by architect Alessandro Limongelli, and designated as the main entrance to the site. The Pavilion is a great example of the "frontal monumentalism" that Antoniades described. Limongelli's work in this huge structure reflects the newly adopted style of Fascist architecture in Tripoli, in which *"the lack of ornament, and the total textural sterility, along with the monotonous rhythm of the solid-void relationship, are the distinctive dehumanizing external elements of otherwise shallow and unimpressive interiors"* (Antoniades, 1984:18).

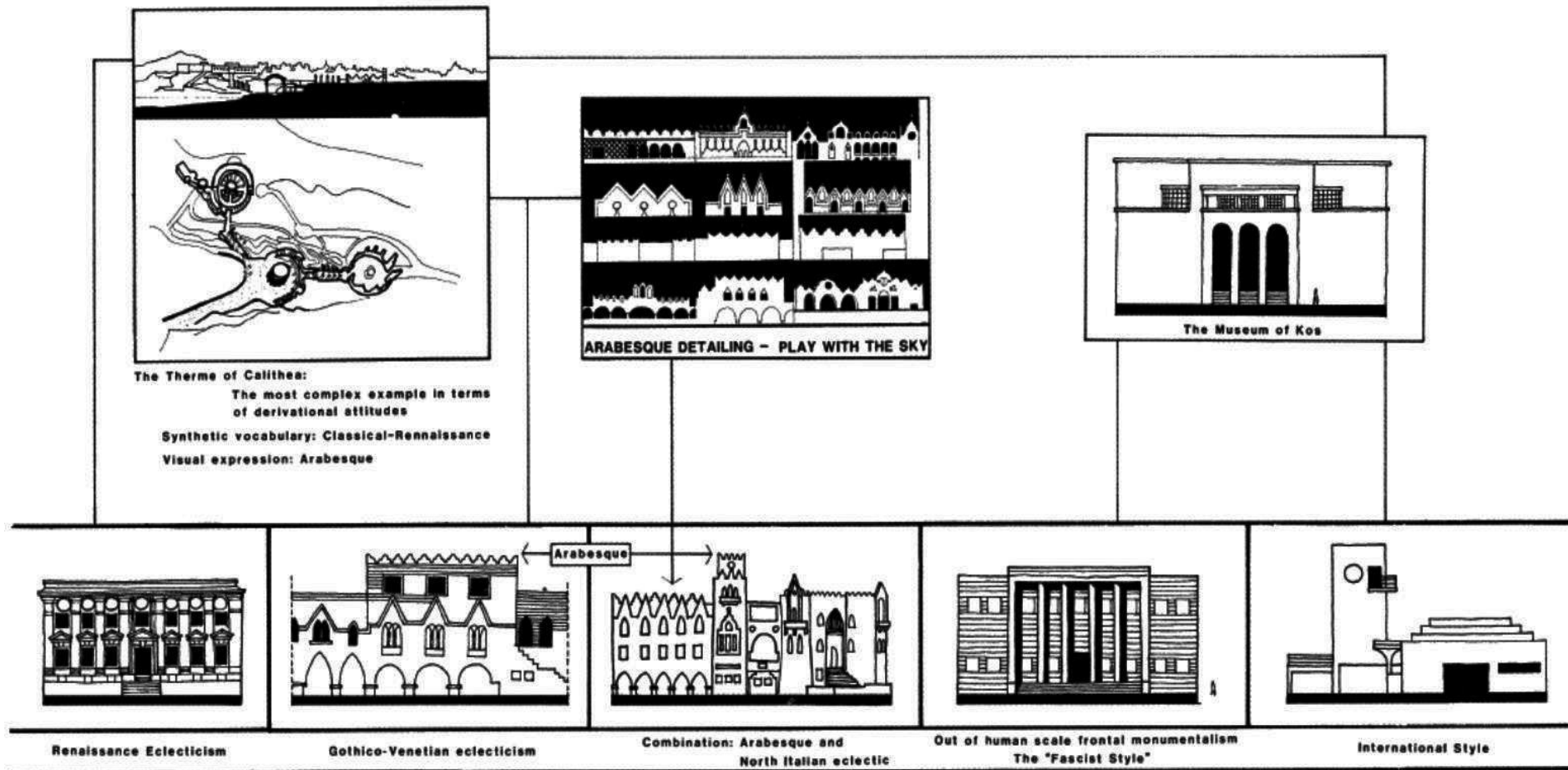


Figure 6-6: Italian colonial architectural styles in Dodecanese

Analysed and drawn by Antoniades (1984:19)



Figure 6-7: Pavilion of the Governorate of Rome at Tripoli Trade Fair (1929)

Designed by architect Limongelli (Fuller, 1988:463)

Despite the expansion of the Fascist style in Italy and its colonies, McLaren (2006) argues that it is nevertheless very important to acknowledge that in the period that followed the arrival of Limongelli to the colony as consultant architect to the TM in 1928, the city “*was moving away from the imposition of an eclectic vocabulary derived from the metropolitan context and towards a closer attention to the characteristic quality of both the indigenous architecture and the large context of North Africa*” (McLaren, 2006:164). However, in the period to come ‘frontal monumentalism’ was still appreciated by the designers of significant metropolitan central public buildings built in the 1930s.

Economically, Tripoli Trade Fair was an annual exhibition metropolitan and colonial products from 1927-1939. McLaren (2006:26) believed that the Fair was “*an instrument of colonial propaganda that would demonstrate Italy’s strength as a colonizing nation by encouraging development.*” arguing that:

“*The event was organized in a manner that was similar to exhibitions in Italy like the Milan Trade Fair, which presented the most recent advances in industrial and artisanal products. In Tripoli, the materials presented included Italian agricultural, mechanical, metallurgic, scientific, chemical, transportation, sports, and hygiene products.*” (McLaren, 2006:26)

In his study of the *'Architecture and tourism in Italian Colonial Libya'*, McLaren (2006) explained that De Bono's government tried various renovation strategies to regenerate Tripoli's economy. One introduced later was the development of the tourist industry. For example, new municipal hotels, tourist associations and agencies, and new roads were constructed to capture the attention of global tourists who could now reach more attractive local sites on the Libyan coastline and deeper into the Sahara. Investigating how the colonial leaders utilized tourism in Tripoli in the name of modernisation and architectural development, McLaren (2006:5) noted that:

"The tourist experience in Libya existed in a space of interaction where the modernization of this colony and the preservation of its indigenous culture were negotiated. In the first case, the creation of a tourist system was directly tied to, and depended upon, the building and enhancement of ports, the regularization of a network of roads and related moods of transportation, and a creation of a system of modern public institutions. It is in this sense that, following military conquest and the creation of viable infrastructure of transportation and public services, tourism can be considered the third wave of colonization. "

To conclude, it was clear that the stability of military and political conditions in Tripoli during the 1920s allowed the colonial rulers to devote themselves to thinking of better ways to develop the Italian colonization programme in Tripoli. New and firm visions of how the colony should work, be developed, and look emerged and were practiced in Tripoli under the dominance of Fascism.

Moreover, vast investment in tourism and global trade in Tripolitania during the 1920s and early 1930s greatly affected the economic and built environment of colonial Tripoli. This included the development of many new attractive buildings and public services. Improved transportation systems and urban infrastructure were also required to achieve the intended modern progress.

Although the tourism-based developments required the exploitation of the indigenous culture, these were not necessarily beneficial for local inhabitants, and this includes the civic centres created, as we shall see later.

6.3.3 The period of colonial national reforms and the big metropolis

When Italo Balbo was appointed governor of Libya from 1934 to 1940, the colonial *"priority was a series of administrative reforms that sow the unification of the single colony of Libya in April of 1935,"* and in early 1939 *"Libya became the nineteenth region of Italy"* (McLaren, 2006:7). This dramatic political change was the driving force for another substantial transformation: to increase the population of Italian citizens in the

new North African region. Daza (1982:241) reported that *“colonists were needed to make Libya an ‘Italian country’ to counterbalance the native population. Accordingly, they planned to settle 100,000 colonists by 1942 and one-half million by the 1960s.”* He also reported that to launch their long-term annexation ambition, *“in 1938 the Italians started an intensive program of colonization in Tripolitania and Cyrenaica, where settlers took over the land for many planned villages and houses”* (Daza, 1982:241). That was perhaps why Mussolini visited Tripoli in 1937, to bless the newly established Italian state and address its new wider multicultural society to come. Mussolini was in this stopover promoted as the guardian of Islam and was given a symbolic sword for this special occasion, a radical yet very essential move to help integrate the proposed Italian migrants with the local natives when implementing the wider colonisation programme the following year. Concerning the significance of this visit, Burdett (2010:19-20) wrote that:

“The elaborate ceremonies that defined each stage of the journey were designed to provide symbolic confirmation of the magnificence of the arrival of the new era. The climax of the visit was the presentation – after a long military parade through the streets of Tripoli – of Mussolini as the ‘Protector of Islam’. The purpose of conferring the attributes of a Muslim ruler upon Mussolini and of implying that his coming was joyfully welcomed by the Arab-Berber population of Libya was to suggest that a new consciousness was in the process of being formed – a consciousness in which both Libyans and Italians, although occupying different places in a clearly defined hierarchy, shared the same political religion with its sense of the sacred and its redemptive vision of the future.”

A year after Il Duce (Mussolini) visited Libya, the first 20,000 of the 100,000 proposed colonists landed at the seaport of Tripoli in late 1938. New colonial agricultural villages were carefully designed and constructed around the country to house the new settlers and improve the agricultural economy of Libya. These political and economic transformations coincided with the construction of Tripoli’s large metropolitan civic and administrative public institutions. Moreover, to compete with the neighbouring European colonies in North Africa and benefit the city’s colonists, the municipal authority worked on different urban technological infrastructure to improve services in Tripoli during the 1930s, such as the introduction of automobiles, telecommunications, and gas supplies. Meanwhile, by the 1930s the Fascist government had embarked on designing a new urban planning scheme to develop the new European city in Tripoli. Their master plan is shown in Figure 6-8.

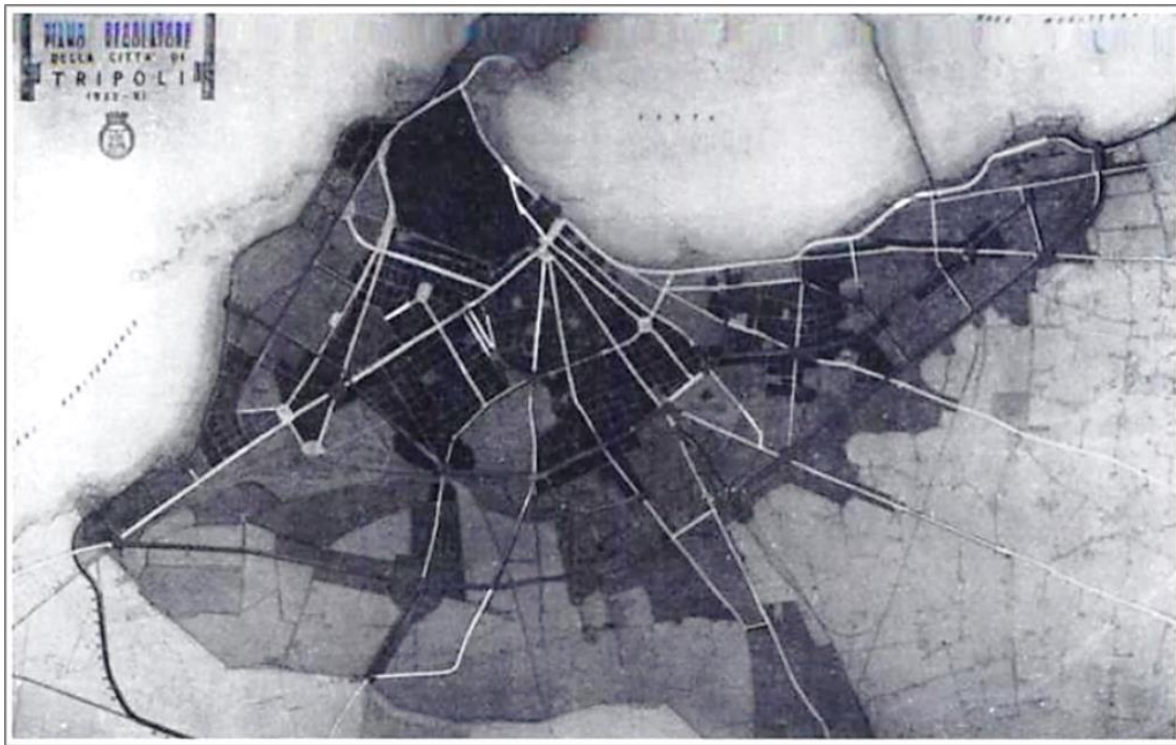


Figure 6-8: Tripoli's 1933 Master Plan

By Alberto Alpago Novello, Ottavio Cabiati, and Guido Ferrazza (McLaren, 2006:29)

The urban structure of the city of Tripoli was widely expanded in all possible directions, and as a result a new multifunctional city centre was created around the roundabout of Piazza della Cattedrale (Cathedral Square). This distinctive new colonial urban design element was introduced for the first time in Tripoli at the heart of the newly identified European colonial urban zone.

Figure 6-9 below shows the maps of Tripoli in the late 1920s, whereas Figure 6-10 and Figure 6-12 demonstrate the implementation of the 1936 master plan for the new European City. They show the urban expansion surrounding the ancient city, following the urban pattern of the five main city streets ratified by the Ottoman planners, which now all met in the new Piazza Italia (the modern Martyrs Square) opposite the city ancient castle of al-Saraya al-Hamrah.

Figure 6-11 shows the increase in the size of Tripoli city between 1912 and the 1930s, highlighting the building activities of Tripoli's 1933-36 colonial master plans. These maps show the huge improvement and spread of the urban blanket, which in total covered almost six times the size of Tripoli's old walled city in less than one decade.

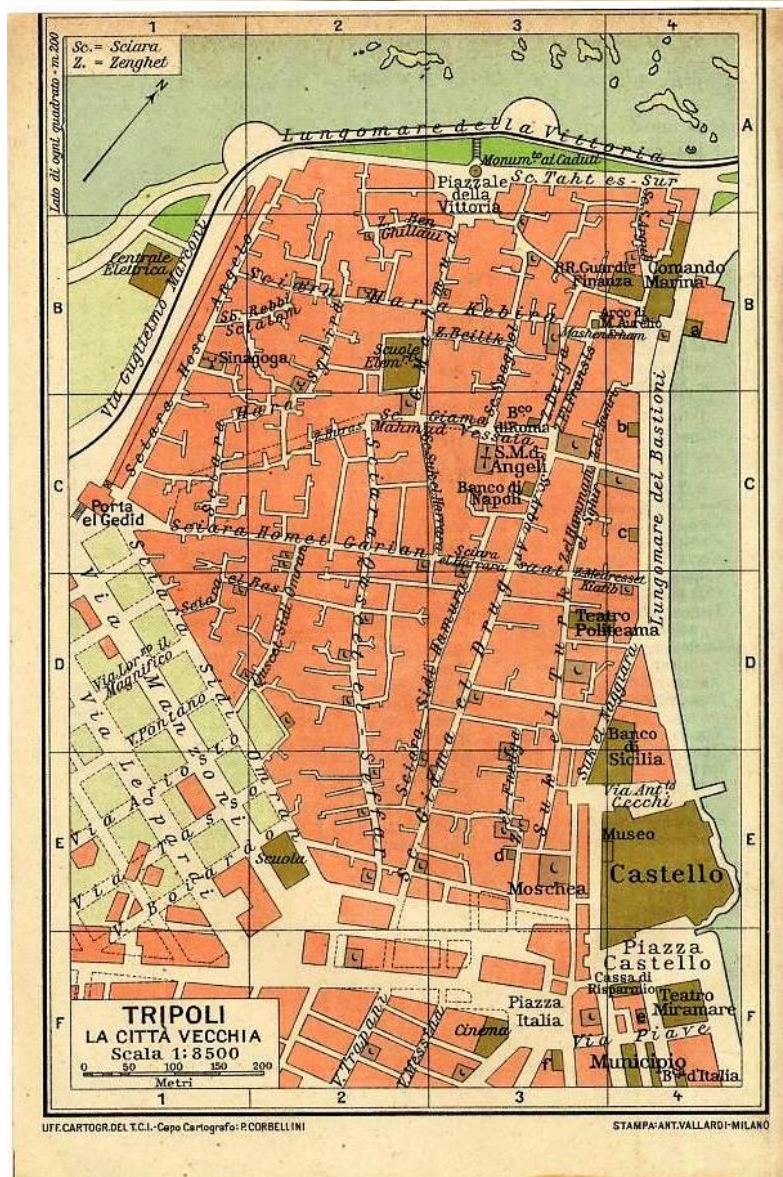
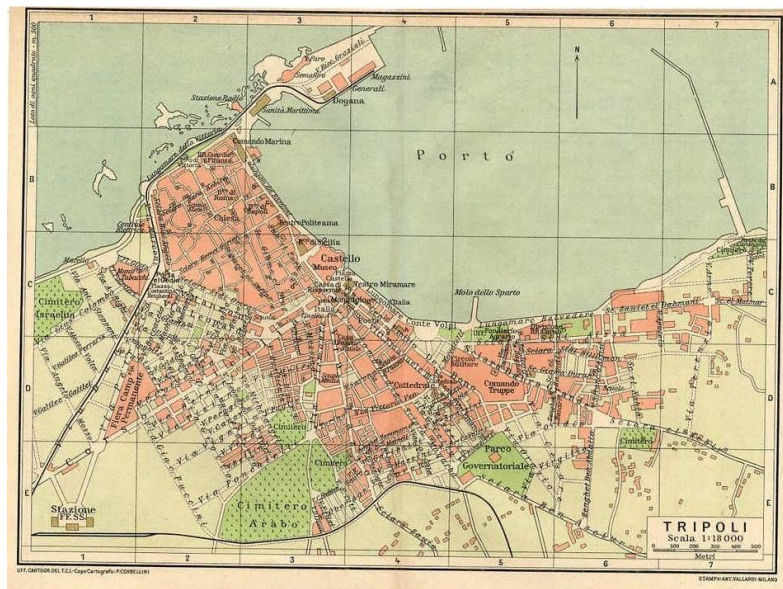


Figure 6-9: Maps of Tripoli in 1929

(Source: www.delcampe.net)

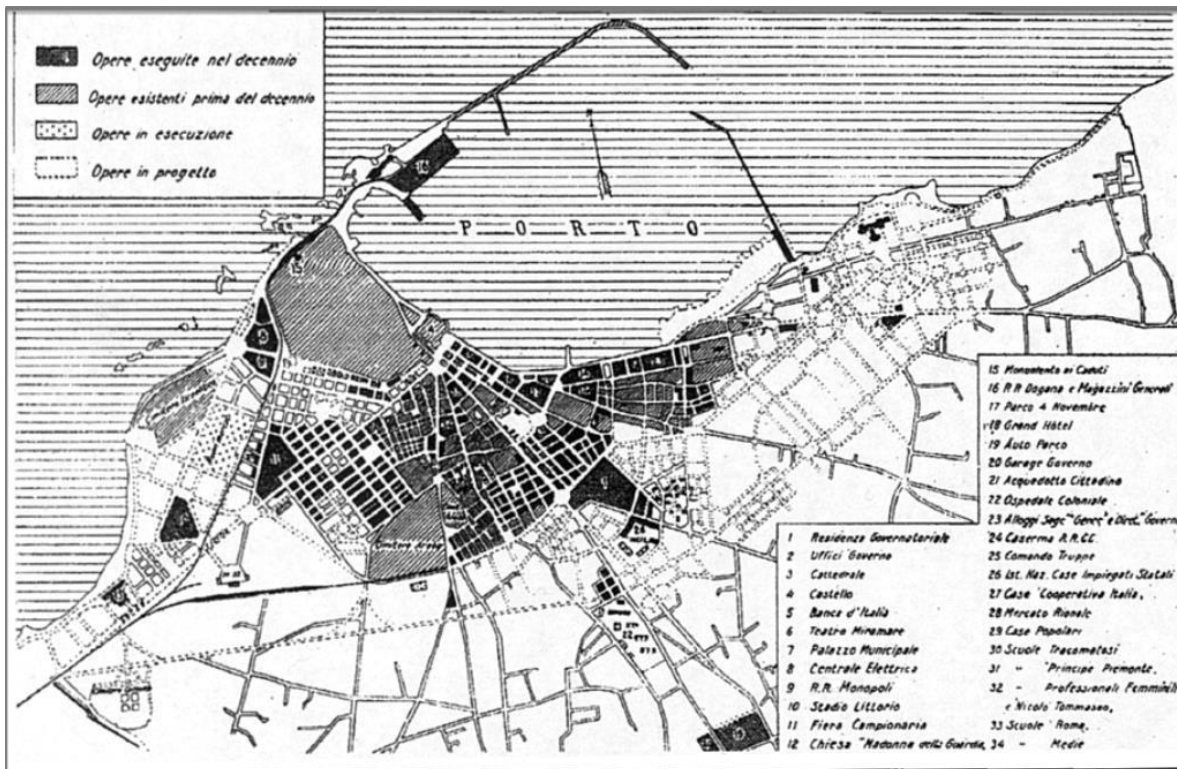


Figure 6-10: The implemented plan of the new European City in Tripoli 1930s

Five main city streets cross the new city converge in Piazza Italia opposite the ancient citadel

(Cited in Shawesh, 2000:68)

However, it is important to note that, in the face of the active and dramatic pace of urban change and development during this colonial period in Tripoli, Daza (1982) concluded that later master plans were altered by the Fascists to consciously separate the old Medina from the new colonial Italian city.

"The Italian layout of the new European city was at first based on the idea of juxtaposition with the Old City (al-madina al-qadima) which would then become a peripheral extension of the European city. However, this principal was criticized and modified by Cabiati and his colleagues in their master plan for Tripoli of 1936, which called for the separation of the Arab and European cities." (Daza, 1982:240)

This issue of urban and social suggestion is significant and raises a critical question about the effectiveness of the development project for local users in Tripoli, with concerns about the eligibility of indigenous residents to access newly constructed urban facilities and services. Could locals benefit from 'modern' colonial progress in the European city of Tripoli? This is discussed later in terms of the socio-cultural aspects of the constructed colonial municipal environment, but before that the research findings about the constructed sites and buildings of colonial municipalities in Italian Tripoli are introduced.

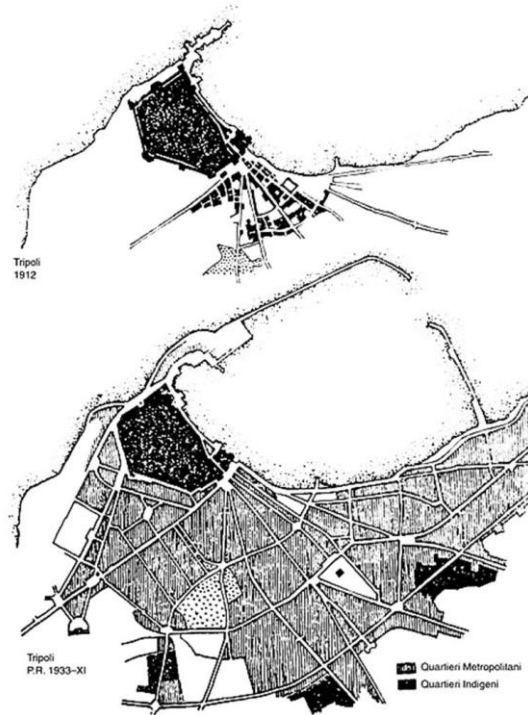


Figure 6-11: Two maps of Tripoli comparing the city master plans of 1912 and 1933
The maps also depict the isolated zones of the indigenous residents (Fuller, 2007:74)

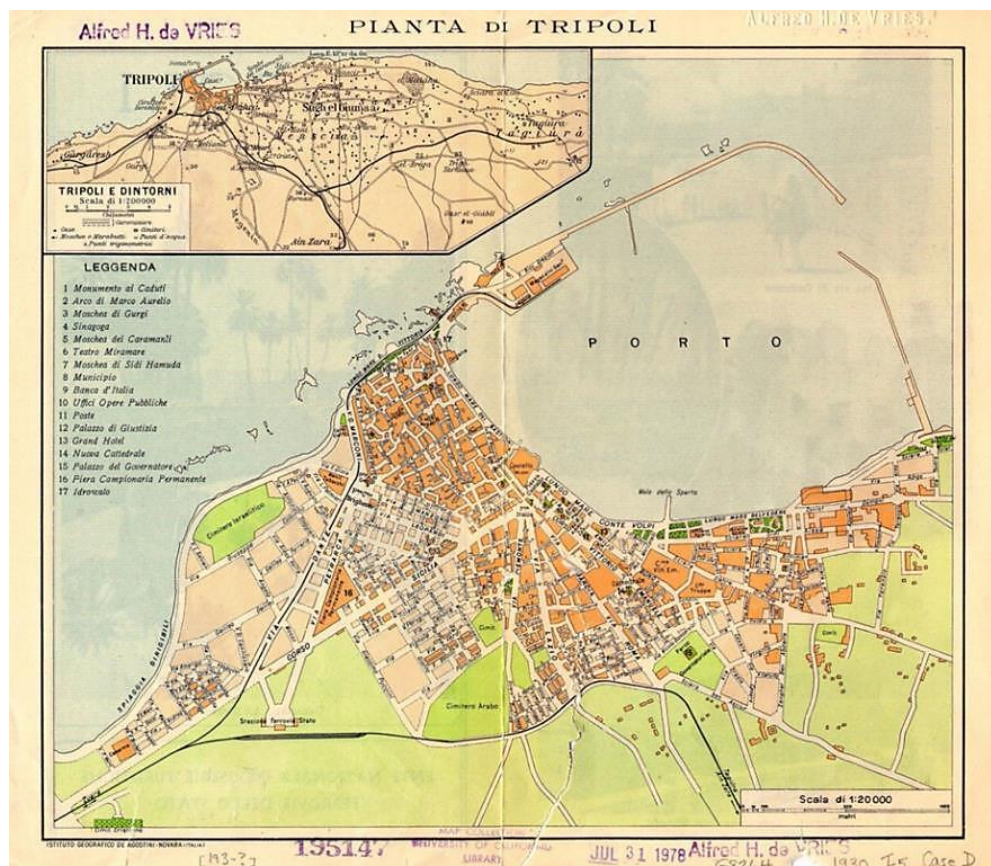


Figure 6-12: Italian map of urban growth in Tripoli in the early 1930s

The map also presents the significant location of the early new city centre in the main square of Piazza Italia and the formation of the new colonial public buildings and streets around it, including the 1920s first Italian style municipal building in Tripoli (number 8).

Source: Created by Istituto Geografico de Agostini Novara, Italy. (c.1930), cited in University of California (UC) Berkeley Library (www.lib.berkeley.edu).

6.4 Tripoli's City Councils during the Italian Occupation

6.4.1 The overall transformation of Italian colonial municipalities

An outline of the main historical changes in municipal administration in Tripoli after the Ottoman occupation is summarised in Table 6.1, whereas Figure 6-13 illustrates the distinct sites of the main municipal buildings used since the 1900s on the map of Tripoli.

As explained previously, the Fascist colonial government in Tripoli concentrated on managing the city of Tripoli through the development of representative colonial municipalities. This was only applicable after the ending of the long-lasting military turmoil caused by conflict between the Italian forces and the local popular resistance of Arabs, Barbers and Turks.

Table 6.1: Chronology of Tripoli's Italian municipal governments

Their urban administration models and types of public buildings

Regime		Form of Local Municipal Administration System	Place of the City Government
The Early Italian Colonials	1911-1925	- Continuation of the previous local municipal council. - A mixed (and confused) military and municipal administration.	- The existing modern Ottoman Municipal building in place.
The Fascist Regime in Italy	1925-1934	- The First Colonial Municipality.	- A newly built colonial municipal building (in 1928), replacing the demolished Ottoman municipality.
The Fascist Regime under Balbo (until WWII)	1934-1943	- A larger Metropolitan Municipality. Coincided with the decision to send thousands of Italian citizens from Italy to settle and work in Libya. The first 20,000 arrived in 1938, a few months after Mussolini visited Tripoli in 1937.	- A newly built Metropolitan Municipal Centre for the capital city of Italian Libya, the 'fourth shore of Italy' (1939). The city's main post office is also housed in this complex, and has access from the main elevation on the east to Piazza Della Cattedrale (now Algeria Square).

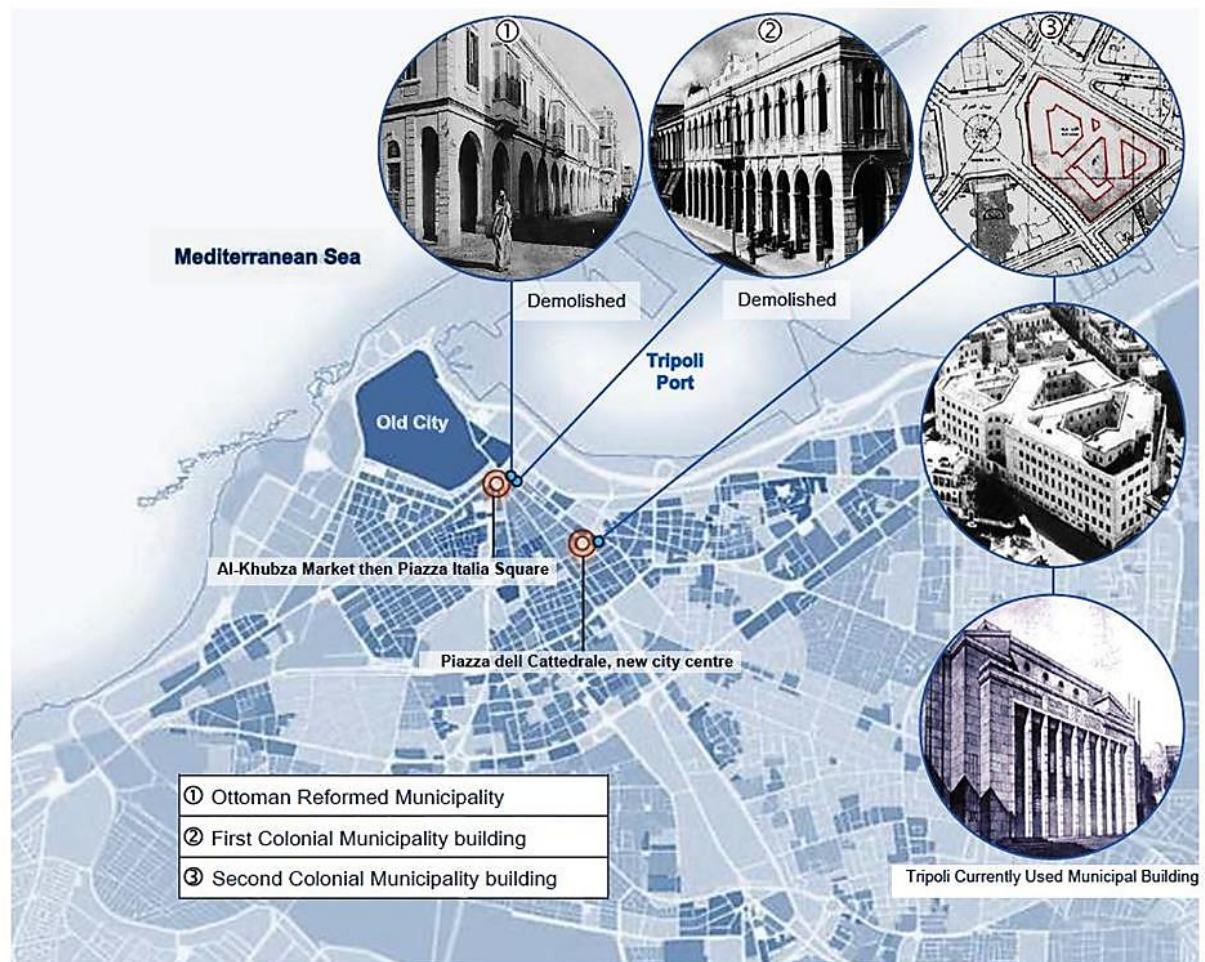
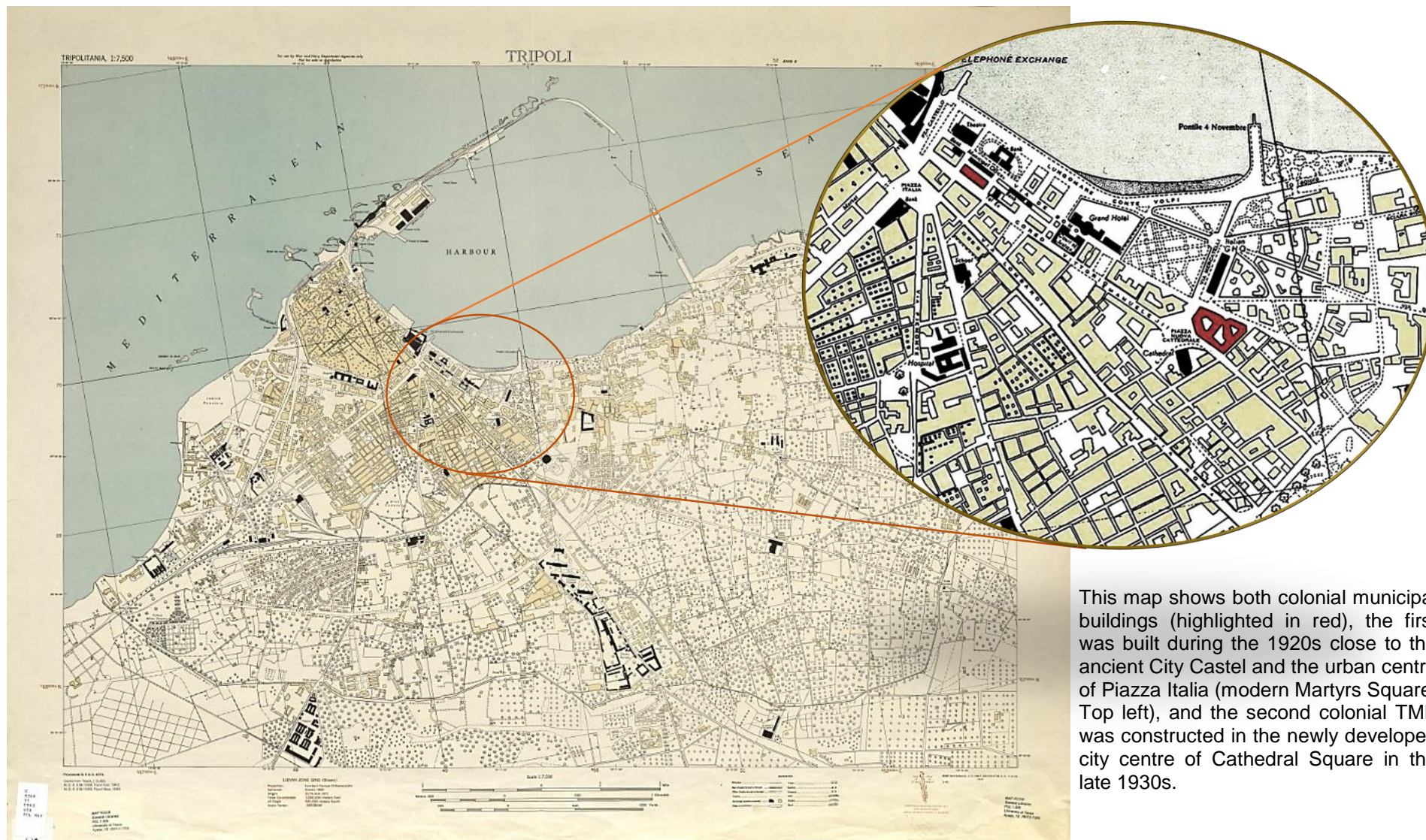


Figure 6-13: Map of Tripoli showing the locations of the city main urban squares and historical city council places since the early 1900s

Once the Italian colony was eventually settled after 1919, two distinct decades of urban planning and development were identified, in the reorganisation of Tripoli's colonial municipal centres, both under Fascist authority: the late 1920s, when the first colonial municipal building was constructed; and then in the late 1930s, when a second colonial municipal complex was constructed. Figure 6-14 highlights (in red) the sites of these two colonial municipal centres and shows their relationships to the traditional city and urban centres.

6.4.2 The transformation from modern Ottoman to modern Western municipality

Studies of Italian colonial urban planning in Tripoli (e.g. Lafi and Bocquet, 2002; Fuller, 2007) show that, during the early period of Italian occupation, the new military rulers of Tripoli ordered the existing local council to continue running the city's municipality, using the same modern Ottoman building.



This map shows both colonial municipal buildings (highlighted in red), the first was built during the 1920s close to the ancient City Castel and the urban centre of Piazza Italia (modern Martyrs Square, Top left), and the second colonial TMB was constructed in the newly developed city centre of Cathedral Square in the late 1930s.

Figure 6-14: Map of Tripoli (1943)

(Source: U.S. Army Map Service, 1943, from University of Texas Libraries, www.lib.utexas.edu/maps)

Fuller (2007:76) reported that, at this critical time, the Italian Commander-General Tommaso Salsa was in charge of military and political affairs in Tripoli, he “*pressed for the rapid execution of numerous building projects,*” one of which was a new and bigger municipal building for the city. Fuller (2007:76) explained that:

“Salsa especially emphasized the need for large new official buildings, such as a City Hall and a Hall of Justice.... The Director of Civil Affairs, Domenico Caruso, on the other hand, wanted to limit expenses and proceed cautiously in executing the master plan. Following this course, the public offices would continue to use existing buildings that had been purchased, leased, or appropriated— just as their counterparts in Italy’s East African cities had been doing. The matter was resolved when Prime Minister Giovanni Giolitti and Minister of Public Works Luigi Sacchi intervened in support of Caruso’s conservative position. Two decrees dated 2 September 1912 established that officials would put off investing in public buildings and limit their attention to the most urgent public works.”

Thus the austere approach adopted by the early Italian invaders led to the exploitation of the already appointed city council. However, it might also be suggested that the colonists found the conditions of the established municipality and its reformed administration appropriate to manage the city during the early colonial stage. This existed municipal administration was therefore kept and put under the direct supervision of the colonial military government. Lafi and Bocquet (2002:60-61) explained this municipal transformation in more detail, saying that:

“The Arab mayor remained in office and most of the municipal administration too, but an Italian General Secretary of the Municipality was named in order to control and supervise the action of local urban powers.... In Italian Tripoli, the municipality remained in charge, but soon lost most of its powers. Local élites were excluded from the planning process, and municipal offices lost most of their urban competences. The municipality, as a place of expression of the Arab municipality, was become an empty shell.”

The exclusion of local leaders from running the municipal administration after the first period of the military control is explained two ways: it shows the level of competitiveness that these local officers had to demonstrate to be able to take responsibility for managing their city under the agonizing pressure of the Italian military regime during these challenging times; and the inherited Ottoman modern municipal building outside the city walls was exploited until the Italian military control extended throughout the colony. However, after political and economic stability were achieved in Tripoli by the mid-1920s, the newly appointed Fascist colonizers then appointed their own imperial administration and decided to build a new municipal building that represented their colonial vision (see Figure 6-15).



(a)



(b)



(c)

Figure 6-15: The first colonial municipal building in Tripoli, 1935.

Built on Vittorio Emanuele III Street (former Azizia Street) in the late 1920s, demolished in 1996.

Sources: Al-Zawi collection (a); www.delcampe.net (b); and Al-ayam Altrablsiah (c).

6.4.3 The first colonial municipal building

A new municipal building (number 2 on the map of Tripoli in Figure 6-13) was constructed to accommodate Tripoli's first Italian colonial city council under the Fascist Regime: *"By 1924... [Tripoli's] City Hall and Hall of Justice were completed, or nearly so"* (Fuller, 2007:153).

Comparing the location of this key public building on the different historical maps it appears clear that it was built close to the ruins of the recently used Ottoman municipal building on Garnata Street. Both were situated near the old al-Khobza market square (now Piazza Italia) and Piazza Castello near the ancient castle. The new building was now opened onto the main Azizia Street, which by now was called Vittorio Emanuele III Street. After the construction of the second colonial municipal building, this building was eventually adopted for different governmental uses until it was demolished under the Gaddafi regime in 1996. Its valuable public land in Tripoli city centre is still vacant today.

In comparison with the replaced Ottoman municipal building, the urban form of this early Italian municipal building might at first glance seem similar in many physical attributes: its basic rectangular form, two-storied symmetrical physique (with elongated windows in the top floor), and the arched arcade in the ground floor of the main façade. However, the architecture of this 1920s classical Italian building is very different in a number of respects, particularly, the large scale of the Italian building as in the arches of the arcade in the main façade (see also a different view of the main façade of the building in Figure 6-16). Considering the heights of the two persons standing beside the two municipal buildings in the historical pictures, compared with the height of the nearby arch, the latter in the Italian building is almost three times the height of the average human (1:3), where as in the Ottoman building it was somewhat less than twice the height of the local man standing near the arch (>1:2).

Secondly, the number of decorations used in these arches also varies. The Ottomans used very modest non-decorated odd arches (n=13) compared to 12 festooned classical arches in the Italian building, decorated with stone-carvings on the side and topped with a key-stone.

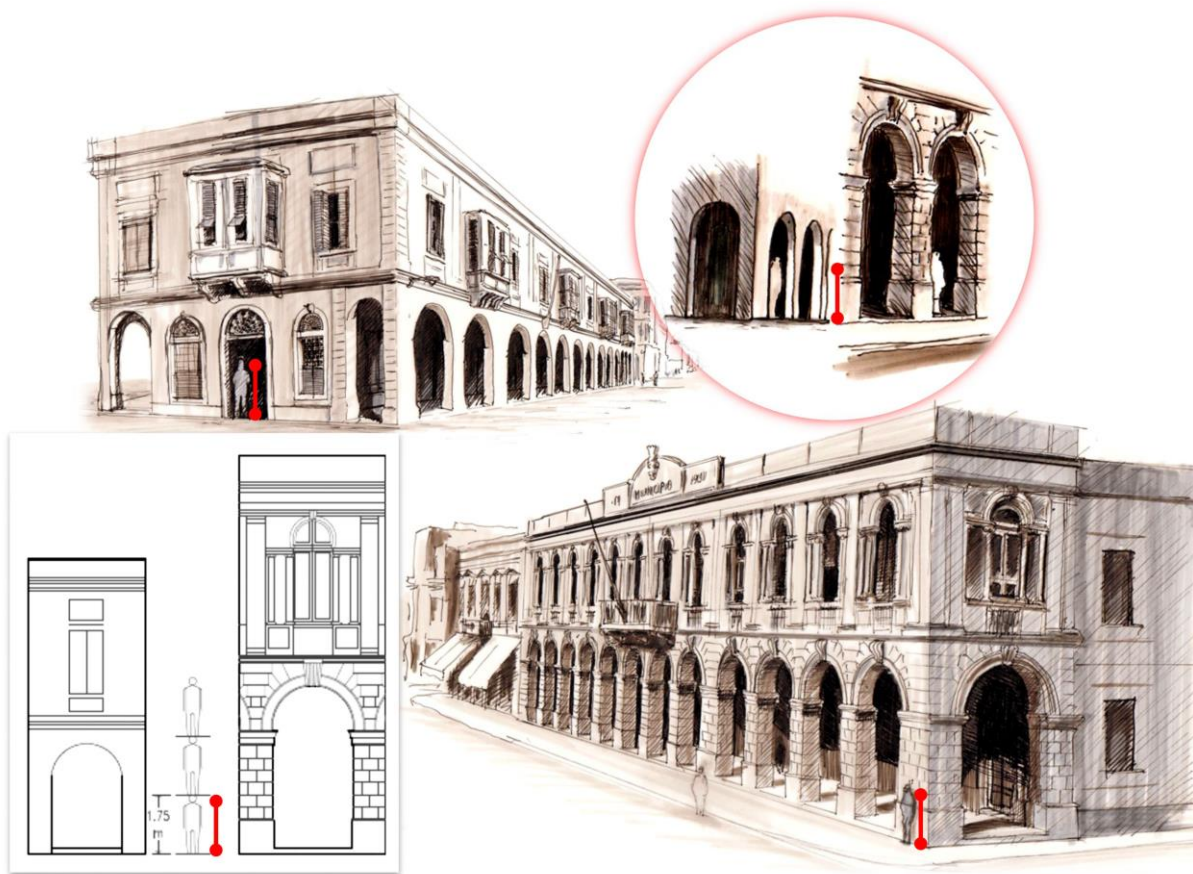


Figure 6-16: Visual comparison between last Ottoman and first Italian municipal building

Reconstructed perspective of Tripoli's Ottoman MB from 1910s (top), compared with the first Italian MB in Tripoli, 1928 (bottom).

The third distinction is the use of the wide balcony by the Italians. The Ottomans had used balconies in Tripoli city before but not in their municipal administrative buildings. Moreover, unlike in the Ottoman building, the main entrance in the Italian building seems central. This is emphasised by the designated slight prominence of the middle third of the façade (the four middle arches) and the cantilevered balcony that combines the span of the two central arches. Finally, the Italian building is topped with a high crowned label board on which the name of the building 'TM' is written in Italian. It also carries what appears to be the emblem of the colony of Tripoli city at that time.

One can thus argue that the size, style, and symbols used by the Italian colonial designers in their first municipal building in Tripoli contrasts with those of the Ottomans, who seemed to carefully acknowledge the significance of these three elements for the local culture (the use of human scale and pure semi-circled arches in the traditional city) more than their Italian successors when determining the architecture of their modernised municipality. It is evident that there are no concessions to local culture in the Italian municipal building; this may reflect the projection of Italian rule in

architecture, a key feature of imperialist and fascist monumentalism generally and/or a callous disregard of local people.

The neoclassical Italian architectural type adopted in this important early governmental public building reflects the assumption of Daza (1982) that, during the early unstable period of the Italian takeover of the expanses of Libya there was a *“necessity to rapidly establish the conquest,”* and this urgency led to *“quick solutions to architectural problems without definition of their forms in the colony”* (1982, 239-240). The analysis of this municipal building also supports McLaren’s (2006:161) assertion in that, during this critical time of Italian colonialism in Tripoli before the end of the 1920s, the colonial architects struggled to discover an architectural language to identify a clear colonial programme in the region. This, however, changed when a second boldly presented municipal construction was created.

6.4.4 The second colonial municipal complex

Considering the significant political, economic, urban, and administrative transformations in the third period of the Italian colonization of Tripoli, it seems reasonable to say that the Fascist rulers in Tripoli had a clearer colonial vision and were keen to establish purposefully designed civic municipal institution for the modern 1930s to match their other urban developments and demographic and imperial programmes. As a result, a second Italian colonial municipal complex was constructed around 1939 in the newly developed city urban centre of Cathedral Square (‘Cathedral Square’, the modern ‘Maidan al-Jazayir’, Algeria Square; see number 3 in Figure 6-13, and Figure 6-17).

The structure of the TMB was carefully designed this time, to give a number of advantages: momentous scale, the Fascist architectural style, and an important position in the city centre’s new form in the north-eastern corner of Cathedral Square. This municipal centre still hosts Tripoli’s City Council today, and chapter 8 focuses on its contemporary significance. Meanwhile, an analysis of the urban and architectural significance of this building, as well as the city public’s socio-cultural use of and interaction with during the colonial period are presented in the next section.



(a)



(b)



(c)



(d)

Figure 6-17: Aerial picture showing the municipal environment around Cathedral Square

Showing the construction of the second Italian colonial municipal building and post office centre in the late 1930s (a), and the sounding urban form of Cathedral Square (b, c, d).

Source: LCAHS: photos 32Album 1A-15 (a); Al-ayam Altrablsiah (b and d); Al-Zawi (Postcard, c).

6.5 Urban, Architectural, and Socio-Cultural Aspects of the 1930s TMB

6.5.1 *The urban setting of the TMB*

The TMB is situated less than 600 metres to the south-east of Tripoli's central urban square of Piazza Italia (the modern Martyrs' Square, see Figure 6-18). Its four-storey mass is positioned in the north-eastern corner of Cathedral Square.



Figure 6-18: Satellite images of Piazza dell Cattedrale/Algeria Square in Tripoli

Showing the position and current condition of the TMB built in 1939 (Source: ECOU, Tripoli, 2010).

The building occupies a position between: De Bono Street (now al-Baladiya Street) in the north-east; Vittorio Emanuele III Street (formerly al-Azizia, now 'al-Istiqlal', Independence Street) in the south-west; Damascus Street in the south; and Tripoli's main colonial cathedral (now Jamal Abdelnasil' mosque) from the south-west, as seen in Figure 6-19. At a wider urban scale, it is notable that this municipal centre has a direct connection with the earlier residence of Tripoli's Italian Governor (see Figure 6-20) more than 400 metres to the north-west of this '*Sicilian-Moorish hybrid*' palace, designed by the Italian architect Saulle Meraviglia-Mantegazza, and constructed between 1924 and 1929 (Fuller, 2007:153).

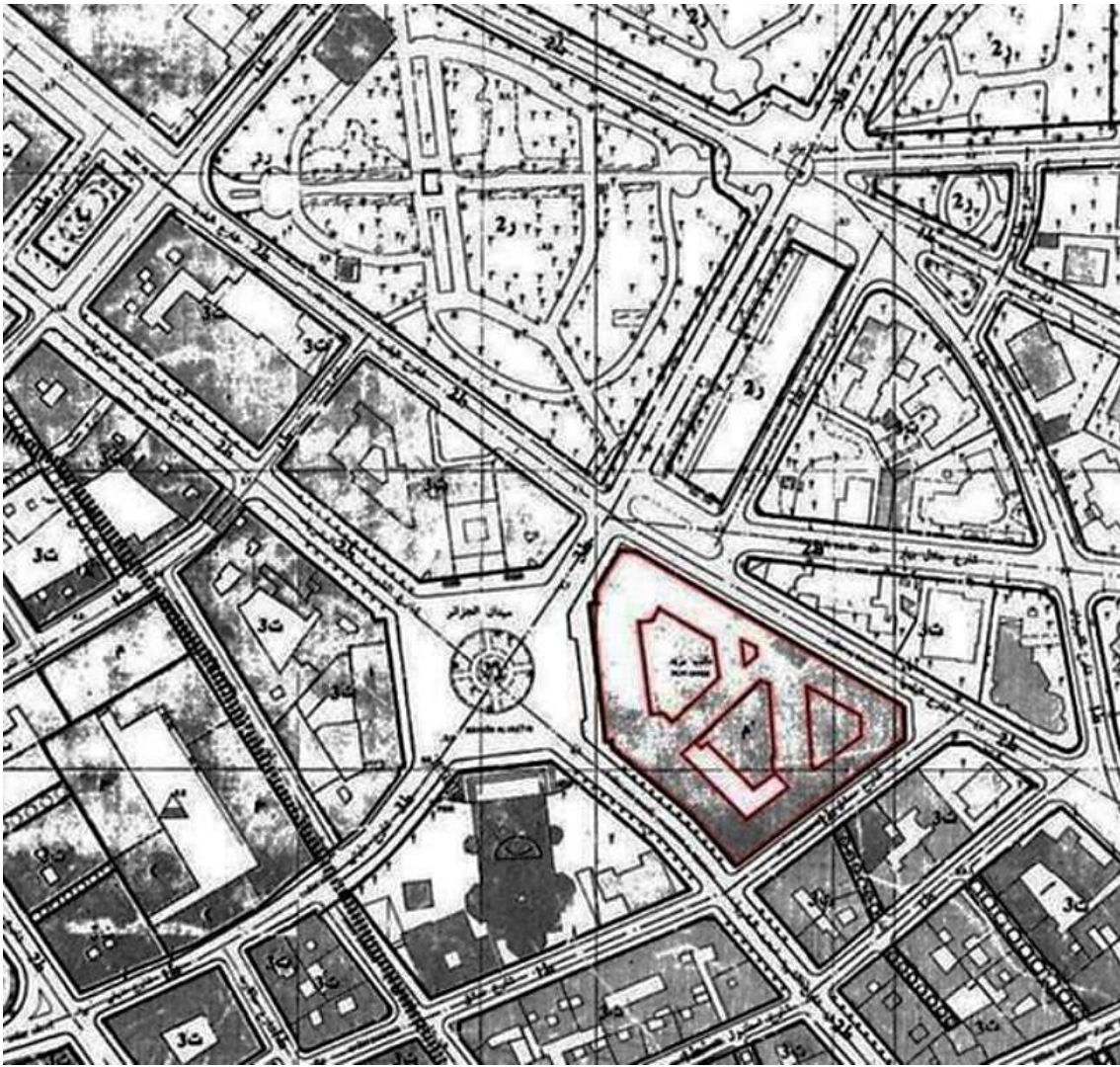


Figure 6-19: Official Map of Cathedral Square

Site of the second Italian TMB. The building is confined by: the main street of al-Baladiya Street from the north; al-Istiqlal Street from the south-west; Cathedral Square from the west; and Damascus Street from the south-east. The map shows the completed work of the urban enclosure created around Cathedral Square, with the TMB on the eastern side of the square.

Moreover, the same axes of Vittorio Emanuele III Street also link the main city square of Piazza Castello (Martyrs Square) to Cathedral Square. The long central axis of Vittorio Emanuele III Street was dignified with the extensive use of arched arcades on both sides, and it was and still often used for the city's most popular ceremonial parades and marches. The urban design of this location on a key city street in the city centre was very important:

"A public open space, Piazza Italia, was created in front of the existing castle, and a major public artery, the Corso Vittorio Emanuele III, was built over the existing Sharah Azizia. This new street, which had a decidedly metropolitan character, was defined by a number of significant public institutions, including a town hall, courthouse, cathedral, and new governor's residence, thereby becoming the center of Italian civic life." (McLaren, 2006:24)



Figure 6-20: The presidential palace of the colonial Governor of Tripoli (1924-1929)

Source: Al-Zawi collection.

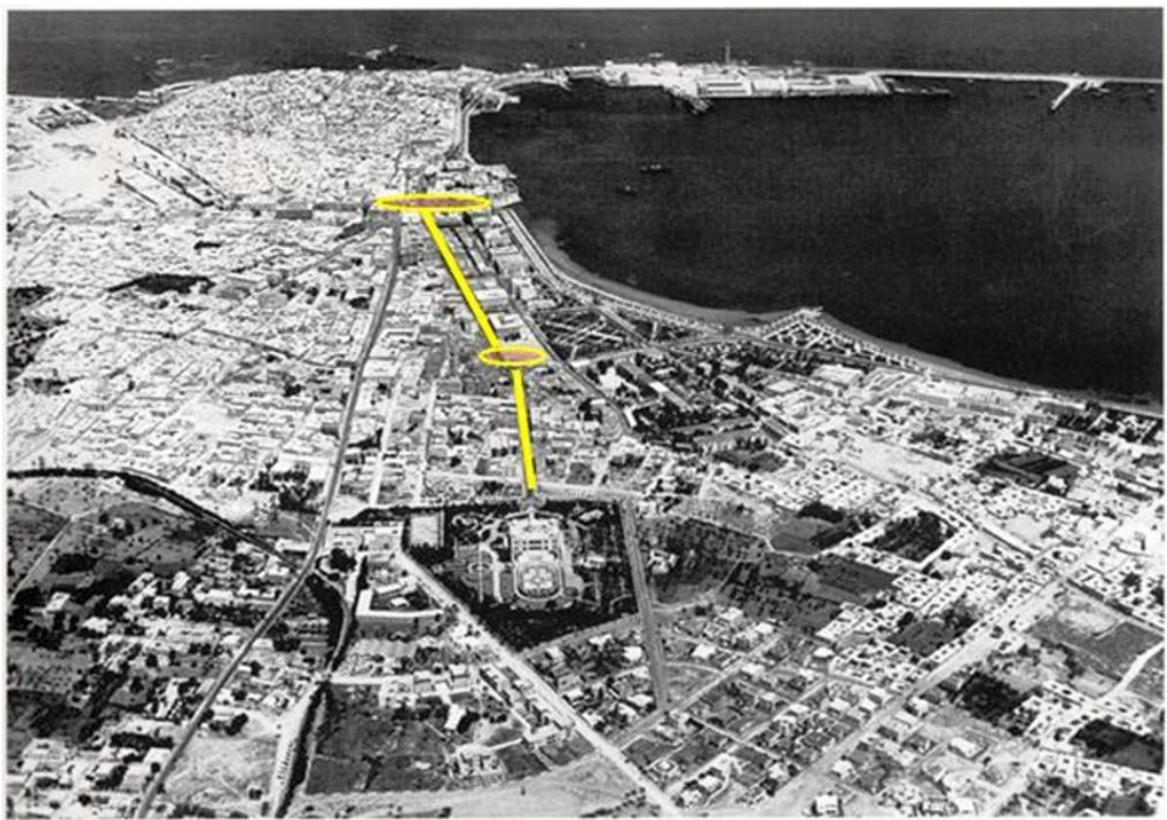


Figure 6-21: Significant locations of Tripoli's new municipal building in the Cathedral Square
Intermediate between the Governor Palace and the traditional city centre of Piazza Castello (Martyrs Square). Source: Modified from Gresleri, et al. (eds, 1993).

The significant location of this new municipal centre lay in its intermediate distance between the expanded urban belt of Tripoli's new European city and the city's traditional centre, as illustrated above (Figure 6-21).

In order to better understand the significance of the new municipal environment and the position where this municipal building was placed, the colonial origins of Cathedral Square's planning should be taken into consideration. It has been reported that the Italian planners in the second colonial period were very cautious in creating the new city centre where the latest municipal building was to be situated. Accordingly, the city authority launched an architectural competition to determine the design of this proposed urban development project. According to McLaren (2006:165):

"This national competition was organized by the TM and the Ministry of the Colonies and called for the design of three buildings that would form the remaining sides of the existing public space in front of the neo-Romanesque cathedral of San Cuore di Gesu (1923-28) [Figure 6-22] designed by SaffoPanteri."



Figure 6-22: The cathedral of San Cuore di Gesu in Tripoli, located on the southern edge of Cathedral Square (1925-1928)

Tish cathedral has been converted to a mosque (named Jama Abdulnasir)
(Source: Capresi, 2007:176)

According to Fuller (1988:461), *“there were two contests for projects for the Piazza della Cattedrale in Tripoli, the first in 1929 and the second in 1930. No prize was awarded the first time.”* McLaren (2002a) added that:

“This movement was brought to the colonial context through Limongelli's organization of a number of national competitions for public projects - including the Piazza della Cattedrale competition of January and December of 1930 - which solicited the participation of architects like Carlo Enrico Rava, Adalberto Libera, Giovanni Pellegrini, and Luigi Piccinato.” (McLaren, 2002a:173)

The launch of a competition on this national scale, with the involvement of all those talented Italian architects, shows how much the design for this important new urban centre meant to the Italian central and colonial government. The winner of the second competition of Cathedral Square, although was second in the contest, was the proposal submitted by the famous Italian colonial architect Florestano di Fausto, and construction began soon after the competition ended. However, Di Fausto's proposal is not the same as the actual structure of the new civic centre of the TM as we see it today. This might suggest that another architect, perhaps Limongelli himself, might have been commissioned, with di Fausto, to complete the design of the new complex.

Alessandro Limongelli, who was appointed as Art Consultant architect for the city TM after Armando Brasini in 1928, was known for his encouragement of architectural discourse in the Libyan urban context through competitions and the appointment of young Rationalist architects like Marcello Piacentini and Luigi Piccinato to design projects in Libya. Limongelli's contribution is considered as a major step in the transformation of colonial architecture in Libya and helped emphasise its adaptation to the environmental context of North Africa (McLaren, 2006). Di Fausto on the other hand, is also known for his environmental approach as well as for his use of elongated and delicately-scaled arches as his own design stamp in most of his public work, as can be seen in the elevations of the building components in his proposal drawings in Figure 6-23 (below). These design features cannot be found in the facade of the existing municipal building. Di Fausto, had a close relationship with Tripoli's general governor of the time Marchese Italo Balbo. In fact he was *“Balbo's architectural right hand,”* and *“had served as Director of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' Technical Office, and was still in the Office's service when Balbo summoned him to Tripoli in 1934”* (Fuller, 2007:167). He succeeded Limongelli as the *“Architecture Consultant to the City of Tripoli,”* and started designing and building the city's new development projects.

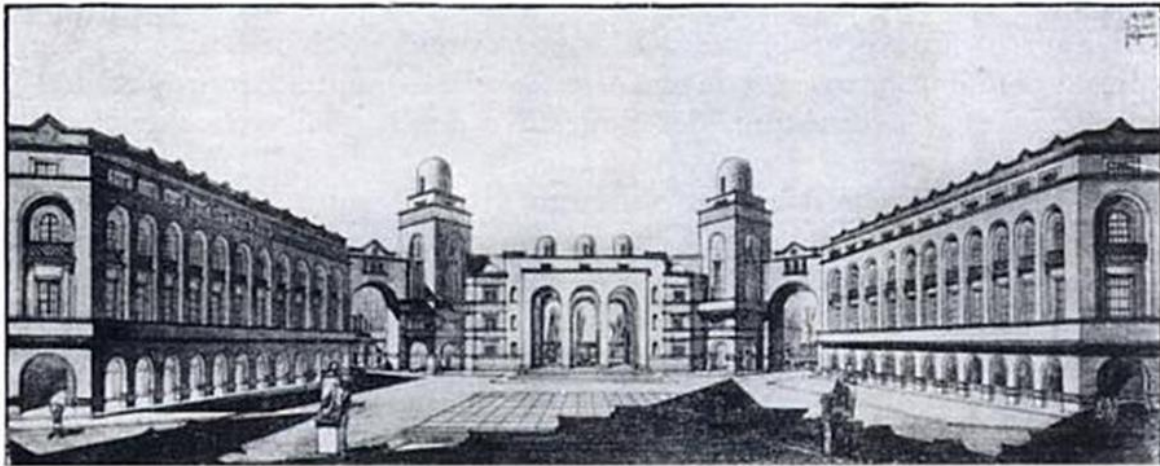


Figure 6-23: The proposal of di Fausto for the Cathedral Square in Tripoli, 1930

(McLaren, 2006:188)

According to Anderson (2010:9) the number of successful design projects of Di Fausto's *"in Libya was in part due to his close friendship with the governor Balbo."* However, regardless of how di Fausto won the Cathedral Square project, McLaren argues that his design for the competition *"created a setting that was both urban metropolitan and colonial through a symmetrical ordering of public space with a series of regularized and highly articulated building volumes"* (2006:189).

Looking at the cited proposal drawings, what distinguishes di Fausto's project from the competing proposals in the design of the facing structure of the 'Offices of the National Insurance Institute' as shown in, for example: Daza, 1982; McLaren, 2006; and Fuller, 2007) is the use of *"two elements that seem to refer to indigenous North African forms, the central portico and its flanking towers"* (McLaren, 2006:189).

To McLaren, this *"combines an urban-scaled neoclassicism and North African colonialism, thus expressing a general Mediterranean quality derived from vernacular constructions of the region."* He goes on to argue that:

"This urban project by Di Fausto would seem to have been consciously referring to an already established architectural language — metropolitan colonial — that had itself become a regional style worthy of appropriation, with its own identity, its own historical development. As the preferred image for a public architecture in Libya, it was rightly recognized by the Italians and the Libyans as the architecture of colonialism." (McLaren, 2006:189)

However, although he also prized the significance of the design of di Fausto's urban square of Cathedral Square, Anderson (2010) described this public place as contrasting with the Arab or North African context, stating that:

“Di Fausto’s format for the Piazza Cattedrale in Tripoli presents an Italian space in stark contrast to that of the Arab or North African ... Here, the essence of mediterraneità is found: a complex negotiation of economic, social, and historical practices captured within the interlocking piazzas of the city and buildings themselves. The rationalized façades have been transposed onto the ground. It is the façade’s line, the persistence of the horizontal, which stretches to the vanishing point of Rome ... in Tripoli, public spaces encourage a physical and internal disengagement ... Central to the piazza and adjoining arcades of Tripoli, the indigenous Libyan, the Italian colonial, and foreign tourist are permitted to observe, at a remove, a compound modernity of building and person alike. These spaces are not closed but centrifugal, pressing the colonial subject to its territorial limits.” (Anderson, 2010:10)

According to Fuller (2007) the urban significance of this project lay in the physical design elements used to shape the enclosed volume of Cathedral Square, and also in the type of spiritual urban and public activities created around it. Within this ambitious project, the designated governmental and public centres are in harmony, both visually as the spatial relations between these metropolitan components were well adjusted in proportion to the micro- and macro-climate of the urban fabric in place; and functionally, as the land use is publicly-rich and diverse, including the new metropolitan civic centre *Municipio* (city hall), the city main’s religious and spiritual *Cattedrale* (i.e. the RC cathedral), the national fascist cultural centre, and other public and private centres all near the city’s open municipal public park.

The urban block confronting the Cathedral from the north is also a significant public institution. It was designed to house the offices of *Istituto Nazionale Fascista Della Previdenza Sociale* (the Fascist National Institute of Social Security/Welfare). The front structure of this colonial public building, which was constructed, two years before the second TMB, was symmetrically punctuated by three delicately proportioned arches opening at the significant public forum of the portico of the Aurora Gallery. The main façade of this building and the layout of the unroofed square of the Aurora Gallery in its middle are oriented to face the cathedral. It appears that the whole architectural and urban design of this project was oriented to put emphasise the axial line linking the main entrance of the church to the Vatican (see Figure 6-24). As also seen in (Figure 6-25), this geographical line is shown in the layout of the municipal public park as well, from where the Cathedral can be easily seen by the public. Fuller also drew attention to the impact of Di Fausto’s exposed portico opposite the cathedral, highlighting its significant connection to Italy, as it leads *“directly to the sea, both physically and visually – a symbolically meaningful link, since the sea was both the coveted, end-in-itself Mediterranean, and the link back to Rome”* (2007:165).

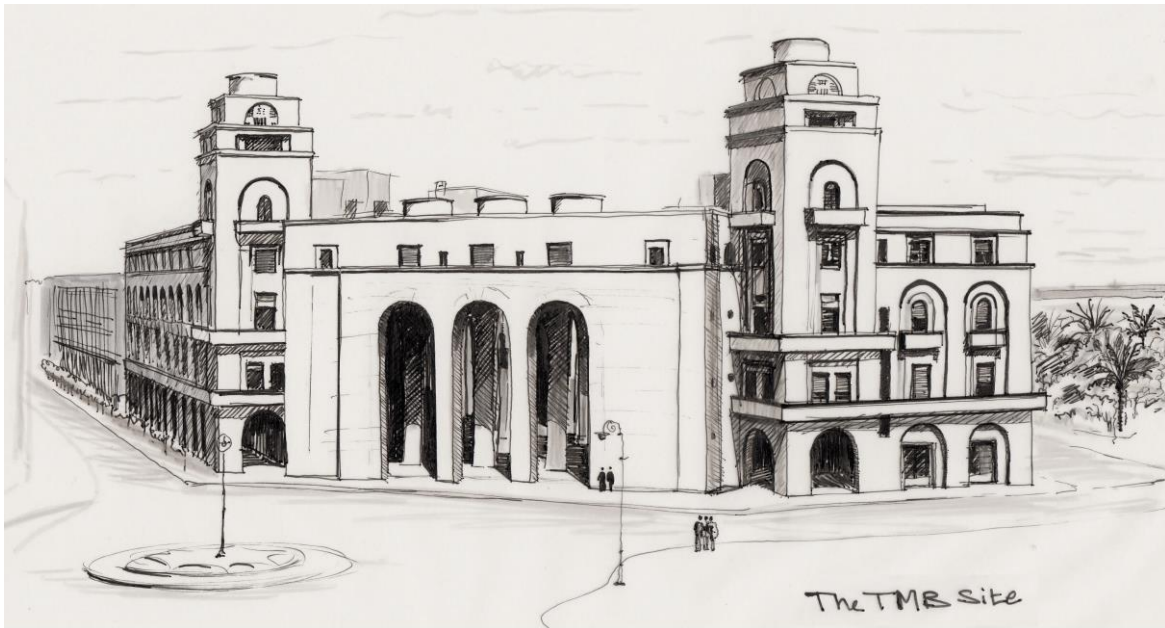


Figure 6-24: Freehand sketch of the Fascist National Institute of Social Security/Welfare
Forming the northern edge of the Cathedral Square. It also shows the public space of the portico of Aurora Gallery, facing the Cathedral.



Figure 6-25: Aerial view of the metropolitan municipal environment around Cathedral Square
The emphasis on orientation indicated by the axial line leading to Rome is visible both on the ground of the municipal park and on the elevation of the arches of the portico of Aurora Gallery facing the Cathedral.

Source: Khuga (1969:85-86 [Plate 3.6])

Therefore one can conclude that, although the position of Tripoli's second colonial MB is very significant at the heart of a newly established colonial city centre in Tripoli, its perceptual position refers to a much wider national and international level. The ideology behind the monumental fascist colonial programme seemed to have played a great part in changing notions of geography and time, affecting sensitive public and civic institutions during the era of high Fascist imperialism in the 1930s.

The site and structure of the TMB responded to the needs of the colony to deliver further spiritual and terrestrial connections that would lead people to accept and even glorify the totalitarian state and its ancient civilisation, both geographically and historically. The inerasable clues stressed on the ground (urban settings) and design (architecture) of the Cathedral Square, reiterate the Fascist appeal to the history and topography of Roman civilisation. Neither can the orientation to the geographical coordinates of Rome restrict the location of this civic institution to the local identity of Tripoli. Rather it elevates it to a far more multi-cultural entity, perhaps to position itself in a virtual layer regarding the map of Tripoli liberated from the restrictions of time and space. The following section presents the analysis of the TMB's architectural elements.

6.5.2 The architectural aspects of the last colonial municipal building

Building functions

Why was this TMB built, and what has it been used for? The analysis of the information gathered about the purpose of the building consists of two points: the main practical administrative functions expected to be served in this new building, and the possible expressive gains from constructing a second municipal building. The following dissection considers the motivations and circumstances surrounding this project in the late 1930s.

Practical Functions

The decision to construct the building was made on August the 17th 1938, when the Italian colonial authority in Tripoli issued Resolution Number 273 (approved under No. 30949 dated 31st October 1938) to establish a new local governmental headquarters for the city of Tripoli. It stated that the new public complex would house the following main functions: the city municipal administration offices, the governorate centre, and the central post offices (MOT, 1972:329). As a result, during the early years of this new

civic institution between 1939 and 1942, this building primarily provided the working environment for these three public sector bodies.

Further details of how the early municipal administration worked can be found in the reports in the colonial municipal archives used in the MOT (1972:389-349). A number of administrative units and committees operated under the auspices of the Italian TM during its early days, dealing with the city's municipal and civic affairs, such as building activities, roads and infrastructure, the administration of marine ports and lighthouses, the provision of certificates and civil licenses to the public and managing commercial uses, and other health- and hygiene-related professions and services.

What is interesting about the functions coordinated in this complex is the significant emergence of the city Post Office offices and services and the municipality administration and civic services. In fact this building was previously known by *del Palazzo delle Poste* ('the post palace'). The post office function has remained over the seven decades of this building's use. About one-quarter of the building's space is still occupied by the Libyan Post Office of Tripoli. What makes this more significant is that the Post Office is accessed via the two entrances in the main façade at the front northern edge of Cathedral Square.

What made the building's planners, designers and client decide to house these two functions in the same place and emphasise the role of the Post Office at the main front door of the TM at the time? We cannot expect this to not be deliberate. Given the Fascist colonial government's well known aptitude for propaganda, especially at the critical time before WWII, so an expressive function can be presumed. Via its recombinant civic design, the architecture of this municipal building is seemingly set to post to the world and not only to local citizens. The next section discusses these expressive functions.

The Expressive Functions

It appears that the second colonial municipal building in Italian Tripoli was built for a series of political, economic, social and demographic factors which led to the transformations and accelerated urban development in Tripoli during the 1930s. The following factors were identified which will have helped lead to the creation of a larger civic institution for the Tripolitania region under Fascism. They also explain the expressive and symbolic characteristics of the renewal projects in the decade before WWII.

1. The political influence of a powerful colonial leadership, especially the appointment of Marshal Italo Balbo as Governor-General of Libya in 1934. Settled in Tripoli, Balbo prioritised a series of crucial colonial reforms in administration and urban planning.

"[Balbo] was equally active in shaping the city's image... Balbo was also responsible for a period of intense architectural activity: it was in the latter half of the 1930s that Tripoli fully became a showcase for Italian architecture and celebrations. For Tripoli alone, eighteen new public works or building complexes were planned in October 1937, for completion by October 1938." (Fuller, 2007:167)

According to McLaren (2006:35), when Balbo arrived in Tripoli he criticized the lack of "*civic aesthetic*" in the colony, so within less than two months, he had formed a new building commission group in February 1934. The group were required to "*participate in the task of aesthetic reorganization providing for the decoration of the most significant buildings with a sense of art.*" Accordingly, many major edifices were constructed by 1938, such as Balbo's own office building and other major public buildings including a new metropolitan civic institution. All of these projects "*were designed to create an image of the colony that combined the authoritarian aspirations of its leaders with attention to its Mediterranean and North African context*" (ibid, 2006:35).

2. The unification of Libya as a single colony in 1935. This was part of a tactical political transformation by the Fascist government to shift to an imperial politics "*following the Italian invasion of Ethiopia in October of 1935 and the declaration of an Italian empire in Africa in May of the following year*" (McLaren, 2006:20). As a result, more political and institutional weight was added to the role of Tripoli as the largest Libyan colonial centre in North Africa. Such a move can also be interpreted as an indication of the transnational orientation of fascism.
3. The inspiration of the second visit of the Fascist leader Mussolini to Tripoli in 1937 (12-21 March) to market the colonial power and increase its Italian population. During his visit to Tripoli, Mussolini "*ordered more institutional involvement in colonial affairs*" (Daza, 1982: 249). The importance of Mussolini's role in emphasising Fascism through colonial development was highlighted as follows:

"Much more new construction was carried out in the Fascist period than under earlier governments, especially when the government implemented its late-1930s program to reclaim all the colonial administrations and make the colonial cities' appearances consonant with current Fascist ideals". (Fuller, 2007:12)

The effort to increase the population of Italian citizens in the North African colony was launched after this significant visit. The plan was to settle 100,000 Italian colonists by 1942 (Daza, 1982), and half a million by the 1950s (McLaren, 2006). This intensive colonization programme in 1938. When 20,000 arrived in Tripoli, and were then distributed around the planned colonial villages around Tripolitania and Cyrenaica. There were various social, economic, political, and perhaps military reasons behind this programme, occurring just a few years prior to WWII. Designing a huge municipal complex therefore seemed a necessity to accommodate the services and the new municipal affairs required for newly arriving citizens.

4. The declaration of Libya as the nineteenth region of Italy in early 1939. This was another major political change that accentuated the metropolitan role of Tripoli locally and globally. Consequently, its new civic institution was prudently and proudly presented as part of the Italian colonial project.

Indeed, these driving forces represent the generally ambitious colonial desire for progress under the Fascist government, which encouraged the development of more advanced urban infrastructure, new urban public space, and larger monumental public buildings, and the city's municipal building was only one of these central civic public institutions that benefited the most from this colonial urge. But why did the Fascists spend so much on modernising Tripoli city and on the architecture of its municipal environment at this particular time?

According to Fuller (2007), such architectural and urban developments were intended to increase *"Tripoli's appeal for tourists"*, hence the fact that:

"In late 1930s Tripoli, then, the government was actively invested in architectural developments, along with representations of Italian sovereignty and civiltà, ranging from the Roman Empire to the Catholic Church and the new Italian Empire." (Fuller, 2007:168)

To McLaren (2006:21), the goal of such colonial development was *"to modernize the region in order to make it suitable for a program of demographic colonization."* He also described the dynamic urban and architectural activities of the 1930s in Tripoli as 'Tourist Architecture', defining this particular Mediterranean Italian urban style as 'metropolitan colonial' architecture. He argued that *"tourism increasingly became an instrument of the politics of colonial rule. The close connection between tourism in Libya and the Fascist politics of empire, though, should not be a surprising one"* (McLaren, 2006:49).

To conclude, it can be argued that the purpose of constructing a second colonial TMB was not only to create a larger functioning municipal office building. In addition to the increased demand for space to address the growing requirement for civic and public services relates to the increasing metropolitan population in Tripolitania prior to WWII, a new Fascist colonial civic architecture was built in Tripoli to serve another less practical yet significant function. It was used as a medium for global propaganda, to convey a powerful message of arrogance, rather than to foster local civic pride. An opportunity to promote civic modernity while asserting the absolute supremacy of Fascism, as well as simultaneously serving its followers.

The location selected for this different municipal complex in the new city centre supports this assertion; with the symbolic importance of the functioning modern Post Office accessed from the building's main façade; its extravagant Fascist architecture; and finally the timing of its construction, after the unification of Italian Libya and the visit of Mussolini to Tripoli in 1937. This building clearly served more purposes than merely managing the city affairs and those of its citizens.

Building layout and spatial arrangements

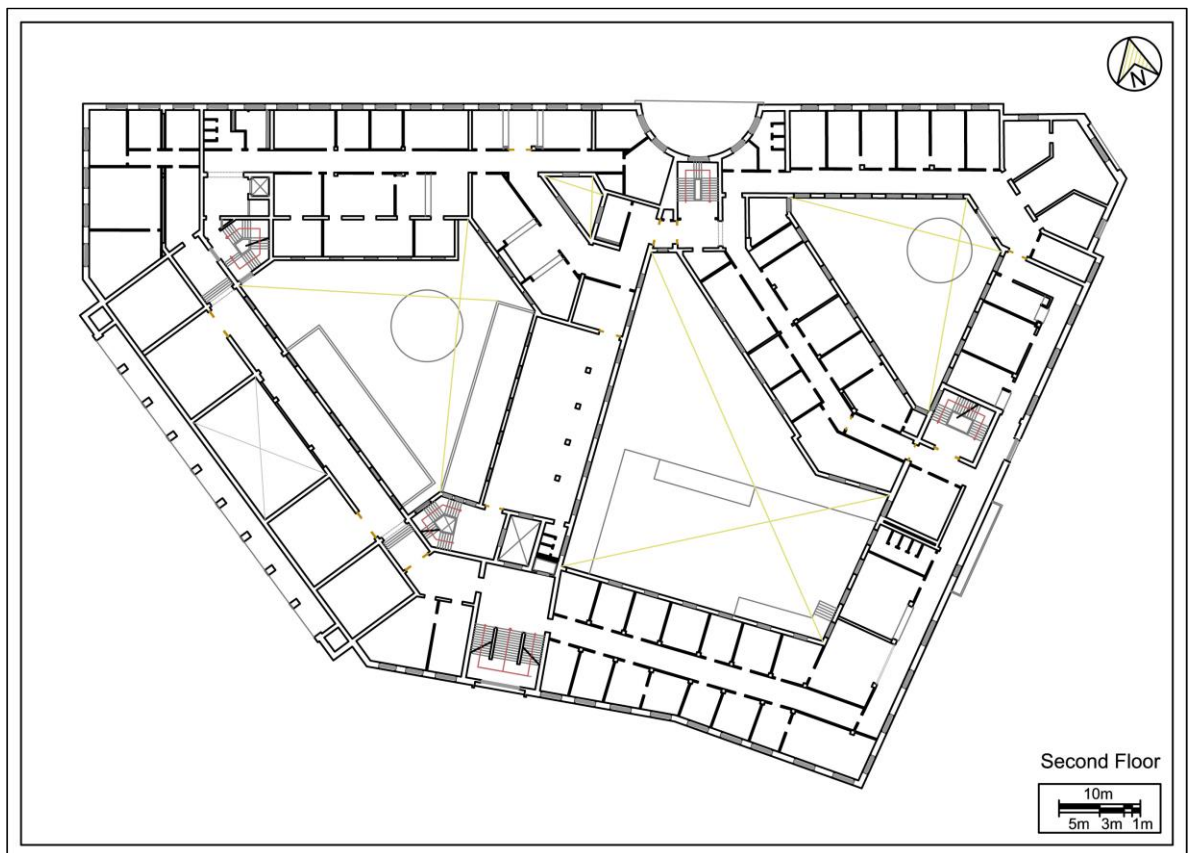
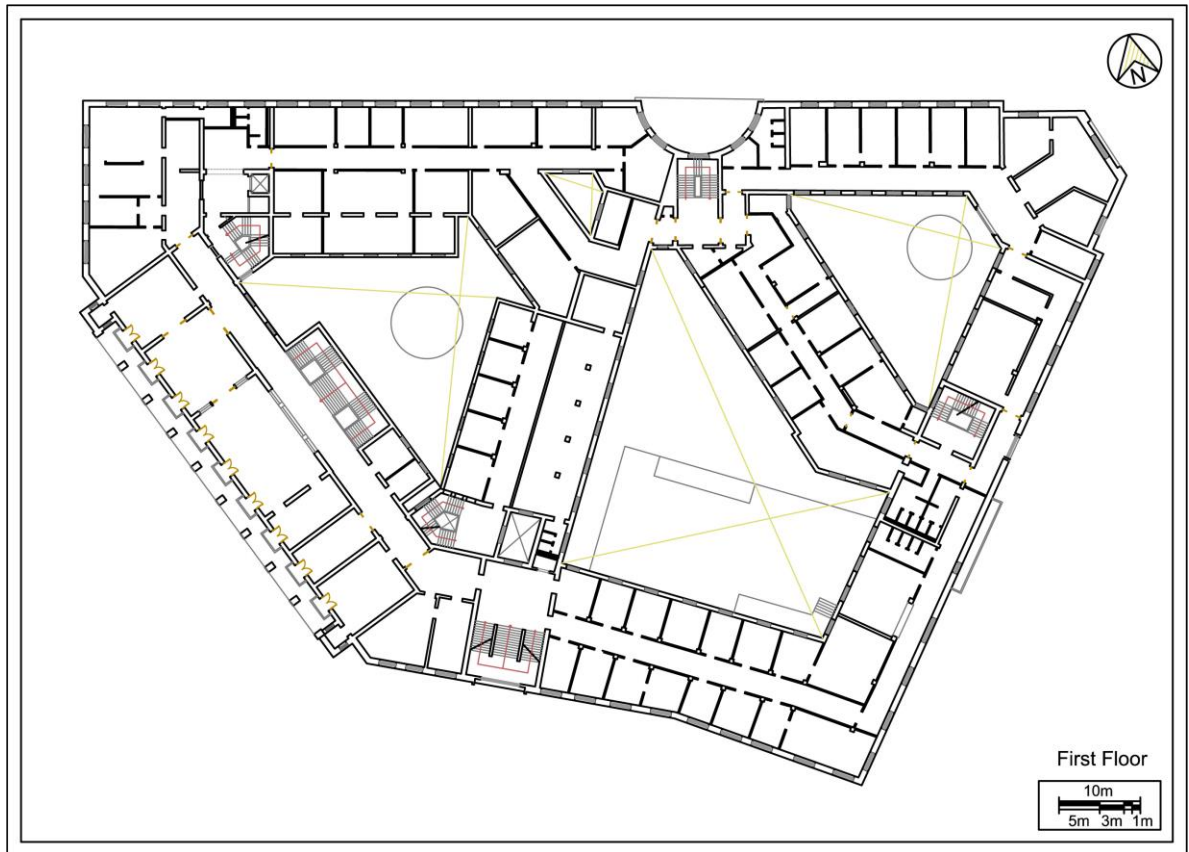
Figure 6-26 presents the design plans of the TMB layout. The plans were redrawn specifically for this research. This was achieved by comparing the present conditions verified in fieldwork observations of the building with the only incomplete hand-drawn plans found of the TMB layout in the early 1970s. It was apparent that the layout has changed considerably over the last four decades, as the distribution of the building functions of the TMB is illustrated in the next chapter. Meanwhile, the identified key characteristics of the internal spaces of the TM building are discussed in the following paragraphs.

The space enclosed in the building is immense compared with any other public building in Tripoli at the time. The spacious four-storey layout is of a classic office building type with central long corridors in each floor, except in the basement floor. Altogether, the different levels of this structure account for an area of 40,000 m² (430,500 f²) of usable floor space, courtyards not included. Each floor has a number of different spaces and functions linked vertically through four well distributed main public stairwells. The use of open-plan workspace areas is very limited. The majority of the workplaces in all departments consist of enclosed offices with single or a small number of desks. The average areas of typical office workspaces in the building range between 20-50 m².

The exception is the few large halls, like those within the planning department, which grouped working desks together to handle large sheets of maps and drawings on the third floor. It appears that some of the offices, especially in several workspaces on the second floor, were initially designed for internal use only, and the services processed there were delivered to visiting users through a number of dedicated windows opening onto the central corridor.

The layout is renowned for its adaptability to the micro and macro climate. The building contains certain shapes of spacious intermediary courtyards (as seen in Figure 6-18, Figure 6-19, Figure 6-25, and Figure 6-26) allowing day-light and natural ventilation to circulate through most of the working areas on all floors above the ground level, particularly in the rows of offices on each side of the long corridors typical of such government office buildings. This design solution, along with other significant environmental considerations, including thick walls and long windows, are not only effective in the Mediterranean context of Tripoli, but also appears to have uplifting spiritual effects on building users as experienced during the fieldwork trip. However, these voluminous airy courtyards are neglected and unaccusable as they are not utilised for the advantage of any public or private use on the ground floor.





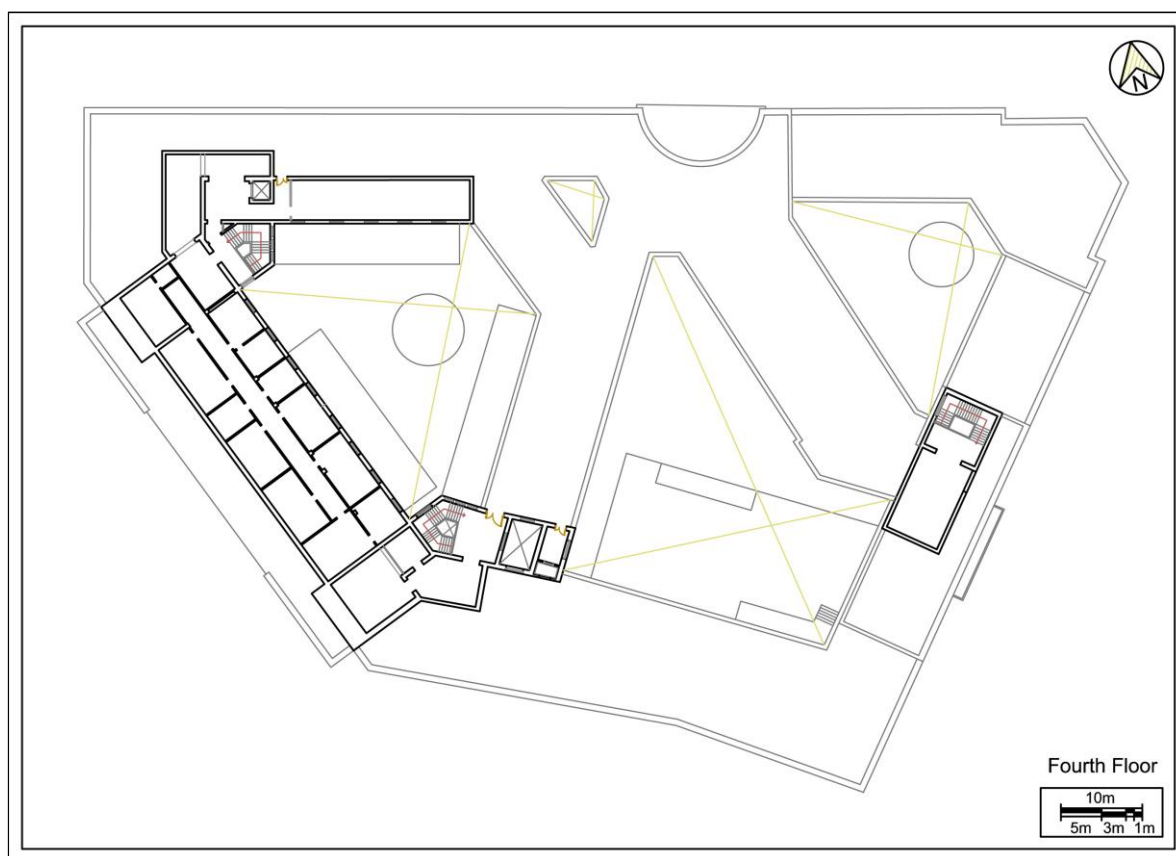
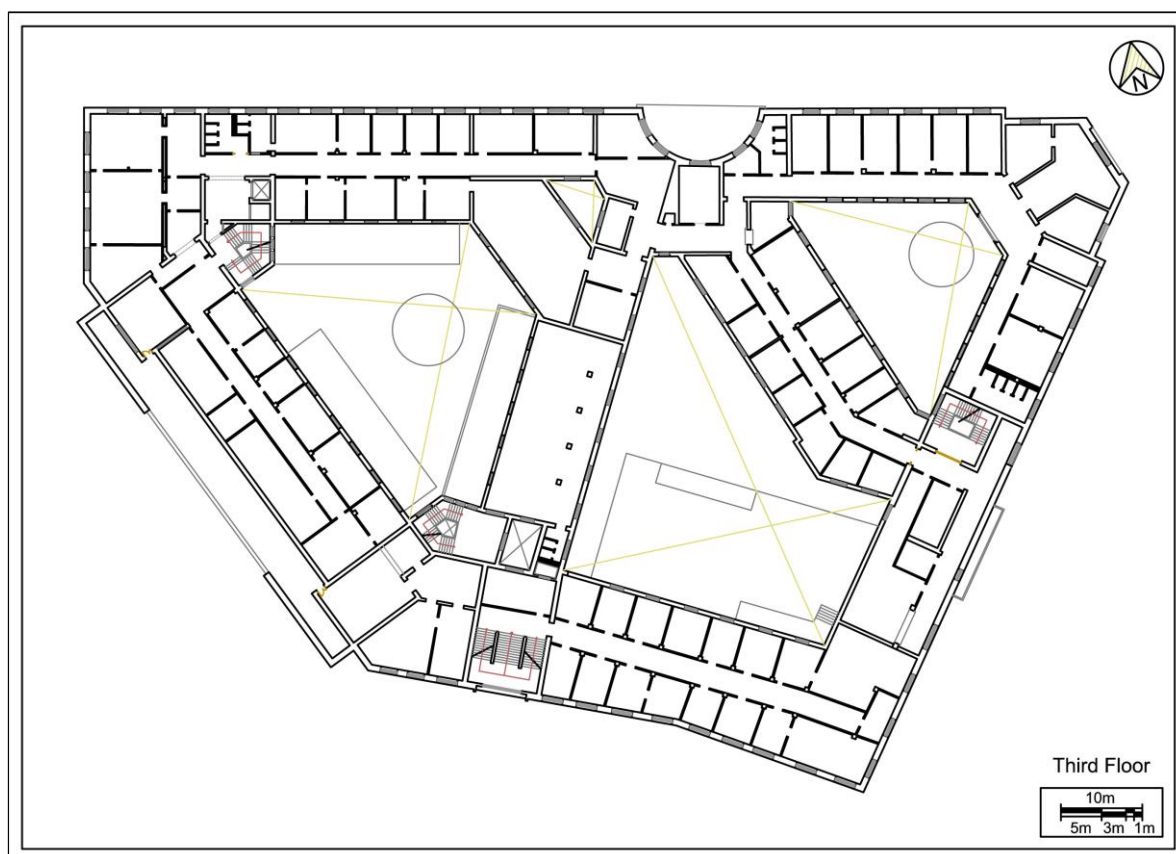


Figure 6-26: The layout plans of the TMB

Drawings showing the size and shapes of the building's internal spaces and courtyards are the result of the author's walk-through observations of the conditions of the TMB during the fieldwork in 2010. Details of inaccessible spaces at the time were verified and projected based on early 1970s layout and information gathered from TM workers.

Furthermore, when compared with the 1970s drawings, several courtyards are now reduced in volume at the expense of increased workspace added in extended offices on the ground and first floors. Further spatial analysis is presented in the following chapter.

Building form

How does this building stand and communicate? The form of the TMB is typical of the fascist style of architecture found in Italy and a number of its colonies such as Rhodes; see Antoniades, 1984). It follows the popular Italian Rationalism modern movement of the 1920s-30s, which under the Fascist state's pioneering architects, like Guiseppe Terragni, *"managed to fulfil the party's rhetorical needs, while at once maintained a clear Rationalist expression,"* resulting in the style of *"totalitarian architecture"* (Borden et al., 2008:420-422). However, at the time of the present research, this TMB still remained as one of the few intact examples of Fascist colonial civic design.

This building is architecturally characterised by the simplicity of its colossal and sharp-edged design mass, a lack of ornamentation on all elevations, and the intimidating non-human scale of its symmetrical front entrance, classified as 'frontal monumentalism' (Antoniades, 1984). Its main elevation on Piazza dell Cattedrale is signified by a dominant column façade, reminiscent of the iconic Roman portico with a decastyle composite temple front broadcasting the Roman historical roots in Tripolitania (see Figure 6-27).

With its immense unembellished and nonhuman-scaled front with a number of steps leading to the stage of a high outstretched portico, the façade of this building invites comparison with the Administration Building of the University of Rome (1932-1935), designed by the famous Italian fascist architect Marcello Piacentini and which Doordan (1983:121) labelled as being *"the epitome of the popular notion of Fascist architecture"* (Figure 6-28 above).



Figure 6-27: Design illustration depicting the main facade of the new TMB and post office

The Palace of city governor Marshal Balpo with its distinctive dome appears on the background horizon behind the municipal building, at the south end of the urban axis of Emmanuel III Street, which links the Palace with the central square of Piazza Italia.

(Source: Capresi, 2007:245).



Figure 6-28: Administration Building, University of Rome (1932-35)

Designed by Italian architect Marcello Piacentini.

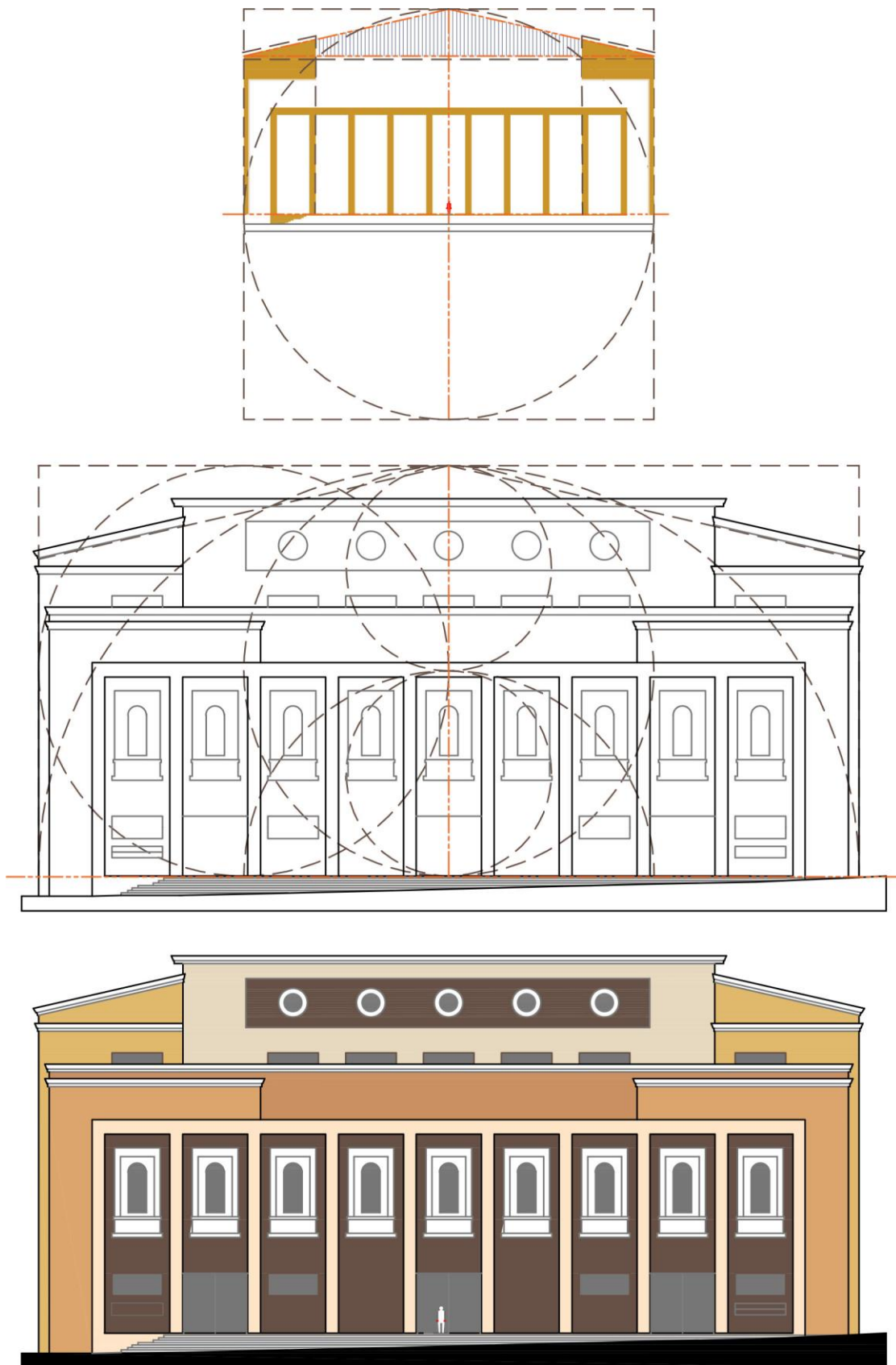
(Source: Doordan, 1983:122)

What is more significant about the temple front in the example of the TMB, and perhaps unique to this particular civic place in this prosperous period of fascist architecture, is that the ten-squared piers' fronted frame in Tripoli's building is topped with the addition of a large open triangular pediment with a broken apex.

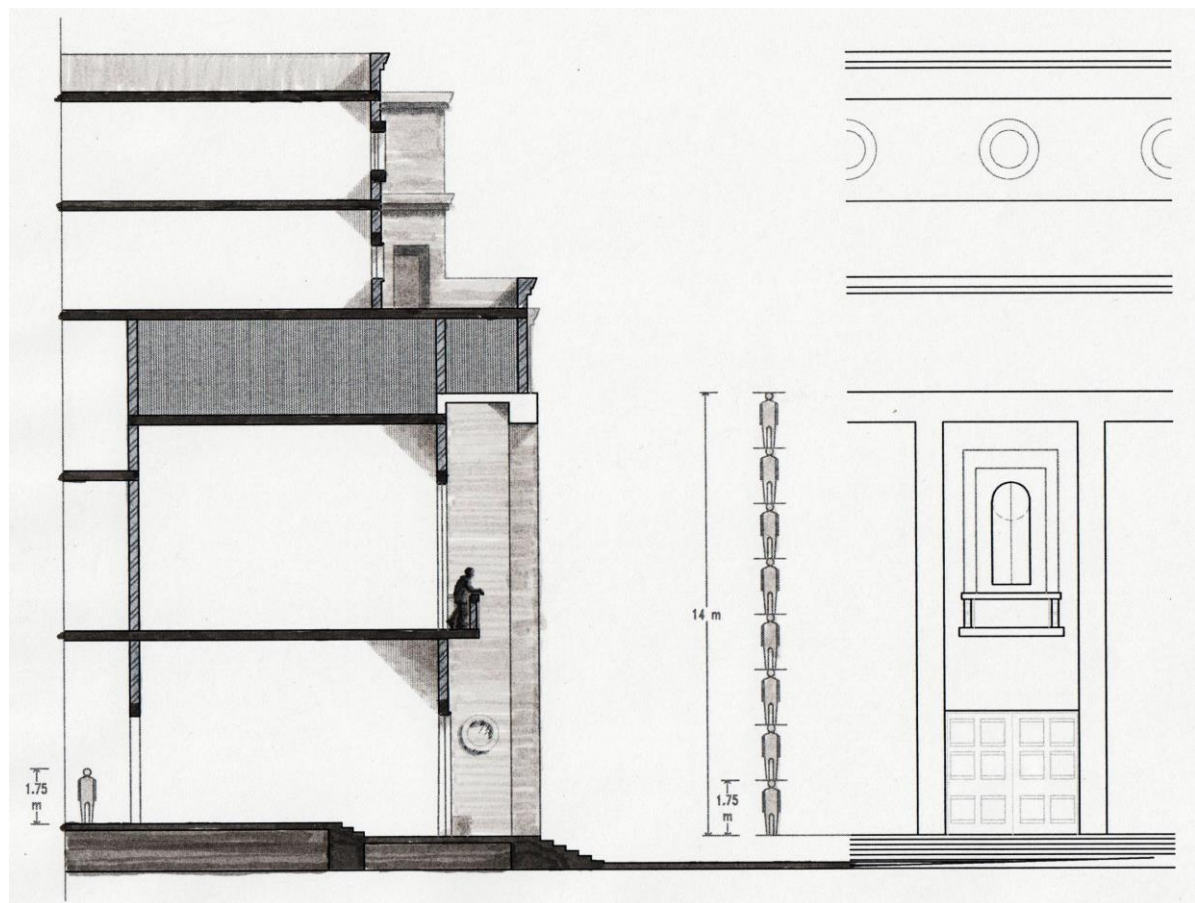
A real comparison in this case must be the design elements featured on the top of the Roman Arch of the native Libyan and Roman leader Lucius Septimius Severus (145-211CE; see Figure 6-29) in the city centre of ancient Leptis Magna, more than 80 miles to the east of Tripoli.



Figure 6-29: The Arch of Septimius Severus in Leptis Magna in comparison with the TMB



(a)



(b)

Figure 6-30: Geometrical analysis of the main façade of the TMB on Algeria Square.

Both (a) and (b) images illustrate the actual monumental scale of the TMB fascist façade compared with the average human height. It was found that the front rectangular colonnade measures 8 times the human scale (14m, b). Source: Researcher's own analysis.

Another significant design feature in this building is the use of front balconies, more widely used in this civic centre than in any other fascist public building, at least in Tripoli. However, balconies are practical design elements that are widely used by many totalitarian regimes. For example, Mussolini, like many other dictators, was famous for his appearances from protruding balconies of central governmental buildings to promote Fascism, addressing the public who gathered in large numbers in the urban squares underneath (Figure 6-31).

Unlike the earlier Italian colonial municipal building, which had only one long balcony in the middle, this building uses nine relatively short cantilever balconies (see Figure 6-30). All were heavily confined with a solid guardrail modestly decorated with two marble vase columns at each corner, the only adornment in the whole façade. They were covered under the porch of the exterior frame of the temple front, one between each two columns. At a high level each protruding slab is accessible via a long arched door.

The structure of this building consists of four floors with a wide basement, and it was made of a typical brick and concrete skeleton, clad with native uprooted marble or limestone, in this case travertine which is light beige in colour and covers a wide area of the building's exterior surface. Most of the surface is coated in a smooth white mixture of plaster, consisting of white cement and lime/marble dust.



Figure 6-31: Mussolini addresses crowds in Rome and Benghazi (1930s)

(Top) from the balcony of Palazzo Venezia, November 4, 1938 (Source: The Telegraph); and (bottom) speaking from the balcony of the main municipal building in Benghazi city, Libya, in 1937.

Finally, considering the robust exposure of the architectural features used in shaping the TMB, it appears as if its Fascist designers and architects and the colonial authorities had followed a familiar concept of modernisation to celebrate their powerful presence in the region in the form of this Metropolitan civic masterpiece, using historical motifs from the Roman past on this formerly Roman land. As shown in the previous chapter, the Ottomans used a comparable architectural approach bringing their own historical motifs into splay (such as the cumba feature) in the fronts of their modern municipal design, but they also consciously and ostentatiously respected local

architectural culture in the traditional Medina by replicating architectural shapes and using human scale.

However, the final Italian colonial TMB betrays no consideration for these aspects. The employment of the symbolic historical Roman design features, including the use of the temple front style, is evocative of the neo-Roman styles deployed on the Italian mainland and proclaiming the Italian colonial presence in Libya. It should be clearly understood that the Roman legacy espoused by Italian fascism was for the purposes of modern imperialism and not to resurrect the culturally heterogeneous historic Roman Empire.

As mentioned previously, the philosopher-emperor Septimius Severus himself was a native of Libya; and the great Catholic theologian of late Antiquity, St. Augustine, was Algerian. However, when they appealed to the Roman legacy, the European colonists in North Africa intended this as a form of imperial domination of subject peoples, and not a restoration of the Pax Romana; British imperial imagery was also replete with Roman symbolism in contexts with no Roman association whatsoever, such as India. This is evidenced by the fact that Libyan natives (who were interned in concentration camps in a programme of ethnic cleansing by the Italian regime) were not permitted to access the services offered in the 'Roman' municipal building (Arthurs, 2012). Indeed, Roman styles were deployed by every European imperial power to project their power over native peoples; their utilisation by the Fascist powers in WWII was pre-dated by over a century in the US, whose 'Capitol Hill' was a conscious replication of the Roman *Collis Capitolinus* (Mattingly, 2010). The Italian Fascist deployment of Roman identity in Libya is in contrast to the preceding Ottoman salutes to Libya's historical heritage, such as the public fountain shown in the previous chapter, which included Roman stylistic elements while being accessible to normal Libyans.

Even if it can be argued that the use of courtyards and specific local building materials and colours in this building is a clear intimation of respect for the local context of Tripolitania, according to some Italian architects these features are original Roman design ideas and not North African. In short, the form of the building communicates a powerful message through the adoption of a modern Rationalist Fascist language (by which the fascists meant 'Italian') to basically proclaim the Roman roots in Libya. The following section explains these embedded messages through the architectural medium of this authoritative building.

The power of the building

What does the architectural design of TMB try to express? According to Daza (1982) the answer in any Fascist architecture is simple: power. He argued that the Italians conquered Libya *“with the intention of symbolizing their power locally and internationally through all possible means, including visual impression, in which architecture and urban development played a large role”* (Daza, 1982:238-239). The boldness and strength found in the appearance of fascist governmental public buildings suggests that these structures certainly have many politically powerful messages to convey beyond the creation of civic pride for citizens, within the colonial borders and beyond. Nonetheless, two kinds of messages can be read from the design of the building.

First, the design expresses *“totalitarian rhetoric”* (Borden et al., 2008:420) and addresses the idea of national and international supremacy. The architectural language used to shape the structure and form of the building reveals deliberate exaggeration in using non-human scale in the front elevations found in most fascist public architecture. The Fascist ideology is clear through size alone; the state is higher than every single citizen. The public must be unified under the national institutional and architectural umbrella and national visions must always be prioritized over individual ones.

Nevertheless, although the extent to which these transmitted political and ideological messages were received by the intended public audience of building users is hard to assay. In her analysis of historical city halls, Ryan (2000:1142) argues that exaggeration in projecting *“daunting monumentality”* in the design of governmental civic architecture *“might well discourage faint-hearted or low-status citizens from entering.”* She also explained how *“the scale of the portico and the narrow, recessed stairways announce the importance of this public space more boldly than they welcome pedestrians within.”* As a result, it seems that the facades of Fascist civic architecture, with the superhuman scale of their monumentalism, contradict any credible notion of civic friendliness, which would imply a sense of being welcoming and serving the public in comfort, as evident in previous Libyan models such as the use of coffee houses as early municipal governance centres.

The second possible message is to proclaim the glory of fascism according to its supposed authenticity derived from Roman civilisation, legitimizing fascist occupation by swathing it in a toga of imperial Roman pretension while endorsing colonial civic

modernisation. In the Fascist 'metropolitan colonial' futuristic development programme of the 1930s, iconic historical elements was mixed with the fascist rationalist style of new municipal civic building as in the temple front used on top of the main façade), drawing on the claims of Roman Tripolitania and implying an inherited civilisation.

The situation in Tripoli confirms exactly what Borden et al. (2008:422) asserted: *"In stylistic terms, totalitarian regimes looked mainly to the past for architectural models that could assert and sanctify their power."* This also recalls Mussolini's claim during his second tour following the coastline of Libya in March 1937 *"that 'the cities have been transformed and beautified' and that in the Libyan countryside 'the virile Italians... awake[n] a land that had been sleeping for centuries'"* (McLaren, 2006:20). Another clue to such pride in historic civilisation can be found in the words of the Italian poet Giovanni Pascoli:

"We are close to this land ... we were there before; we left signs that not even the Berbers, the Bedouins and the Turks have succeeded in erasing; signs of our humanity and civilization, signs that indeed, we are not Berbers, Bedouins and Turks. We are returning." (Cited in Anderson, 2010:8)

The meanings embedded in this poem are translated literally in the content of the architectural medium used for the new TMB. In this regard *"Mussolini argued that one of the primary goals of Italian Fascism was to direct the nation toward its 'glorious destiny' in the Mediterranean region — a goal stated with a rhetoric typical to such bombastic pronouncements."* (McLaren, 2006:19). We should remember that in totalitarian regimes, no matter how pompous, the utterances of the leader were serious decisions that were precisely implemented.

In conclusion, the merging of the bygone and futuristic elements used in the fascia of the TMB edifice suggest a simple and powerful message: Fascism is the modern manifestation of Roman civilization in Tripoli, and a new national civic pride is created and celebrated through the rationalist style of fascist civic architecture. The function was not only to serve the increasing population of Italians coming to the colony, but also to remind the new generations of citizens of their duties to serve the nation and maintain the inherited legacy of civilization, and citizens must support the supreme state as custodians of enlightened human existence.

6.5.3 Socio-cultural aspects of Tripoli and its Italian colonial municipal centre

So far, it can be noted how and why Tripoli was intended and seemed to be a modern colony; nevertheless the critical question is who was it targeted at? In spite of the extensive and glamorous modern urban development achieved in Tripoli up until the early 1940s, the benefits to the local Libyan users and culture is controversial. On the one hand, an Italian municipal report (cited in the MOT, 1972:158) stated that the Italian occupation of Tripoli *“made all the public of the city happy.”* Conversely, condemnation in response to this claim was asserted by the MOT, whose official authors (most of whom were historians) speculated *“who were those people who became categorically happy? Even, who were those who were the sybarites? [sic] ... They were the Italians alone”* (MOT, 1972:158).

According to Daza (1982) that the developed plans that the Fascist regime implemented in their North African colony were in themselves evidence of exclusion, criticising them for being *“prejudiced against the Libyans”* (1982:258). Shawesh (2000) confirmed that local residents in Tripoli suffered the most from policies and inequitable attitudes when the fascists came to power, when *“a wall was built around the new city in order to control the growth of and access to the built environment”* (2000:64). Another example of this prejudice was also cited by Burdett (2010), reporting the Fascist expulsion of nomadic natives in the region of Tripolitania between 1929 and 1934. He argued that the imprisonment of local Libyans in several concentration camps *“was one of the greatest crimes that were perpetrated under Fascism”* (Burdett, 2010:21).

Furthermore, according to McLaren (2006) the *“indigenous politics of Italian colonialism was a modernizing and Westernizing politics that form the initial days of the occupation accorded the Libyans an ambivalent status”* (2006:83). To Fuller (2000) the reason for such intolerant treatment was because the native Libyan residents were not the progeny of Rome:

“Although Tripoli was considered inherently proto-Italian by virtue of its Roman history, the peoples in it were not considered to be as ‘civilised’ as the direct descendants of Rome, in particular the descendants who were now ‘returning’ as colonisers.”
(2000:132)

Additionally, Fuller (2000:124) drew attention to the inequality and marginalisation applied to local Libyans in the economic and administrative organisations of the new ‘modern’ society of colonial Tripoli:

“Tribal and economic networks were deliberately undermined. The colonial bureaucracy, with its measures barring most Libyans from rising through its ranks, left almost all Libyans stranded on the fringe of the new colonial society”.

Although the presented accounts above have clearly stressed the strength of the socio-cultural segregation imposed by the Fascist colonials over local Libyans in the 1930s period, however, whether such colonial control was practiced in all new modern public buildings at that time remains an open question. As McLaren (2006:7) reported, *“in respecting and preserving the cultural practices of the Libyan populations, the colonial administration [of the late 1930s] was, at the same time, redefining those practices according to the demands of metropolitan society.”* One might therefore expect that the situation might have improved during the later period of Italian occupation.

However, McLaren (2006:18) later argued that the Fascists held the view that this metropolitan society *“would seem to take little account of the Libyans, who in this context were relegated to the status of passive caretaker of a region already dominated by Western culture.”* In a more noteworthy historical reference, Daza (1982:240-241) cited the significant declaration of Lorna Hahn, in his historical dictionary of Libya (1981:49), asserting that:

“The Italians generally considered themselves superior to the Libyans, and retained their separate linguistic, cultural, and religious identity. They prevented Libyans from entering their social and professional circles through various forms of discrimination, such as forbidding them entry to certain public places.”

This is supported by the fact that the Italian language alone was used for official documentation in colonial municipal administration in the TMB (MOT, 1972). A likely explanation is that this building was only used by Italians. Thus, it can be inferred that locals were never meant to use the building. Furthermore, in support of this assumption, the colonial municipal registrar of census and civic status in the TMB was reported to have served only Italian colonial citizens when it was opened.

Registration of civic status for Libyan residents was delivered separately from that performed in the modern TMB. Surprisingly, Libyans had to register with a local clerk in the former historical Baladiya house in old city of Tripoli. Moreover, it was noted that only three Arab members of staff were allowed to work in the new TMB municipal administration in 1939 (two in the Committee of Local Poor Counting and one in the Roads Committee), and that indigenous locals were not employed in any colonial administrative positions (MOT, 1972:322-323).

Moreover, Fuller (2007:11) highlighted geographical seclusion, which acted to “*remove local populations from the center of town and replace their houses and businesses with a strictly Italian, monumental civic center.*” In this regard, it is obvious that the decision to allocate a second massive municipal building in the segregated urban district of a newly established European city in Tripoli, sufficient evidence of a discriminatory municipal policy towards Libyan use of this building.

It can therefore be concluded that, as hinted in its name, the new European city in Tripoli from the late 1920s until the 1940s was planned by and developed mainly for the use of the colonists. Likewise, when considering the preceding analysis regarding the use of the TMB centre by local Libyans, we might accept that this civic institution was designed to serve only the colonists and not the colonized.

6.6 Conclusion

This chapter has presented a historical investigation into the causes and effects of the transformation of Tripoli’s urban structure and its municipal buildings during the Italian occupation (1911-1942). The strategic location of Tripoli in the global trading network encouraged early Italian ambitions on economic grounds prior to the rise of the Fascist Party in the 1920s, and the urbanism of Italian Tripoli was transformed in three development periods firstly of military struggle, then Fascist control and colonial modernism, and finally national reform and the big Fascist metropolis, with the latter being the most dramatic in terms of urban, architectural, and socio-cultural changes.

It is revealed that the type of civic public architecture used to house the colonial local government change twice over the period: in the mid-1920s in a simple two-storey neoclassical Roman-style building situated near the newly reconfigured city square of Piazza Italia, replacing the destroyed Ottoman-style modern municipal building outside Tripoli’s traditional walls; and subsequently a second four-storey, bigger and bolder modernised Fascist-style municipal complex constructed in the late 1930s and placed at the heart of the newly established city centre of Cathedral Square, in the middle of Tripoli’s European city.

The urban and architectural analysis of the latest municipal building shows the significance of its valuable central location and design. Whatever practical functions were expected from this second TMB, its expressive function was more relevant to the

Fascist rulers and Italian colonists, and paid scant regard to the native people. The timing of constructing the building, the resources used to raise its structure and daunting façade, the use of modern yet historically symbolic gestures and the environmentally effective and spacious scale of this building all support this conclusion. Despite the lack of empirical data about the exact use of this municipal environment, there is sufficient evidence in secondary historical resources, and clues such as its location in the middle of Tripoli's European city, that the Libyan people were excluded from using and benefiting from this public building and its key civic and public services.

The relationship between European colonialism and modern urban development in Tripoli is clear. Following the Italian occupation of Libya in the early 20th century the urban, architectural, and economic conditions of Tripoli developed significantly, particularly in the period between the late 1920s and 1940s. However, this progress was designed in the interests of serving the colonial Europeans users and culture. Local indigenous residents seemed not to be considered in the development programme. This assessment raises the question about the presence of this Fascist municipal building after the end of the Italian rule in 1943 and independence of Libya in 1951, and how these circumstances have changed. The next chapter considers these issues.

Chapter 7 : Tripoli City and its Municipalities after the Italian Colonisation

7.1 Introduction

This chapter considers the transformation of Tripoli city and municipality following the Italian colonial period. It addresses the impact of the major political transformation from colonialism to nationalism on urban development and the public perceptions of the inherited colonial civic institution in Tripoli. It explores why the Fascists' TMB was adopted and not replaced by the later governments of the British Administration (1934-1951), the independent Libyan monarchy (1951-1969), and then the Gaddafi regime (1969-2011). Finally, it discusses impact of the recent totalitarian regime on the current TMB.

7.2 The Overall Transformations of Tripoli City Councils Since 1943

Table 7.1 below lists the places and types of urban administrative system employed under successive regimes in Tripoli's municipal governments following the defeat of the Fascists in 1943.

Table 7.1: Timeline of Tripoli's post-Italian municipal governments

The urban administration models and types of public buildings until today

Regime		Form of Local Municipal Administration System	Place of City Government
British Administration.	1943-1951	A Configured Municipal Administration	The current TMB (by the Italians in c.1938).
Kingdom of Libya	1951-1969	Federal municipality administration 'Muhafazat' (Province) local municipality	
Gaddafi Regime*	1969-2011	'Muhafazat' System 'Baladiyat' System 'Comonat' Commune System 'Shabaiyt' System	The same municipal complex until 2001. A sudden political decision ordered the evacuation of the building and relocation of TM into 'al-Waha' office building for one year. In 2002 another unexpected decision ordered a return to the previous building.
Interim revolutionary governments	2011-Present	A new proposed democratic elected City Council in Tripoli, and all Libyan major cities.	

*_Note: This chapter presents the research results on the municipal building until 2010.

The table shows that no new municipal building was constructed in Tripoli by any post-colonial city government after 1938. All of the subsequent Libyan rulers (the British, the Libyan monarchy, the Gaddafi regime, and now the revolutionary governments) retained the use of this Italian building to administer local government in Tripoli from the early 1940s to the present. The only exception was a one-year intermission caused by the evacuation of the building by the Gaddafi regime.

This ongoing use of the TMB can be interpreted in various ways. The reluctance to rebuild or use a different municipal building raises a number of questions about the appropriateness and significance of this Italian building in the decades following its erection. It is often anticipated that an ambitious city government in a newly liberated state will abandon the architectural glories of an older authoritarian colonial regime. The Libyan political authorities after independence in 1951 could have instituted a new style of public and civic architecture to celebrate and represent their own long-awaited national identity after centuries of colonialism. It could be argued that the reluctance to do this was because the existing building was designed for and serviceable to meet the needs of the population for municipal administrative functions, regardless of the political overtones of the structure. However, to understand this issue in depth one must consider why these governments neither developed the city centre of Tripoli nor created their own architectural model of civic municipal buildings.

7.3 Tripoli City and Municipality under the British Administration (1942-1951)

Following the expulsion of the Italian (and German) occupiers from Libya by the Allies in WWII, the two Libyan regions of Tripolitania and Cyrenaica were governed by a British Administration from 1943 while the French controlled the Fezzan region in the south. What is known about the TM during the relatively short period of British Administration of Tripolitania is largely based upon reports cited in the MOT (1972).

From these records, building activities and urban development in general were very limited in Tripoli. The lack of sufficient time was not the only reason for the shortage of urban projects. Lack of funds was another contributory factor in the decline of the economy in Tripoli following the war as global commercial exchange around the Mediterranean took decades to fully recover. The expediency of war and reconstruction therefore explains why the British authorities combined the military and municipal administration within the pre-existing municipal building.

An obvious reason for using the Italian municipal building during this period might indeed be the fact that it was spacious and new, being only four years old at the time the British Administration took over in Tripoli in 1943. However, we should also consider that the priority of the post-war suzerainty of the British was to provide a bulwark against Axis expansion in North Africa and the Mediterranean, and to prepare a beachhead for the later Allied advance into Italy. The British seemed to have no intention to establish a long-lasting imperial or colonial presence. This is reflected in the main concerns expressed by the British Administration at the time: a military court was established in the TM in February 1943, and a new administration for the 'powers of rescue and defence against airstrikes' was formed to defend against German aerial bombardment of Tripoli's sea port in early 1943. The offices of both these units were placed inside the TMB (MOT, 1972:351). Moreover, other departments were responsible for providing essential urban utilities and handling maintenance work, particularly the repair of damaged sewage pipes and roads. In general, the role of the TM during this period was limited to carrying out the most necessary civil works under the general supervision of the military and administrative officers.

In this regard, the mayor of Tripoli in 1968 recently reported that it is fair to conclude that the British Administration – despite the financial difficulties after the end of WWII – spared no effort in maintaining the infrastructure in Tripoli (Almizugy, 2011). He asserted that the British authorities managed the TM with the assistance of the remaining Italian technical and administrative municipal staff. Almizugy's conclusion seems to concur with that of the former Libyan prime minister during the Libyan Kingdom period (Ben-Halim, 1992).

Due to limited time and resources, the British were not reported to have made any drastic alterations to physical conditions of Tripoli city and its municipal building. This view was shared by the former senior legal consultant of Tripoli (MSH), who was interviewed in this study and asked about changes to this building since the Italian defeat in 1943. This informant was the only municipal professional who could be found who had worked in this building over the last four decades (since the early 1970s), and his father worked as a municipal employee there from the early 1940s.

It was reported that the Italian municipal administration remained in place for several months under the new British Administration, including the Italian provincial governor and mayor, and most of the municipal staff. However, the Italian staff were considered

substandard by the British, who bemoaned their efficiency in administrative work (MOT, 1972:364).

Although the records reviewed did not mention how the building was used and what types of civic and public services were available to city residents at the time, the British commanders were apparently less discriminatory than their Fascist counterparts in employing and communicating with Libyans. For example, some of the appointed administrative officers spoke Arabic, and from British reports mentioned in the MOT (1972), it seems that the British leaders paid attention to the concerns of the locals, as the Libyan people in Tripoli were allowed for the first time since 1911 to work in the administration. This represented a significant advance in the civil rights of the native population. Furthermore, reports also confirm that the city government under British command attempted to manage the city's civil affairs while balancing the needs of the diverse classes of the general public in Tripolitania. An example of this is the temporary municipal police forces formed to safeguard the city, which was mainly concerned with training and establishing a local Libyan force. This must have represented a formidable administrative challenge, considering the cosmopolitan mix of inhabitants in Tripolitania at the time, including Muslims, Christians, Jews, Arabs, Berbers, Europeans, and various other minorities.

It is important to note that, just before their departure, the British Administration embarked on the organisation of a local election campaign for the locals in Tripoli to select the city's first ever municipal council in 1949 (Ben-Halim, 1992; see also MOT, 1972: 380-389, for the results of these elections). This can be considered as evidence that during this period the Libyans engaged in more interaction with the city's local government than ever before.

This democratic transition is very significant, not only because it recognised the participation of Libyans in the selection of local government representatives, but also because it will have helped to re-establish the relationship between the local public and the city's central public and civic institutions which had been devastated during the Fascist era. This must have in return also enhanced the civic identity among the citizens of Tripoli. Such values are not necessarily attached to the city council's architecture, of course, irrespective of by whom and how it was designed, but because the first elected local members of Tripoli city council gathered and worked inside it.

Finally, although the British impact on the inherited TMB was not as visible as its Fascist architecture, its effect on the locals seems more notable. The previously marginalised Libyans experienced a renaissance of civic identity and resumed the pursuit of their civil rights in a civic centre that they could now visit and work in.

7.4 Tripoli City and Municipality during the Libyan Kingdom (1951-1969)

It is generally agreed that the development of the urban built environment in most Libyan cities during the early period of independence until the mid-1960s was very modest (e.g. Khuga, 1969; Daza, 1982; Shawesh, 2000; Hardy, 2012). Apparent reasons for this are related to a number of political, social, economic, and technical challenges and problems which prevented the creation of a new Libyan municipal building for the liberated and elected local city council in Tripoli.

Libya was the first state in the region to be declared independent from European colonialism by the United Nations on 24/12/1951 (St John, 2012). It was certainly the most critical socio-political event in the history of this region. The three main regions (Tripolitania, Cyrenaica and Fezzan) were at first integrated under a united federal Libyan monarchy before a constitutional change in April 1963 led to the establishment of the Kingdom of Libya under the rule of the chief of the Senussi Muslim movement; King Idres. The fact that Tripoli was appointed, and remains, the administrative capital of the new country has allowed it to play a very important role nationally rather than internationally. It for the first time represented the newly liberated Libyans and hosted their central government. However, this political role was not an easy task for either the new political rulers or the ruled. The issue of organising the scattered tribally diverse inhabitants within all three regions under one nation was problematic. For example, according to Lewis and Gordon (1954), one of the major challenges the new Libyan politicians faced followed independence was the lack of a unified notion of national identity among the dispersed Libyan people:

“The development of a stable Libyan administration during the past two years has been a difficult, arduous, and as yet unfulfilled task. The obstacles are numerous. In substantial measure, however, many of these impediments spring from the fact that the Libyan people, at the time they acquired their independence, lacked a full comprehension of the responsibilities of nationhood.” (Lewis and Gordon, 1954:42)

Lewis and Gordon highlights the generally complex and difficult social and economic conditions in most rural and urban Libyan settlements at the time, although they perhaps overstate the lack of national cohesion. It was a characteristic of late Ottoman

provinces that diverse ethnic groups lived harmoniously while maintaining distinct ethnic and religious identities (Mazower, 2000), but the 1940s Libya had experienced many decades of colonial occupation and the incarceration of large numbers of people by the Fascists. Given the relative homogeneity of the Libyan population (Muslim-Arab and Muslim-Berber) and the collective suffering they had undergone, their similar spiritual and socio-cultural life favoured an embryonic Libyan national identity already forming by the end of WWII. The majority of the Libyan population in Tripolitania, for example, had shared the same land, religion, and other social and cultural aspects of their lives since the restructuring of the city in the seventh century. In addition, under the British Administration (1949), the local residents gathered together to participate in electing Tripoli's first local council. Nonetheless, the evident socio-technical challenges for the new government in developing bureaucratic administrative systems cannot be denied, especially at local government level.

According to Dalton (in Ember and Ember, ed., 2001:1292):

"Much of Libya was organized into agricultural centers surrounded by tribally-organized Bedouin nomads...The only nineteenth-century institution that might be considered a defining characteristic of the country was the presence of a Turkish administration (the Porte). Even here the Porte was at a loss to exert its influence outside of the administrative centers."

However, Dalton ignores the fact that reformed Ottoman municipal administrations were in place in major urban centres and the residents of and visitors to these cities must have been aware of them. Nevertheless, one can understand how difficult it was to convince and teach all those people who lived outside of cities any different type of national organisation with the limited resources and time available. Likewise, even in a city like Tripoli, as explained in chapter 5, the Libyan public had long practiced traditional tribal and social organisation to manage their daily activities and social and administrative affairs, interacting directly with their local tribal leader, the Shaikh al-Balad, up until the early 20th century.

The transformation from traditional to European municipal organisation was therefore very difficult to achieve even in Libyan urban centres that were already developed during the colonial periods, especially given that the Italian colonial administration essentially comprised a super-stratum in parallel to but separate from the affairs of the indigenous population.

Ben-Halim (1992) described the challenges faced by the early Libyan government in making these required organisational transformations. He reported that the new government personnel struggled at first to form an effective team to fulfil their urban and economic responsibilities. He attributed this partly to the lack of managerial qualifications and skills among the Libyan workforce. The inherited financial burden was another key reason for the administrative miscarriages of the early period of the TM after independence.

The municipal archive (MOT, 1972) does not cite any municipal efforts undertaken by the city government during the Libyan kingdom, which the Gaddafi government described as the old “*defunct regime*.” No major contributions were reported of the municipal administration during this relatively short period. From these limited records, the functions of the TMB were organised in the municipal departments structured during British Administration. Further administrative offices were introduced later in the same building; for example, Interpol’s head office in Libya was located within the civic centre after Libya became a member of the International Police Organisation in 1954.

Moreover, due to the lack of freedom of speech in Libya under Gaddafi and thus during the present fieldwork, the majority of informants in this study were very reluctant, or scared in some cases, to talk about this period of Libyan’s history. However, from the few available published accounts of local and national government leaders (e.g. Khuga, 1969; Ben-Halim, 1992; Almuzugy, 2011), it was claimed that the early elected councils in Tripoli tried to fulfil its responsibilities and with the resources available to manage and develop the city of Tripoli notwithstanding the conditions of the time.

However, the difficult conditions were about to radically improve after the discovery of oil in Libya in the mid-1950s, especially when crude oil was exported after October 1961 (Ben-Halim, 1992:338). King Idres himself opened the first Libyan pipeline, perhaps to bless the return of Libya to its historic place in the global economic network. Now oil instead of esparto was carried from the deprived Libyan lands to a new seaport marina (Marsa al-Brega) on the Mediterranean.

The economic significance and most importantly the timing of this discovery in Libya might explain why a new administrative divisions of local government was introduced in the late 1960s. The ‘Mohafathat’ system, under which the country was divided into large provinces with large municipal bodies, enacted the local government legislation that defined the exact official roles and duties of the Baladiya (municipality) of each city

in Libya. When asked about the first municipal legislation the early independent Libyan government undertook, Tripoli's most senior municipal legal advisor, ASH, responded that:

"Law No. (1), of the formation of al-majalis al-Baladiyah system (Local Municipal Councils) under the Mohafathat (provinces) administration governments was issued in 1968 to systematize the cities' local governments in Libya after the unification of Tripolitania, Cyrenaica and Fezzan, all worked under the Libyan monarchy central government."

The issuance of the Mohafathat municipal act at this particular time is an indication of how serious the Libyan government was about organising local urban administration. The objective of such a change was certainly to increase the efficiency of the country's municipal institutions in preparation for developing the country using the prosperity from oil.

Following the great investments in oil exploration and advanced infrastructure, the expectations were high that Libyan cities would be rapidly developed and the country transformed from being one of the world's poorest to one of its richest (Hardy, 2012). Libya was therefore about to see a dramatic economic boost leading to urban growth as early as the late 1960s.

Figure 7-1 and Figure 7-2 show the urban growth around Tripoli city in 1962 and 1968 compared with the maps of Tripoli during the Italian colonial period.

Moreover, the then mayor of Tripoli recently confirmed the intensity of development in Tripoli after the discovery of oil (Almizugy, 2011). He testified that the municipal council in the late 1960s was very active and was faced with two major problems: the removal of the Italian cement wall which divided the colonial city from the shanty towns built of corrugated metal behind it; and the issuance of a new master plan for future urban development. In the summer of 1968 the municipal council conducted a campaign to purge the city of slum settlements, and within about ten months these shanties were replaced by modest social housing for each Libyan family. However, the completion of the master plan project was derailed by the military coup of 1969.

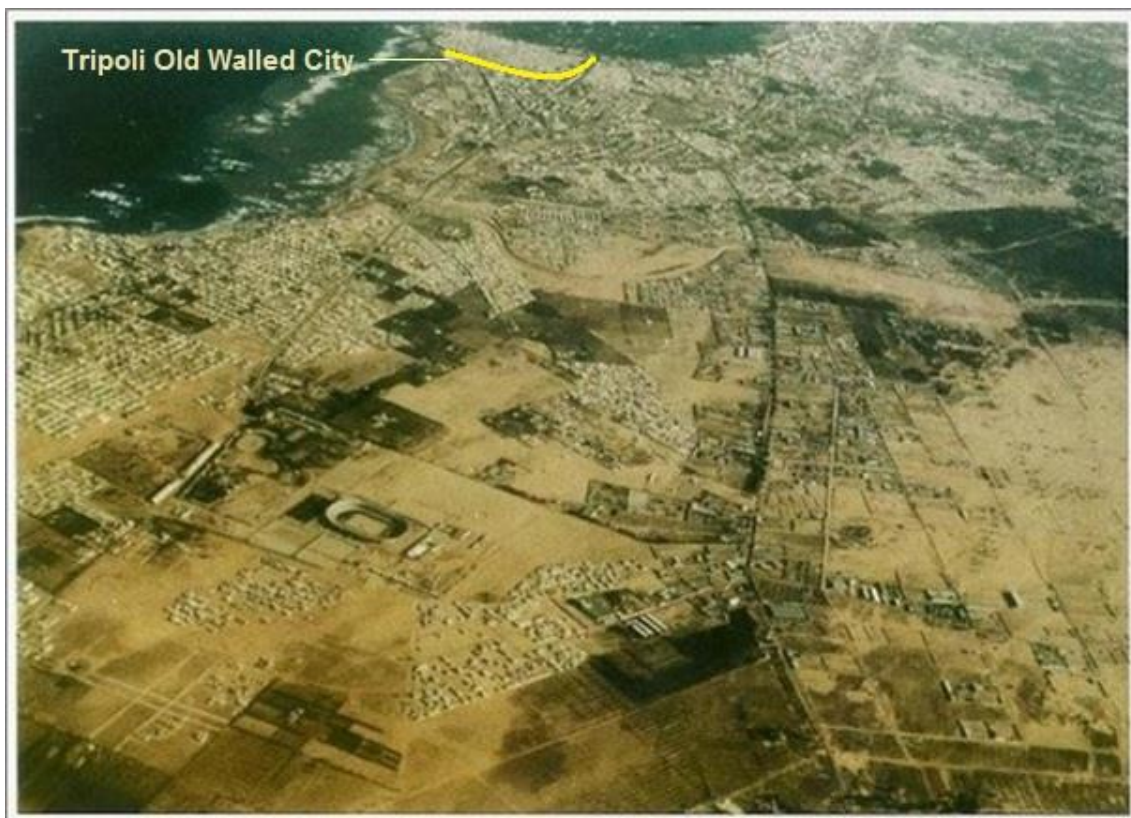


Figure 7-1: Aerial photograph of Tripoli in January 1968

Taken by Gilda Russo (Source: www.Tripolini.it)



Figure 7-2: Map of Tripoli showing the city building activities in 1962

Source: Khuga (1969: 89-90, F:3.4)

Overall, under the limiting circumstances discussed above, it is understandable that there were no marked changes to how the TMB looked during this period of Libyan history. The deficiency in administrative skills and lack of managerial experience and financial resources until the late 1960s certainly hindered the ability of the municipal authorities in most large Libyan cities from adopting an architectural identity that respected and represented any local cultural values and/or political ideology of the liberated Libyan governors and users (Ben-Halim, 1992). However, despite continued the use of Tripoli's colonial governmental building, it can be argued that the liberation of the country from colonialism stimulated the establishment of a sense of a general public ownership and maybe civic belonging amongst citizens, which had been difficult to imagine under colonisation.

Although it is difficult to prove such feelings among the public, some evidence suggests a reinforcement of the relationship between the local public in Tripoli and the colonial municipal building after Libyan independence. An obvious reason for this kind of affiliation is that colonialism had ended with the declaration of independence and the Libyan state had become the ultimate owner of these colonial public places, which started to deliver public and civic services to Libyan users.

For example, one of the senior municipal engineers of the TM, MO, explained in an interview (a few months before he died) a significant moment in the transformation of conception of the colonial municipal building among Libyan users after the 1950s liberation:

"Before the declaration of the independence the municipal building had no value what so ever for Libyans. This was because they simply could not register their civic status inside it. They would have said that 'my name' is not listed in this city council so how can I prove my existence as a 'man.' This situation was however turned to the opposite after the independence and when Libyans were able to hold their civic registration papers in hand, then the 'Baladiya' name and building had its symbolic values returned [in the colonial building]." (Interviewee MO).

Another interesting view about what the TMB meant for local Libyans in Tripoli when it was first opened in the late 1930s, was from a former senior Libyan officer of the Libyan Kingdom. Born two years before the Italian invasion of Libya (and aged over 100 in 2010), MK instantaneously replied with a firm tone of voice saying that:

"We never knew the Baladiya before the independence of Libya. The Baladiya building was not built for us [Libyans]... We were seen as second-class residents, not absolute citizens!" (Interviewee MK).

These remarks suggest changing attitudes towards the colonial civic centre in Tripoli following independence. When MK used the pronoun “we,” he was certainly referring to the general indigenous Libyan population of Tripoli at that time. He claimed that they did not know the ‘Baladiya’, referring here to the colonial municipal building using the local terminology used to describe the traditional city council house in the old city of Tripoli. He must definitely have had known about the existence of this large colonial building – at least where it stood in the city as confirmed later during the interview.

However, the reference of the interviewee to knowledge of this iconic colonial city government building most likely signified its ideological and not geographical location; perhaps he meant practical knowledge of using the place. It is this kind of experiential knowledge that makes a person fully aware of space and place. Personal experience can only be attained when one dynamically engages with space and is granted the right to freely access the environment and benefit from its services, rather than statically observing its outer appearance or watching the intended users enter and exit from it.

Although there is some degree of latitude involved in interpreting the above statements as reflecting the voice of local Libyan residents and how they perceived the TMB after liberation, the views of MO and MK were shared by two other participants. MSH and ME, for example, similarly explained that the identification of the Libyan people with the Baladiya building began during the Libyan Kingdom. In effect, these attitudes exemplify how distant the Libyan people were from the public and civic services offered inside this colonial institution before liberation. The freedom of the country after 1951 gave native residents in Tripoli an opportunity to freely express, experience, and practice their civic rights for the first time since 1911.

Finally, although the geography and physical conditions of the Italian TMB were not transformed in liberated Tripoli, a transformation was evident in the minds of the Libyan public. The perception of the building changed from a secluded colonial enclave to being a true usable public building and a better place in which they could legitimately receive their dues as citizens and probably feel proud of their urban identity as genuine citizens of Tripoli. This perhaps explains MK’s discovery of civic knowledge when he began to practice such rights in this municipal centre.

7.5 Tripoli City and Municipality under Gaddafi (1969-2011)

A background has been given in chapter 3 to the political and urban transformations in Tripoli after the Gaddafi coup in 1969. The focus of this section is the causes and effects of the failure of this autocratic regime to continue the development of Tripoli city and the TMB during its 42 years of rule.

To an observer unfamiliar with the erratic and capricious nature of governance under Gaddafi, it may seem inexplicable that, despite the prosperity that the country witnessed after the discovery of oil and the need for major municipal regeneration in the city, Tripoli's urban setting and its central municipal environment are still in a chaotic state. In fact, apart from the active construction that took place in Tripoli between the early 1970s and 1980s, only a few humble and scattered urban development projects have been planned in more recent years. The ostracisation of Libya by the USA Reagan administration in the 1980s and the erratic undertakings of Gaddafi (such as the Lockerbie incident) ensured that Libya remained an international pariah state until the rapprochement subsequent to the 2003 invasion of Iraq.

In his study of the Libyan construction industry, Grifa (2006) asserted that Libya experienced a rapidly accelerating construction boom between 1973 and 1983, to the extent that Libya was seen as one of the world's biggest construction sites. He ascribed the dramatic increase in building activities at the time to two factors:

"Firstly, the sudden increase and influx of oil revenues as a result of the sharp increase in oil prices in the 1970s; and secondly, the great ambitions and commitment of the revolutionary regime to accelerate social, economic and physical development."
(Grifa, 2006:108)

Grifa (2006:108) argued that what happened to many Libyan cities and towns during this period changed the urban, economic, and social landscape for the majority of Libyans in the late 1970s and 1980s. By the 1980s the population of Tripoli had grown to one million; this was seen as a very dramatic increase considering that there were only about 100,000 people in the city in the 1950s. However, it was surprising how the urban expansion and development later petered out, particularly from the late 1980s onwards.

This sudden lack of new projects caused many complications and challenges, one of which was the random expansions of slums beyond the approved boundaries of the official master plan, as presented earlier in chapter 3. Such problems are not easy to

deal with, creating a critical demand to renew the delayed master plans and to provide new towns and urban centres to absorb the ever-increasing population.

These shortfalls in providing the basic necessities of civil life in Libya are obvious in the lack of essential public services in most major cities, such as housing, medical, and educational facilities, and transportation, especially when compared with poorer neighbouring countries in the region like Tunisia.

Furthermore, more evidence of such deficiencies comes from an interview with a former chief of the urban planning department in Tripoli, ME, and the deputy of the same department, ET both of whom explained that many crucial national and local urban developmental projects in the master plans (as mentioned in chapter 3), including the Third Generation Master Plan, were never fully implemented for unclear reasons and political and administrative interferences by the regime. They also emphasised what seemed the deliberate negligence by the executive authorities to deliver the required improvements in Tripoli after the 1980s, such as the suspension of groundwork projects for the city's basic urban infrastructure networks. The examples given in interviews by ME, and two other senior municipal officers from the Department of Municipal Projects, included the following:

- 1) Construction work on the Third Ring Road of Tripoli, which was planned in 1977 to absorb the anticipated traffic congestion in the city centre by 2005, but which was only begun a few years ago when the downtown traffic crisis reached an unbearable peak;
- 2) The underground Metro network of Tripoli and also the National Railways Project were both postponed and still await implementation;
- 3) The public transportation system in Tripoli is not effective and has not met residents' expectations since the 1980s (it is clear that this vital service has been ignored);
- 4) Tripoli's pipeline network for gas supply, and the required maintenance and expansion of the city sewerage system, including the main sanitation treatment station, were neglected, underdeveloped, and are still under construction to date;
- 5) There is no postal system in operation in Libya. The postal addresses of buildings, including residential houses, are not even numbered to make postal delivery possible, even in the capital city.

ME also highlighted that, although the situation was expected to slightly improve after the removal of the economically draining seven years of international (UN) sanctions on Libya (1992-1999), in response to the international political contrivances of the Gaddafi regime, the proposed major development projects in Tripoli, including the construction of several skyscrapers and a new urban centre (called the 'New Tripoli' project, along the eastern edge of the traditional city) remain sparkingly rendered images and long, ambitious reports alone.

That the problems of urban development in Libya before the 2000s were attributable to the UN sanctions, was certainly the view of the despotic regime's media (e.g. the main Libyan TV channel). It is understandable that the Libyan economy was put under pressure during the seven years of financial and air traffic embargo, and that the construction industry was one of the main victims of the international blockade. However, taking into consideration the fact that there was little observable improvement in Tripoli after the siege was uplifted during the 2000s, it is clear that the fundamental reasons for the retardation of Tripoli under the rule of Gaddafi are political and personal factors rather than economic, demographic or technical ones.

According to Hardy (2012), the definitive cause of the suspension of the development programme in Tripoli was the disinclination of the upper echelons of political leadership in Libya to encourage a better life in cities:

"With a constant flow of oil revenues and a charismatic leader – one might have expected that Tripoli would have been transformed in this period from a relatively underdeveloped city to a symbol of socialist modernity. The reasons why this did not happen stem from one aspect or another of Gaddafi's changing ideologies and political machinations; at root, he never favoured, perhaps even feared, urbanism."
(Hardy, 2012:431)

Hardy argued that because of Gaddafi's erratic political philosophy and his idiosyncratic and unorthodox interpretations of Islam, socialism and public democracy he isolated Libya from free contact with the global community. According to Ronald St John (2012:113), the Gaddafi's revulsion at urbanism can be explained by his Bedouin upbringing and the *"tribal social values"* with which he was raised, far from the highly condensed urban centres, and which *"strongly influenced him throughout his life"* (St John, 2012:113-114). Even those unfamiliar with Gaddafi's temperamental political philosophy may recall his habit of wearing traditional rural dress and receiving foreign dignitaries in a Bedouin tent.

To understand Gaddafi in his own words, in his translated book of a collection of short stories entitled *Escape to Hell and Other Stories* (Gaddafi / Qaddafi, 1998), he revealed his distaste of living in urban centres in contrast to the simple life in villages and other rural areas, asserting that:

“City life means panting as you chase after certain desires and unnecessary, yet necessary, luxuries. When we see these social sicknesses spread throughout the city, and laws passed to combat them, we are not surprised. We do not believe that they will end, and that we will gain victory over them, for the nature of city life is thus, and these sicknesses are inevitable. The city is dizziness and nausea, madness and loss, fear of insanity, fear of confronting urban life and its urban problems. Leave this hell on earth, run quickly away. In complete happiness, go to the village and the countryside, where physical labour has meaning, necessity, usefulness, and is a pleasure besides. There, life is social, and human; families and tribes are close. There is stability and belief.” (Qaddafi, 1998:50)

These meditations are powerful and significant in two ways. Firstly, the words used in this moderately short text prove his deeply-held views about discouraging dense urban gatherings (in terms of society as well as the built environment). Secondly, this publication was from the 1990s, during which time most urban development projects had stopped. The affirmation of a rural idyll by Gaddafi at this juncture was reflected on the ground of many Libyan towns and cities and resulted in one way or another in the neglect of urban development. The impact on Tripoli’s city government is discussed in the next section.

7.6 The Impact of Governmental Instability on Tripoli

7.6.1 The changing roles of municipal government in Libya under Gaddafi

Further evidence shows the large number of radical political changes affecting the role and responsibility of the TM during the past four decades.

Table 7.2 presents the relevant political decisions and government resolutions from 1969-2011. The timing of these changes and their legal significance were obtained from official government resources or clarified in an interview with the most senior legal consultant in the TM at the time, MSH.

Table 7.2: Key decisions regarding local government under the Gaddafi regime

Year	Decisions
1968-1970	The 1968 the <i>Mohafathat</i> municipal system continued to work throughout the major Libyan cities, even after Gaddafi's military coup in 1969. It was valid until the early 1970s, when on 01/10/1970 this system of Municipal Councils was resolved—except for Tripoli city—and a temporary managing administrative body was created to run the country's local governments in every city.
1973	On 04/15/1973, in his 'Zuwarah Historic Speech', Gaddafi announced the era of the 'popular', cultural, and administrative revolution. A year afterwards, many typical formal political and administrative occupations were abolished and the new theoretical ideas and terminology of the <i>al-Lijan al-Shabiya</i> (People's Committees) were established.
1973-1975	Between 1973 and 1975, the People's Committees of the Baladiya were formed. Law No. (39) In 1975 was issued to establish these municipalities and determine their competence. Municipalities were divided into municipal branches and smaller localities, and were given wider responsibilities.
1980s	During the 1980s, based on Law No. (13) of 1981 concerning the People's Committees, the General People's Committee of Baladiyat and the People's Committee of the Baladiya and the District People's Committee in the Baladiya were developed (such as the administrative municipal branches of urban utilities, health, education etc.). In 1983, the act of municipal regulations of organisation was issued under Resolution No. (184) concerning the responsibilities of the People's Committee of Utilisations. The People's Committee of the municipal branch was added in resolution (14) of 1984. In 1986 Decision No. (537) was made to retain the specialties of the People's Committee of Utilisations. In 1987 a list of regulations was issued to organise the municipal governing work of Baladiyat, and it became the structural body for the municipal units. It also specified the responsibilities of many public; projects, schemes, and service sectors (such as the Municipal Guards, Civil Status and Licenses etc.).
1990-1995	Decision No. (13) for 1990 was issued to the People's Committees, which consisted of the municipal People's Committee of the Baladiyat. The issuance of the General People's Committee decision No. (177) in 1991 then came to organise the municipal People's Committees of the Baladiyat. The People's Committee of the Baladiya and its specialised branches (Secretariats) were formed, and the role of the People's Committee of Utilities and Public Works was defined.
1995-1998	In 1995 the Baladiyat system of municipalities was cancelled, following the issuance of Law No. (1) of 1995, and what followed in 1996, regarding the mandate to work with the People's Congresses and People's Committees. The People's Committees for the Mahallat (smaller municipal localities) were also created. Assistant Secretaries for each area sector, such as the urban utilities sector, were commissioned. They were given jurisdiction and legislative power similar to those of Ministers. In 1996, the administrative scopes of each district were defined and a general Assistant Secretary for one bigger administrative division was appointed to manage the many smaller localities.
Late 1990s	Law No. (2) of 1998 was issued to amend some provisions relating to the Law No. (1) of 1995, by which Libya was divided into Shabiyat instead of Baladiyat. People's Committees were introduced for each Shabiya and for all local government sectors, including the Utilities sector.
Early 2000s	In 2001, Law No. (1) was issued concerning the establishment of the People's Committee of the Shabiya (al-Mahalla). These committees were given ministerial-like specialties (e.g. the establishment of companies and cooperative organisations, and the allocation of real estate, the lifting of agricultural status, etc.). Also, the People's Committee of the Municipal Sector was assigned to implement the decisions of the People's Committee of the Shabiya of the sector. In short, by March 2000 "Libya abolishes most central government executive functions, devolving responsibility to twenty-six municipal councils constituting the General People's Congress" (St John, 2012:19).

Year	Decisions
2007	In 2007 the Baladiyat system was cancelled. Law No. (1) In 2007 the People's Committees for Shabiyat was abolished and another system was established with specialised General People's Committees and People's Committees for each sector in the Shabiyat. Then, under Resolution (29) in 2007, the General People's Committee of Utilities was cancelled. The General Institution for Housing and Utilities was established, and the surveillance body of the newly established institution was also formed for the country regions.
2009-2011	Under the decision of the General People's Committee No. (76) of 2009, the General People's Committee for Utilities was reinstated again, while the General Institution for Housing was removed. The surveillance monitoring body of the General Institution for Housing and Utilities was amended becoming the monitoring body of the utilities in the Shabiya, which acted like a mini ministry.
After 2011	Finally, after the recent Libyan revolution (17/02/2011), the Popularities System was cancelled and the system of Local Councils was introduced under the Interim Constitutional Declaration issued by the Interim Transitional Council.

In addition to the information in Table 7.2, further evidence of the erratic policies affecting the functional role and physical location of Tripoli city government is two unexpected relocation orders mentioned by ASH and ME.

Firstly, in 2001 the Gaddafi regime decided to relocate the municipal government from the historical municipal civic centre in Algeria Square to an existing office building owned by the al-Wahah 'Oases' Oil Company, built before the 1969 coup (see Figure 7-3).



Figure 7-3: al-Wahah 'Oases' office building (1950-60s), used temporarily as TMB in 2001

Source: Khuga (1969: 319-320, Plate:8.3)

This administrative building is situated in Omar al-Mukhtar Street, to the western side outside the city centre's core zone, and close to Tripoli Trade Fair. It was adapted to suit the rapidly shifting functions of civic and public services. The housing of TM authorities in the al-Wahah building lasted for an entire year before another capricious official decision decreed that the municipal administration must move back to its traditional central building.

Secondly, along with the year-long vacation of the TM from the historical Italian building, it is significant relocation that the Civic Status Registrar (CSR) department was also relocated from the TM in the same period. The CSR is one of the central civic services that was processed and delivered under the administrative and physical roof of Tripoli's chief municipal building until the 1970s, and the 1970s drawings explain the special arrangements of the different offices of this civic service on the second floor. This was a municipal sector that was responsible for certifying and recording all official documents for the city's legitimate citizens such as births, marriages and deaths.

However, for unexplained reasons, responsibility for this vital public service was removed from Tripoli's municipal government and its central building. The transfer was at first administrative, moved to the Ministry of Justice and General Security. Initially, the new CSR authority decided to carry on delivering its services in the same central municipal building. However, at a later stage the regime decided to relocate the CSR to another separate building used by the military forces in Tripoli in an area nearby called al-Gazala, about five minutes' walk from the traditional civic centre. Then, in 2001, the CSR was moved to yet another formerly educational public building, in an area called al-Mansorah, a few kilometres away from the civic centre, before it was subsequently moved to the 'Seedi-Khalifa' area, about three kilometres from Tripoli city centre in 2007.

The result of a content analysis of the changes in Table 7.2 draws attention to four significant considerations:

1. The number and nature of the above-listed legislation and amendments demonstrate the instability of political distortion in the name of organising Libyan local governments during this period.

2. The type and official terminology given to identify these local urban administration systems from time to time during this period alone changed from 'Mohafathat', to 'Baladiyat', to 'Commonat', and then to the 'Shabiyat' system.
3. The significant restructuring of legitimate administration and executive responsibilities of city governments by the central Libyan authorities is also notable.
4. This unsettling administrative environment is clearly evident in the fluctuating numbers of major municipalities in Libya since the 1970s, as mentioned in chapter four.

Finally, the concerns highlighted show the chaotic situation of Libyan cities, trying to adapt to the capricious orders of the regime over relatively short periods. All this led to many vicissitudes that affected not only efficiency and processes of decision-making within the rapidly changing central government, but also had various direct and indirect implications for local government in Tripoli and its municipal working environment, as the findings in the next sections show.

7.6.2 The effects of political instability on how the TMB worked

The implications of the legislative turmoil on how the TMB functioned were easily observed. One striking example was the restructuring of the administrative affiliation of many local government and management bodies, which led to various complications affecting the organisation, physical arrangement and working environment of Tripoli's civic centre. A number of these changes were noted by the researcher himself on two different occasions: when he worked in this building as an architect in the Technical Affairs Department in 2004; and during the fieldwork observation in Tripoli in 2009-2010. This section presents these findings in times of how the system worked; and how the physical environment was organised.

The functional effect on the organisation of the work environment

Because of the aforementioned restructuring and reshuffling of government systems, the structure of the administrative hierarchy of departments working in the TM often overlapped and were sometimes separated from each other within a short time. Traditional civic and municipal departments were reorganised and merged with or placed under other different government bodies. Some higher administrative divisions were brought to this building from different public institutions, such as Ministries or comparable executive bodies directly influenced by the central government (the Libyan

Higher Popular Committee). Others were ordered to work under different authoritative bodies, while continuing to be housed under the same roof in the main municipal building. However, some offices were later compelled to leave the building and move elsewhere.

How and why its users still value this building despite these changes and the colonial history is discussed later in the next chapter. Meanwhile, the major offices and departments in the building and changes made during the last regime until the time of this research fieldwork (1969-2010) are summarised below.

1. Not every service working in this municipal complex was affected. The city's central Post Office is the best example of this; it still occupies the same space in the TMB. Other functions which remain there include the official offices of the mayor and his administration, Al-Jalaa Municipal Hall (a meeting chamber for official use only), the offices of the Municipal Guards Unit, and the Municipal Administration of Health and Environmental Protections; and the Department of Public Projects.
2. The administration of marine ports and lighthouses was discharged from the municipal administration in the early 1970s.
3. The third floor still houses the Department of Urban Planning for the city of Tripoli, which deals with all planning permission granted to the public and private sectors within the city's municipal boundaries. However, this Department does not belong administratively to the TM; it is a branch of the central administration of the Libyan Urban Planning Agency, which works directly under the central government (the Higher Popular Committee). The urban administration of TM has to cooperate with this branch in order make any decisions to improve and change urban planning details as required by the central government.
4. The municipal Department of General Public Projects, which specialised in supervising the technical activities of the city (infrastructure and transportation), was moved from the third floor offices to the fourth floor.
5. The administrative apparatus for implementing the projects of the Utilities Corporation is a separate central government unit working in this local municipal building, but it was responsible for supervising the technical and administrative affairs of the projects that the central government had approved.

6. The building also housed the offices of the reinstated General People's Committee for Utilities, when the General Institution for Housing was removed. This was later also changed again and the surveillance monitoring body of the General Institution for Housing and Utilities, became the monitoring body of utilities in the 'Shabiya' system.
7. Following the declaration of the People's Committee of the 'Shabiya' (al-Mahalla), the municipal building housed the Basic Popular Conference of Al-Sahaa al-Khadrah (Green Square Conference), the smallest local government district of the city centre. The Basic People's Congress was the smallest, yet sometimes the most powerful local government unit in Libya under Gaddafi, and the People's Committee was the Congress's executive body in each municipality.

The Utilities sector of the Shabiya of the Basic People's Congress of the Mahalla of al-Sahaa al-Khadrah (the small governing body of Tripoli city centre) had the power to make some decisions which often contradicted those of other technical municipal departments. Some of these popular committees were given ministerial-like specialties (e.g. the establishment of companies and cooperative organisations, the allocation of real estate, the expropriation of and lifting of agricultural restrictions on public land in Tripoli and its peripheries).

According to the officials MA and ME, the People's Committee of the municipal sector was assigned to implement the decisions of the People's Committee of the Shabiya sectors, in some cases without referring to the TMB.

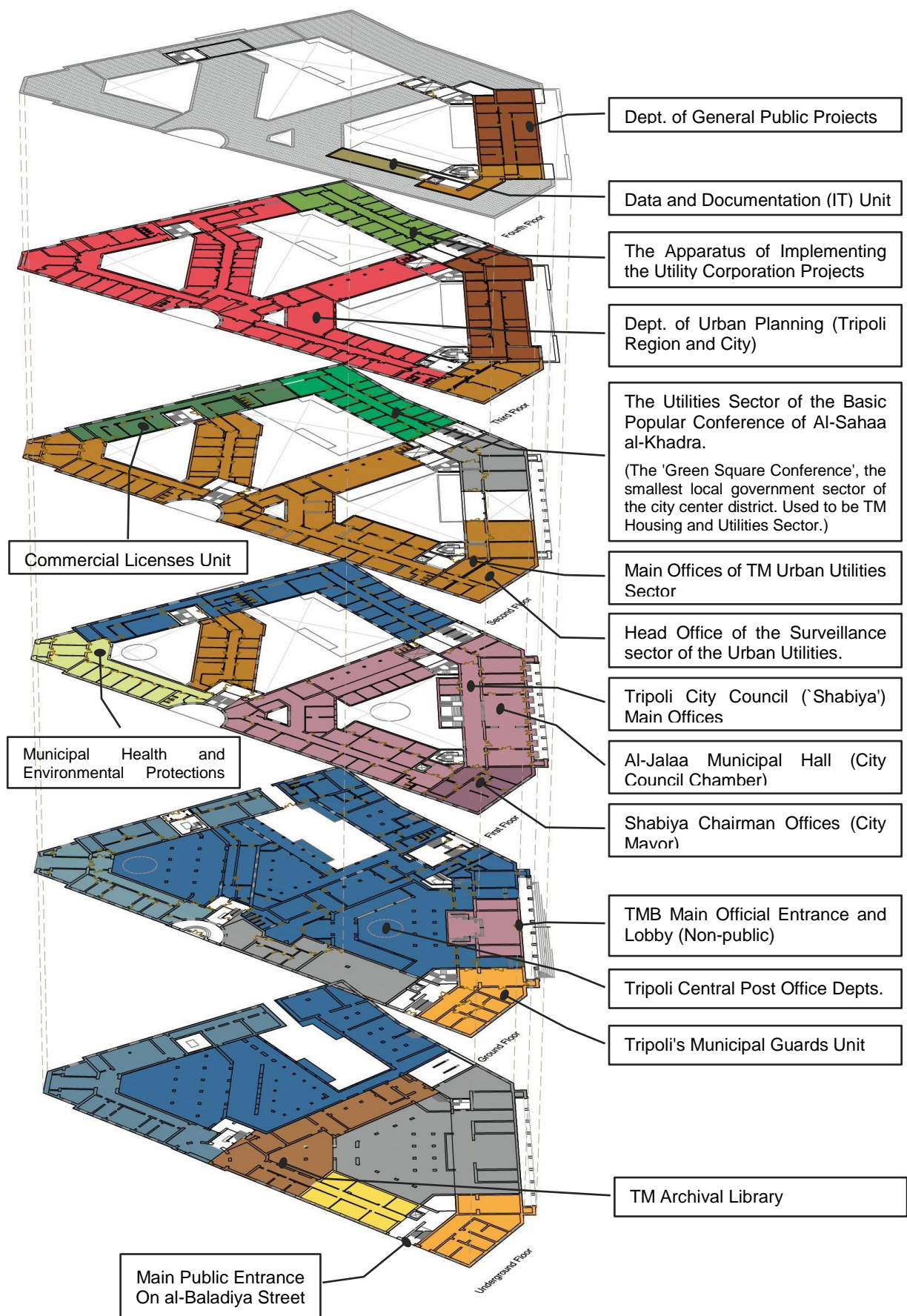


Figure 7-4: Plans of TMB floors showing different functioning zones and sections

The physical effect on the working environment

To investigate the effect of the hosting of all of the previously listed administrations and offices inside this large TMB a walkthrough observation was carried out which revealed the clear divisions of functions on the building layout (see Figure 7-4).

There were incidents when secure physical barriers were imposed to control and divide those different departments from each other. For example, obstacles such as solid (non-transparent) partitions and locked doors were put in place in doorways, corridors, and staircases to define the workplace areas of each independent administrative division.

The impact of the changes to the spatial arrangements of the work environment was evident and serious, affecting the flow of users from all access points (see Figure 7-5). As a result, the overall dynamics of this municipal building meant that it is functioning as a freely accessible public building was questionable.

Significantly, many of the physical barriers found are absent from the 1970s drawings of the building layout. This was verified in interviews with senior officers who had served in the building since the 1970s (ME and MA). According to those interviewees, the significant interior changes had a negative impact on the effectiveness of many bureaucratic procedures.

The example of the building layout in the 1970s (second floor, see Figure 7-6) shows how well connected the building was with its main staircases, compared with 2010. There was a clear freedom of public movement available to users in the old layout compared to the recently restricted walkways and controlled thresholds of the present layout.

A public visitor could enter and exit from any of the access points available in the old days, with the longest distance between two staircases under 100m. However, because of the latest functional fragmentation visitors travel approximately five times that distance (almost 500m) to move from one side of a closed department to another, usually because the popular public customer service office is located deep inside the building (see the scenario illustrated in Figure 7-7).

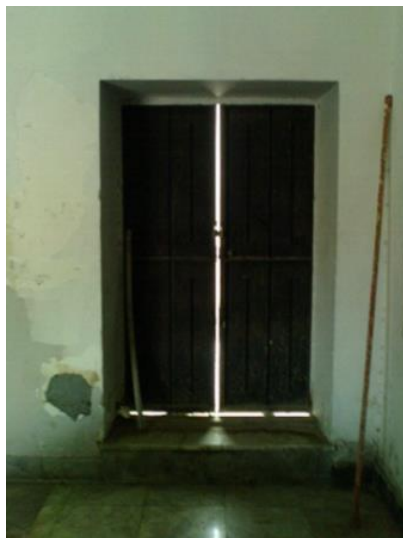
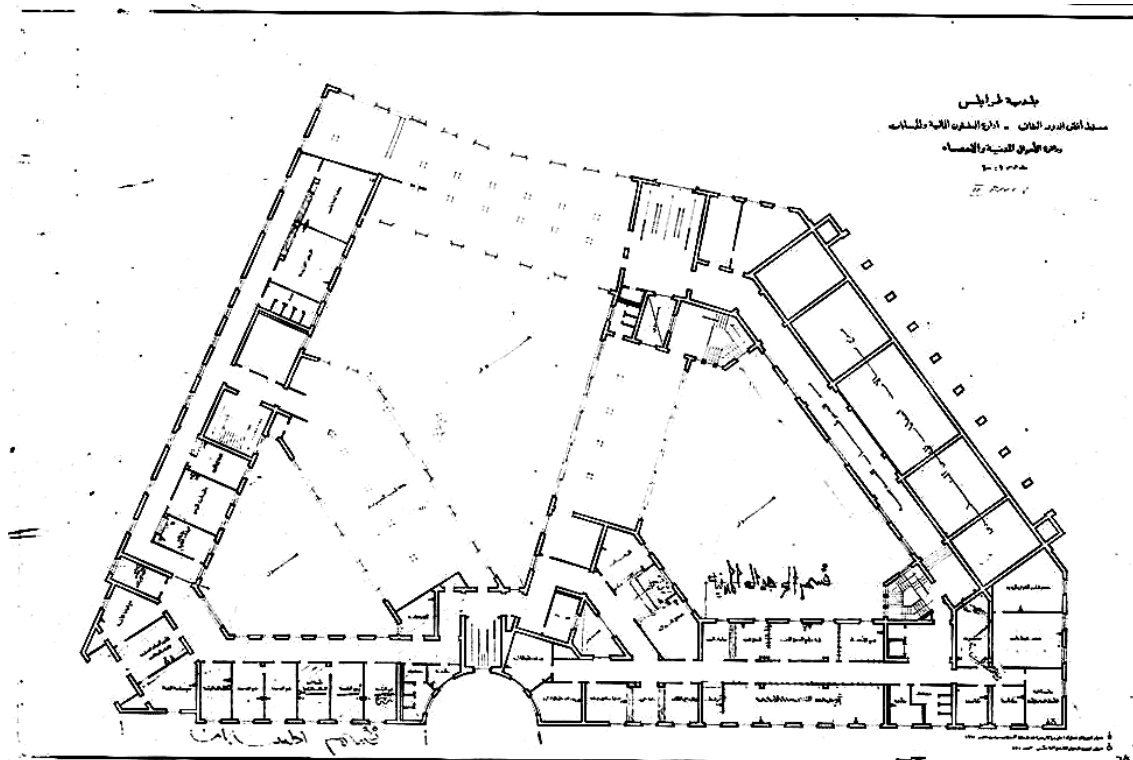


Figure 7-5: Physical barriers segregating administrative sections

Taken on 14/02/2010

1971:



2010:

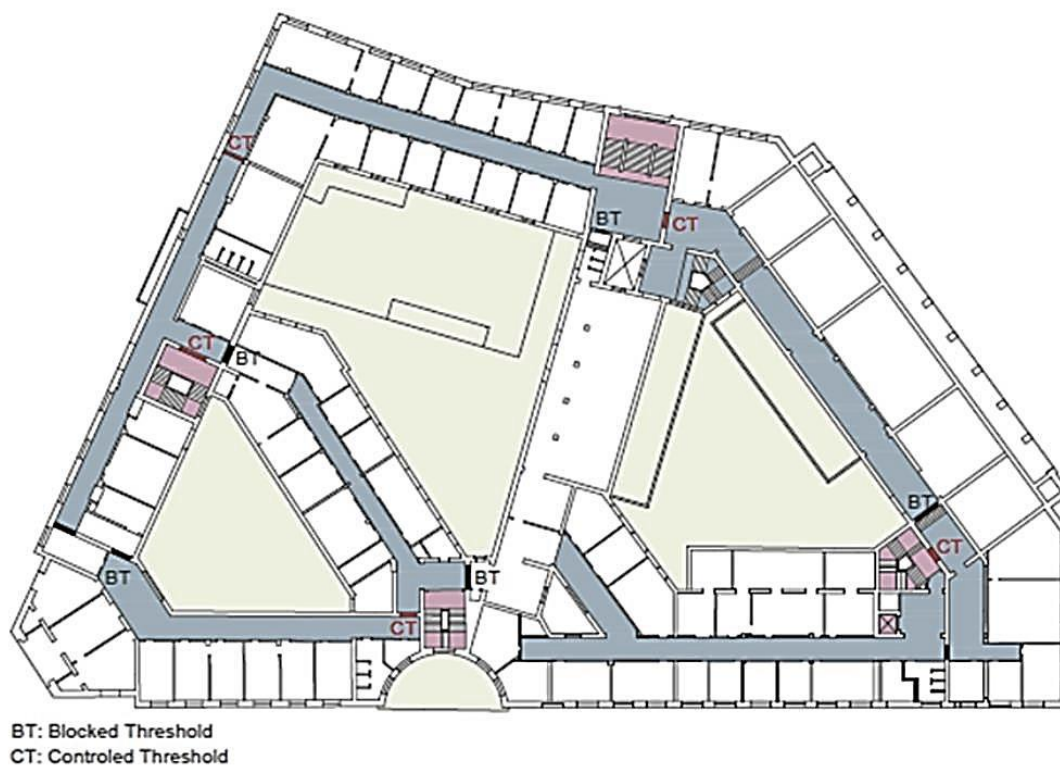


Figure 7-6: Comparison of available pathways for general public in the TMB in 1970s (top) and 2010 plans (bottom)

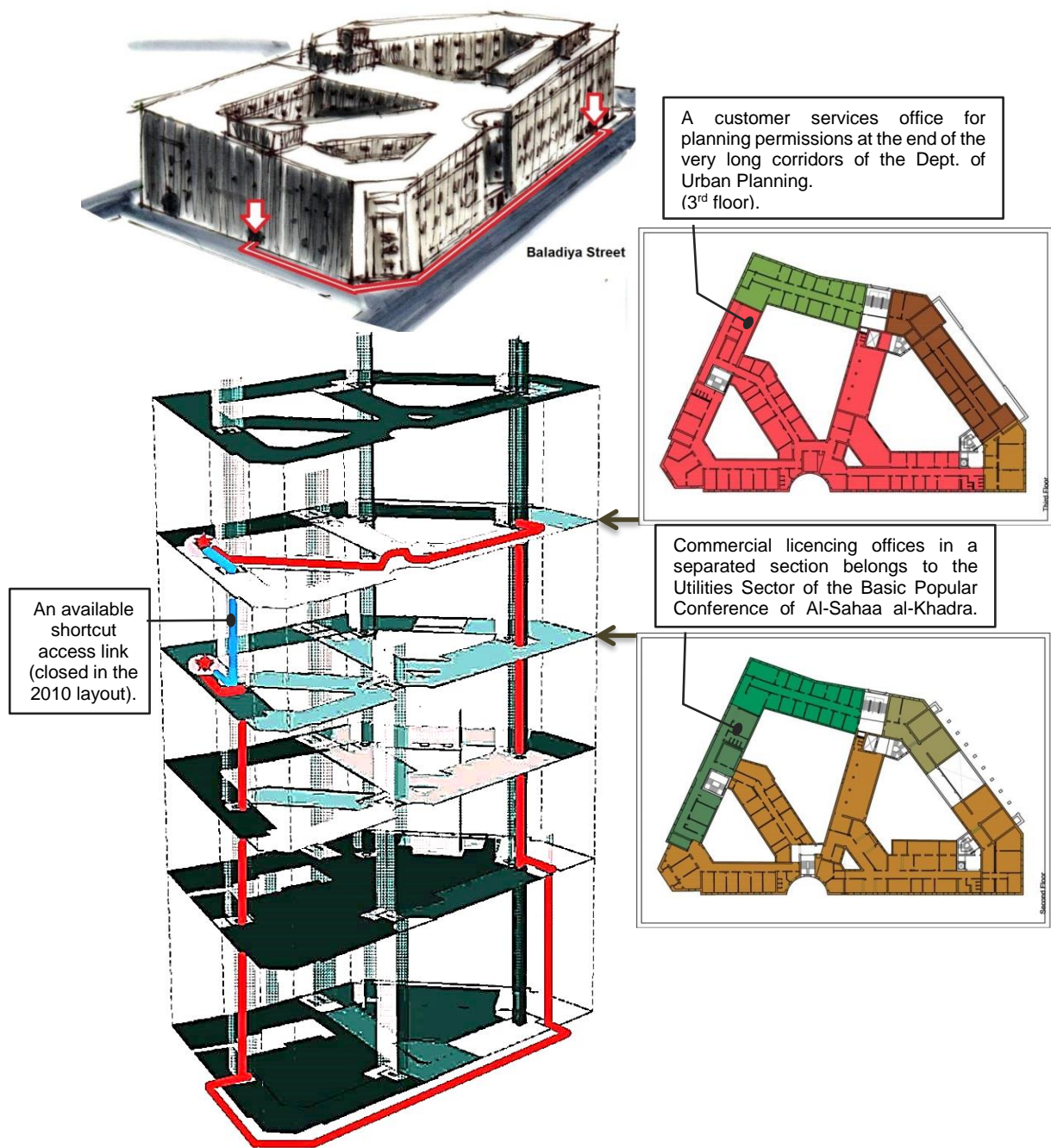


Figure 7-7: Illustrative example of the effect of current functional changes on a building user's movement.

The example shows a scenario where building users who are in a key public customer service office (on the third floor) were forced to leave the building and enter from another entrance to reach a similar service downstairs (second floor).

Moreover, the municipality's urban planner, NZ, commented in the interview that this building was an independent unit, but it was feared that it would lose this holistic municipal function because of the distracting effect of the different roles that the recently introduced administrations have inside the building. According to ET, the later internal alterations to the layout caused by diversified and even inconsistent functions and fragmented public services inside the building all contributed to the devaluation of not only the practical role of the Baladiya building, but its symbolic importance as well. Meanwhile the senior Libyan academic and architect, AA, responded to the question about how this building has recently changed by saying: *"the building was a well-known public place and function"* that subsequently became a *"maze."*

7.6.3 The relocations of the TMB and its civic registry service

The reason behind the relocation decisions mentioned earlier, if any rationale existed, was unclear to the majority of the municipal staff interviewed and the participants who responded to questions in this research. However, according to both ASH and ME, these decisions which were suddenly implemented with no obvious official explanation were motivated purely by political considerations and enacted by direct commands from a powerful member of the Gaddafi circle, of friends and family members, who wanted to turn this historical public building into a some sort of a private building at the heart of Tripoli city centre (ME). This information, in conjunction with the number of random legislations listed earlier, indicates how inconsiderate the regime was about maintaining the role and image of the city's local authority in Tripoli. It also suggests that Tripoli was not immune from the influence the trends of privatisation that affected core urban public land and buildings in some modern city centres worldwide, as highlighted in the literature review.

Question 12.5 of the questionnaire asked how the building changed after the relocation decisions in 2001. In the opinion of its users, of the 98 participants who answered, almost two-thirds (n=64, 65.3%) thought that the municipal building had seen a negative change. The expressions used by the surveyed participants to describe the general past and present condition of the building were analysed by comparing the words used in their answers, as can be seen in Table 7.3 (see Appendix D for all written answers to Question 12.5).

Table 7.3: Opinions about the relocation decisions of Tripoli civic centre

Indication of change	No. of Participants	Example of answers (see Appendix D for complete answers)	
		The building was	The building is now
Negative Change	64	"Beautiful and organised"	"Chaotic"
Positive Change	9	"Good"	"Very good"
No Change	8	"Remarkable"	"Still the same"
Not Sure	14	"I do not know"	"I do not know"
No Clear Answer	3	"I did not notice"	Blank
N° of answers	98		
Unassigned	34		
Total	132		

Moreover, to understand how the TMB functionality might have been damaged, three main themes could be identified during the further qualitative analysis of the responses of these who felt that the building was negatively affected after the relocation changes, as listed below:

1) The degradation of the building's performance and discipline

Evidence of this is found in the repetition of descriptions, such as reminiscences that the building used to be an "*organised*" place, while it is now a "*chaotic*," "*unorganised*," "*weak*," and "*overcrowded*" place of service (e.g. answers of respondents: R001, R017, R029, R031, R038, R041, R051, R121, R126, and R127). More specific examples of this theme were expressed by some participants:

R031: The building was "a public service provider, clean, and well-organised," but it changed to the "opposite of how it used to be."

R051: It was "a building that provided organised and easy to access services," it is now "unorganised."

R126: The building was the place that "represents the local government of the city 'Baladiyah.' Currently, it is a place that delivers part of the city services (e.g. the different public utility services)."

R127: The building "was suitable for an intact function," however, "the affiliation of the organisations using the building now is attached to many different governing bodies not just to one"

2) The degradation of the building's expressive function and symbolic value

This theme is based on the participants' general indications that the changes not only affected the building's practical functions but its expressive one too. This is seen in the

use of terms like the building was a “symbol,” with a “high value,” and that the building used to be “important” and a “landmark” for the city. Participants also frequently described how the building is now: “typical,” “miserable,” “depressed,” “average,” “unpretentious,” “ordinary or less,” and a “dilapidated building.” Some of the best examples of this theme were written by participants 078, 114, and 129, as translated below:

R037: The building was “a symbol of the beautiful city of Tripoli,” and “I am not sure” now about how it became!

R078: “The building used to function as a ‘Baladiyah’, its status and prestige made it influential,” but now “Its internal spaces and departments are always in change”

R114: The building was “a symbol of the ‘Baladiya,’” and since the change “its value has been deteriorated.”

R129: Before the redistribution of TM’s historic services the building was “an iconic symbol of the local municipal authority of Tripoli city,” and now it is “an administrative building that is lacking the previous national and symbolic value”

3) Extensive degradation of the overall conditions of TMB

This theme summarises responses referring to the general physical and non-physical damage to the building’s form, function and space. Examples are as follows:

R019: The building was “huge and its design was delightful,” now “its interior looks like any other public building.”

R026: “It used to be one of the most significant buildings in Tripoli,” it is still now “important, but not among the most significant.”

R046: Though it was “a public building in need of maintenance,” it became “a dilapidated building that needs continuous preservation work”

R064: It was a “significant and vibrant building,” and became “old and needs maintenance”

Although the above samples of participant opinions show clear disappointment about the declining state of the TMB (both perceptual and physical) over the last decade, more material evidence of this decline was obvious during the 2010 research observation trip.

One of the most significant aspects of the degeneration of the building’s conditions and performance after the one-year relocation experience concerns important municipal documents. Municipal files and publications were reported to have been misplaced,

damaged, and even lost according to several staff members interviewed (for example, MA, confirmed that negligence caused the loss of official credentials belonging to some citizens).

Additionally, the research walk-through observations revealed that some archive offices appeared to have been untouched since the evacuation of 2001. Storerooms of documents were left without appropriate storing equipment. Access to these rooms was often very difficult because of the cluttered neglected files. This chaotic situation was still manifest in 2010 almost nine years after the relocation. Figure 7-8 (below) shows some examples of haphazardly positioned municipal documents that were moved back from the al-Waha office building and compiled without labelling and protection.



Figure 7-8: Neglected archival offices store (left) and storeroom (right) in the TMB

Shows the chaotic situation of randomly amassed documents, machines, and furniture left over from the relocation of 2001 (pictures taken on 14/02/2010)

The aforementioned disorder also was found in the main municipal archive library, which was moved to the basement level in 2000, one year before the relocation. According to ET, MO, and MA, this municipal library was until 1990 one of the most reliable historical resources for the city of Tripoli as it incorporated several original references including many colonial and postcolonial municipal and historic manuscripts. However, apparently because of the impact of the 2001 relocation, this library has badly deteriorated. Public access to this relocated municipal archival library has since been denied. The conditions of the basement itself were unsafe for anybody to use because of flood water leaking in from nearby streets, causing damp conditions which damaged most of the historical materials (MSH).

In conclusion, the above findings suggest that the present decline of Tripoli city and its municipality was envisioned under the open eyes of the Gaddafi regime. As Gaddafi himself disdained urban life, as attested to in his published writing, it cannot be expected that the totalitarian regime of which he was the head had any inclination to develop and civilize the urban environment of Tripoli. According to Gaddafi's guiding philosophy there was no need to organise a specific place to represent and administer a 'sickening' way of living. Once this is understood, it can be appreciated why, despite its wealth, previous Libyan regime did not bother to create a different civic centre for TM to celebrate its liberated civic identity, but instead continued to use a building with colonial characteristics in its Fascist façade. It is also important to bear these conditions in mind when considering the contemporary significance of this colonial building in the context of the findings in the following chapter.

7.7 Conclusion

This chapter describes the key transformations which affected Tripoli city and its municipal governments under the three historical periods: the nine years of British Administration rule (1943-1951); the eighteen years of the Libyan Kingdom; and the forty-two years of the Gaddafi regime. In general, there were no significant changes to the location and physical conditions of the Italian civic centre of TMB built in late 1930s. The British and then the early post-independence Libyan governments adopted the same building to host Tripoli's local urban administration and a few other public functions.

It was understandable urban development during the period before the 1969 military coup was hindered by a multitude of military, political, and economic factors and circumstances. WWII, then the difficult mission to unify a tribally disparate society distributed over a vast land under one single state, then the lack of native competent personnel to work in the country's national and local government before the discovery of oil in the late 1960s, are all reasons why Tripoli and its government building did not change significantly during the pre-Gaddafi period. However, a few small but perceptible changes took place during this early period and must be recognised.

Three vital historical incidents are considered to have reshaped notions of how Tripoli and its MB were perceived by Libyans after Fascism. The first was the involvement of Tripoli's Libyan residents in the 1949 election organised to select the first Libyan city

council to work in the TMB. This democratic breakthrough, although administered under a neo-colonial ruler, must have brought the native public in Tripoli closer to the city's hitherto forbidden centre and council. Secondly, the independence of Libya in the early 1950s framed the modern history of the country and transformed its political and social landscape. The creation of a unified state led to significant societal change and the foundation of a new notion of national identity for indigenous Libyans after decades of European colonialism. Thirdly, the ownership by the unified Libyan state of all colonial public institutions seems to have led to the creation of civic institution proximity. Even at the level of local government, an unprecedented sense of civic identity was formed when public institutions were owned by Libyans, and open to equally serve them, with leaders elected by Libyans.

The dire record of the Gaddafi regime in the development of Libyan cities and democratic national and local government is another important finding of this part of the research. Subsequent to the accelerated urban construction boom of the 1970s and 1980s in Tripoli, the international isolation of Libya led to the city and the TMB being victims of a series of draining and erratic reorganisation policies. The lack of a clear development vision or even an intention to improve its status facilitated serious urban complications in the 1990s that have caused most of the urban problems experienced in the undeveloped city centre today.

Moreover, the municipality has experienced unprecedented political and administrative upheavals that have caused a multitude of functional and physical changes. Several destructive changes were found in the spaces of the TMB that affected the movement of its users, and which ultimately affected the municipality's practical and symbolic value and those of its neglected building. As a consequence, how the building worked and was understood by its users was also noted to have changed. The disappointment shown about this by the majority of this study's participants supports the analysis that political and administrative instability during the last four decades is to blame for changing the reality and perception of the practical and symbolic functions of the TMB today.

With this conclusion in mind, the following chapter discusses the urban, architectural, and socio-cultural significance of the TMB in the city centre under the control of the Gaddafi regime.

Chapter 8 : Contemporary Significance of the TMB

This chapter considers the status of the colonial TMB in modern day Tripoli, as found during the fieldwork in 2010. It addresses the current importance of the building in terms of its relationships with the context of the city centre and between its users and its architectural form; and finally the relationship between its public visitors and government staff working there. The final part of this chapter discusses the public and civic qualities of the TMB before the fall of the Gaddafi regime.

8.1 Urban Significance of the TMB for its Users and City Centre

This section presents the results of the investigation of the relationship between the building and its downtown urban surroundings. The objective is to evaluate the contemporary significance of the central position of the TMB, and its role in enhancing the quality of urban life in the city centre of Tripoli, which seems to be in decline for reasons mentioned earlier such as traffic congestion and negligence in maintaining infrastructure. The question posed by Langdon (2003) is reformulated in terms of the purpose and context of this study: does Tripoli's central civic centre keep its downtown alive? If so, why, and in what way?

Data gathered during observations from outside the TMB suggest the engagement of many of different types of building users with urban life in the city centre. Further study explored the nature of these relationships based on responses to several questions as follows. Do users of this civic centre engage in any way in enhancing the urban life and activities around it? How many of these users actually visit the city centre as well as this building? What are the places that users visit the most? When do they do so? What is their motivation, and how determined are they to participate in the city centre's urban life? How happy are building users with the quality of urban life and the central context of the municipal building? Do they think that its location is suitable for its official and service role in the city centre? And finally, if for any reason the government decides to rebuild/relocate the city's main civic centre again, where would the users choose to place it, inside or away from the downtown? These questions were answered by the survey participants and the following sections discuss their responses after the nature of Tripoli's municipal environment is explained.



Figure 8-1: Satellite image of Tripoli city centre showing TMB and urban built environment
TMB circled in blue, urban built environment surrounding it on the eastern side of Algeria Square
(Google Maps, 2014)

It should be noted that no official statistics records have been published by Tripoli's municipal authorities concerning how many people use this key public building, nor the reasons, timing or duration of visits. Due to the limitations of fieldwork in Tripoli and the security challenges mentioned in chapter 4, this study therefore relies on personal observations and a qualitative and statistical analysis of questionnaire responses rather than objective data concerning users of this TMB and its municipal environment.

8.1.1 The municipal environment

The term municipal environment in this study refers to two areas of urban space: the functional spaces enclosed inside the TMB; and the external urban spaces and places surrounding it in Tripoli city centre. The nearby external municipal space includes a variety of common urban public spaces, places, and facilities that users of TMB may visit and/or walk through. Many of the building users were observed to use these spaces and places before, during, and/or after visiting the municipal building for different purposes.

One particular justification for the consideration of these external municipal spaces is that the nature of bureaucratic procedures and the lack of waiting rooms and facilities inside the building lead visitors to leave in an attempt to find better and wider breathing spaces, and to benefit from the opportunities for public activities and gathering instead of having to wait for long periods inside. It is also significant that some of these informal breathing urban spaces were observed to turn into impromptu gathering places, in which TMB visitors met municipal workers face-to-face, not only to socialise but to discuss work-related issues during working hours, as explained later.

The most commonly visited urban places and spaces around TMB are listed in Table 8-1 and mapped in Figure 8-2. Interviews with several randomly selected nearby shopkeepers, residents, and regular users of the building revealed that building users were often witnessed, visiting (stopping in, buying from, and walking through) these places, either individually or sometimes in small groups.

Table 8-1: List of TMB surrounding urban places and spaces

Nº	Type of place	Surrounding places
1	Open urban public places and breathing spaces	Al-Baladyia Municipal Park to the north side of the building; nearby small gardens; city centre squares; the spaces outside major landmarks and key public and private buildings; street edges, especially around building corners and through the walking paths and corridors, particularly the city centre cornice along the waterfront, inside the ancient walls, and alongside the arcades of main commercial streets and waterfront pathways like the central streets of al-Baladiya, al-Istiqlal, 24 th of December, Haiti, and Omer al-Mokhtar.
2	Shops	Different shops offering photographic and printing services, beauty centres, medical commodities and services, craft shops, small repair shops, and general markets.
3	Cafés and restaurants	Food and drink consumption.
4	Offices of public administration	Banks, agency offices, various governmental departments at central ministerial and local levels.
5	Educational and cultural activities sites	Educational institutions, museums, exhibition halls, public and private libraries and publication centres.
6	Places of entertainment and leisure	Theatres and cinemas, sport clubs and amenities, and fairs.
7	Offices of private services and agencies.	
8	Health centres	Public sanatoriums, private clinics and other small medical practices.
9	Social services and religious facilities.	
10	Accommodations of different categories	Public and private, temporary and permanent residential places (apartments and hotels).



Figure 8-2: Map of the urban context surrounding the municipal complex

TMB in red in Tripoli city centre, highlighting the locations of public places, facilities and spaces visited by building users



(a)



(b)



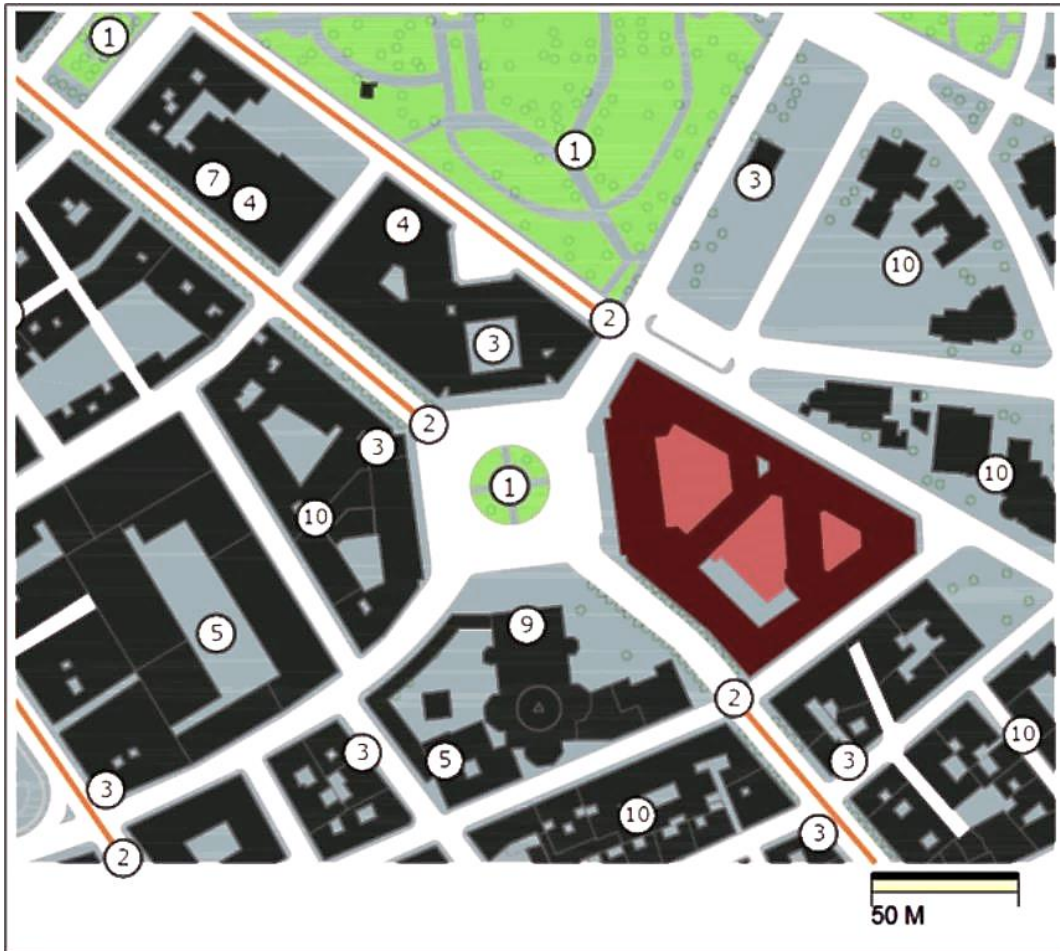
(c)



(d)



(e)



(f)

Figure 8-3: Basic urban analysis of physical built environment of Tripoli city centre

Showing the nature of the urban form and fabric surrounding the city's main municipal building.

The preliminary analysis of the urban fabric of the city centre (Figure 8-3) shows the strong relationship between the TMB and most of the public and private places and spaces in the city centre of Tripoli. Figure 8-3 (a) shows how well linked the urban node of Algeria Square is to Tripoli's central Martyrs Square. These two urban squares are linked by just under 600m of the arcaded commercial Independence Street (al-Istiqlal).

Moreover, looking at the overall form of the built environment (Figure 8-3b, c and e), it can be seen that the four-story mass of the TMB benefits from a direct panoramic view of the Mediterranean Sea from its northern side (see Figure 8-3e). This allows it to receive cooling sea breezes, especially in the summer. Figure 8-3 (d) also shows how well connected this public building is with the city centre's public gardens, particularly the main municipal Baladiya Garden at the north-eastern corner of the building.

Analysis of the distribution of the above listed places and spaces of urban public facilities significantly shows a relatively high concentration of cafés, restaurants and places of food and drink trading and consumption in the surrounding environment on all different sides (see Figure 8-3f).

The higher number of coffee shops in this area of the city centre, as well as the observation that they appear to be the busiest, both in average number of customers and of chairs and bars strongly indicates that these small businesses (and other nearby shops) are sustained by the regular flow of large numbers of different types of users of the largest and busiest office buildings in the area, the TMB. This is supported by reports from most of the shopkeepers interviewed in close proximity to the building that most of their regular customers are users of this building, although they could not quantify this.

One illustration of the degree to which the presence of this building contributes to the success of these businesses and perhaps maintains the livelihood of the urban economy in the city centre is that, when the building was evacuated in 2001, many of these traders experienced a period of recession. It seems that the relocation of the city's municipal administration from the TMB removed the purchasing power of its users, according to two shopkeepers opposite the main façade of the TMB in Algeria Square.

Another senior agency officer specified that the presence of the 'Baladiyas' and its regular visitors and workers was vital for the dynamics of the urban life of the city centre and its economy. It was also mentioned by another shopkeeper that the number of public visitors to the building has dramatically declined even after the relocation of the municipality back to the same building. The reason for this decline is that the building's key public service, the civic registrar CSR, has not returned to the original building. He also stated that the businesses most affected, in his opinion, were the nearby cafes and shops and private agencies that were dealing with paperwork services such as photocopying and the completion of applications on behalf of the public. These accounts leave no doubt that the considerable flows of people that the TMB generates in the city centre must have had a noteworthy impact on the dynamism and prosperity of downtown urban life. The analysis of quantitative data from the study survey supports these observational and qualitative results and gives a more detailed picture of the nature of this relationship.

8.1.2 Visits to the city centre surroundings by the TMB users and the most visited places and activities

The questionnaire asked about the participants' determination to visit its surroundings when coming to use the TMB. A simple descriptive analysis of the answers shows that 59 participants (44.69%) said 'Yes', compared to 47 participants (35.6%) who said 'No', while 26 (19.69%) failed to answer. Those who answered 'Yes' to this question were then asked to explain what they did and/or where they went when they visited the surrounding urban areas. They could make multiple selections from the list of common places identified above or, and provide their own answers if appropriate.

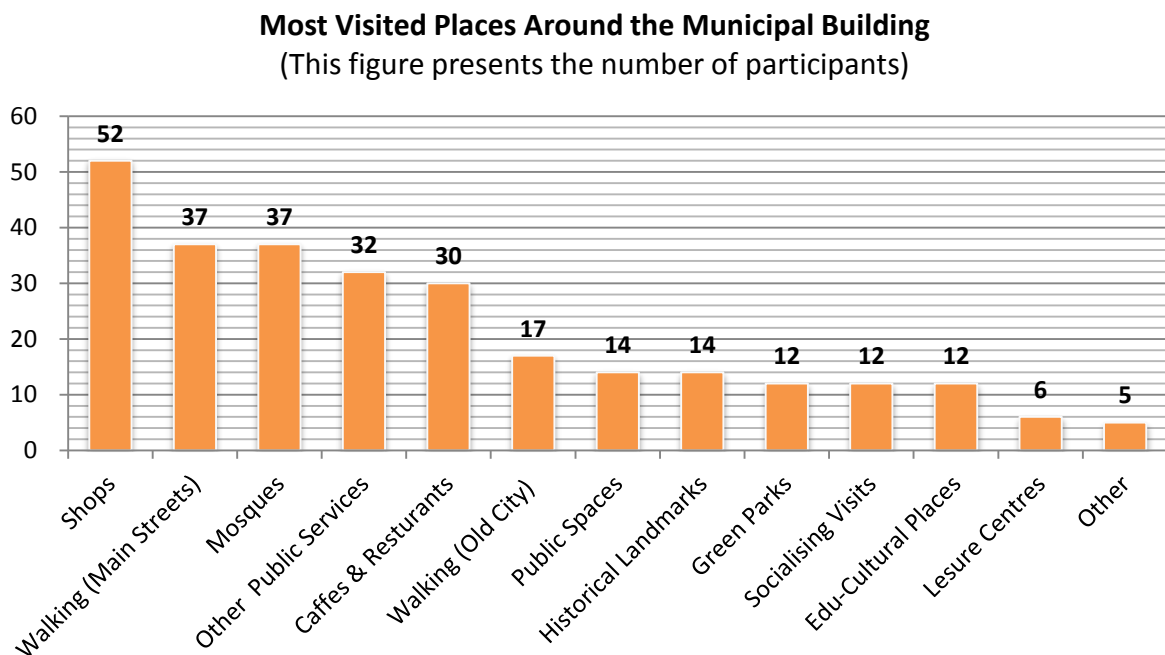


Figure 8-4: Questionnaire results: places most visited around TMB

The results shown in Figure 8-4 indicate that neighbouring commercial shops aligned along the city centre main streets were often visited most by participants ($n=52$ participants, 39.39%), while 37 participants (28%) reported that they usually walked around the city centre's main streets, with the potential to enter any of these shops or buildings. The same number ($n=37$) said that they usually went to the nearby mosques, and observations confirm that the most visited mosque in the area is the largest (in size) and the most central and closest to the municipal building, Masjid Jamal Abdul-Nasir (the former Italian Cathedral, numbered 9 in Figure 8-3, f). 32 participants (24.24%) chose to visit other buildings for other services provided in the central urban region. 30 participants (22.72%) said that they preferred to visit the nearby cafés and restaurants, and 17 participants (12.87%) usually went for a walk in the Old City.

Another notable finding is that the city's main central public spaces and historical landmarks were selected by only 14 participants each (about 10%). Green parks, places of educational and cultural activities, and the visiting close friends/relatives were each chosen by 12 participants (9% each). The least visited places were leisure centres (selected by only 6 participants, 4.54%), and very few (n=5) reported that they went to other places or enjoyed other activities but failed to specify these.

The fact that the most attractive activities in the surrounding urban environment using shops, walking through commercially active streets, and patronising food and coffee houses clearly supports the notion that building users at least contribute to maintaining and encouraging the livelihood of commercial activities in Tripoli city centre.

8.1.3 Timing of visits

The results shown in Figure 8-5 suggest that the majority of participants (n=35, 26.51%) usually visited the municipal building's surroundings, after their business there, whereas fewer participants chose before visiting the TMB. A small number (n=4, 3%) seemed happy to arrive early and walk around before entering the municipal building. The second most popular time was during breaks, chosen by 20 participants (15.15%). Only 9.84% of the people surveyed (n=13) did not consider visiting the surroundings of the city centre at any time when coming to visit the civic centre, compared with only 8.33% (n=11) who came specifically to visit the surrounding urban facilities.

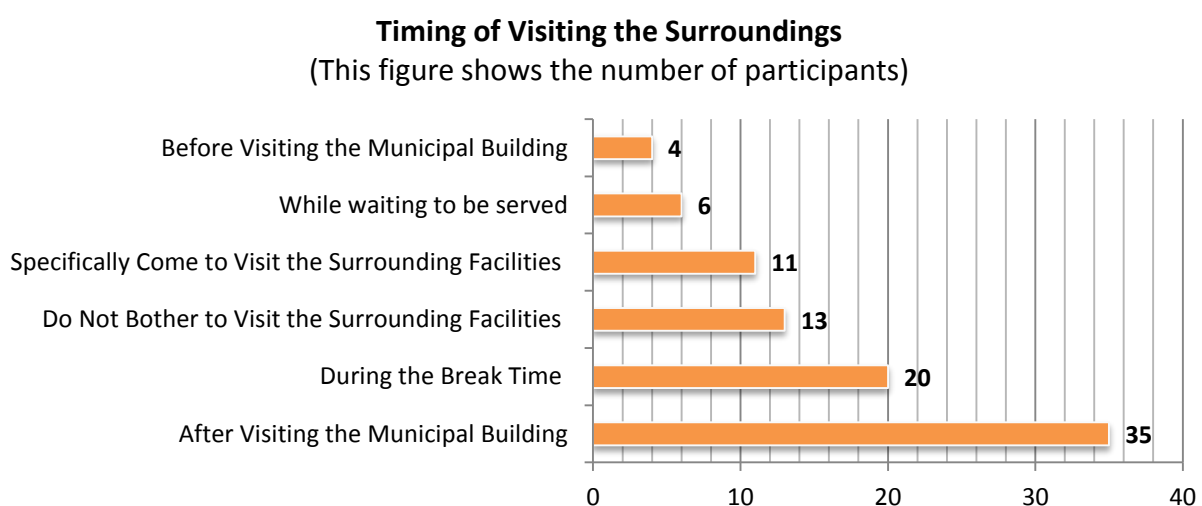


Figure 8-5: Frequency of TMB users visiting urban surroundings

A few participants (n=6, 5%) who were regular visitors to the municipal building would leave the municipal building while their applications were being processed. This seems to contradict what people said and did during the fieldwork study on site. More participants were expected to consider the most suitable time to visit the surroundings to be 'while waiting to be served' due to the already mentioned impacts of the bureaucratic problems causing visitors to spend more time in and around the building. In fact, many of the visitors to the building were witnessed leaving and returning to the building when asked to come back later, or where they could not find the municipal officer responsible for completing their application. This might be reasonable bearing in mind that response rate to this question in particular were generally low.

A relatively large number of participants (n=32, 24.24%) refused to choose any options or give their own response, either because they were not regular users to the building or because they decided not to give an answer for other reasons, although some (n=14, 10.6%) stated clearly that this question was 'Not Applicable.' It is also still possible that some participants did not need to apply for a public service when visiting this building, thus there was no need for them to wait for a prolonged period anywhere, inside or around the building. This apparent contradiction between the observational and questionnaire results is resolved by responses concerning the building users, reasons for visiting the surrounding area in the first place.

8.1.4 Motives to visit the surroundings

To better understand the motives behind visiting the municipal building's surroundings, participants were asked why they intended to pay such visits. This question was designed to assess the degree of enthusiasm among participants in deciding to exploit the chance to visit the city centre.

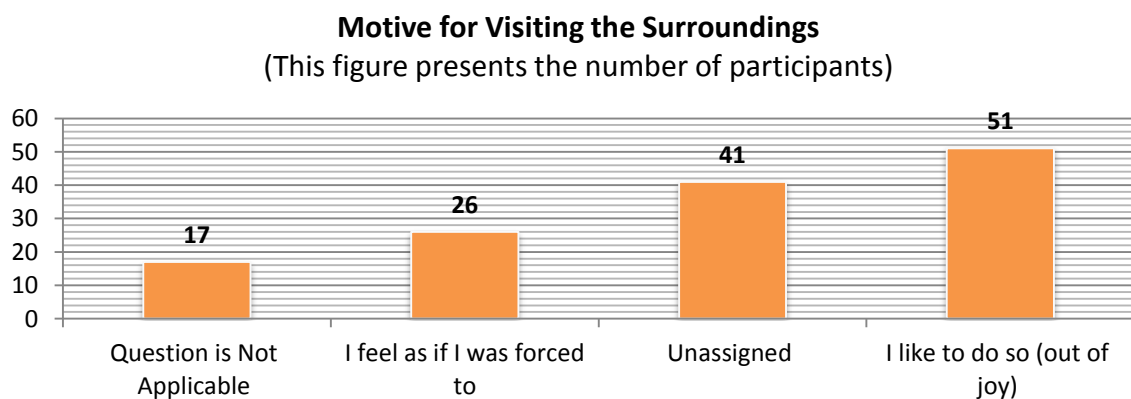


Figure 8-6: Main motives for visiting the surroundings of the TMB

The results in Figure 8-6 show that the majority of participants (n=51, 38.63%) enjoyed visiting the diverse urban surroundings when using the municipal building, whereas about 19.69% of them (n=26) did not appreciate visiting the city centre surroundings, feeling compelled to do so rather than making the choice themselves.

The results also shed more light on the impact of the bureaucracy in forcing building users to do other things that were perhaps initially not considered while visiting the city centre. The findings suggest that interest in visiting the TMB's urban surroundings in the city centre is high in Tripoli; the only exception might be the large number of participants (n=41, 31%) who did not answer were all uncomfortable about clearly declaring that they were under some sort of pressure to make these visits.

This possibility reinforced the need to investigate public attitudes towards the quality of urban life in downtown Tripoli. This might help explain the uncertainty in judgments of satisfaction among participants concerning their engagement in the active urban scene observed around the city centre at the time of the fieldwork.

8.1.5 The quality of urban life and public facilities

The survey therefore solicited the opinions of participants regarding the quality, of the vibrancy and diversity of the activities and facilities in the urban environment surrounding the TMB (see Figure 8-7 below).

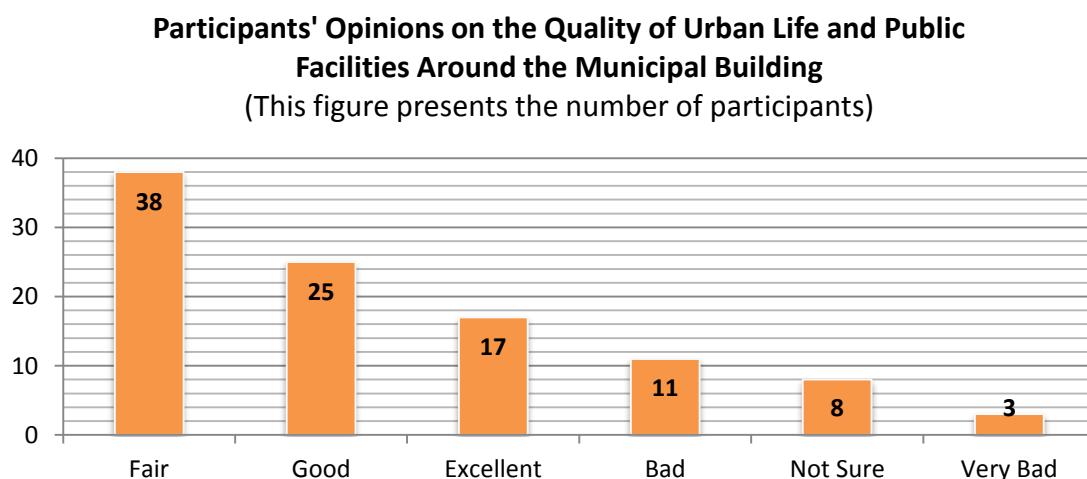


Figure 8-7: Attitudes towards the quality of urban facilities around TMB

The majority of answers (61%, n=80) supported a comparatively positive agreement that the quality of the urban life and facilities at the time of the study was either: good (n=25, 19%) or excellent (n=17, 13%), or 'fair' (n=38, 29%). 11% (n=14) had negative attitude toward the quality of urban life and activities in Tripoli city centre, and 8

participants (6%) were unsure. 20 participants (15%) failed to answer, and 11% (n=13) decided that the question was not applicable.

8.1.6 Suitability of the current location of the municipal place

The study also looked at how participants valued the central position of this TMB in the city centre, and the suitability of its location to serve its leading functional role for users. It was necessary to discover if the building's users agreed with the historical conception of sitting this type of civic public building in a central urban position. This would help in understanding the significance of the relationship under investigation between the building, its users, and the urban context of the city centre in modern day Tripoli.

The results shows in Figure 8-8 indicate that a total of 83 participants (about 63%) agreed that the current location is suitable, of whom 35 deemed it 'very suitable', while fewer thought the central location unsuitable: 12% (n=16) said it was 'not suitable' and only 2 participants emphasised their dislike by choosing the 'not suitable at all' option. 12% (n=16) were unsure, and about 5% (n=7) thought the site of this building in the city was unimportant, and unlike with responses to other questions, the number of 'unassigned' who failed to answer was relatively low (n=11, 8%). This is a possible indication of the participants' interest in answering this question, and perhaps also shows how attached they were to this central site.

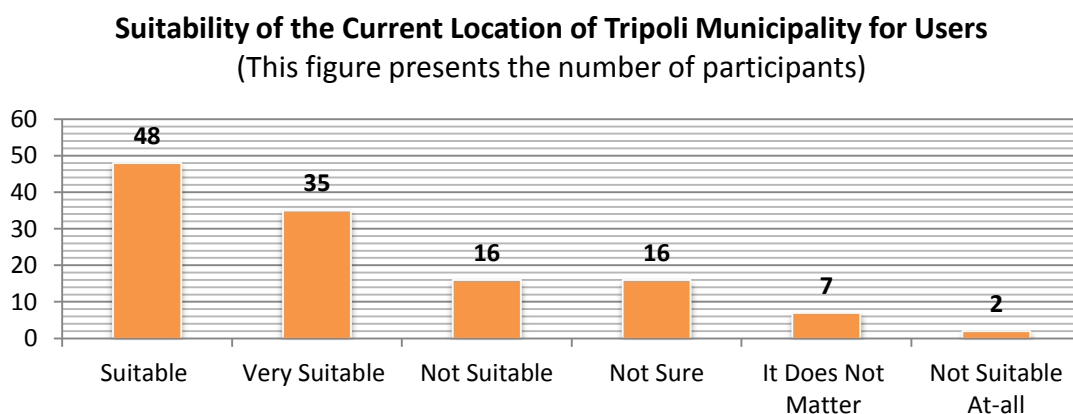


Figure 8-8: Opinions on the suitability of the current central location of the TMB

Furthermore, this draws attention to the perplexing issue of why participants would still favour this central location, despite the problems involved in an over-congested city centre, unbearable traffic jams due to the lack of car parking facilities, and effective public transport. In order to look into this further and to test the reliability of the above findings, participants were asked to what extent they would support changing the location of the TM out of the city centre. The results are shown in Figure 8-9.

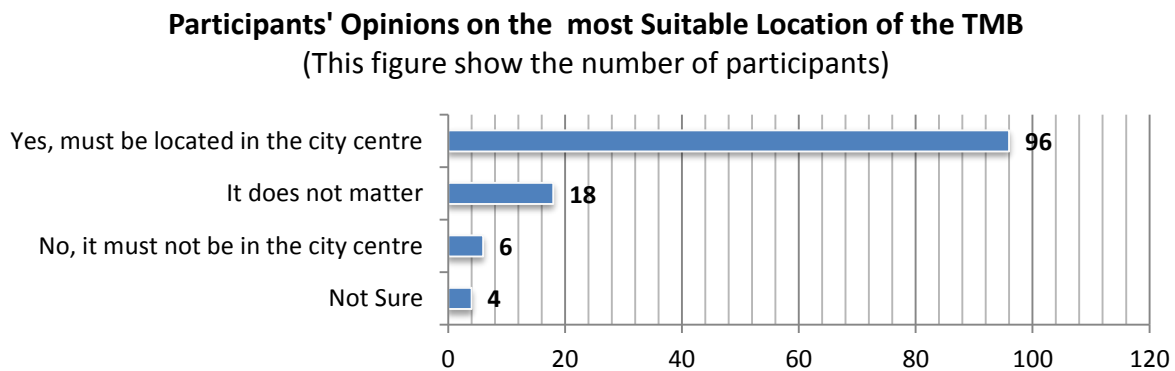


Figure 8-9: Opinions on maintaining current location of the historical TMB

The results show that the great majority of participants (n=96, 72.72%) were in favour of preserving the current central location for the TMB in the future, while only 5% (n=6) felt that a possible future location should be outside the city centre. 18 participants (13.63%) felt the issue was unimportant, while 4 (3%) were uncertain. Of course, people are sometimes conservative by nature, and the participants might have dismissed the idea of changing the current circumstances no matter how poor they might be. However, when coupled with the results reported in the following section, the large percentage favouring maintaining the current location suggests that there is more to their attachment to this particular site than aversion to change.

This strong evidence about participants' feelings seems to have been influenced by their experience of the removal of this key public building from its central site, one of the erratic and irresponsible political decisions taken under the Gaddafi regime. In interviews with many people in Tripoli, many were annoyed and worried about the misappropriation of what they describe as the state's valuable historical public buildings and lands, particularly in the highly valued centre of the capital city, by powerful political players in the ousted regime.

Several interviewees (e.g. MO, MSH, and NZ) expressed concerns that these public properties would be embezzled as private investments or misuse. In this sense the relationship between the TMB and its users seems very strong. They probably wanted to protect a public asset that has long belonged to the Libyan state and to all Libyans rather than to particular cliques or oligarchies; although a greater danger for the TMB is 'museumification,' stripped of its regular public users and historical municipal role. The present results therefore support the conviction that the central building of TM has indeed keep the urban vibrancy of its city centre alive, by attracting public flows around it and contributing to the local economy. Public affection for the presence of this

building in its central location has also been maintained, despite the vicissitudes of Libyan government over the last century. The relationship between the TMB and the public is therefore mutually beneficial; the building generates public flows to the city centre, and users generate more activities and income for city centre users and residents. In return the city centre represents a nucleus of stability in an unstable polity. The following section further investigates the relationship between TMB and its users.

8.2 The Role and Architectural Significance of the TMB: the Contemporary Relationship with Users

It was concluded in the previous chapter that changing ideologies and erratic government policies in Libya have caused a domino effect of detrimental change in how the TMB is organised, how it has functioned and how it was conceptualised by many of the participants surveyed. However, the attitudes of newly liberated Libyan users towards this conserved Italian colonial building has not so far been discussed. This section analyses the contemporary relationship between the TMB and its public in Tripoli, looking at how and why Libyans have begun identifying themselves with a Fascist-style civic centre. This will help understanding what this inherited colonial building signifies in the modern city centre of Tripoli.

First of all, a spectator of the external form of the TMB today will notice no substantial difference in the façade compared to the time of its colonial builders in the late 1930s. To-date, the Fascist-style architectural features of the original building have not been modified in any way. The only changes that can be seen from the outside of the building are the addition of a line of offices on the third floor (on the western side of the building on al-Istiqlal Street), and the randomly attached typical modern-day add-ons of electromechanical and ICT equipment, including air-conditioning units, satellite dishes, and electrical and telephone cables and devices (see Figure 8-10).

From the fieldwork conducted in 2010, there was a general disappointment about the state of this building's practical and expressive functions. This was also evident from the qualitative analysis of expressions used by the majority of participants (see chapter 7) which described their perceptions of the building's condition before it was relocated. These written accounts also indicate that mainstream participants do still value the presence of TMB, regardless of its colonial history. An interesting example of this is found in the answer of one participant (R038), who said that:

R038: The building was before the relocation transformation “*clean, beautiful, organised,*” but it has now been “*Destroyed, yet we can still be proud of it.*”

Why would a native Libyan resident be proud of a colonial building associated with another dictatorship? There is a clear contradiction between the architecture of the currently used central municipal building in Tripoli, and the historical purpose of why and for whom it was built. This particular civic centre might then be identified with the particularly grim period of Fascist colonial history, under which the ancestors of modern Libyans in Tripoli suffered.

It could be the lack of an alternative to this huge building in Tripoli during the time of the Gaddafi regime led people to be more conservative and attached to ‘the devil they knew’, even if it held no real significant value to them. However, one of the unexpected findings to emerge from analysis of what participants’ thought was the importance of the building, was that none of the people interviewed in this research (in formal and informal discussions) believed that the colonial origins of this building and its flamboyant Fascist architectural form actually mattered. In fact, to the contrary, academics and architects like AA, NZ, ET, FA, and MD were inclined to support the building as a modern example of a successfully functioning public building.

Interviewee AA even argued that, in spite of the political agenda at the time of its construction, this building can still be seen as an architectural and urban design masterpiece. AA’s view of what gives TMB its symbolic significance is its truly functional space, saying that: “*the actual internal municipal hall of the Baladiya is what represents the image of Tripoli city government.*” He acknowledged that its monumentality is clearly expressed in the non-human scale of the main façade, but its Italian colonial planners also worked hard to genuinely create a functioning and environmentally friendly structure (given the micro and macro climates of the site) under the direct supervision of Tripoli’s governor Balbo and his bright architect De Fausto, without whom the development of Tripoli city centre could not be appreciated today.



(a)



(b)



(c)

Figure 8-10: The entrance of Tripoli Local Council from Algeria Square

Showing the condition of the main façade in 2010 (a), in 2013 (b), and in 1950s (c). The pictures show the active presence of police cars during the Gaddafi regime, compared with the free demonstrations of the general public and revolutionary rebels of the revolution of 2011, and following the Libyan independence in early 1950s. Sources: Author, pictured during the fieldwork on 11/02/2010 (a); Tripoli Local Council official web page (b); and, Al-ayam Altrabsiah (c).

Any architect may to some extent agree with this argument about the effort of the Italian designers to create an environmentally effective functioning office building that seems to have worked very well so far in the conditions in Tripoli. The interior design elements mentioned in chapter 6, including large courtyards areas, the thickness of external walls, the reasonable heights of floor slabs and windows, and other relevant uplifting design features like the use of the colour white and reflecting textures, all support the assertion that the design is successful.

Design solutions and considerations of this type have indeed improved the building's characteristically well-ventilated and well-lit working environment, according to long serving municipal workers (e.g. MA, ST and MS). However, can the success of the TMB's interior design justify its Fascist history? Or perhaps there are other factors that led the public in Tripoli to value the presence of this building and make them forget – or even forgive – its colonial history nowadays.

Further quantitative evidence was gathered from the statistical analysis of the questionnaire responses to examine how participants did evaluate the presence of the building. The result confirms that a majority (72 participants, 54.54%) indicated that the building still held great values in the contemporary city centre of Tripoli, in 2010 (Figure 8-11).

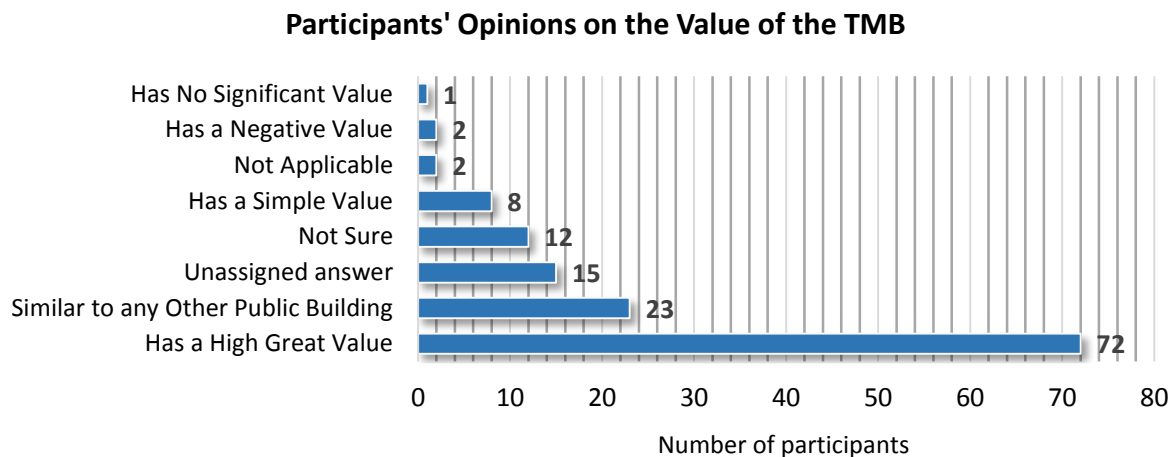


Figure 8-11: Current value of the TMB

Those who thought that the building had any sort of value were referred to Q11.2, which asked them to explain the particular value that they think the building signified by choosing from a selection of options, including an option to specify their own. The significant result is that the majority of the respondents (n=57, 43.18%) said that the building is significant 'Due to its Historical Value' (see Figure 8-12 for all responses).

These results show that both the TMB 'symbolic role' and 'personal attachment' to it were minor considerations among participants compared to its 'historical value' and 'official functional role.' Caution must indeed be exercised in interpreting these statistics from a relatively small sample, but the results are consistent with many responses to open-ended questions and in interviews. Therefore it can be concluded that the building's historical significant and formal functional role are valued more than how powerful it looks like.

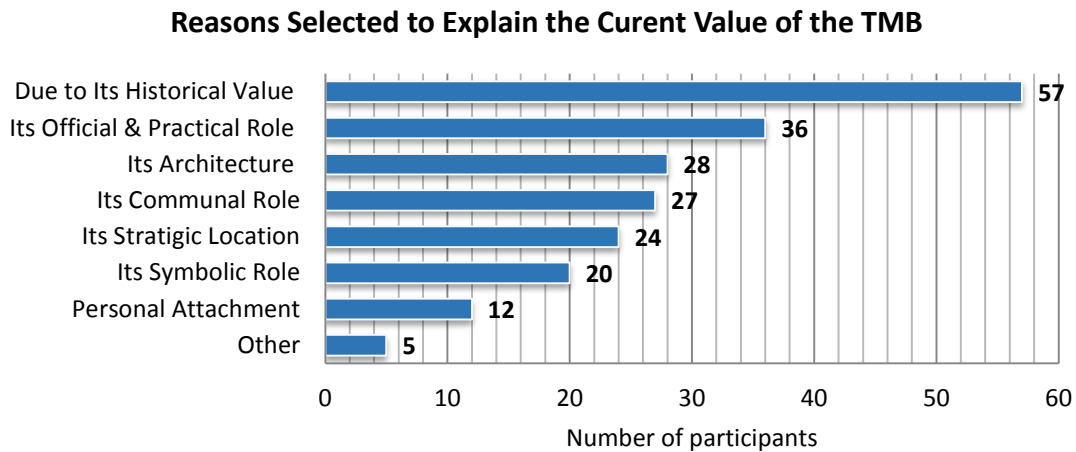


Figure 8-12: Main factors as to why the TMB has value today

The overall positive response concerning the history of the building compared to its architecture might seem peculiar considering its Fascist antecedents. However, it was noted during the fieldwork that some of the public are not actually fully aware of the history of this building, and for whom it was built. Other possible explanations for the majority of participants agreeing about the TMB ‘historical’ significance are as follows.

Firstly, participants might simply want to show their appreciation and perhaps respect for a building that has stood in and for the city of Tripoli throughout the decades after colonialism. This could be related to simple nostalgia for a central urban public place whose role and services most residents appreciate, ignoring or being ignorant of its Fascistic associations. The building thus seems to have lost its Italian Fascist aura and become a naturalized feature of the urban landscape in Tripoli, analogous to Spanish symbols of domination in the old city of Tripoli (e.g. the Red Citadel), and displays of Norman colonialism in England (e.g. the Tower of London).

Secondly, the majority of participants are from the second generation of the post-colonial era (born after the 1940s), and so they might not be aware (or do not want to be reminded) of the Fascist history of the building, even if its façade is a clear reminder to the expert eyes of historians and architects. It should not be forgotten that this 75 year-old building is older than virtually the entire Libyan population now (given that the average life expectancy in Libya at birth is at 74.5 years; UNDP, 2010), and that only a tiny minority of residents in Tripoli and Libya as a whole have living memory of the colonial period.

Thirdly, it is possible that the ‘historical value’ chosen by participants refers not to the period of the building’s construction, but to the period of independence under the

monarchy, which is surrounded by an aura of nostalgia in popular perception including among those born after the 1969 Revolution. As explained previously, the earliest functioning bureaucracy for Libyans since Ottoman times was instituted in the building following WWII under the auspices of the Allies (mainly Britain), and it could be said that the fascist colonial nature of this building was eclipsed by the novelty of access to actual public services for Libyans inaugurated from the late 1940s onwards. In effect, for native users (who could not in fact use the building during the Italian colonial period), the history of this public building started afresh after WWII and has since been imbued with associations concerning actual civic rights and services.

Finally, and most convincingly, the participants seemed to value the historical elements of the building because they attach great importance to the overall meanings they assign to the physical sites of the municipal environment. They have established a sense of place that they perceive in the site and in the 'Baladiya' terminology used to name the building of Tripoli. The values attached to this inherited traditional concept of city governance are contextualised to address the use of this particular building, and thus it has become a place with deep roots in the history of Tripoli and the minds of its natives, shorn of associations with its relatively recent Italian colonial builders.

Considering the qualitative evidence presented above of how participants described the building and its importance, it appears that they were referring to the broad, historically-accumulated role that the 'Baladiya' has purportedly played in Tripoli city for generations. Interviewees also alluded to the historical notion of the historical Baladiya of this building on many occasions.

According to AM:

The overall role of the Baladiya is an inherited importance that should always be preserved, whether the serving administration in this place is up to the required quality of service and delivery standards or not.

ET asserted that:

There is a difference between the 'Baladiya' notion and role and the building municipal function it occupies.

Shopkeeper 2 explained that:

Even if the Baladiya building is evacuated, it still represents 'The City'. It has its own independent identity; it cares about Tripoli, "the Arous al-Bahar" [The Bride of the Sea, a popular epithet of the city].

To SB:

The Baladiya as a place means “documentation,” but the term Baladiya itself personally means “enclosure” for me.

To explain this further, a senior officer (MO) clarified that:

“There is a popular saying, Libyans constantly repeat in this respect, says that: the ‘Baladyia is always with the citizen; from before birth until after death’. Meaning that every stage of life is certified in this particular building, it is always present to certify the citizen’s identity: when their parents marry, they are born, and when they come to an end.”

Moreover, the participants did distinguish between the building’s general official functional role as embedded in the Baladiya and its practical functioning services as a place that produces and distributes key public and municipal services: the second-highest choice was the value of the building’s ‘official functional role.’ This contrast is more evident in the questionnaire results (see Appendix F for detailed analysis) in which the majority of the participants were though dissatisfied with the public services dispersed in this building in 2010, but indicated their absolute satisfaction with the functional role of the Baladiya building. This is a significant finding considering the reported deterioration affecting the municipal organisation and its building.

That participants were found to be attached to the site of the central municipal environment in Tripoli might seem contradictory, given that so few selected ‘personal attachment’ as the reason for the value of the building. However, Milligan (2003) argued that:

“Place and community are intertwined. Places have unique identities and they are often associated with certain forms of social interaction and thus with certain communities. As has been amply noted by urban ethnographers, communities often emerge around and in certain types of physical locations and develop ways of enacting themselves through the sorts of interactions that are viewed as possible or preferable in the locations in question.” (Milligan, 2003a:23)

This suggest that the actual attachment of the study’s participants to the TMB in its traditional central location may have been stronger than they might have realised Milligan’s (1998) theory of attachment to physical sites submits that the connection to these shared places by their regular users (who might unintentionally be classified as ‘historic preservationists’) is motivated by both past and future potential experience, or in other words by:

“The emotional bond formed by an individual to a physical site due to the meaning given to the site through interactional processes ... [S]uch attachment is comprised

of two interwoven components: (1) interactional past, or the memories of interactions associated with a site, and (2) interactional potential, or the future experiences perceived as likely or possible to occur in a site.” (Milligan, 1998:1)

Such ‘emotional bonds’ were also felt to have been formed in Tripoli between the research interviewees and the TMB. Moreover, this site was once temporarily relocated to another site, it is possible, according to Milligan’s principles (1998) and her work on organisational and site loss (2003), that the TMB’s visitors and staff became more strongly attached to the traditional municipal environment in its city centre location. The driving motives for such attachment would be accumulated past memories (e.g. of social interaction in the Baladiya municipal environment); and experiences of loss of with the historical central site and by a yearning to prevent any potential future loss of the place they know well.

Finally, it is now possible to explain why most participants valued the historical importance and functional role of the building more than anything else. In spite of its Fascistic architecture and history, as well as the contemporary functional deficiencies, this building and site have provided the local community of Tripoli with a sense of place and a shared urban identity that crystallises when the place is vulnerable or lost. It is definitely a building with many potential sources of historical value, but these are projected by the users onto the site rather than being intrinsic in the original Fascist designs and inhabitants. Almost all present citizens of Tripoli are younger than its Italian colonial civic centre, and most have lived their entire lives recognising and regularly using it in its original site in the city centre, leading to memories of and relationships with the building, its surroundings, and certainly with other users. One significant aspect of Milligan’s work is attention to the ‘social interactions’ that take place between users of a particular physical site. Her (1998) theory of place attachment to physical sites is “interactionist-based,” maintaining that social interactions within sites produce the meaningfulness of places. The final section of this chapter therefore identifies the meanings embedded in the TMB site through the study of users’ interactions within the physical space inside and around the building.

8.3 Socio-Cultural Significance: the Contemporary Relationship between the TMB and its Users

This section considers interactions between building users that take place in the municipal environment. The objective is to understand the relationship between the

two types of users, the government staff who inhabits the TMB (I) and its served victors (V). The findings are presented on how, where, when, and why these two groups of users actually encounter each other and interact inside and outside the building. The aim is to discover the meanings that this specific municipal building has for the public in Tripoli under Gaddafi's regime.

8.3.1 Places and spaces of interaction

Internal municipal places and spaces of user interaction

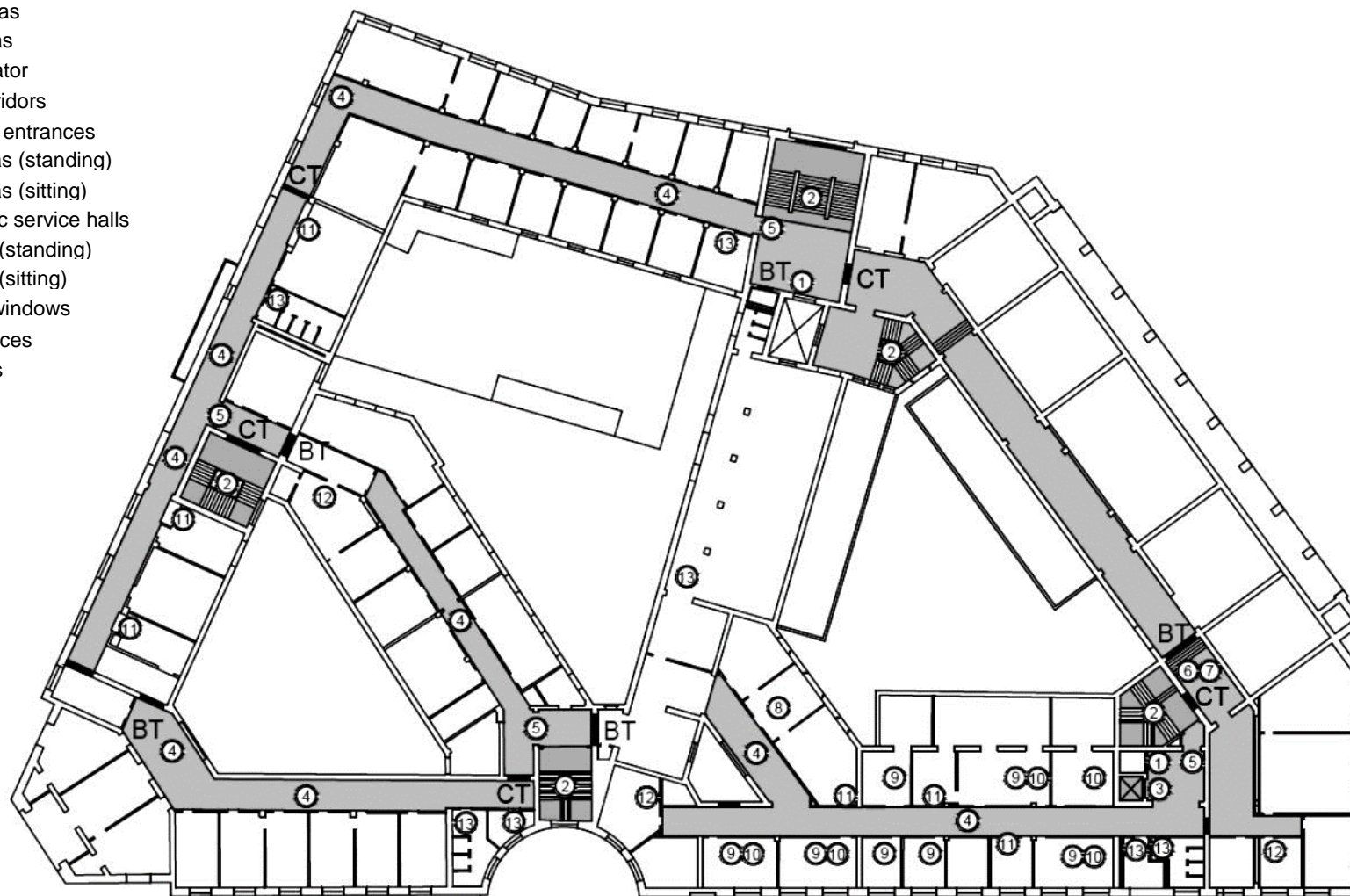
Comprehensive piloted walkthrough observations inside the TMB were first undertaken in Tripoli in 2009 to find out how the building's circulation system worked. This included the positioning of the physical boundaries reported in chapter 7 between the different working administrative zones of offices, and examining the users' vertical and horizontal access to and penetration inside the municipal spaces. General patterns of interaction in spaces were initially identified by mapping where and how users usually stopped to meet inside the TMB (Figure 8-13), particular attention was paid to the observation of user interaction in the Department of Urban Planning on the third floor (shown in Figure 8-17). The places where most interaction was inside the TMB are listed in Table 8-2:

Table 8-2: The most detected internal places used for TMB user's interaction

1	Reception areas (no reception desk in operation).
2	Staircases.
3	Near elevators.
4	Corridors.
5	Near entrances.
6	Waiting rooms (standing).
7	Waiting rooms (sitting).
8	Dedicated areas for public services (halls/rows).
9	Staff offices (standing).
10	Staff offices (sitting).
11	Service windows.
12	Secretarial offices.
13	Other spaces (e.g. archive rooms, printing rooms, storage, kitchenettes and coffee bars, and areas for general use, such as near public toilets).

These places were then added to the questionnaire for participants to choose which spaces they used most, and where other users were observed to stop and interact inside the building. The collection of these types of data was intended to improve the validity of the spatial data gathered, and to help in the overall mapping analysis.

- ① Reception areas
- ② Staircase areas
- ③ Near the elevator
- ④ Within the corridors
- ⑤ Near the main entrances
- ⑥ In waiting areas (standing)
- ⑦ In waiting areas (sitting)
- ⑧ Previous public service halls
- ⑨ Office spaces (standing)
- ⑩ Office spaces (sitting)
- ⑪ Near serving windows
- ⑫ Secretarial offices
- ⑬ Facility spaces



BT: Blocked Threshold
CT: Controlled Threshold

Figure 8-13: Plan layout of TMB (second floor) showing key user interaction locations during the fieldwork

8.3.2 External places and spaces of users' interaction around the municipal building

The identification of places where users were observed to interact outside the TMB were also narrowed down to particular points where interactions were commonly witnessed. Due to time and resource limitations, as well as the obvious difficulties in recognising building users and what they all did around the busy city centre, a different approach of observation was adopted to locate where building users stood and gathered. This was based on the random tracking of some users around the municipal building at different times of the day, and asking other people who were usually in a better position to observe the building's users to give their accounts in informal interviews. These included shopkeepers, elderly residents who usually sat for long spells in the nearby cafés, and some users of the building known to the researcher (former colleagues, friends and relatives of municipal staff members and visitors).

The list of places was included in the questionnaire for participants to choose where exactly they stopped to encounter and interact with other building users. They were also asked to give their observations on where they usually saw other users stop to interact outside the building. In addition to the places above, the questionnaire also provided the choice of "Other Places. (Please specify :....)" to add any new locations to the list.

The results led to the formulation of list in Table 8-3 places, a map of these locations in Figure 8-14, and a statistical analysis of TMB user interactions based on the participants' responses (Figure 8-16).

Table 8-3: The most cited external places used for TMB user interaction

1	Just outside the main entrance.
2	Along streets closest to the building.
3	In nearby cafés or restaurants.
4	In or around neighbouring shops/agencies.
5	In or around neighbouring gardens/parks.
6	In city centre public spaces.
7	In other central public buildings institutions.
8	In the Old City (walking through the historical streets of the Medina).
9	In car parking areas.
10	In nearby mosques.
11	Using mobile/telephones



Figure 8-14: Locations where TMB users were observed in surrounding urban context

Users witnessed gathering in proximity to the TMB in Tripoli city centre.

8.3.3 Results and analysis of user interaction

In the questionnaire participants were asked about the places and spaces where visitors and staff interact with each other and amongst their own groups inside and outside the TMB. They were then asked about the motives and timing of their decision to stop to meet and interact with other users. A detailed statistical analysis of the results is shown in Appendix I.

As examples of this analysis, a comparison of the places where visitors and staff interacted amongst themselves and between each other is presented in Figure 8-15 and Figure 8-16, for internal and external places respectively. This allows a better understanding of the nature of user interactions in space by distinguishing similarities and differences between the two different types of user interactions within the municipal environment. The most frequently used locations where the two identified types of interactions occurred are then identified.

In addition, Figure 8-17 presents an illustration of the spatial mapping analysis of the sites of user interactions and gathering as detailed in chapter 4. The results of the spatial mapping analysis of, the busy Department of Urban Planning on the third floor (see Figure 8-17) provides a clear picture on how confined and isolated this zone of the building is. However, it also reveals a pattern of the places where users gather and interaction in this part of the building. The most significant findings from these results are summarised as follows:

- 1) Formal meetings in informal locations;
- 2) Baladiya corridors as internal city streets; and
- 3) The importance of social interactions between the public and local government staff.

Analysis of these results will be addressed further after the following brief description of the main themes:

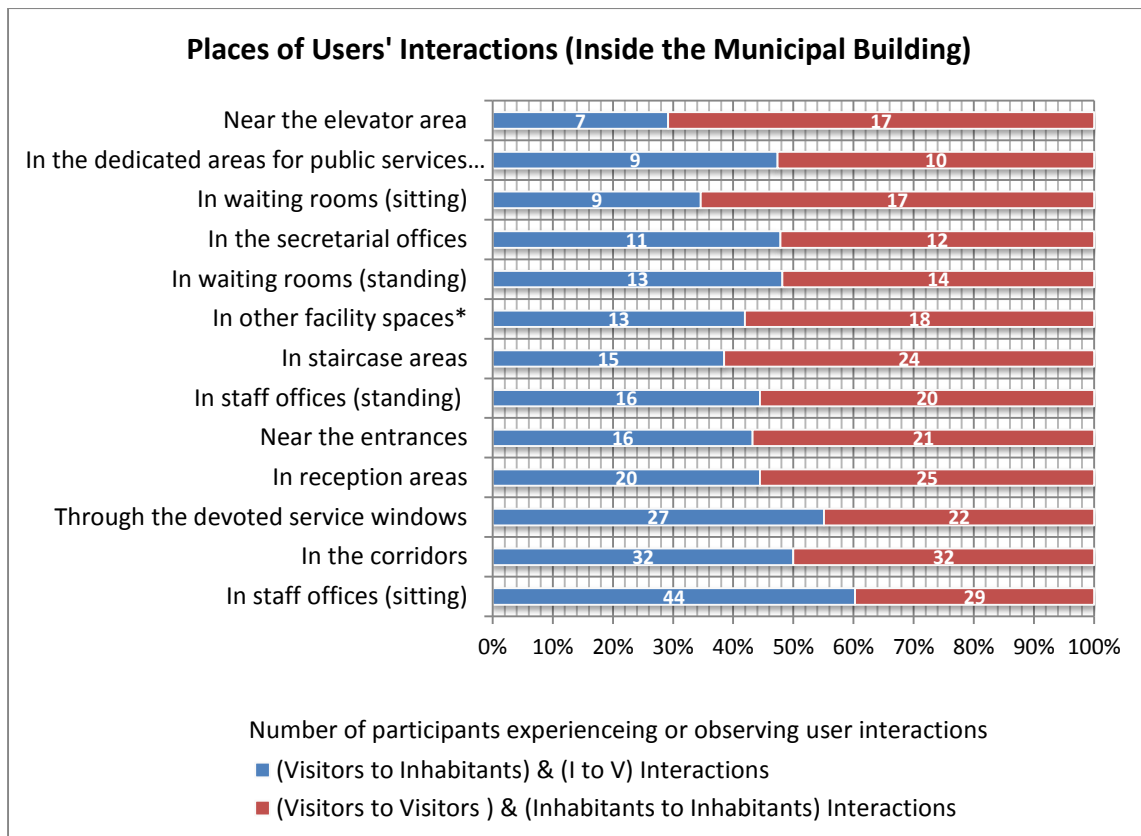


Figure 8-15: Statistical analysis of places of users' interactions inside the municipal building

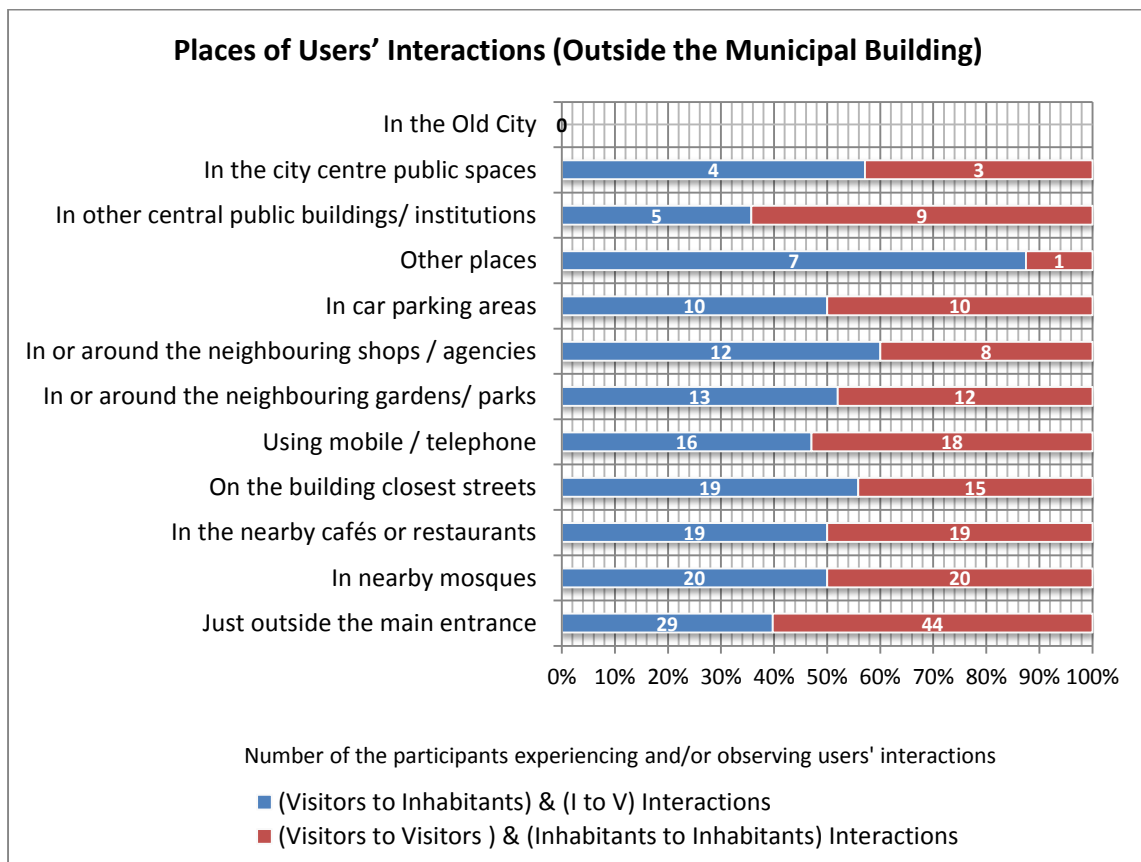


Figure 8-16: Statistical analysis of places of users' interactions outside the municipal building

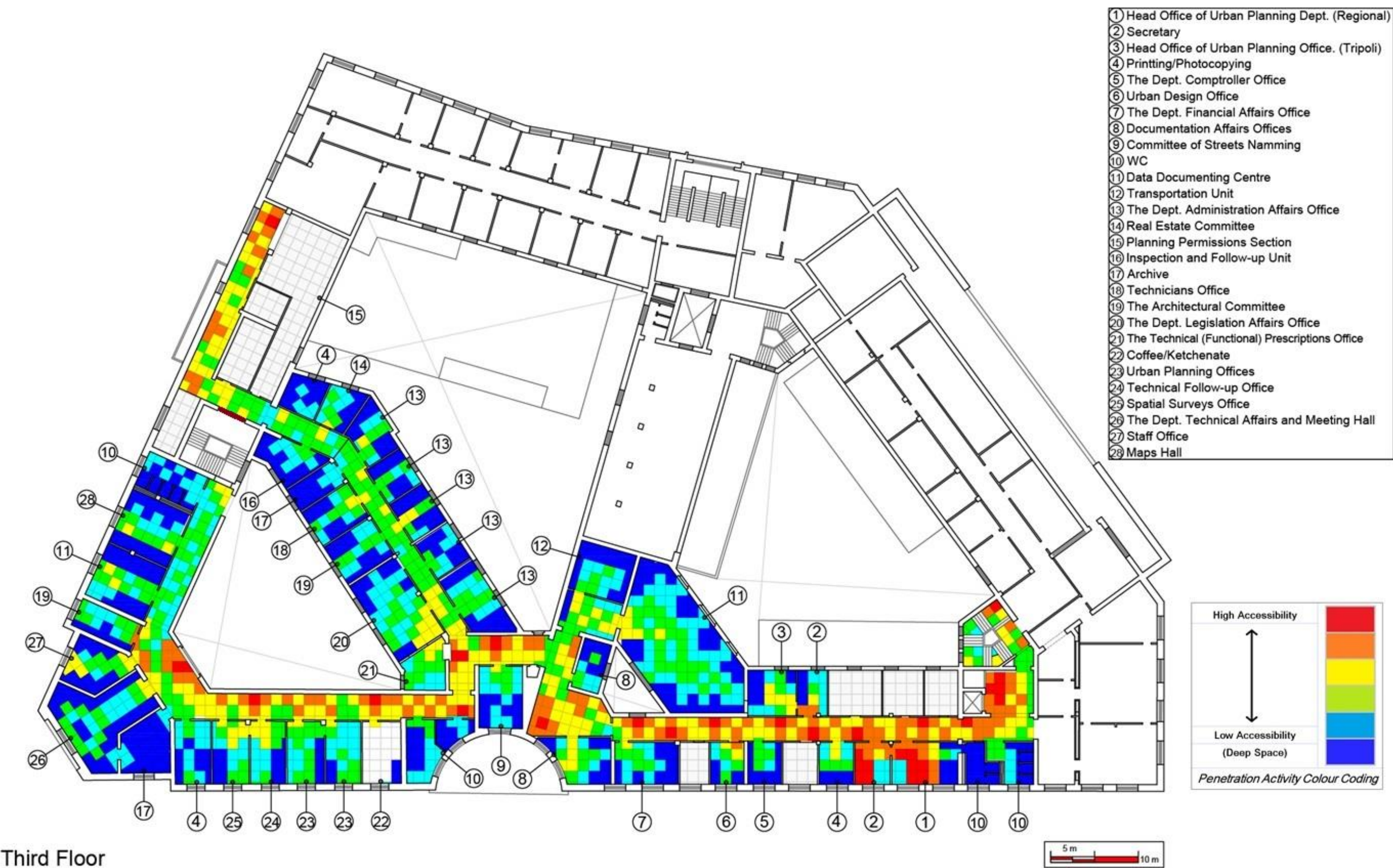


Figure 8-17: Spatial analysis of the third floor (Dept. of Urban Planning)

1. Formal meetings in informal locations.

Interactions between the TMB inhabiting staff and visitors (I-to-V and vice versa), which are supposed to be formal work-based meetings, were found to take place in many informal areas and locations both in and outside the building. Observational and survey evidence shows that such relatively short meetings between these two types of users (usually lasting for a few minutes to less than a quarter of an hour) were not exclusive to dedicated official working spaces or through public service points (serving windows and halls). Such users' meetings were found in a large number of places, such as corridors, staircases, near the elevators and entrances, outside main entrances, and in reception areas and other facility spaces, such as in front of coffee kitchenettes (see Figure 8-17).

2. The Baladiya (TMB) corridors as internal city streets.

Corridors in particular were, perhaps surprisingly, the most commonly used places for meetings between visitors and staff, and the second most common, after staff offices, for visitor-staff interactions inside the building. Corridors, of course, were never designed as proper functioning workspaces, yet it was evident that many visitors preferred to meet and gather in them despite the lack of comfortable facilities. It is also apparent that the wider and more naturally lit the corridor was the more often users gathered, which is evident in the intensity of brighter colour (red, orange) in the main corridor compared to the narrower inner ones (Figure 8-17). On the other hand, the most active places for external user interactions were outside the main public entrance; in and around nearby streets, the central mosque, and cafés.

3. The importance of interactions between the public and local government.

It is significant from the mapping analysis that more gatherings were observed in front of key influential offices in the administrative section (those of the head of department or other officials, decision-makers and their secretaries). Also, the function of an office determined how actively users interacted and gathered near its door and inside. For example, the office of financial affairs was found to be quieter than administrative offices, while areas for storage, archives, and printing were mostly devoid of such activities (blue).

The enclosed nature of the working space seems to have led to the formation of a very deep cave-like environment with very long corridors and only one main feeding staircase and elevator. It is significant that the key authoritative offices (i.e. the two

main head offices of the planning department) were placed in close proximity to these access points to the department. Meanwhile, some key offices became 'deeper;' further away and more difficult for users to access, compared to the relatively more straightforward access in the 1970s. As a result, different users of this building whom the researcher observed and met on-site during the fieldwork often showed their frustration, visibly and verbally, at the chaotic conditions, and sometimes accused by name those whom they thought were responsible in the local government. The absence of visual or written signposts giving basic directions, and information was apparently one important reason for the increased difficulty of navigating through the building's long and often impassable corridors and checkpoints. It is possible that these labyrinthine amendments resulted from each separate governing unit attempting to control possession over office spaces inside the building. However, the 'depth indicates power' theory of Markus (1993) would favour the explanation that the longer internal distances within the fragmented functional units of the studied building also indicated the power and domination of the regime over the TMB.

A majority of the participants agreed that both 'information exchange' and 'informal socialising' are the greatest reasons for interaction among building users in most of the locations identified above, followed by the desire to conduct serious 'formal discussions' to talk about typical concerns related to an official function of the municipal building. A few people also said that they interacted with others in order to seek assistance and to consult with or help others with regard to appropriate ways to navigate the byzantine bureaucratic services provided inside the building. These results emphasise the social nature of these interactions, which was recognised in both research observations and by the survey participants and interviewees (Appendix I).

The results show that interactions between visitors and local government staff took place in unexpected, less formal locations and occurred more frequently interactions particularly between visitors and staff, outside the building. This finding is also supported in a number of interviews with visitors and staff in the building. For example, there was agreement amongst three senior municipal staff that such contact between visitors and government servants occurred throughout the TMB, rather than being exclusive to the predesigned formal channels of contact. For example; MO, interestingly asserted that:

"Sometimes citizens meet with municipal workers on prearranged meetings outside the municipal building."

There are several possible explanations as to why such informal work-related meetings take place on the move or in the spaces described. However, looking at the overall findings, it is suggested that the nature of the bureaucracy and, purportedly, corruption were the main causes for the culture of extending meeting spaces and times. One explanation is that these relatively short interactions were part of a behaviour that prevailed amongst visitors who were observed to and said that they wait outside the building for the right opportunity to encounter and stop a particular member of staff leaving the building. Increasing the likelihood of completing their transactions was an obvious concern for many visitors to the building. The ultimate motive behind such apparently disorderly interactions was mostly due to the quest of visitors to bypass the official bureaucracy and access the services they required in a timely manner.

In fact, it was recounted by several interviewees (ST, MO, and ET), as well as observed, that visitors were sometimes found to act as couriers of their own paperwork – even official files bearing the legend ‘internal use only’ – taking it between offices rather than waiting for the internal postal system in which the loss of original documents is deemed highly likely. Furthermore, people were observed to spend hours waiting every day and often returned on numerous occasions, and were reported to have sometimes waited for weeks to have their applications dealt with. They even had to revisit the building several times before being given dates for review; hence, they repeatedly returned to lobby for their official requests to proceed and not be dismissed.

Another factor is the lack of comfortable furniture in the very few waiting areas throughout the building, which makes it difficult for most visitors to wait patiently in one place. Compared with the 1970s floor drawings, the current conditions of the layout show very few spaces and dedicated facilities for visitors to wait comfortably while their applications are being processed or delivered. It appears that some of the offices, especially in several workspaces on the second floor, were initially designed for internal use only, and services were to be delivered to the general public through dedicated windows opening onto the central corridor. However, the doors of these offices were rarely found to be shut and many visitors were seen reviewing their applications around the desks of officers inside.

In addition, quiet areas and adequate furniture for public comfort were very limited throughout the entire building. Furthermore, there was no clear queuing structure or technological system in place to help customers discern their turns and be more

organised in waiting. This was true even in the busiest of departments dealing directly with public services, such as the planning department on the third floor. As a consequence, visitors were often found in places not classified as waiting areas. One example of this is the extensive use of corridors outside the service workspaces, and fortunately these passageways were designed to be wide enough to accommodate waiting standing users as well as those on the move. Another example is the number of visitors remaining informally in offices socialising and/or waiting for their applications to be completed. Most observed workspaces of this type were sparsely furnished with inappropriate waiting facilities (see Appendix G).

As a result of these conditions, visitors usually left the service point when they realised that their affairs would take longer or if they were asked to 'come back later', with no specific appointment system in place. Some were observed wandering around inside the building, others outside, and a few preferred to stay, either standing nearby or sitting on the closest available objects and sometimes inside offices. During these critical, but sometimes excruciatingly boring periods (as was apparent on many users' unhappy faces), people started chatting to each other. This is perhaps why the motivation for and subjects of interactions were more often about information exchange and social interaction than official discourse.

The results also show that the closest central mosque (Jamal Abdul-Nasir Islamic Centre, the former Colonial Cathedral on Algeria Square) is the most distinctive and popular external public space for interactions between building visitors and staff. People gathered here from all around the downtown area for the performance of noontime prayers every day. The significance of this place is that it was seen as an ideal opportunity for visitors to the TMB to meet with local government officials and engage in brief formal or informal chats after prayers. Theoretically, people are encouraged to pray in congregation during all five supplications, and inside such religious buildings everyone is equal; no one has greater priority. However, under the authoritarian regime, this principle was unlikely to be practiced. In any case, by attending prayers in the nearby mosque, one would still end up standing close to the officer dealing with one's file, 'foot to foot and shoulder to shoulder'. It was also notable that very few participants chose the city centre 'public spaces' as a potential location for interactions of this type.

The observation sessions did not detect any evidence of any type of interaction between visitors and staff in the middle of open public spaces such as urban plazas or squares other than the external places listed previously. This may be due to a number of factors, one of which is the conservative nature of the Libyan public and a reluctance to appear in such open spaces under the Gaddafi regime, which at the time of the study stood against any form of public protest in urban centres against the government. The hot climate can be dismissed as a factor, since the fieldwork was undertaken in late winter/early spring in February 2010. Overall, it was evident that the further away the urban place was from the building, the less desirable this location was for some sort of user interaction. That is possibly the reason why the survey participants did not select the ancient Tripoli medina as a potential place for building users to interact.

Another notable finding is that visitors to the building occupied a lot of their waiting time socialising with each other, even with strangers on some occasions, standing and communicating in what looked and sounded like relaxed socialising rather than service-related chats, a habit that visitors seem to share with some members of staff. Moreover, many brief verbal contacts were established on the move, often between visitors and staff. For example, when officers left the office or the building in the middle of the working day, they were often joined by a number of other users, usually visitors, crossing the identified access and meeting locations and engaging in short dialogues. These brief conversations provided at-a-glance answers to most visitors who happened to catch the right municipal officer in the puzzling internal space of this complicated building. Looking for someone passing-by to try to find a specific office, officer, or explain certain bureaucratic procedures means that these sorts of sudden contacts were influenced by the need to gain access to otherwise unavailable information in the building.

One main reason for this is the absence of signage, and many visitors were observed to follow each other when trying to reach their destinations inside the building. The situation inside the building during the Gaddafi regime had perplexing effects on visiting citizens who were confused about who to seek help from and where to seek it inside the huge building.

Informant SB affirmed that the current challenge facing the building users was the difficulty of reaching its internal spaces and offices deep inside in all directions. However, other social and cultural customs dictating how the public in Tripoli behave

should not be forgotten. The high number of interactions taking place while sitting in staff offices, which was considered by participants as the most active location for visitor-staff interactions, suggests that there is more in this type of contact than just discussing official matters.

In conjunction with the observational findings, it appears that some of these conversations were predominantly social in nature. In fact, many of these face-to-face contacts between visitors and staff took longer when in these offices than in any other places. This would be not only because of the nature of the protracted bureaucratic procedures conducted in these workplaces, but also due to the socialising which also took place there, as mentioned by the interviewees.

Another example is that, although service delivery windows were still provided on many corridors inside the building at the time of this study (particularly on the second floor, see Figure 8-18), doors being left ajar (as seen Appendix G) made it easier for visitors to have access to the counter desk and meet the relevant officer inside. The desire for closer face-to-face contact seemed popular amongst the users observed. People in this particular context tend to avoid any of the aforementioned physical boundaries to try to reach the responsible staff member in person, whenever they feel safe enough to do and say so.

An excellent example of the nature and significance of face-to-face interactions between visitors and staff in this building is found in the transformation that led to the introduction of mechanized civic services in the early 1970s. According to the official statement of the time, this initiative was intended to reform the public service sector by means of importing the latest technologies in the field of public management to simplify the bureaucracy within TMB:

“To keep up with the spirit of the age in development and the use of electronic brains with high capacity in achieving the daily works in superb speed and accuracy, the TM had considered introducing the electronic system in order to contribute in completing the accumulated daily workloads in the municipal place, and improve the level of efficiency in the services it provides.” (MOT, 1972:917)



Figure 8-18: Abandoned frontline windows for public services in TMB (2nd floor)

Mechanization was introduced to the TM by computerising the Civil Status Registrar (CSR) services in the 1970s. As in any other similar project, this technological initiative seemed a few years later to have achieved the stated goals mentioned in the above quotation reducing the time and complexity in processing and delivering some key public services to citizens, according to the former director of the Data and Documentation (IT) Department of the TM. However, it was noted in this study that, due to the latest round of political instability and administrative chaos, this service department was unable integrate the latest technology, and bureaucracy remained a significant obstacle to delivering better services to the public in Tripoli. More significantly, the physical transformation required to adapt the existing working environment prior to the 1970s to suit the imported technology of the time in turn changed the way the public gathered and interacted with municipal officials in the TMB. This change to the use of electronic machines was not investigated by officials of the time, nor has it been studied elsewhere in the literature, but it led to radical changes that affected the spatial arrangements and functions of the civic centre offices, which were traditionally used to process and deliver face-to-face, personalised services, and it also led to restricting the spaces that the public could access inside the building. According to MA, MO and ET, the city authorities in the early 1970s and 1980s embarked on many modifications to the municipal building that led to moving the main public access area to the ground floor in spacious waiting halls, whilst creating other separate wide spaces for the new huge machines.

Initially this physical change appeared to favour the public in many ways, as the MOT (1972) argued. However, before installing the large computers and other electronics apparatus of that early IT period in the building (e.g. card-punching machines, printers, and the tape and disc drivers required to process the CSR records), the public users of the building had free access to the municipal offices, interacting face-to-face with official staff. These physical and electronic transformations significantly affected the relationship between the general public and local government officers, whom they had hitherto interacted with by name and face.

According to a senior city centre resident, HA:

Before the mechanisation was introduced “*Mr al-Akermi* [the chairman of Tripoli’s CSR] *used to recognise me personally by name.*”

This is an example of how important these relationships were for visitors to the building. AA and NZ both recounted that, when the electronic service was opened to the public, people started to mock it, saying that:

“It is now taking three long days for an application to be completed by the machine, whereas it takes only one day to do it by hand.”

Technology was doubtless later capable of processing services more efficiently, perhaps after staff training had been completed and start-up issues were overcome; however, the salient feature is that public servants were now hidden from the eyes of citizens.

Interestingly, the MOT (1972) criticized the nature of encounters between the general public and municipal staff inside the TMB before the early 1970s adaptations. The building was described as being like a bustling market, or “*Souk*” (MOT, 1972:807), in which each office was like a shop where customers mingled with ‘shopkeepers’ in order to conduct their business. By changing the arrangements, city officials needed fewer interactions with the public without the need for them to congregate in offices. This was supposed to lead to better delivery of services. This reflects the internalization of the concept among Libyan civil servants that traditional, indigenous methods were outmoded and primitive in comparison to the alien European methods; the MOT dismissal of the traditional office culture represents a Libyan version of the Italian service windows, and these barriers were also rejected by public users after the CSR was removed from the building in response to the relocation decisions in 2001. This

heralded the resumption of traditional habits of social and formal face-to-face interactions between the building staff and public visitors. The municipal 'souk' is apparently still alive today.

It has been found in this study that the building corridors were heavily used by different users as favourable locations for interactions. It is tempting to think of these passageways as medina-like old streets, with each office as a traditional bazaar unit in a vibrant covered *souk*, like the al-Turk marketplace in the traditional ancient city of Tripoli. The conduct of active visitors is now akin to buyers, keen to meet with traders (officers) to close their deals before the day ends; buyers consult with others on where to find best bargains or build closer relationships with renowned dealer, gossiping in corners or in the middles of passageways. Also there are always some people who come to mingle and socialise, shout and laugh, complain or even pass by in silence or stand to watch and/or listen to and help others.

There is, however, a general concern – even a sense of grief – amongst many participants in this study about the changes in interactions as a result of the recent decline in the numbers of visitors to the building after the 2001 move. The lack of dynamism and vitality that used to be a significant experience in building use seems to be the main reason for this regret. The participants indicated that the recent changes affected where and how users interact with one another inside the building.

The places where users used to randomly meet have been rendered 'empty' and meetings themselves 'weakened' according to participant R085. Interviewee MD explained that the public visiting this building are now less inclined to initiate regular interactions. Two other participants affirmed this, saying that:

R046: "Contact between the building's government workers and the public has become like more routine contact, as the visiting users are becoming mere service seekers."

R093: "Government workers were busier before the relocation experience. They now have more spare time, they should be used effectively."

The above qualitative evidence corroborates the quantitative findings. Adding to the previously identified deterioration of the TMB it and indicating how significant this building was in maintaining a sense of urban social life for regular users of Tripoli city

centre. There are further clues from the survey responses to suggest that the building was used as a meeting hub for citizens of the city to gather, not only to complete formal dealings but to also publicly socialize.

For example, R048 and R060 admitted that they only visited the TMB to meet friends. Also, some visitors still regularly entered the building to visit relatives or friends, or possibly make new ones, as stressed by three senior municipal interviewees working in the planning department on the third floor.

Additionally, ET emphasised the importance of the culture of meeting the public in person by citing a popular compliment that many people in Tripoli repeat concerns meeting a municipal worker: *“I am not here just to sign my papers, but to see your face too.”* To understand what this signifies, one should consider HA’s statement about the meaning of past personal relationships with the civil servants. This shows how important real-time face-to-face connections are at the personal level between the public and government workers in the TMB.

To conclude, developing and maintaining better relationships, and even friendships, with government staff is the most likely explanation for the manifest desire for such interaction. Bureaucracy and other political and physical obstacles do indeed play a vital role in shaping this relationship in and around this public place; however, it is also clear that the ethos of face-to-face contact between server and the served is still very much alive in Libyan society, as historically inherited, and more reliable and respectful socio-cultural mode of interaction in public places. This must be taken into careful consideration in any attempt to reconfigure and develop future spaces for public services in Tripoli and elsewhere in Libya.

8.3.4 Remarks on the relationship between the TMB’s inhabitants and visitors

The research findings verify the value of face-to-face interpersonal relationships between visitors and inhabitants of the TMB, at least as far as the public was concerned at the time of the study. This is not only due to the inherited social and cultural codes of public practice used in public places in Tripoli, but also because there were apparently more services available to the ordinary citizen in this building than elsewhere. But what made this place unique in Libya under Gaddafi?

The study results support the idea that visitors tend to move around inside and around the building in a conscious effort to secure more convenient interactions with local government representatives at certain points of direct interface that would be impossible to reach elsewhere. In this respect this place acted like a unique communal ground for the public in Tripoli to make limited representations against their local rulers, which can arguably indicate implied and indirect objections to the muddled strategies of the decision-makers and leaders of the regime. It could be also argued that the site provided an exceptional venue for the public to have their voice heard (albeit subsequently ignored) during times of political repression. This is supported by the fact that many people were observed and reported to have been complaining to each other about their disappointments with and criticising the chaotic conditions, bureaucratic failures and venality within the government of Tripoli. On some occasions, visitors were found expressing their resentment openly to the officers encountered when they experienced unexplained delays in the delivery of their basic requests, or when they were redirected to other administrative units to complete their applications when it should have been done internally by municipal staff. This is a very significant finding, as these occasions represented the only opportunities that the public had to show their umbrage directly to government representatives.

Criticizing the political system openly in Libya during the previous regime was considered a criminal offence that would be seriously penalized, especially in places of public gathering, or if discovered in private and semi-private places alike. Unlike in democratic environments, the only secure place for freedom of expression in Libya before 2011 was in one's own home. In effect, the domestic reception area (the *Istikbal* room in Arabic and *Marbouaa* in Libyan vernacular) was the only safe place to conduct any serious public discourse.

The *Marbouaa* in the Arabian household is one of the most important rooms, in which householder often welcome guests and offer them with their best hospitality. The significance of this internal space is that it can be classified as a real 'chat-room,' in which both inhabitants and visitors feel free to discuss whatever they like, including sharing expressions of political concern and criticism against the government. However, this assumes that the speaker, whether a resident or visitor, knows in advance and trusts whoever is attending the assembly (*Majlis*). It is therefore a substantive finding that local people would express their anger so openly inside a key government space.

One can therefore imagine that the internal spaces of the TMB were converted into a central urban *Marbouaa* of the city of Tripoli, and that the city's governing building played a very significant role for the public in Tripoli during that oppressive period. At times of political uncertainty the building must have been regarded as the closest relatively accessible base of government and source of reliable information that an ordinary citizen could revisit in order to be conversant about what was going on in the political arena.

Some survey participants (R108, for example), declared that the Baladiya during the past regime was, for him:

"The only place that answers people's inquiries."

It was also noted by one of the interviewees (ST) that:

"Unlike other urban public space elsewhere in Tripoli, people often argue and complain inside this government building more than any other"

However, he also noted that the building's visitors did so a lot more quietly than in any other open place for public gatherings in the city. The awe attached to this authoritative institution was the most likely reason for such comportment, but such expressions, even if muted, were taking place inside the building. The TMB should then be seen not only as a dependable source of formal information and services concerning important citizenship needs, but also a source of other no less important, civic needs despite the building's express power. These include the citizens' aspirations to fulfil their desire for self-esteem by struggling to experience legitimate rights in the civic centre while having much more relaxed interactions with government servants. In this context, the next section discusses how actually 'public' and 'civic' the TMB was at the time of the Gaddafi regime.

8.4 The 'Publicness' and 'Civicness' of the TMB under the Gaddafi Regime

In light of the overall research results and the theoretical work presented in the literature review, these issues are discussed using the modified framework in this thesis of the three qualities of the publicness of a building controlled by a dictatorship: the criteria of control, penetration and practice.

8.4.1 Control

In theory, the TMB is an official state-owned property of the Libyan state, and every Libyan citizen has an equal right to benefit from its services. In effect, this was not the case in Tripoli under Gaddafi's undemocratic authority. Although the public service sector in almost all public institutions, the TM included, was not privatised or outsourced to private or non-profit organisations, it would be difficult to argue that the TMB was categorically owned by a Libyan state that represented the rights of the entire population in Tripoli.

In spite of the fact that building was still classified by the public as 'belonging to the general estate', and thus should be considered as an official public asset, it is difficult to determine which 'state' effectively controlled the building: central or local government, or the numerous amorphous bodies that intermittently emerged and faded during Gaddafi's tenure, such as the Revolutionary Committees or other untitled yet powerful political bodies and figures acting in the name of the regime.

As noted previously concerning the municipality's inability to control its main building, many of the internal spaces and access points were found to be controlled by other government bodies. These smaller yet more powerful sectors were, at the time of the innovative Shabiyat system of 2001, given the right to control some sections of the TMB. As in many totalitarian states, while this institution is under the sole proprietorship of the state, the public are discouraged from freely navigating its spaces. They were never consulted, for example, when this building's functions were relocated to a private office building in 2001, nor when the decision was reversed. The concept that the TMB was in practice owned and controlled by the city's local government and citizens, to be considered fully 'public' as might be expected in other countries, did not apply in the Libyan context.

8.4.2 Penetration

The deeper the 'public' visitor can reach inside a public building, the more 'public' it is, and, correspondingly, the more power the user has over its spaces, as discussed in the literature review. If according to Markus (1993:14-16), "*depth indicates power*" in public buildings; the public building of the TMB in this research proved to be a building of considerable power.

The results illustrated in chapter 7 displayed the obstacles installed to prevent visitors from manoeuvring easily within the building's originally long, open corridors. Compared

to the building's 1970s status, this powerful control over visitors increased during the previous era of despotism. In addition, another indicator of the regime's oppressive power was the inadequacy of the areas devoted to the comfort of public visitors inside the TMB. The layout diagrams presented illustrate the increased complexity of the fragmented functional sections of the building. This can arguably be seen as a microcosm of the state itself and its power in the city's government centre.

The spatial and functional challenges posed by the physical conditions inside this building add to the degree of control that the building users encounter when circulating around the different floors and partitioned municipal departments. However, actual control over public penetration inside this building did not appear to be direct or intentional. There was no palpable presence or sign of surveillance, such as CCTV or security operates inside the building. Nevertheless, the building authority was never reluctant to exercise more direct control and restriction of non-public zones, such as entrances and areas that were classified as for internal use only.

This situation has certainly negatively affected the quality of public mobility and penetration into the building's deeper spaces for public services, preventing some visitors, notably elderly people, from navigating upper levels. The best example of this was the decision to move the busiest function of the building, the CSR services, which were prior to the 1970s located in the easily accessed street-level floor near the building's main public entrance, to the upper floor without providing appropriate access facilities for those who could not manage the steep staircases.

In addition, the surprising lack of elevators, even in modern days, suggests that no special attention was given by the authorities to the provision of access to different public groups, particularly people with mobility issues. This is clear evidence of the significant deficiencies in accessibility that the TMB and its users still suffer from today.

With regard to the broad accessibility criterion proposed by Akkar (2005:76), *"public space is a place which is open to all. This means its resources, the activities that take place in it, and information about it are available to everybody."* This certainly does not apply to the TMB. Straightforward access to the basic municipal workspaces, information, resources and spaces provided for public facilities and activities was very limited. The present findings show, for example, how the building failed to provide visitors with the necessary guidance and information about the services delivered, such as what, where, and how to complete bureaucratic procedures, and where to find

the appropriate office or officer. It was also found that even the right of the public of admission to access and use resources, such as the municipal library and archive, has been denied in recent years. Likewise, free access and use of the very central municipal entrance to this key civic public institution and its main chamber hall were only granted to city officials, visiting dignitaries and a few authorised visitors; but not to the general public. In this sense, the study shares Daniel De Leon's (1905) reproach concerning such types of key civic institutions being monopolised by the most powerful segments of the public by means of the strict control over access.

8.4.3 Practice

The extent to which the public can penetrate public institutions is important, but publicness is not only about where people can or cannot stand. Some members of the general public might be granted the right to reach deep into and occupy certain spaces and resources in public places, yet they might still not be allowed the true benefit of their real-time presence if they are prevented from fully exercising basic public activities and civic rights.

Such rights, which the terms 'public' and 'civic' connote, include the freedom to express opinions and the right to be served equally on a first-come-first-served basis. Whyte (1980, in Orum and Neal, 2009:39) highlights how some powerful building inhabitants operate "*a much narrower concept of accessibility,*" by imposing unequal policies that control who can stay inside the place and who should be denied access, based on what users do or say being considered to be against the political or economic interests of the building's inhabitants.

Furthermore, Brighenti (2009:29-30) provided theoretical insight into the meaning and importance of the concept of accessibility and users' social interaction in public places:

"The public cannot be sociologically defined on the basis of either its ideal normative diagram or its official legal framework. It has often been observed that some publicly owned places are in fact difficult to access, while conversely privately owned spaces can function as public places. Between the formal property of a space and its actual use there is often a cleavage."

This is why the determination of the 'practice' criterion introduced in this study is considered a crucial indicator of the publicness of a place. Unlike the essentially static criterion of 'use' employed by many researchers the term 'practice' implies a dynamism in users' experience and the vibrancy of a public space, such as the level to which the users can or cannot freely utilise/express their basic public and civic rights in a public

building or space. The extent to which this space is appropriately configured to provide common ground for such freedom of expression and use should be measured as well as the extent to which this practice of real public life, rather than the space itself, is over-controlled by whoever manages the public building. Unlike with penetration, the level to which the practice of public life practice is controlled in buildings is not always so easy to detect. Some methods of control, particularly physical restrictions, are more noticeable than others in limiting the ability to use a public building freely.

However, under the Gaddafi regime, the control of public practice took another, less visible, form. The regime's most brutal intelligence forces were secretive and invisible, yet the fact that they worked undercover as members of the general public was always emphasised, terrorising them to deter them from freedom of expression and practicing their rights of political criticism in public, especially when it came to attacking the corruption of the top leaders of the regime. However, this was unexpectedly not the case when it came to practicing the right of criticism towards the local government level in the TMB. This study found evidence of public visitors to this building exploiting the opportunity to interact with local government workers to express their dissatisfaction and, in some cases, their ire in the face of the system. The results show that the level of public satisfaction with the services provided in this civic institution was consistently low, according to the responses of the participants surveyed who were not afraid to state such negative opinions in public. Such public practice might arguably be considered as only a limited act of freedom of expression, but it was rare and apparently limited to the TMB.

Furthermore, "*public buildings do more than enclose public functions*" (Zimring et al., 2005). This was certainly true in the case study building. The results showed how the public use of the local governmental building in Tripoli was not solely devoted to formal matters. Some were found to visit only to interact and socialise with different types of user and/or simply to join the company of others, inside and around this building. This is something that the TMB shares with the qualities and practices of public gathering in other important historical sites and buildings.

It has been reported that such formal meeting-centres in early urbanised communities functioned as social hubs for a mixture of public activities, not only political ones (Kostof, 1995). The early urban *agora*, for example, "*was a place in which economic, political and cultural activities were performed alongside each other, acting as an*

integrative platform for the social life of the city" (Madanipour, 2003:194). Nevertheless, sociability in public centres is not, on its own, an indication of the quality of the public realm and life; other practices are also important.

According to Loukaitou-Sideris and Banerjee (1998), key functions of public meeting-centres, even in today's societies, should, according to Carmona et al. (2010:139-140), be to provide: a *"political stage/forum—for political representation, display, and action"*; a *"neutral or common ground for social interaction, intermingling, and communication"*; and a *"stage for information exchange, personal development, and social learning."*

The first of these functions was perhaps the only one offered in the TMB. The huge spaces of this city government edifice were indeed a stage for *'political representation, display, and action,'* but not a forum. There was no political dialogue with the regime on this stage. In practice, the public were definitely not in action. With regards to the second function, this building, although praised by participants for its value as a hub for less formal, social public interactions and communications between its users despite the discouraging conditions, was not seen as *'neutral or common ground'* for its users.

The term 'neutral' implies the involvement of everyone, without exclusion. A governmental public building should not then be classified as 'public' unless it is equally open to all segments of society. Age, gender, race, disabilities and different political, financial, and social class status must not differentiate visitors to this place. Likewise, nobody should be prioritised over anybody else; the only acceptable exception, perhaps, is the special care that the system might legitimately make available for the most vulnerable people in accessing and/or using some designated spaces and facilities.

Considering the research findings regarding how people in Tripoli used and accessed the TMB, it can be said that publicness, equality and the concept of a neutral zone in which the public would receive services were not manifest in the TMB. Some people were clearly given better opportunities to access, use and benefit from this building in terms of its public space, facilities and even the public services that were supposedly provided impartially to all citizens. During the nondemocratic times of the fieldwork in Tripoli, priority was observably given to people with more prominent status or with political, or social influence and friendly relations with the regime. Such powerful people are a segment of the public, but less powerful users are the vast majority and

they suffered the most from the byzantine bureaucratic problems and the deficiencies of public space and facilities throughout the building.

The reconfigurations of the layout of this building since 1972 show that local physical and cultural needs were never considered, particularly the specificity of marginalised public groups such as women and the disabled. It is also significant that the proportions of female users in the building was very low compared to male users. In many observation visits to the building, the only female users of the building were municipal staff. The conservative culture alone was probably not the only cause of this absence; the authorities in Tripoli are also partly to blame. Although the regime was not discriminatory on the basis of gender in government institutions, even openly calling for integration, very little was done by the government to adapt its public buildings to suit the socio-cultural needs of different Libyan users. The facilities required for female use were not provided or even considered, such as separate toilets and dedicated consulting rooms and service windows for those too shy to stand alone in the crowd. This certainly discouraged many women and inhibited their willingness to visit the TMB. This also accords with earlier research observations that other groups of the public were neglected and, consequently, prevented from entering and utilising the TMB fully and freely. For example, people with any sort of disability, could find it impossible to cross the building's threshold and access many areas of this huge complex without extensive assistance from other members of the public.

However, before jumping to conclusions, Carmona et al.'s (2003:111) caution should be noted: *"If people use space less, then there is less incentive to provide new spaces and maintain existing ones. With a decline in their maintenance and quality, public spaces are less likely to be used, thereby exacerbating the vicious spiral of decline."* The decline in the 'maintenance and quality' of the physical space of a public place, which Varna (2011) included under the 'civility' criterion, gives a possible explanation as to why the decline in the quality of public spaces and facilities in the TMB has weakened the presence and interest of some people in using the building. The majority of study participants had noticed that the numbers of people visiting this building has dropped dramatically over the past decade. This can be understood as partly due to the impact of the aforementioned political instability and municipal changes, especially the irrational relocation decisions and perplexing administrative reshuffle discussed in the previous chapter.

Moreover, since the TMB did not accommodate its diverse visiting users equally, it is unquestionable that the publicness of this government centre declined and that the previous government was complicit in this deterioration. This result corroborates the simple ideas of Daniel De Leon (1905), who suggested that, while *“the common designation of ‘public’ conveys the idea of something for common use,”* all segments of this ‘public’ group must reach every space devoted for visitor use; they should not be reserved only for the privileged.

An important distinction cited by Tiesdell and Oc (1998) is that a real public place should be *“symbolic and representative of the collective and sociability”* (cited in Carmona et al., 2010:140). In this regard, this longstanding Baladiya building holds many shared symbolic civic meanings, despite the brutal history of political discrimination and control over the physical spaces and users both during the Fascist era and the Gaddafi regime. This study’s results show that these embedded symbols were related to the building’s historical value and inherited experiences that its regular users seemed to have reproduced for almost two generations when socially interacting at this site in the city centre. In this sense, it is true that: *“individuals attached to a site will likely experience the move away from it as a loss, due to the disruption of their attachment”* (Milligan, 2003b:119)

In conclusion, it can be suggested that the publicness of TMB has been narrowed by the ruthless political power that restricted the place to the people of Tripoli from experiencing real public control, penetration or to enjoy true public and civic practices, expressing their citizenry rights, freely and on neutral ground. Nevertheless, this powerful city government meeting-centre has also played a significant public and civic role for the citizens of Tripoli throughout their long history of oppression. Arguably, it can be considered as a unique and influential socio-cultural venue for the city residents to visit, contact, and even socialise with otherwise unreachable rulers. It has provided the best available opportunity for some citizens to safely gather and publicly mingle, under the sleepless, watching eyes of the regime, and to engage in the real-time practice of some kinds of public and civic activities.

What was more significant about the specific notions of publicness and civicness which the users of TMB themselves created, is that they gathered to practise public and civic activities on specifically chosen grounds and enclaves of the central municipal environment. In on these freely chosen spots they were able to congregate, share

information, socialise, criticize and, potentially, interact with local government representatives of the regime. However, these spaces were informal, and were not originally designed as formal service or meeting spaces.

Rapoport (1980b:120) emphasised the importance of knowing *“for what reasons and in what ways do people select particular environments,”* arguing that: *“In reality, a major effect of environment on behavior is through habitat selection: given an opportunity, people select those environments that suit them, that are congruent with psychological and socio-cultural aspects of their behavior”* (1980b:120). We have seen how this has proven to be true in the context of the TMB, particularly in the results concerning the site of user interaction in this chapter. It then follows that public users of the TMB were allowed to select locations of their own to create some type of confidential environment, perhaps a real, if small, public sphere inside or near a quasi-public place.

The urban sociologist Oldenburg (1989) classified communal urban spaces of public gathering as third places, in which the city citizens, and occasionally strangers, regularly meet outside their homes, the first place and workplaces as the second place. He pointed out that informal conversations and social interactions are the motor behind the habitual attachment to these energetic neutral-ground public environments.

Although Oldenburg’s work was oriented towards the Western context, the discussion above concerning the conditions of the TMB can lead to the suggestion that, in the context of Tripoli, the second and third places were undoubtedly combined here. Those small spots of public sphere that the users selected for formal and informal public discourse can be classified as active ‘third civic places’ inside the larger, spatially controlled ‘second place’ of the local government building. It is from this perspective that the TMB can be seen as an important civic place in the city centre of Tripoli during the past regime.

8.5 Conclusion

This chapter has described the findings concerning the investigations of the present significance of the TMB from urban, architectural, and socio-cultural perspectives. Concerning the role that this governmental building played in Tripoli city centre before 2011, it was possible to evaluate the present importance of the central position of the TMB in its traditional location.

The level of public activity that the building generates in the heart of the city by regular visitors and staff was perceived by many study actors to have maintained the vibrancy of city centre life around the municipal building, both economically and socially. Given that in historical terms the location of the TMB was relatively new, shifting the locus of the city from the traditional citadel to the new urban core designed by the Italians, it is evident that the municipal building generates the centre in Tripoli rather than vice-versa.

Second, there are now a number of explanations for the TMB still being appreciated by Libyan users today. It is without doubt a large, well-located, well-designed (at least internally), and longstanding and public building for Tripoli's city government. However, its 'historical value' made such a colonial structure more special for the majority of the study's participants. This apparently contradictory result, which might otherwise seem an approbation of the building's fascist history and architectural style, is due to a passionate relationship that many Libyans have managed to sustain with the building and its physical site since the end of the Fascist colonisation in Libya and when the first truly indigenous government controlled the building and provided civic services. It is also possible that this relationship was strengthened by the existential threat when this municipal site was temporarily moved away from the city centre in 2001. The evidence shows that, despite the deterioration of the municipal organisation and building due to that relocation, some building users were nostalgic about past experience of the building's central site and were worried about its potential loss under unstable government.

Finally, the results concerning the nature of the relationship between the visitors and staff in the TMB include the discovery of an additional important role that this building has played for the citizens during the grim Gaddafi period. The chances of making regular friendly contact with government staff in the building were greater in selected less formal spaces within the municipal environment. In spite of its powerful symbolic influence and the physical control in place, the building was also culturally and socially significant. It never functioned purely as a bureaucratic or political institution alone, nor can it qualify as a truly 'public' and 'civic' place in terms of models developed of criteria of publicness. But it provided a specific sense of civicness and communal reality that seemingly never existed elsewhere in the city except perhaps in private households.

Chapter 9 : Conclusion and Recommendations

This final chapter summarises the main findings of this research as described in the previous chapters and presents the main contributions and limitations of the study, with suggestions for further research.

9.1 The Study's Purpose and Achievements

This study was undertaken to address the gaps in knowledge concerning the development and transformation of civic centres in the particular historical context of the developing country of Libya and its capital city of Tripoli. The aim was to gather information from the scattered and incomplete historical accounts about the transformations of Tripoli's local government civic architecture, using an inclusive historical analysis to explain and map the specific origins and development of the city's municipal buildings during different key historical periods.

The main research question was: *How have different models of city council places emerged, developed and changed over time, and why?* The focus of this research was to address historical transformations in relation to political and urban changes. This research project was therefore designed to trace the emergence and development of the different models of city governance places in Tripoli, and to understand the past and present significance of the urban, architectural and socio-cultural aspects of these places, and to show the influence of three main political periods:

- From the Arab-Islamic presence in the 7th century to the Ottoman era ending in 1911 (chapter 5);
- During the Italian colonization of Tripoli (from 1911-1943; chapter 6);
- During the following post-colonial Libyan governments prior to 2011 (chapters 7 and 8), with particular regard to an examination of what values the currently used colonial TMB represented for Tripoli's citizens during the Gaddafi regime.

The following section summarises the results of the historical reading of the emergence and transformational development of Tripoli's urbanism and its models of city council places through the historical periods covered as presented in chapters 6, 7 and 8.

9.1.1 Historical narrative of the development of Tripoli and its models of city council places

The history of Tripolitania in North Africa reveals many theatrical and often chaotic military and political changes that the region has experienced since the 7th century BCE. Libya's cosmopolitan history has often resulted in reconstruction and transformations in the appearance and nature of the architectural and social conditions of the urban built environment, with the indigenous Berber society settled around and then fused with invaders in the region inside Tripoli's ancient walls, the latter comprising mainly Phoenicians, Romans, Vandals, Arabs, Turks and Europeans, all of whom used Tripoli as a central node in their global trade networks, accessing Africa by caravans the rest of the world by sea, as explained in chapter 5. This ensured Tripoli's important place in Mediterranean history and in the global economy, which helped sustain the city and its primitive society and accelerated the improvement of its urban built environment, and also made it a target for the most powerful invaders of in the Mediterranean region.

The next significant factor for development and change in the city occurred under the late Ottoman attempts to entrench their colonial presence in North Africa. After the 18th century's stagnation and decline, industrialisation and new technical advances from the early 19th century onwards inspired the Ottoman leaders to attempt more the efficient management and organisation of the urban local environs and administration. The need for and move towards better conditions was noticeable and seemed to have improved the local economy and municipal facilities for the city's inhabitants and visitors alike for some time. Tripoli was consequently literally physically opened to the outside world: when the ancient walls were no longer in use; demographically, when the population increased; and technologically and economically, when new businesses industries, ideas, and central marketplaces were introduced. Unprecedented opportunities for public and building activities were starting to take shape outside the once compact medina. New urban life and wider public spaces and centres emerged, and the urban explosion began in Tripoli in the early 20th century, some years before European modernisation, and has never stopped since.

The analysis of the Italian colonial building activities, as presented in chapter 6, showed how the Fascist planners worked hard to develop a competitive colonising imprint in Tripoli analogous to those already established by the French in their colonies in the region. The promotion of Fascism through tourism and the drive to publicise the regime

as a global imperial force were considered to be the motives behind the distinctive urban and architectural development projects in Tripoli in the 1930s. It seemed as if the city leaders wanted international observers to notice their monumental urban forms rather than to merely serve the citizens of Tripoli. These showcase public projects were more to be seen than used by local Libyan residents, who were reported to be physically and socially segregated, between the undeveloped traditional medina and the accumulating slum periphery of the city.

The grim conditions of the present urban environment in Tripoli, explained in chapter 7, are comparable to those of Tripoli under Fascism. Although the urban scale is now different, the situation of Tripoli as a colony was not significantly different from the existing conditions of its urban structure under Gaddafi, at least from the viewpoint of local residents. The city centre of the traditional medina as well as the exploding slum zone of the expanding suburbs were intentionally neglected under the Italian Fascists and the Gaddafi regime. Additionally, the latter held the whole programme of urban development in reserve due to erratic political uncertainties and the economic misuse of governance generally.

Returning to the research question raised earlier, it is now possible to report the origins, type and locations of Tripoli's previous civic centres and how they developed and changed over time. The following conclusions can be drawn from the present study. First, the most general finding is that the physical buildings and their locations changed along with municipal functions in Tripoli. The type of central civic sites used in Tripoli since the 7th century changed over time, so that municipal services were initially administered from less formal institutions, including (in chronological order) the mosque, Al-Qasabah Hall, a private residential house near the central marketplace, and then a coffee house near al-Turk marketplace. The first modern 'municipal building' was the purpose-built Ottoman public building outside the old city walls near a new marketplace, which was then substituted by a neoclassical Roman-style colonial municipal building near a newly reconfigured Piazza Italia, before the current Fascist-style municipal office complex was established near the new urban centre of Piazza dell Cattedrale.

With regard to the origins of local governing administrations in Tripoli, the present historical research in chapter 5 concludes that the early traditional model of local governments was derived mainly from the Arabian tribal concept of city councils,

named Dar al-Nadwa. This system remained in place throughout the early period, including under Ottoman suzerainty in Tripoli. What characterised this particular model is the simplicity and accessibility of its organisation and places occupied. Mosques, coffeehouses and marketplaces were all easily accessible to local people, bringing them closer to the city's leaders in the active centre of the medina. However, the situation changed during the very short period of the modern Baladiya when the Ottoman municipal building was erected outside the walled city. The precise effects of this are unclear, but it is certain that the traditional relationships between rulers and citizens changed drastically after the arrival of the Italian colonialists in Tripoli in 1911. When settled, the Italian colonial rulers brought a different version of municipal organisation, an imported urban administrative system that was developed mainly by, and apparently for its permitted users, the migrant colonialists. This model was based on the European culture of municipal workplaces and public interaction, with no consideration of the local culture. Even the latest colonial civic centre was very different in architecture and administrative size and style, and its name was of no relevance to the majority of locals compared with the Baladiya terminology with which they were familiar during the pre-Italian era.

There are numerous explanations as to why a new civic centre project did not emerge in a new city centre in Tripoli after the end of the colonial era, with the beginning of Libyan nationalism after independence in the early 1950s. The early Libyan government was reported to have been incapable, both economically and managerially, of erecting a new administrative structure or supportive infrastructure, but there should have been no excuse for the Green Revolutionaries to utilise the nascent petrochemical wealth to achieve what their predecessors had failed to develop. However, although it could not overtly eschew the role of urbanism in modern life, the new Libyan regime was not enthusiastic about investment in urban civilisation due to its traditionalist village ethos; thus the wheel of urban and municipal development remained stuck for five decades. Thus, due to the urban and political stagnation of Tripoli under the Gaddafi regime, the public in Tripoli resorted to traditional patronage networks and social interactions to perform their municipal business. This could be understood as a form of continuation of Tripoli's old Dar al-Nadwa, as users seemed unfamiliar with the foregoing colonial concepts of a non-personal municipal bureaucratic system within the colonial building.

9.1.2 The historical relationships between Tripoli city centres and places of city councils

The overall urban mapping analysis of transformations of the previous city council locations resulted in the discovery of a better perspective to understand the political rationale behind the relocation and creation of new local government buildings in Tripoli since the 7th century. Tracing the movement of this type of public building over the historical maps, shown during each of the early political periods, a pattern of clear correlation can be seen between the expansion of the city's urban structure and the shift of the city's main civic centre towards newly developed urban centres. The revealed relationship between Tripoli's city centre and civic centre is more evident in the urban locus of the site of the civic centre and the main urban public square.

In short, whenever a new urban centre is reconfigured or developed, a new municipal building is built as if to celebrate this remarkable urban development, a pattern discernible in the four following major urban development stages of Tripoli city (also see Figure 9-1):

1. In the period of early urbanisation from the time of the urban reconstruction of Arab-Islamic rule until 1910, the old city of Tripoli, the medina, was tightly confined by its ancient walls. The city's central mosque functioned as the local 'parliament' close to the city's main centre near the gate of al-Menshiya, where the ancient governmental palace of al-Qasabah was situated. The donated city hall was later allotted as a town hall and was also ideally located near the central marketplace of Souk al-Turk and the historical mosque of Mohamed Pasha. Both civic centres were situated within the central Baladiya Quarter of the old city, in which the main city square of *Maidan al-Saah* (Clock Tower Square) was positioned. According to the classification of human ages of organisation (reviewed in chapter 2), the early urbanisation of Tripoli represented the transformation from a nomadic to an agricultural society in Tripolitania, reflected in gathering to settle in and around Tripoli's walled town during this period. The traditional model of Tripoli's local urban administrative system was actually similar to those of a social, perhaps tribal, hierarchal system, in which the local tribal public figure of society, *Shaikh al-Balad*, was acting as the local city leader (mayor) reigning over the city elites of assembly members (Mashaykh al-Balad).
2. When the city began sprawling beyond the dilapidated city walls by the late 19th century, a new urban square at Suk al-Khobza (Bread Market) was established

outside the traditional medina. New urban public and private buildings were shifted to the new radial areas, such as the palaces of the Ottoman Wali and Tripoli General Governor, and a new modern construction for the offices of the reformed Baladiya municipality, all carefully located near the new, vibrant, urban and open public place of Suk al-Khobza. The timing of the collapse of Tripoli's city walls was critical. It was not a coincidence that the walls started to crumble with the arrival of urban industrial technology to the region in the late 19th century, marking the transformation of Tripoli society from agricultural to industrial activity. In addition to administrative reform, such as creating a modern bureaucracy to replace the traditional tribal system of local governance, the Ottoman governors in Tripoli tried to devise industrialised model municipalities in response to Western urban ideas; notably they extensively tailored their reforms to local conditions rather than trying to transpose European models onto an alien platform. The reformed Baladiya municipal system was implemented with the local context of the city and its local residents in mind.

3. Following the European colonisation of Tripoli in the 1900s, the early Italian colonial development plan transformed the area surrounding the marketplace of al-Khobza square and replaced it with a new reconfigured square. The former Ottoman municipal offices were then demolished and Tripoli's first European colonial municipality was erected nearby, in close proximity to the newly restructured city centre of Piazza Italia.
4. By the 1930s, the Fascist government had embarked on a new urban planning scheme to develop a new European zone. As a result, a new city centre was created in Tripoli, the Piazza dell Cattedrale. With this urban expansion project, a new colonial metropolitan municipal environment, comprising of a new municipal complex and public park, was constructed around the latest modern urban square. However, although the Italian colonists succeeded in improving the site and organisation of TMB on two occasions, local Libyans were excluded from this urban modernisation and civilisation project. Libyan society, which had just been transformed into an urban industrial society with a modern bureaucratic organisational system under Ottoman suzerainty, was left to regress to the traditional hierarchical model of urban organisation (to say nothing of concentration camps). Evidence discussed in chapter 6 suggests that local Libyans were not considered as first-class citizens qualified to use the latest Fascist-style

municipality. Rather they were forced to reuse the ancient city hall (Baladiya house) to obtain their civic rights, such as certificates of residency registration, inside the neglected, compacted urbanism of the medina.

In each of the past phases of urban expansion in Tripoli, there was always some sort of political will and technical complication that justified the need for a new civic centre in a new, larger building and urban centre, both in terms of size and architectural style. The necessity to address the latest urban changes and the need to accommodate more functioning spaces for local administration to be able to manage the expanding city and serve its increasing population were indeed realistic factors in those practical challenges.

However, there was an exception to this urban relationship during the last Libyan government under Gaddafi. There was no political will to design a new city centre and civic centre for the city of Tripoli by any modern Libyan government, in spite of the freedom and new national consciousness Libya gained after independence in 1951, and despite the wealth and uncontrolled urban growth experienced from oil and gas exportation from the late 1960s onwards.

Since the end of colonialism, Libyan society and nationalism has been recognised with a modern 'industrial' identity in most cities, in theory if not in practice. The public in Tripoli has begun, once again, to occupy and meet in central local government bureaucratic organisations, at least to process their civil and civic paperwork after decades of stagnation. The restoration of TMB to native rulers and users was expected to herald more efficient bureaucratic procedures, as provided in the former colonial buildings; however, the last four decades of tight, undemocratic government control and micromanagement stalled progress. Libya's anticipated economic prosperity and the introduction of advanced initiatives of the Networked Society with modern information systems have left little imprint on the development of the TMB, although it is evident that some segments of society in Tripoli are already moving towards the Network Society in the post-Gaddafi era. From 14% of the total population in 2010, the percentage of internet users in Libya has increased to 44% (UNDP, 2013).

9.1.3 The contemporary significance and ‘publicness’ of TMB

The studied colonial TMB is still valued as a significant and symbolic public building in the city centre of Tripoli. Despite all of the highlighted challenges and concerns reported in the earlier chapters, which have affected the basic functional and spatial conditions of the building, this civic centre remains representative of the city of Tripoli, its government, and arguably many of its citizens. It was found that the historical connotations of this local governmental building provides functions supplementary to its powerful architectural design and position in a central and most valuable location.

One finding of the survey was respondents’ affection for the TMB. This was surprising for two main reasons. Firstly, the bureaucratic and physical barriers facing users make the building difficult to use. Secondly, the building was crafted by its colonial designers to project Fascist imperial domination over Tripolitania, at the expense of the native Libyan population. The reason for the affection was initially unclear, but analysis of participants’ responses suggested that it is due to the established civic and public notions that the liberated Libyan government and public felt following the independence of Libya in the 1950s. For the first time in living memory, Libyans gained civic rights inside this building after WWII. Simple functions such as the official issuance of citizenship documents for the first time endeared the public to the building, and this aura seems to have persisted to the modern generations.

The association with independence, civic rights and subsequently with major life events such as official civic registrations could explain why this particular civic institution remains valued and is still standing in the city centre of Tripoli today. It seems that no matter what powerful message was intended by the presentation of this civic centre as reflecting the glory of its designers, it is more associated among modern users with the services they (belatedly and inefficiently) receive within it; in short, whom it ultimately serves and which ultimately matters more than the intentions of its original designers and its latent colonial symbolism.

Questions have been raised in this study about the aptness of the physical appearance and layout of Tripoli civic centre, in particular for the specific spatial and social needs and use of Libyans. The original design drawings for this historical building are lost, and little information exists about how it was used and modified from its establishment in the late 1930s until the 1970s, although it was noted that the colonial designers did not consider local users. Although local building materials were used, along with some

design solutions appropriate for the local climate (e.g. in-house courtyards, long windows, and painting in white), it was difficult to find any reference to the indigenous culture or art in the architecture of this building.

Additionally, the design layout does not consider Libyan social rituals when gathering and communicating, with its elongated navigation system, internal workspace and modes of service provision being typical of Western-style office buildings, preserving adequate distance and segregating the inhabiting service providers and the visiting customers such as via small windows and grills. The use of these original features was abandoned after the building came under the control of Libyans. The results showed that Libyans tend to evade structured interactions for formal procedures nowadays, whether they are official channels or infrastructural divisions.

Despite the building not being designed for indigenous Libyans, successive Libyan governments did not strive to change or improve the spatial conditions of the civic centre to suit the special needs and uses of the local public. The findings suggest that such revisions and concerns over spatial efficiency for building users were not seen as a priority by the municipal authorities in Tripoli. For example, the building's wide courtyards were not re-adopted for any use in the post-colonial period. This most valuable open space should have been seen as a potential enclosed public space to accommodate the large numbers of visitors who, because of the shortages of facilities for waiting for services to be delivered, established their own impromptu locations for different kinds of interaction inside and outside the municipal building. The study showed how visiting members of the public use established informal locations to interact, socialise, and exchange information and essential experiences, not only with each other but most importantly with government officials.

The relationship between the public and the government was looked at with closer attention in light of the instable political and bureaucratic conditions under the political pressures of the Gaddafi period. The question raised was about the role of this municipal environment in encouraging or discouraging better direct communications between the visitors and the regime, taking account of the challenging circumstances inside the stretched spaces of this government institution.

The results concerning users' interactions in the case study building support the idea that this public institution is a central civic hub that provides unique opportunities to come into closer contact with an otherwise unapproachable regime. At times of political

cruelty and restriction of freedom of speech within the city's public realm, it seemed that these oppressions were felt to be less marked inside this particular local government den. It therefore seemed that this building served as a secure arena for some sort of limited public discourse, in small distributed enclaves of the building users' choice. In this sense, the study has drawn a comparison between these locations in the civic centre space and the domestic 'marbuaa' reception rooms which most Libyans use to privately discuss political issues. According to some participants surveyed, this notion of public discourse that took place within the TMB, though limited, could never be simulated in any other powerful governmental institution in Libya.

Taken together, the results concerning the negative opinion expressed about the municipal working environment proves how challenging the experience of using the building was for its public users. Public accessibility was the foremost problem, as many office units and areas for public facilities and services were fragmented and in some cases isolated, particularly along the latterly created thresholds to control public circulation along the originally long footpaths linking many administrative areas together. The evidence shows that the building's 1970s layout was changed, after which physical boundaries and security checkpoints were erected under the Gaddafi regime to control places and main entrances, resulting in public access being discouraged and inhibiting the equally common use of most deep spaces.

The study then discussed the issue of the 'publicness' of the TMB through a critical evaluation of how actually 'public' and 'civic' its place was for the public under the Gaddafi regime (end of chapter 8), based on criteria modified from the literature for the purpose of this specific research context. Here it must be noted that assessing the significance of a local government public building under a nondemocratic regime is a most complex task.

The final discussion observed the lack of genuine 'publicness' in the TMB. Nevertheless, the criteria modified in this thesis considered the use of the 'practice' criterion to be more dynamic than the static quality suggested by the term 'use'. In other words, the notion of publicness in the case study building could be understood differently from the way it has been dealt with so far in the literature.

Additionally, it was manifest that some contemporary users of the TMB were proud of the symbolism they attached to this particular building as being the centre of the Baladiya of Tripoli, which they consider a legitimate public property that represents

their city's identity and that of its citizens, something that cannot be exclusively owned by an individual or a regime. It seems that some users have regarded their practices concerning this authoritative building in their own special way to reflect their identity and their specific social and public needs, by forging their own modes of using this building's space and their own ways of meeting with government officials. Forums for dialogue were discovered with public discussions, and to some extent political discourse, at least concerning local government level. These outposts were scattered throughout the different spaces of the building's interior, such as in corridors, on stairway and near the doors of offices. They also spread to the public spaces outside the building, in front of the main entrances and on the edges of nearby streets and public places, where all such activated gatherings were a rare presence outside this urban municipal environment under the Gaddafi regime.

In conclusion, this central urban civil environment provided a real meeting-centre for ordinary citizens with some degree of freedom to express themselves and engage in socio-cultural practices implied in the type of social relationships that they could potentially have with their local government officers without the scrutiny and surveillance of the regime.

To conclude this section, this study argues that although the TMB's place could not be considered to comprise a real public place (according to existing academic criteria) under the dictatorship; this colonial-era building was, however, valued by the majority of this study's participants, mainly because of the historical contexts in which they gather with others to interact while performing important official tasks, which they generally manage to achieve despite the reported bureaucratic malfunctions. This needs to be carefully taken into account when trying to understand the specific notions of publicness and civicness that many public visitors practice inside its powerful and largely impenetrable municipal spaces. These real-time, real-space social and cultural qualities must therefore be considered by researchers developing ways of assessing and understanding notions and qualities of publicness in nondemocratic environments (such as government buildings under dictatorship regimes). Researchers and policy makers who are interested in the practical future of public architecture in Tripoli should also take this into consideration.

9.2 Research Significance and Contribution to Knowledge

This section highlights the study's various contributions to filling the gaps in knowledge identified in chapter 3, and mainly the dearth of architectural and urban design studies related to civic public architecture in the North African context in general, and in Tripoli city in particular.

Firstly, this research extends the limited literature concerning traditional Middle Eastern cities, which some urban studies experts (Brunn et. al., 2012) have summarised in a model of only three geographies that caricaturise the urban landscape of these cities: 1) the economic, which is expressed physically in the presence of places of trading activities, such as souks; 2) the cultural, in places of religious activities such as mosques; and 3) general physical geography, which is conditioned by the dry environment of the region climate and influences the presence of places like water wells and the use of small courtyards as design solutions. However, the investigation of the subject of this study adds a fourth geographical factor to that model; the previously missing political/governmental geography, which is expressed in the urban landscape by the presence of places like Dar al-Nadwa, the Baladiya houses of *Mashaikh al-Balad* city assemblies, and the house of the city *Cadi* (chief judge). The present study has therefore provided a new understanding of the origins, role and locations of these traditional types of local urban administration buildings in the particular historical context of Tripoli city, and opens the door to discover and compare this omitted political geography in other Middle Eastern cities in the region.

Secondly, the place and critical timing when this study's fieldwork was conducted, only one year before the collapse of the capricious Gaddafi regime, makes this research outcome very important from many perspectives. Its findings about life and public-government interaction under the regime are now of historical significance quite apart from the architectural sphere. The study contributes to the rapidly growing literature concerning Libya during Gaddafi, a research topic that has attracted many academics in different fields and with various agendas. The unique witnesses (i.e. the key informers) who participated in this research are one strong example of how important this research project might be for future researchers, particularly those who are keen to compare the conditions of the municipal and urban built environment in Tripoli before and after the 2011 Libyan revolution of the so-called 'Arab Spring'.

Thirdly, this study has helped fulfil the identified research aims stated in chapter 3, particularly those found in the official publication of TM (MOT, 1972), which had not been updated prior to this study. The narrative of the transformation and development of the historical places of city councils in Tripoli in relation to its urban cores and political rules has now been amended and completed.

Fourthly, the case study example has highlighted the significance of the forgotten 1930s modern movement of colonial architecture in the Mediterranean and added to the relatively limited studies on Italian civic architecture in Libya. The specific architectural and urban aspects of the modern TMB were (prior to this research) a neglected masterpiece of modern Fascist architecture.

Finally, this study has highlighted the need to distinguish and develop better models of evaluating the public value of public sites in contexts that are still under the rule of powerful despotic regimes. Most of the research reviewed which has attempted to measure this quality of places for public gatherings were found to comprehensively use and analyse democratic environments, in which public civic rights such as freedom of speech and movement are expressed more freely, and within public spaces which are typically open and unconfined. These conditions are incompatible with the case study example of the TMB. Thus researchers have to find a way to better understand notions of publicness and civicness as practised in this type of local government building rather than limiting its publicness value to nothing, when using the existing criteria suggested in the literature alone.

The developed 'Publicness' of a public building under less democratic regimes in this thesis refers to three qualities:

- i. Proprietorship of the place must be felt by all segments of the society, and the actual public must have access to neutral ground in the spaces of the public place.
- ii. The public must have the ability to penetrate (i.e. have access to deep spaces) the public centre.
- iii. Public users have the right to not only visit and 'use' the building, but to also be able to freely interact, move and practice their civic rights which define their 'public' and 'civic' real-time usage of the place.

As discussed in the previous chapter, the case study building could not be classified as a real 'public' place according to the conventional understanding. However, when

considering how the public were free to select where to practice some of these civic rights, such as confidentially in criticising their local government, the study's results show that many created their own small informal 'third' places inside this 'second' place, a controlled and powerful building. These small fragmented areas of public space could not have been detected under the radars of assessments of publicness in the literature reviewed, which is why a different approach to measuring the publicness of buildings is strongly recommended.

9.3 Study Limitations and Recommendations for Further Research

Further to the study strengths, it is equally important to consider the study limitations. It must be admitted that the conduct of research in Libya under the Gaddafi regime (before 2011) was very difficult. This study's fieldwork faced many challenges to minimise the influence of reported deficiencies and circumstances in Tripoli hindering the study's processes and outcomes. Some of the methodological challenges are outlined in chapter 4 and the following summary lists the major limitations of this project.

Firstly, it must be reiterated that the study's fieldwork was conducted in two trips to Tripoli between 2009 and early 2010, two years before the latest Libyan Revolution in 2011. Thus the data collected can only represent the circumstances and opinions of the participants while the country was still under the potent control of the Gaddafi regime. Due to time and several other constraints (financial, medical, safety and security restrictions), it was impossible to compare the situation before and after the Libyan Revolution in this study. Further studies should therefore take this significant opportunity into consideration.

Secondly, the lack of previous publications based on empirical and theoretical research on the urban built and socio-cultural environments in Tripoli city was one of the major limitations that this project faced from the outset. The only available municipal documentation of TM in One Hundred Years (MOT, 1972) was timeworn; its historical narrative, though reliable, was incomplete; the urban and architectural aspects of how Tripoli and its municipal buildings changed was unfortunately omitted; and overall it was speciously biased towards the promotion of the new Gaddafi regime, downplaying the contributions of the proceeding Libyan Kingdom period. It was therefore left up to the present research to dig deeper into the limited relevant literature and scattered historical resources to try to fill in as many of the gaps in knowledge identified as

possible, as explained in chapter 3. However, access to such material was never an easy task in Libya during those erratic times. Public libraries and historical research centres in Tripoli were in a similar state of disorder and chaos to the investigated TMB. As to what has happened to the example of Tripoli central municipal library, mentioned in chapter 7, the effect of numerous relocation decisions for the sites of these fragmented small public historical centres is the main reason behind the loss, negligence, and damage to many maps, pictures and books. In order to overcome these conditions, digital accounts of some of the most significant missing materials, particularly old maps and pictures, had to be verified with expert historians who have experience in the subject of how Tripoli looked or who may have previously seen, analysed or discussed these materials, often on popular virtual forums, such as on reliable dedicated social networking webpages.

Thirdly, the challenging physical conditions of the congested urban core in Tripoli, particularly around the TMB, made it difficult to enhance the observational walkthrough experiment. Personal filming, using digital cameras and video recorders, was dangerous without the byzantine, procrastinating, and almost impossible procedures required to obtain the permission of the regime. The researcher's observations were therefore strictly delimited as explained in the methodology chapter. Also, the lack of public transportation and adequate car parking facilities near the building meant that the researcher had to waste valuable time in car parking.

Fourthly, as reported in chapter 4, due to the sensitive nature of the conservative social and cultural context in Tripoli, approaching female participants was problematic and the involvement of female research assistants was considered in order to help distribute the questionnaire copies amongst as many female participants as possible. Friendship and family relationships were utilised to increase the response rates. This was vital for arranging interviews as well, although no female interviewees could be persuaded to participate. The most feared concern amongst many participants approached (both formally and informally) for the questionnaire and interviews, was to be seen by the regime's security forces giving any sort of information that might be interpreted as being in any way political or sensitive. The researcher attempted to assuage such fears by building trust and emphasising the strength of the relationship with the mediator involved in arranging these meetings. However, it should be noted that not every participant was confident enough to express any critical opinions, especially when the conversation was recorded.

Moreover, due to (or reflecting) the fact that Libya has no postal system in place, buildings and streets are not properly numbered or named in Tripoli city, and Internet penetration was also low in Libya during the time of fieldwork (e.g. 14% in 2010; UNDP, 2013); thus, the percentage of people having access to the use of emails was accordingly low, and the researcher was forced to employ self-completed semi-structured questionnaires, distributed and collected by the aforementioned research assistants to promote a high response rate, where participants otherwise could not have been reached due to the absence of a functioning reception-desk in the building studied.

Fifthly, the research fieldwork period and financial resources were very limited for this study, which inhibited the accuracy required to study and redraw the investigated design layout and to detect further details of the current conditions of the building. Restricted typical measuring tools were used for this purpose. Due to the absence of the original drawings of the building or any competitive elevations, the study was only able to demonstrate a basic depiction of the building plans. This ultimately influenced the possibility to conduct an appropriate specific analysis of the building to determine how it was physically controlled. In order to limit the effect of this dearth of information, personal observations of the building's internal spaces were used as well as those of colleagues and other members of staff who knew and accessed most hidden or closed areas in the building.

Sixthly, although modified criteria for assessing the publicness of a public place were employed to discuss this quality in the case study in Tripoli, which is deemed useful for the city's special context, the practice practical criteria used, as mentioned earlier, raise several limitations that should be considered by future investigations:

1. The definition of public and civic practices in the context of the undemocratic and so-called developing world is wide and needs to be narrowed down in further studies to provide specific codes and gestures that can be considered to be 'civic' practices that are uniquely used in civic centres, and to distinguish these from routine public communication acts in public places.
2. It was difficult to precisely measure users' practices without an in-depth analysis of their behaviour in the space investigated. In this regard, it might be useful to have access to hidden recording cameras (with blurring effects), which could allow the researcher to replay scenes of how users interact and use the building while waiting

inside, with appropriate ethical approval from the institutional authorities– and the observed users if possible; however, observing building users without their own informed consent is a grey area, although this method has been used by Whyte (2009). In the case of this limited study, the option of installing hidden digital camcorders was dismissed not only due to the ethical, practical and technical limitations explained previously, but also because of the impossibility of obtaining permission from the paranoid and highly sensitive regime, bearing in mind that the researcher was arrested and detained by the regime for some time due to security controls during the research observations, as detailed in chapter 4.

3. It is always challenging to find out what people say in public without the need to interfere. When a researcher endeavours to approach a certain group of people in a gathering, it is expected that the topic of such conversations will be changed or influenced by his/her presence, especially when it comes to expressing strong opinions of political criticism under totalitarian regimes. Such scenarios were experienced during this study's fieldwork. As previously reported, during the dictatorship period people were not open to talking with strangers in public. This issue was tackled by seeking to build trust with the people targeted; however, this requires a great deal of time and is not always successful. Future studies in similar circumstances should develop better ways of building trust to overcome this issue without compromising (or being perceived to threaten) participants' safety and to further investigate the public use of municipal buildings under despotic regimes.

Seventhly, although the scope of this research project was limited to investigating the past and present significance of the case study building, concerns about the future of this central municipal building in Tripoli city centre were also raised. The pursuit of digitisation of the public sector as a development strategy to improve deficiencies in traditional bureaucracy is certainly advantageous in many aspects, but it is not without serious challenges. Established critiques discussed in this study focus on its likely impacts not only on the spatial aspects of the historically valued municipal environment but also on the socio-cultural experience of its users, as well as on urban life in general and the flow of the public (gravitating towards the historical city centre), and the economic implications of disrupting this context for traditional urban centres.

Internal spaces, where users can use machines, computers, and other means of ICT contact, are reported to have been increasing worldwide, including in Libya in particular (UNDP, 2013). Research interest should therefore be directed towards investigating

the size of such use and growth in Tripoli before attempting to evaluate its implications for the significance of other types of formal and social interactions and the real public space of the municipal environment.

Real places remain significant and important (Mitchell: 2003), and civic centres cannot be disconnected from the physical and social historical contexts in city centres. But it is clearly a sensitive research task to find the best way to redesign, or at least integrate properly, real off-line places with online ones. A future research question that arises here is, how could the transformation to the digital domain be implemented better in the new democratic era? To what extent will developing societies, within which daily face-to-face contacts remain more than a customary habit, react to the virtual indirect communication options that the expected electronically motivated services provide? What might they lose or compromise in the move to be members of the network society? What concerns should be taken into consideration to respect the specificity of the TM environment and its local users for the technology to work well and to avoid the expected dangers to the city, the municipal building and its users?

This study therefore calls for and provides a foundation for understanding the nature and notion of public and civic and social gatherings and interactions in governmental public buildings. Better interpretations of such notions can be considered as a fundamental basis for understanding future needs for the design of key civic public buildings in Tripoli city and elsewhere. More empirical research is therefore required to look into the contemporary challenges to the place, role, significance and embedded meanings of traditional central civic architecture, and how have they been changing in the present and might change in future city centres in order to answer questions like:

- Where will city civic centre buildings be located when digitisation is introduced?
- How can this be expected to affect the physical, symbolic, social and cultural significance of this traditional type of architecture?
- How can the possible threatening consequences mentioned in the literature (such as the village-well effect) be avoided?

It is recommended that the future of public civic architecture in Tripoli should benefit from 'recombinant design' theory to avoid the possible effect of the 'museumification' of central public buildings (mentioned in chapter 2). These design solutions must, however, be socio-culturally based, to make those future public places work better for the real Libyan users on the real ground. For example, they should be able to

determine what services of the future municipal building in Tripoli should be put online, and what should/must remain offline, in order to maintain an adopted balance between digital and physical spaces.

Clues learned from the lessons presented from the history of Tripoli should help future researchers, planners and designers in all relevant disciplines to design the future of the TMB. Following the Ottoman strategy of the 'Ottomanization' of the European-style municipalities to work effectively in most of urban centres under their suzerainty, future researchers in design practice should concentrate on finding the best way to effect the 'Tripolitization' of the digitisation of the Baladiya of Tripoli, a culturally relevant model that fits well the city's specific urban context and society.

City Council Building	Urban Context			Surroundings (Sense of Nearby Urban Life)
Before Ottoman Colonialization - Mosque of the Ten, or of Amru, - Al-Qasaba Hall (Before 1551)				
Tripoli's earliest city hall (The Baladiya House) (16 th C - 1870s)				
The 1st Ottoman MB (1900s - Late 1920s)				
The 1st Italian MB (1925 - Late 1930s)				
The 2nd Italian MB (The current TMB) (1938 - Present)				

Figure 9-1: Illustrative summary of the research findings on Tripoli's historical buildings of city councils and their urban sittings.

Bibliography

- Abdalla, A. (2007). *Meeting housing needs in Libya: towards a responsive owner-built housing with particular reference to Benghazi City*. A Ph.D. thesis submitted to the School of Architecture, Planning and Landscape, Newcastle University, UK.
- Abou-El-Haj, R. (1983). 'An Agenda for Research in History: The History of Libya between the Sixteenth and Nineteenth Centuries', *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 15(3), pp. 305-319.
- Ahmed, A.S. (2009). *Islam Today A Short Introduction to the Muslim World*. London: I.B.Tauris & Co. Ltd.
- Ahmida, A.A. (2009). *The Making of Modern Libya: State Formation, Colonization, and Resistance*. 2nd edn. State University of New York Press.
- Akkar, Z.M. (2003). *The 'Publicness' of the 1990s Public Spaces in Britain with a Special Reference to Newcastle upon Tyne*. Ph. D. thesis, University of Newcastle upon Tyne.
- Akkar, M. (2005). Questioning the 'publicness' of public spaces in post-industrial cities. *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review*. 16(11): 75-91.
- Akkar, M. (2005). The changing 'publicness' of contemporary public spaces: A case study of the Grey's Monument Area, Newcastle upon Tyne. *Urban Design International*. 10: 95-113.
- Al-Abiath, R. N. (2009). *Tripoli in the Writings of Travellers during the Nineteenth Century*. Tripoli: Libyan Historical Studies Centre.
- Al-ayam Altrabsiah [The Days of Tripoli]. A digital photographic collection, published on an official community webpage, launched on 21 March 2012. Available from: [\[https://www.facebook.com/pages/%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A3%D9%8A%D8%A7%D9%85-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B7%D8%B1%D8%A7%D8%A8%D9%84%D8%B3%D9%8A%D8%A9-/274630449282383?hc_location=timeline\]](https://www.facebook.com/pages/%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A3%D9%8A%D8%A7%D9%85-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B7%D8%B1%D8%A7%D8%A8%D9%84%D8%B3%D9%8A%D8%A9-/274630449282383?hc_location=timeline).
- Al-dabbus, S. (2008). *An Investigation into the Impact of Language Games on Classroom Interaction and Pupil Learning in Libyan EFL Primary Classrooms*. A Ph.D. thesis submitted to the School of Education, Communication, and Language Sciences. Newcastle University, UK.
- Aldrich, H. and Smyth, P. (1824). *The Elements of Civil architecture, According to Vitruvius and other Ancients, and the Most Approved Practice of Modern Authors Especially Palladio*. 3rd edn. Oxford: Printed by W. Baxter for J. Parker etc.
- Alexiadou, N. (2001). 'Researching policy implementation: Interview data analysis in institutional contexts', *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 4(1), pp. 51-69.
- Al-Keep, N. G. (1978). *The City of Tripoli through the History*. Al- Dar Al-Arabia Lil-Kitab. 2nd edn. Libya.
- Almizugy, A. (2011). "The municipality of Tripoli and the important events of the past century (1911-2011)." An online article published on Almanara Media 6 October 2011. Available from: [\[http://almanaramedia.blogspot.co.uk/2011/10/1911-2011.html\]](http://almanaramedia.blogspot.co.uk/2011/10/1911-2011.html).
- Al-Mufti, M, M. (2008). *Al-ayam Altrabsiah (The Days of Tripoli)*. Published by Majles Al-Thakafa Al-Aam. (General Council of Culture). Tripoli, Libya.
- Alnashar, A. (2003). "The Administration Mechanizing in Libya: The role of the Ministry of Civil Service 1972-1973". A Research published in the Akakus for Strategic Studies. Cairo.

- Al-Ousta, A.S. (2005). *Mahalat Mezran: The Past and Present 1880-1992*. 1st. edn. .Benghazi, Libya: Dar Al-kotub Al-wataniya.
- Al-Sulami, M. F. (2003). *The West and Islam: Western Liberal Democracy Versus the System of Shura*. Routledge. London.
- Al-Zawi, A. F. A digital photographic collection published online by Al-Zawi (started in February 2009). Available from: [<https://www.facebook.com/abdelf>].
- The American Historical Review (AHR, 2000). 'Introduction'. Vol. 105, October 2000.
- Amoura, A.M. (1993). *Tripoli: The Arabic City and Its Islamic Architecture*. Tripoli, Libya: Dar El-Ferjani.
- Amoura, A.M. (1998). *Libya: Cities Development and Urban Planning*. 1st edn. Beirut: Dar Al-Mutalaqi
- Anderson, S. (2010). 'The Light and the Line: Florestano Di Fausto and the Politics of 'Mediterraneità'', *California Italian Studies Journal*, 1(1).
- Ankerl, G. Z. (1981). *Experimental Sociology of Architecture: a guide to theory, research, and literature*. The Hague; New York: Mouton.
- Antoniades, A.C. (1984). 'Italian Architecture in the Dodecanese: A Preliminary Assessment', *Journal of Architectural Education*, 38(1), pp. 18-25.
- Ardalan, N. (1980). 'Places of Public Gathering', in Safran, L. (ed.) *Places of Public Gathering in Islam*. Philadelphia: Aga Khan Award for Architecture, pp. 5-16.
- Arthurs, J. (2012). *Excavating Modernity: The Roman Past in Fascist Italy*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press.
- Atkinson, D. (2003). 'Geographical knowledge and scientific survey in the construction of Italian Libya', *Modern Italy*, 8(1), pp. 9-29.
- Aurigi, A. (2005). *Making the Digital City: the Early Shaping of Urban Internet Space*. Aldershot, Hants, England: Ashgate.
- Bandyopadhyay, A. and Merchant, A. N. (2006). 'Space syntax analysis of colonial houses in India', *Environment and Planning B-Planning & Design*, 33(6), pp. 923-942.
- Banerjee, T. (2001). "The Future of Public Space: Beyond Invented Streets and Reinvented Places." In Carmona, M. and Tiesdell, S. (eds.) *Urban Design Reader*. Oxford, Burlington: Elsevier, Architectural Press, 2007. 153-162.
- Banks, M. (2001). *Visual Methods in Social Research*. London: Sage.
- Barnes, M. (1985). 'Staff User Interaction in Public-Libraries - A Non-Participation Observation Study', *Social Science Information Studies*, 5(2), pp. 69-79.
- Barton, I. M. (1989). *Roman Public Buildings*. Exeter, England: University of Exeter.
- Beck, D.R. (2007). 'Return to the center: Culture, public space, and city building in a global era', *Professional Geographer*, 59(2), pp. 278-279.
- Bell, Daniel. (1973). *The Coming of Post-industrial Society; a Venture in Social Forecasting*. New York,: Basic Books.
- Bell, D. (1976). *The Cultural Contradictions of Capitalism*. London: Heinemann.
- Bell, D. (1999). "The Axial Age of Technology Forwarded: 1999", in Bell, D. (2008) *The Coming Of Post-industrial Society*. New York,: Basic Books.

- Bellamy, C., Taylor, J.A. (1998). *Governing in the Information Age*. Open University Press, Buckingham.
- Ben-Ghiat, R. and Fuller, M. (2005). *Italian Colonialism*. New York; Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Ben-Halim, M, A. (1992). *Forgotten Pages from Libya's Political History: The Memoirs of Mustafa Ahmad Ben-Halim, Former Prime Minister of Libya*. Chairo, Alhani International Books Ltd.
- Bennison, A.K., Gascoigne, A.L. and Ebooks Corporation. (2007). *Cities in the Pre-Modern Islamic World: The Urban Impact of Religion, State and Society*. Hoboken: Taylor & Francis.
- Birley, A.R. (1989). *Septimius Severus: the African emperor*. Rev. edn. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Black, A. and Crann, M. (2002). 'In the public eye: A mass observation of the public library', *Journal of Librarianship and Information Science*, 34(3), pp. 145-157.
- Blockmans, W.P. (2000). 'Re-shaping cities the staging of political transformation.' *5th International Conference on Urban History*. Berlin, Germany, Aug 30. Sage Publications Inc.
- Blundell-Jones, P., Petrescu, D. and Till, J. (2005). *Architecture and Participation*. New York: Spon Press.
- Borden, D., Elzanowski, J., Taylor, J. and Tuerk, S. (2008). *Architecture: A World History*. Harry N. Abrams.
- Borden, I. and Rüedi, K. (2000). *The Dissertation, an architecture student's handbook*. Oxford, Boston: Architectural Press.
- Borer, M.I. (2006). 'The location of culture: The urban culturalist perspective', *City & Community*, 5(2), pp. 173-197.
- Bozdogan, S. (2001). *Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic*. University of Washington Press.
- Breakwell, G., Hammond, S., and Fife-Schaw, C. (2000). *Research Methods in Psychology*. Sage Publications: London.
- Bretschneider, J., Driessen, J., van Lerberghe, K., Katholieke Universiteit te, L., Université catholique de, L. and Universität, M. (2007). *Power and Architecture: Monumental Public Architecture in the Bronze Age Near East and Aegean*. Peeters Publishers.
- Brighenti, A. (2010). *The Publicness of Public Space: On the Public Domain*. In Università di Trento. Dipartimento di sociologia e ricerca sociale. Available at: [http://eprints.biblio.unitn.it/1844/1/quad49.pdf?origin=publication_detail].
- Brown, R. J. (1986). *Timber-framed Buildings of England*. London, Robert Hale Ltd.
- Brown, R.M. (1912). 'Tripoli the Mysterious by Mabel Loomis Todd', *Bulletin of the American Geographical Society*, 44(12), pp. 921.
- Brunn, S.D., Hays-Mitchell, M. and Zeigler, D.J. (2003). *Cities of the World: World Regional Urban Development*. 3rd edn. Lanham, MD.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.
- Brunn, S.D., Hays-Mitchell, M. and Zeigler, D.J. (2012). *Cities of the World: World Regional Urban Development*. 5th edn. Lanham, MD.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.
- Bryman, A. (2008). *Social Research Methods*. 3rd edn. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press.

- Burdett, C. (2010). 'Italian fascism, messianic eschatology and the representation of Libya', *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions*, 11(1), pp. 3-25.
- Capresi, V. (2007). *I Centri Rurali Libici: L'architettura Dei Centri Rurali Di Fondazione Costruiti in Libia - Colonia Italiana - Durante il Fascismo (1934-1940)*. A Thesis published by Technische Universität Wien, Vienna University of Technology. Available from: [<http://www.ub.tuwien.ac.at/diss/AC05034868.pdf>].
- Capresi, V. (2007). 'The new face of Tripoli (Libya) in the thirties ('Fascist colonial Style', Florestano Di Fausto)', *Architectura-Zeitschrift Fur Geschichte Der Baukunst*, 37(1), pp. 95-116.
- Carmona, M. (2003). *Public Places - Urban Spaces: The Dimensions of Urban Design*. Oxford: Architectural Press.
- Carmona, M. (2010). *Public Places - Urban Spaces: The Dimensions of Urban Design*. 2nd edn. Oxford: Architectural.
- Carmona, M. and Tiesdell, S. (2007). *Urban Design Reader*. Oxford, Burlington: Elsevier. Architectural Press.
- Castells, M. (1985). "High technology, economic restructuring, and the urban-regional process in the United States." In: M. Castells (ed.), *High Technology, Space and Society*. Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage Publications, pp. 11-40.
- Castells, M. (1998). *The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture III, the End of the Millennium*, Oxford: Blackwell.
- Castells, M. (2000). *The Rise of the Network Society*. 2nd edn. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers.
- Castells, M. (2004). *The Power of Identity*. 2nd edn. Malden, Mass.: Blackwell Pub.
- Castells, M. (2009). *Communication Power*. OUP Oxford.
- Centre for Research on Globalization (CRG). (2008). "Ireland: The grab for public land continues". *Socialist Voice*, No. 47. February the 1st, 2008. Accessed on 03.05.2009, from: [www.globalresearch.ca/index.php?context=va&aid=7962]
- Chambers, W. (1969). *A Treatise on the Decorative Part of Civil Architecture*. New York: B. Blom.
- Citizens for City Hall (Boston). (2008). "Citizens for city hall is launched. Advocacy group forms to save city hall: "Citizens for City Hall" Urge against relocating city hall to the Waterfront." Boston, 14 May, 2008. Accessed on 21/12/2008 from: [<http://www.bostonpreservation.org/present/index.php?id=6>].
- Cohen, L., Manion, L. and Morrison, K. (2000). *Research methods in education*. Routledge-Falmer: London and New York.
- Conway, H. and Roenisch, R. (2005). *Understanding architecture: an introduction to Architecture and Architectural History*. 2nd edn. London; New York: Routledge.
- Corbin, J.M. and Strauss, A.L. (2008). *Basics of Qualitative Research: Techniques and Procedures for Developing Grounded Theory*. 3rd edn. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications Inc.
- Corti, L., Day, A. and Backhouse, G. (2000). 'Confidentiality and Informed Consent: Issues for Consideration in the Preservation of and Provision of Access to Qualitative Data Archives'

- [46 paragraphs]. *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung / Forum: Qualitative Social Research (FQS)*, 1(3), Art. 7. Available from [<http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:0114-fqs000372>].
- Coutard, O. (2008). 'Placing splintering urbanism: Introduction', *Geoforum*, 39(6), pp. 1815-1820. Available from [[doi:10.1016/j.geoforum.2008.10.008](https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2008.10.008)].
- Crang, M. (2000). 'Public space, urban space and electronic space: would the real city please stand up?', *Urban Studies*, 37(2), pp. 301-317.
- Crano, W.D., Brewer, M.B. and Ebooks Corporation (2002). *Principles and Methods of Social Research*. 2nd edn. Mahwah, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Crawford, I.M. (1997). *Marketing Research and Information Systems*. Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, Rome.
- Creswell, J.W. (2009). *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches*. 3rd edn. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications.
- Cunningham, C. (1981). *Victorian and Edwardian Town Halls*. Routledge, Kegan & Paul, 1981.
- Dalsgaard, S. (2001). "Digital discourses: An essay on ICT in development". Last accessed in October 2010 from: [www.ulandslaere.au.dk/Opgavestof/2001/EndeligeOpgaver_2001/PDF_SteffenDalsgaard.pdf].
- Dalton, W, G. (2001). "Libya." in Ember, M. and Ember, C.R. (ed.) *Countries and Their Cultures: Laos to Rwanda*. Vol. 3. Macmillan Reference USA. pp 1290-1303. (2001: 1292)
- Darling, J, K. (2004). *Architecture of Greece*. Santa Barbara, California: Greenwood Publishing Group.
- Daymon, C. and Holloway, I. (2002). *Qualitative Research Methods in Public Relations and Marketing Communications*. Routledge, part of the Taylor & Francis Group, London.
- Daza, M. H. (1982). *Understanding the Traditional Built Environment: Crisis, Change, and the Issue of Human Needs in the Context of Habitations and Settlement in Libya*. Ph.D. thesis. University of Pennsylvania.
- Deane, W, P. (2002). *Urban Renaissance: Canberra: A Sustainable Future*. OECD Publishing.
- De Grand, A. (2004). 'Mussolini's follies: Fascism in its imperial and racist phase, 1935–1940', *Contemporary European History*, 13(02), pp. 127-147.
- De la Bédoyère, G. (2002). *Architecture in Roman Britain*. Shire Archaeology no. 81, Shire.
- De Leon, Daniel. (1905). "A 'public' building." *Daily People*, Vol. 5, No. 187. New York, January the 3rd, 1905. Transcribed and edited by Robert Bills for the official Web site of the Socialist Labor Party of America., Uploaded October 2007.
- Delcampe Luxembourg sàrl website (www.delcampe.net). Collectibles of historical photographs and postcards of Tripoli, Libya.
- Doordan, D.P. (1983). 'The political content in Italian architecture during the fascist era', *Art Journal*, 43(2), pp. 121-131.
- Drakakis-Smith, D.W. and Taylor & Francis (2000). *Third World cities*. 2nd edn. London: Routledge.
- Dunkle, R. (2009). "Athenian agora," in *Athenian daily Life*. Accessed on 15/01/2009, from: [<http://depthome.brooklyn.cuny.edu/classics/dunkle/athnlife/index.htm>].

- Economist Intelligence Unit (EIU). (2008). *E-readiness Rankings 2008: Maintaining Momentum*. The Economist Intelligence Unit in co-operation with The IBM Institute for Business Value. Available from: [http://graphics.eiu.com/upload/ibm_ereadiness_2008.pdf].
- ECOU and AKT-IAURIF. (2009). *Tripoli Urban and Architectural Charter*. Tripoli, ECOU.
- Eisner, S.A. and Gallion, A.B. (1993). *The Urban Pattern*. 6th edn. New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold.
- Elliott, J.R., Gotham, K.F. and Milligan, M.J. (2004). 'Framing the urban: Struggles over HOPE VI and new urbanism in a historic city', *City & Community*, 3(4), pp. 373-394.
- Encyclopaedia Britannica, (2009). 'Architecture.' Written by Peter Collins, *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 2009. Available from: [<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/32876/architecture>].
- Ewing, K. (2000). "Investigation of a traders' route: Analysis of the street edges which informs public space, with reference to the Indian city of Jaipur, Isfahan in Iran and Harare, Zimbabwe". A dissertation cited in: Borden and Rüedi (2000). *The Dissertation, an Architecture Student's Handbook*,. Oxford, Boston: Architectural Press., pp 116-135.
- Fagan, G.G. (2001). 'The genesis of the Roman public bath: Recent approaches and future directions', *American Journal of Archaeology*, 105(3), pp. 403-426.
- Fagan, G.G. (2002). *Bathing in Public in the Roman World*. University of Michigan Press.
- Fielding, J.L. and Gilbert, G.N. (2000). *Understanding Social Statistics*. London: Sage.
- Fink, A.S. (2000). 'The role of the researcher in the qualitative research process. A Potential Barrier to Archiving Qualitative Data', *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung / Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, Volume 1 (No. 3, Art 4).
- Finkel, A. "Wood culture and timber houses." Published on the open source of Turkish Culture Portal, Turkish Cultural Foundation (TCF), accessed from: [<http://www.turkishculture.org/architecture/houses/wood-timber-houses-278.htm?type=1>]
- Firmino, R.J. (2005). 'Planning the unplannable: How local authorities integrate urban and ICT policy making', *Journal of Urban Technology*, 12(2), pp. 49-69.
- Flick, U. (2007). *Managing Quality in Qualitative Research*. Los Angeles, Calif. ; London: Sage Publications.
- Folkestad, B. (2008). "Analysing interview data: Possibilities and challenges." *EUROSPHERE Online Working Paper Series*, Working Paper No.13, December 2008. Available from: [<http://www.eurosphere.uib.no/knowledgebase/workingpapers.htm>].
- Forer, P. and Huisman, O. (2000). 'Space, time and sequencing: Substitution at the physical/virtual interface', in Janelle, D.G. and Hodge, D.C. (eds.) *Information, Place and Cyberspace: Issues in Accessibility*. Berlin: Springer-Verlag Berlin, pp. 73-90.
- Foster + Partners Ltd. (2014). "City hall London, UK 1998." The designers report of the project (Pdf). Available at: [<http://www.fosterandpartners.com/projects/city-hall/>] .
- Fowler, F.J. (2009). *Survey Research Methods*. 4th edn. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
- Fragile States Resource Center. "Understanding Libya: The role of ethnic and tribal groups in any political settlement." Seth D. Kaplan (ed.) available from: [<http://www.fragilestates.org/2012/03/01/understanding-libya-the-role-of-ethnic-and-tribal-groups-in-any-political-settlement/>].

- Frankfort-Nachmias, C. and Nachmias, D. (1996). *Research Methods in the Social Sciences*. 5th edn. London: Arnold.
- Frechtling, J.A., Sharp, L.M., National Science Foundation. Directorate for, E., Human Resources. Division of Research, E. and Communication (1997). *User-friendly Handbook for Mixed Method Evaluations*. NSF, Directorate for Education and Human Resources, Division of Research, Evaluation, and Communication.
- Freitag, U. and Lafi, N. (2011). 'Daily life and family in an Ottoman urban context: Historiographical stakes and new research perspectives', *The History of the Family*, 16(2), pp. 80-87.
- Freitag, U., Fuhrmann, M., Lafi, N. and Riedler, F. (2010). *The City in the Ottoman Empire Migration and the making of urban modernity*. Hoboken: Taylor & Francis.
- Fuller, Mia. (1988). 'Building power: Italy's colonial architecture and urbanism, 1923-1940', *Cultural Anthropology*, 3(4), pp. 455-487.
- Fuller, Mia. (1992). "Building power: Italian architecture and urbanism in Libya and Ethiopia", In Nezar Alsayyad (Ed) *Forms of Dominance, On The Architecture And Urbanism Of The Colonial Enterprise*, Ashgate, Aldershot, pp. 211-239.
- Fuller, Mia. (2000). 'Preservation and self-absorption: Italian colonisation and the walled city of Tripoli, Libya', *The Journal of North African Studies*, 5(4), pp. 121-154.
- Fuller, Mia. (2007). *Moderns Abroad: Architecture, Cities and Italian Imperialism*. London, New York: Routledge.
- Furlani, P. / Zaltiré, B. '[Tripoli] Il vero disegno del porto, della città, della fortezza, et del sito doue e posta Tripoli di Barbaria. High resolution image of Tripoli old map dated 1568, Venice'. Presented online by Paulus Swaen Ltd (Lot number: 16895. Reference: Fauser, 14274). Available from: [http://www.swaen.com/zoomV2.php?id=2690&zif_first=true].
- Gilbert, A. and Gugler, J. (1982). *Cities, Poverty, and Development: Urbanization in the Third World*. Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press.
- Girouard, M. (1990). *The English Town: A History of Urban Life*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.
- Golafshani, N. (2003). "Understanding reliability and validity in qualitative research." *The Qualitative Report*, Vol 8., No 4, December 2003, pp 597-607. Available from: [<http://www.nova.edu/ssss/QR/QR8-4/golafshani.pdf>]
- Gooch, J. (2005). "Re-conquest and Suppression: Fascist Italy's pacification of Libya and Ethiopia, 1922-1939", *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 28(6), pp. 1005 - 1032.
- Goodchild, R.G. (1950) 'Roman Tripolitania: Reconnaissance in the desert frontier zone', *The Geographical Journal*, 115(4/6), pp. 161-171.
- Google Maps (2014). 'Satellite image of Tripoli city centre.' Accessible at: [<http://goo.gl/ifY2RU>].
- Graham, C. (2003). *Ordering Law: the Architectural and Social History of the English Law Court to 1914*. Aldershot, Hampshire, England: Ashgate.
- Graham, S. and Aurigi, A. (1997). "Virtual cities, social polarisation, and the crisis in urban public space". *Journal of Urban Technology*, Vol 4, No 1, April 1997, pp 19-52.

- Graham, S. and Marvin, S. (1996). *Telecommunications and the City: Electronic Spaces, Urban Places*. London ; New York: Routledge.
- Graham, S. and Marvin, S. (2001). *Splintering Urbanism: Networked Infrastructures, Technological Mobilities and the*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Gresleri, G., Massaretti, P. G., and Zagnoni, S. (eds). (1993). *Architettura Italiana D'Oltremare: 1870-1940*. Venezia: Marsilio. Illustrations of Tripoli's historical detailed maps and photographs during the early Italian invasion.
- Grifa, M.A. (2006). *The Construction Industry in Libya, with Particular Reference to Operations in Tripoli*. A Ph.D. thesis submitted to the School of Architecture, Planning and Landscape, Newcastle University, UK.
- Groat, L.N. and Wang, D. (2002). *Architectural Research Methods*. New York: J. Wiley.
- Gugler, J. (2003). 'World cities in poor countries: Conclusions from case studies of the principal regional and global players', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 27(3), pp. 707.
- Hamid, S. A. (1993). "Some missing Islamic landmarks from Tripoli city", *Athar Al-Arab*, (6), March, 1993, pp. 83 - 88.
- Hamre, B. (2009). "Monument to Brazil." An Online article, accessed on 3/02/2009. From: [<http://gosouthamerica.about.com/cs/southamerica/a/BraBrasilia.htm>].
- Hanna, N. (1988). 'The architecture of the Mamluk city of Tripoli - Salamliebich,H', *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 108(3), pp. 489-490.
- Hardy, D. (2012). "The spring of hope, the winter of despair': an unfinished narrative of Mediterranean cities', *Planning Perspectives*, 27(3), pp. 417-437.
- Harvey, C. and Press, J. (1996). *Databases in Historical Research: Theory, Methods and Applications*. Basingstoke, Hants: Macmillan.
- Hasanain, A. A. (1998). 'From the pioneers of Italian Architecture: Florestano Di Fausto and his architectural fingerprints in Libya', *Al-Handasi Bulletin*, 40, pp. 50-59.
- Healey, P., Madanipour, A. and Hull, A. (2000). *The Governance of Place: Space and Planning Processes*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Herzog, L.A. (2006). *Return to the Center: Culture, Public Space, and City Building in a Global Era*. Austin, University of Texas Press.
- Hillier, B. (1985). 'The nature of the artificial: the contingent and the necessary in spatial form in architecture', *Geoforum*, 16(2), pp. 163-178.
- Hillier, B. (1996, a). *Space is the Machine: A Configurational Theory of Architecture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hillier, B. (1996, b). 'Cities as movement economies' urban design international. pp. 41-60 1. Available from: <http://discovery.ucl.ac.uk/1403/1/hillier-96-citiesmovementeconomies.pdf>.
- Hillier, B. (2008). 'Space and spatiality: what the built environment needs from social theory', *Building Research and Information*, 36(3), pp. 216-230.
- Hillier, B., Hanson, J., and Peponis, J. (1984). "What do we mean by building function?" In: Powell, J.A. and Cooper, I. and Lera, S., (eds.) *Designing for building utilisation*. E & F.N. Spon Ltd, London, UK, pp. 61-72.
- Hillier, B. and Hanson, J. (1984). *The Social Logic of Space*. Cambridge University Press.

- Hillier, B. and Vaughan, L. (2007). "The city as one thing. Progress in planning", Vol 67, (3), April 2007, pp. 205-294.
- Hobsbawm, E.J. and Wrigley, C. (1999). *Industry and Empire: From 1750 to the Present Day*. London: Penguin.
- Holliday, K. (2009). 'Whose city hall is it? Architecture and identity in New Orleans', *Journal of Urban Design*, 14(3), pp. 279-308.
- Holsti, O.R. (1969). *Content Analysis for the Social Sciences and Humanities*. Reading, Mass.,: Addison-Wesley Pub. Co.
- Holyoak, J. (2007). "The art of analysing a place," in the 'Articles in The CABE Urban Design Summer School 2007' website. Accessed on 23.01.2008 from: [\[http://www.udss.org.uk/articles.html\]](http://www.udss.org.uk/articles.html).
- Hopkins, P. (2007). 'Positionalities and knowledge: Negotiating ethics in practice.' *ACME: An International E-Journal for Critical Geographies*, 6(3), pp. 386-394.
- Horan, T.A. (2000). *Digital Places: Building our City of Bits*. Washington, D.C.: ULI-the Urban Land Institute.
- Houston, G.W. (2008). 'Tiberius and the libraries: Public book collections and library buildings in the early Roman empire', *Libraries & the Cultural Record*, 43(3), pp. 247-269.
- Houtsma, M.T. (1993). *First encyclopaedia of Islam: 1913-1936*. E. J. Brill.
- Hoyt, H. (1940). 'Urban decentralization', *The Journal of Land & Public Utility Economics*, 16(3), pp. 270-276.
- Husnein, A. (2005). "Approaching modernity: The creation of public spaces in Tripoli, Libya (1870-1940)". In "Precis of papers presented to conference". *Tradition and Modernity in Urban Form, International Seminar on Urban Form, Symposium 2005*. Hosted by INTBAU and The Prince's Foundation. Retrieved on 19/08/2009 from [\[http://www.intbau.org/Downloads/ISUF_2005_Papers_Final.pdf\]](http://www.intbau.org/Downloads/ISUF_2005_Papers_Final.pdf).
- Husnein, A. (2006). *Tracing Libyan Modernities: A Century of Urban Renovation in Tripoli, 1850-1950*. A Ph.D. thesis submitted to the University of Washington, USA.
- Hussein, M. (2011). "Libya crisis: what role do tribal loyalties play?." An article published on *BBC News website*. (21 February 2011, last updated at 20:13).
- Isenstadt, S. and Rizvi, K. (2008). *Modernism and the Middle East: Architecture and Politics in the Twentieth Century*. 1st edn. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- Islamic Art and Architecture in Libya Catalogue (IAALC). (1976). An exhibition catalogue published by *the Libyan General Committee for participation in the Islamic World of Islam Festival* in co-operation with the *Architectural Association London*.
- Istituto Geografico Militare (IGM) - Catalogo Carte Antiche. (Institute of Military Geography - Catalogue of Old Maps). The mapping agency of the state of Italy. The collection of the historical maps of the country of Libya. Available from: [\[http://www.igmi.org/ancient/cerca.php?mode=naz&cod=3\]](http://www.igmi.org/ancient/cerca.php?mode=naz&cod=3).
- Itrablus Zaman (Tripoli the Past). A digital photographic collection of high resolution historical photographs of Tripoli old city, Libya. Available from: [\[https://www.facebook.com/إطربلس-1482545455375995-زمان/photos_stream\]](https://www.facebook.com/إطربلس-1482545455375995-زمان/photos_stream).

- Jacobson C. D. (2002). Book review: 'Splintering urbanism: networked infrastructures, technological mobilities and the urban condition', *Journal of Urban Technology*, Vol 9, No 3, pp. 109–113.
- Jayyusi, S.K., Holod, R., Petruccioli, A. and Raymond, A. (2008). *The City in the Islamic World*. Brill.
- Johnson, K.M. (2008). "The glorified municipality": State formation and the urban process in North America', *Political Geography*, 27(4), pp. 400-417.
- Jones, E. (1966). *Towns and Cities*. New York: Oxford Univ. Press.
- Jovchelovitch, S. and Department of Social Psychology, L.S.o.E.a.P.S., University of London, (1995). *Social Representations and Public Life: A Study of the Symbolic Construction of Public Space in Brazil* University of London.
- Källtorp, O. (1994). 'Power and urban change—developing theory and method for comparative analysis of case studies', *Housing, Theory and Society*, 11: 2, pp. 65 — 77.
- Kasadra, J.D. and Parnell, A.M. (1993). *Third World Cities: Problems, Policies and Prospects*. Newbury Park, California: Sage.
- Khuga, M. A. (1969). *The Growth and Functions of Tripoli, Libya*. A Ph.D. thesis submitted in Durham University. Durham theses, Durham University. Available at Durham E-Theses Online: [<http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/8127/>].
- King, A. D. (1976). *Colonial Urban Development: Culture, Social Power, and Environment*. London; Boston: Routledge & Paul.
- Knight, A., Ruddock, L. and Ebooks Corporation. (2009). *Advanced Research Methods in the Built Environment*. Chichester: John Wiley & Sons Ltd.
- Kolarevic, B. (2005). "Digital praxis: From digital to material". Available from: [http://www.eraq.cz/era21/index.asp?page_id=98], Last accessed in 2008.
- Kostof, S. (1985). *A History of Architecture: Settings and Rituals*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Kostof, S. (1991). *The City Shaped: Urban Patterns and Meanings Through History*. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Kostof, S. and Castillo, G. (1992). *The City Assembled: The Elements of Urban Form Through History*. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Kostof, S. and Castillo, G. (1995). *A History of Architecture: Settings and Rituals*. 2nd edn. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Kothari, C.R. and Ebooks Corporation. (2004). *Research Methodology: Methods and Techniques*. 2nd edn. New Delhi: New Age International Pvt. Ltd. Publishers.
- Krystyna von, H. (1996). 'Imperial uncertainties: Architectural syncretism and improvisation in fascist colonial Libya', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 31(2), pp. 373-395.
- Kshedan, H. (1984). *The Spatial Structure of Tripoli, Libya: An Example of a Third World Socialist City*. Ph.D. thesis, The University of Oklahoma, USA.
- Kumar, R. (2005). *Research Methodology: A Step-by-step Guide for Beginners*. 2nd edn. London: Sage.
- Kvale, S. (1996). *Interviews: An Introduction to Qualitative Research Interviewing*. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications.

- Kvale, S. and Brinkmann, S. (2009). *InterViews: Learning the Craft of Qualitative Research Interviewing*. 2nd edn. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
- Lafi, Nora. (2001). "Arab town and administrative modernity: the case of Tripoli (Libya), 1795-1911," *Histoire urbaine* 1/2001, No 3, pp. 149-167. Available from: [www.cairn.info/revue-histoire-urbaine-2001-1-page-149.htm].
- Lafi, N. (2003). 'From Europe to Tripoli in Barbary via Istanbul: the municipality and reforms in an outpost of the Ottoman Empire around 1870', in Nasr, J. and Volait, M. (eds.) *Urbanism: Imported or Exported? Native Aspirations and Foreign Plans*. Wiley-Academy, pp. 186-205.
- Lafi, N. (2007). "The Ottoman municipal reforms between old regime and modernity: Towards a new interpretative paradigm", *A paper was published in: First International Symposium on Eminönü, Istanbul, Eminönü Belediyesi*, pp. 348-355. Available online from: [<http://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/docs/00/14/62/10/PDF/LafiEminonuOttomanReforms.pdf>].
- Lafi, N. (2008). 'Mediterranean connections: The circulation of municipal knowledge and practices at the time of the Ottoman reforms, c. 1830-1910 ', *Draft version of a chapter published in: Pierre-Yves, S and Shane, E (eds) (2008). Another Goba City: Historical Explorations into the Transnational Municipal Moment, 1850-2000*, pp. 135-150.
- Lafi, N. (2009). 'The city's pleasures: Istanbul in the eighteenth century', *American Historical Review*, 114(5), pp. 1574-1576.
- Lafi, N. and Bocquet, D. (2002). 'Local elites and Italian town planning procedures in early colonial Tripoli 1911-1912', *Journal of Libyan Studies* Vol 3(No: 1), pp. 59-68.
- Langdon, P. (2003). "Public buildings keep town centers alive". *Planning Commissioners*, No: 47, Journal, 2003.
- Lapworth, C. and Zimmern, H. (1912). *Tripoli and Young Italy*. London: S. Swift and co., Ltd. Available at: [<https://archive.org/details/cu31924028718900>].
- Leone, A. (2007). *Changing townscapes in North Africa from late Antiquity to the Arab conquest*. Bari: Edipuglia.
- Lewis, W.H. and Gordon, R. (1954). 'Libya after two years of independence', *Middle East Journal*, 8(1), pp. 41-53.
- Library of Al-Saraia al-Hamra Museum, Archive. Tripoli, Libya.
- Library of Congress. The Collection of Farm Security Administration - Office of War Information Photograph Collection, "Libya—Tripoli." Last retrieved in June 2014 from: [<http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/owi2001045673/PP/>].
- Library of Congress's Photostream, Flickr Commons Project (2011) "Italians taking possession of Tripoli [19011-1912]." Last retrieved in June 2014 from: [https://www.flickr.com/photos/library_of_congress/2163759486/in/photolist-aQVLu-ah4eNj-2VndZf-aRj92R-2VhSo4-4i8WTa-4nsvVv-9ubthw-bog73d-7jtex6-8nqx91-5hCis3-4D9oEY-4icQj3-3UYvG-2VhNEH-7vLwpb-2VWp6s-7qfK3M-71mjwZ-8UmVGv-93PjHK-51f5zp-aBHNDN-4XM8go-jgJgHk-2ZtXiW-4i8X7B-9n83AT-7c9mjG-4i8Tzr-7x2tHS-d2hwa3-5qfxNH-jAEqPt-93PciK-9k4RCA-bfgV64-dRHb2-2txYtC-4Cygp2-4Cf9Vt-9Y8tae-4DKiQ-4uK1DP-9cUAoF-6bR156-9k4STJ-dRHb3-77yQJn].
- Libya Design Cultural Design Centre. '3D model image of Assaraya Al-Hamra Museum, Tripoli'. [<http://libya-design.com>].

- The Libyan Centre of Archives and Historical Studies (LCAHS). The photographic collection of the LCAHS centre.
- Lipnack, J. and Stamps, J. (2000). *Virtual Teams: People Working Across Boundaries with Technology*. John Wiley & Sons, Inc.
- Loukaitou-Sideris, A. and Banerjee, T. (1998). *Urban Design Downtown: Poetics and Politics of Form*. University of California Press.
- Madanipour, A. (1996). *Design of Urban Space: An Inquiry Into a Socio-spatial Process*. Chichester: Wiley.
- Madanipour, A. (2003). *Public and Private Spaces of the City*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Madanipour, A. (2006). 'Roles and challenges of urban design', *Journal of Urban Design*, 11(2), pp. 173-193.
- Madanipour, A. (2010). *Whose Public Space? International Case Studies in Urban Design and Development*. Routledge. Available from:
[\[http://www.NCL.ebib.com/patron/FullRecord.aspx?p=481112\]](http://www.NCL.ebib.com/patron/FullRecord.aspx?p=481112)
- Maeng, D., and Nedović-Budić, Z. (2008). 'Urban form and planning in the information age: Lessons from literature', *Spatium*, ((17-18)), pp. 1-12.
- Markus, T. A. (1993). *Buildings & Power: Freedom and Control in the Origin of Modern Building Types*. London; New York: Routledge.
- Marshall, C. and Rossman, G. B. (1995). *Designing Qualitative Research*. 3rd edn., Sage.
- Massey, D. (2006). "Is the world really shrinking?." The Open University Radio Lecture, as part of Free Thinking festival, delivered on 2.15pm on Sunday 5th November, 2006, at FACT in Liverpool. Accessed from: [\[http://www.open.edu/openlearn/society/politics-policy-people/geography/ou-radio-lecture-2006-the-world-really-shrinking\]](http://www.open.edu/openlearn/society/politics-policy-people/geography/ou-radio-lecture-2006-the-world-really-shrinking).
- Massey, D. (2008). "A discussion on how we think about space and the city in global terms, and if global cities exist what responsibility do such places have towards the spaces between them", The BBC World Service Forum, 15 October 2008. Available from: [\[http://www.bbc.co.uk/worldservice/specials/1246_the_forum/page13.shtml\]](http://www.bbc.co.uk/worldservice/specials/1246_the_forum/page13.shtml).
- Mastino, D and Zucca, R. "La Libia dai garamanti a giustiniano." Online article and photos, available from: [\[http://www.infomedi.it/libia.htm\]](http://www.infomedi.it/libia.htm). Last retrieved in June 2014.
- Mattingly, D.J. (2010). *Imperialism, Power, and Identity: Experiencing the Roman Empire*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Mazower, M. (2000). *The Balkans: A Short History*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson.
- McCullagh, C. B. and Ebooks Corporation. (1997). *Truth of History*. London: Routledge.
- McCullagh, C. B. and Ebooks Corporation. (2003). *Logic of History: Putting Postmodernism in Perspective*. London: Routledge.
- McCullagh, F. (1912). *Italy's War for a Desert being some Experiences of a War-correspondent with the Italians in Tripoli*. London: Herbert and Daniel.
- McDermaid, K. K. and Barnstable, D. C. (2001). *Step-by-Step Guide to Conducting a Social Profile for Watershed Planning*. University of Illinois, Department of Natural Resources and Environmental Sciences, Urbana.
- McDougall, J. (2003). *Nation, Society and Culture in North Africa*. Frank Cass.

- McGaughey, W. (2000). *Five Epochs of Civilization: World History as Emerging in Five Civilizations*. Milford, PA: Access Publishers Network.
- McKillop, H. I. (2004). *The Ancient Maya: New Perspectives*. Santa Barbara, California: ABC-CLIO.
- McLachlan, K.S. (1978). 'Tripoli and Tripolitania: Conflict and cohesion during the period of the Barbary corsairs (1551-1850)', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 3(3), pp. 285-294.
- McLaren, B. (2006). *Architecture and Tourism in Italian Colonial Libya: An Ambivalent Modernism*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- McLaren, B.L. (2002a). 'The Italian colonial appropriation of indigenous north African architecture in the 1930's', *Muqarnas*, 19, pp. 164-192.
- McLaren, B.L. (2002b). 'The Tripoli trade fair and the representation of Italy's African colonies', *The Journal of Decorative and Propaganda Arts*, 24, pp. 171-197.
- McLaren, B.L. (2008). 'Casa mediterranea, casa araba and primitivism in the writings of Carlo Enrico Rava ', *The Journal of Architecture*, 13(4), pp. 453 - 467.
- McLuhan, M. (1964). *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man*. London: Routledge & K. Paul.
- Mehta, V. and Bosson, J.K. (2010). 'Third places and the social life of streets', *Environment and Behavior*, 42(6), pp. 779-805.
- Mezughi, M, M. (2013). Historical Arial view photograph of Tripoli, one of the earliest, showing the early urban activities outside the city walls around 1910. Mezughi's blog. A digital copy is retrieved from: [<https://mustafamezughi.files.wordpress.com/2013/09/tripoli-2.jpg>].
- Micara, L. (2008). 'The Ottoman Tripoli: A Mediterranean medina'. In Jayyusi, S.K., Holod, R., Petruccioli, A. and Raymond, A. (2008). *The City in the Islamic World*. Brill.
- Micara, L. (2011). 'The model of the medina of Tripoli: A unique contribution to the understanding of the Mediterranean cities'. In *The Mediterranean Medina: International Seminar*. Gangemi Editore. Pp. 440 - 446.
- Micara, L. (2013). *Tripoli Medina Mediterranea-Tripoli: A Mediterranean Medina*. Gangemi.
- Miles, M.B. and Huberman, A.M. (1994). *Qualitative Data Analysis: An Expanded Sourcebook*. 2nd edn. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
- Milligan, M.J. (1998). 'Interactional past and potential: The social construction of place attachment', *Symbolic Interaction*, 21(1), pp. 1-33.
- Milligan, M.J. (2003a). 'Loss of site: organizational site moves as organizational deaths', *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy*, 23 (6/7), pp. 115 - 152.
- Milligan, M.J. (2007). 'Buildings as history: The place of collective memory in the study of historic preservation', *Symbolic Interaction*, 30(1), pp. 105-123.
- Millon, H. (1965). 'The role of history of architecture in fascist Italy', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 24(1), pp. 53-59.
- Mitchell, W.C. and Simmons, R.T. (1994). *Beyond Politics: Markets, Welfare and the Failure of Bureaucracy*. Boulder: Westview Press.
- Mitchell, W.J. (1990). *The Logic of Architecture: Design, Computation, and Cognition*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

- Mitchell, W. J. (1995). *City of Bits: Space, Place and the Infobahn*, Cambridge MA: MIT press.
- Mitchell, W.J. (1999). *E-topia: Urban Life, Jim - But Not as We Know It*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Mitchell, W. J. (2003 a). *Me++: The Cyborg Self and the Networked City*. Cambridge: The MIT Press.
- Mitchell, W. (2003 b). "Online lecture by William Mitchell at MIT", – ME++ The cyborg self and the networked city", November 13, 2003. Accessed on 9/12/2007 from: [<http://mitworld.mit.edu/video/170/>].
- Mitchell, W, J. (2005). *Placing Words: Symbols, Space, and the City*. Cambridge: The MIT Press.
- Mitchell, W.J. (2008). *World's Greatest Architect: Making, Meaning, and Network Culture*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Moore, J.D. (1996). *Architecture and Power in the Ancient Andes: the Archaeology of Public Buildings*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Morley, I. (2001). *Examples of Provincial Civic Design in Britain, c. 1880-1914*. Ph.D. Thesis submitted to The School of Architectural Studies., The University of Sheffield.
- Municipality of Tripoli (MOT). (1972). *Baladiyyah Tarabulus fi Ma-iah 'am* [The Municipality of Tripoli over One Hundred Years, 1870-1970]. Tripoli: Dar Etebah Al-Hadithah.
- Moving Image Research Collections, Digital Video Repository (MIRC-DVR), "Mussolini visits Libya—outtakes." Item Title: 'Fox News Story B2510...B2512', Filmed on 31st March 1926. Available at: [<http://mirc.sc.edu/islandora/object/usc%3A1300>].
- Moxon, M. (2008). "India: Varanasi." An online article on 'Mark Moxon's Travel Writing' website, Available from: [<http://www.moxon.net/india/varanasi.html>].
- Mukarram, A, M., et al. (2005). *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. New Delhi, Anmol Publications PVT. LTD.
- Mukařovský, J. (1977). "The problem of function in architecture". In Burbank, J and Steiner, P. (eds). *Structure, Sign, and Function: Selected Essays*, New Haven: Yale University Press. (Yale Russian and East European studies).
- Mukařovský, J. Et al (1978). *Form, Sign, and Function: Selected Essays*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Mukhtar, S. (1992). "The bank of Rome old building: An architectural sturdy." *Athar Al-Arab*, (5), September, 1992, pp. 123-128.
- Mumford, L. (1961). *The City in History: Its Origins, Its Transformations, and Its Prospects*. Harcourt, Brace & World.
- Nasar, J, L. Stamps, A, E. and Hanyu, K. (2005). "Form and function in public buildings", *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 25,159-165.
- Naisbitt, J. (1982). *Megatrends: Ten New Directions Transforming Our Lives*. New York: Warner Books.
- Naisbitt, J. and Aburdene, P. (1990). *Megatrends 2000: The Next Ten Years - Major Changes in Your Life and World*. London: Sidgwick & Jackson.

- Németh, J. and Schmidt, S. (2007). 'Toward a methodology for measuring the security of publicly accessible spaces', *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 73(3), pp. 283-297.
- Neyfakh, L. (2012). "How Boston city hall was born: Fifty years after a groundbreaking competition, two architects look back at the project that polarized the city — and gave it a new lease on life." *The Boston Globe*, 12 February 2012. Accessed in July 2009 from: [\[http://www.bostonglobe.com/ideas/2012/02/12/how-boston-city-hall-was-born/DtfspyXVbKBIKi8iSXHX6J/story.html\]](http://www.bostonglobe.com/ideas/2012/02/12/how-boston-city-hall-was-born/DtfspyXVbKBIKi8iSXHX6J/story.html).
- New Testament, New International Version (NIV), Biblica, Inc. Acts 2:10. Retrieved on 11/02/2013, from: [\[http://www.biblegateway.com/passage/?search=Acts%202&version=NIV\]](http://www.biblegateway.com/passage/?search=Acts%202&version=NIV).
- Northedge, A. (1996). "Tripolitania in transition - late Roman to early Islamic settlement - Sjoström, I", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies-University of London*, 59, pp. 132-133.
- O'Brien, D. (1997). "Questionnaire design", A report for the course CS 6751, Human-Computer Interface, *College of Computing, Georgia Institute of Technology*, Atlanta, GA, USA. Last accessed in March, 2009, from: [\[http://www.cc.gatech.edu/classes/cs6751_97_winter/Topics/quest-design/\]](http://www.cc.gatech.edu/classes/cs6751_97_winter/Topics/quest-design/).
- Oldenburg, R. (1998). "The character of third places." In Carmona, M. and Tiesdell, S. (eds.) *Urban Design Reader*. Oxford, Burlington: Elsevier, Architectural Press, 2007, pp. 163-169.
- Orum, A.M., Neal, Z.P. and Ebooks Corporation. (2009). *Common Ground? : Readings and Reflections on Public Space*. Hoboken: Taylor & Francis.
- Osborne, S.P. (2010). *The New Public Governance?: Emerging Perspectives on the Theory and Practice of Public Governance*. Routledge.
- Ottoman History Picture Archives. "Thousands of historic photos, pictures, illustrations, maps and documents." Facebook Society/Culture Website, Started on 2 September 2011. Available from: [\[https://www.facebook.com/ottomanempirepictures?fref=nf\]](https://www.facebook.com/ottomanempirepictures?fref=nf).
- Pacione, M. (2009). *Urban Geography: A Global Perspective*. Routledge.
- Palumbo, P. and Ebooks Corporation. (2003). *A Place in the Sun: Africa in Italian Colonial Culture from Post-unification to the Present*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Patton, M.Q. (1990). *Qualitative Evaluation and Research Methods*. SAGE Publications.
- Patton, M.Q. (2002). *Qualitative Research & Evaluation Methods*. SAGE Publications.
- Peters, F. (2004). *Muhammad and the Origins of Islam*. Stat University of New York Press.
- Petticrew, M., Semple, S., Hilton, S., Creely, K.S., Eadie, D., Ritchie, D., Ferrell, C., Christopher, Y. and Hurley, F. (2007). 'Covert observation in practice: lessons from the evaluation of the prohibition of smoking in public places in Scotland', *Bmc Public Health*, 7 (1), pp. 204.
- Porter, W. (1980). 'Architecture in Islam: The search for form', in Safran, L. (ed.) *Places of Public Gathering in Islam*. Philadelphia: Aga Khan Award for Architecture, pp. 1-4.
- Post, S.S. (2002). 'Local government cooperation: The relationship between metropolitan area government geography and service provision', Paper presented at: *The annual meetings of the American Political Science Association*. Boston, Massachusetts, (29 August -1 September 2002). Accessed in 2009, from: [\[http://localgov.fsu.edu/papers/archive/PostStephanie.pdf\]](http://localgov.fsu.edu/papers/archive/PostStephanie.pdf).

- Potter, R.B., Salau, A.T. and Commonwealth Geographical Bureau. (1991). *Cities and Development in the Third World*. London; New York: Mansell.
- Qaddafi, M. (1998) *Escape to hell and other stories*. Stanké.
- Quataert, D. (2007). 'Mediterranean municipalities: The Ottoman urban reforms in the mirror of a compared history (Middle East, Maghreb, southern Europe)', *American Historical Review*, 112(3), pp. 964-965.
- Quiney, A. (1990). *The Traditional Buildings of England*. New York, N.Y.: Thames and Hudson.
- Rapoport, Amos. (1969) *House Form and Culture*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.
- Rapoport, A. (1976). *The Mutual Interaction of People and their Built Environment: A Cross-Cultural Perspective*. The Hague: Mouton.
- Rapoport, A. (1977). *Human Aspects of Urban Form : Towards a Man-environment Approach to Urban Form and Design*. 1st edn. Oxford ; New York: Pergamon Press.
- Rapoport, A. (1980 a). 'Australian aborigines and the definition of place'. In Oliver, P. Shelter, Sign and Symbol. Woodstock, New York: The Overlook Press, 1980, pp.38-51.
- Rapoport, A. (1980 b). "Environmental preferences, habitat selection and urban housing", *Journal of social Issues*, Vol. 36. No. 3, pp. 118-133.
- Rapoport, A. (1980 c). 'Cross-cultural aspects of environmental design', in Altman, I., Rapoport, A. and Wohlwill, J. (eds.) *Environment and Culture*. Springer US, pp. 7-46.
- Rapoport, A. (1982). *The Meaning of the Built Environment: A Nonverbal Communication Approach*. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications.
- Rapoport, A. (1990). *History and Precedent in Environmental Design*. New York: Plenum Press.
- Rapoport, A. (2003). *Cultura, Arquitectura y Diseño*. Univ. Politèc. de Catalunya.
- Rghei, A.S. and Nelson, J.G. (1994). 'The conservation and use of the walled city of Tripoli', *The Geographical Journal*, 160(2), pp. 143-158.
- Rogers, B. (2004). *Reinventing the Town Hall: A Handbook*. Institute for Public Policy, R. IPPR.
- Rosenbaum, M.S., Ward, J., Walker, B.A. and Ostrom, A.L. (2007). 'A cup of coffee with a dash of love: An investigation of commercial social support and third-place attachment', *Journal of Service Research*, 10(1), pp. 43-59.
- Roth, L.M. (1994). *Understanding Architecture: Its Elements, History and Meaning*. London: Herbert Press; Westview Press.
- Russell, E.J. (1939). 'Agricultural colonization in the pontine marshes and Libya', *The Geographical Journal*, 94(4), pp. 273-289.
- Russo, G. "Aerial photograph of Tripoli." (January 1968). Accessed from: [\[www.tripolini.it\]](http://www.tripolini.it).
- Ryan, M.P. (2000). "A laudable pride in the whole of us: city halls and civic materialism", *The American Historical Review*, 105(4), pp. 1131-1170.
- Sandaker, B. N. (2007). *On Span and Space: Exploring Structures in Architecture*. Taylor & Francis.
- Schoder, R. V. "Sabratha plan map," *Loyola University Chicago Digital Special Collections* (1989). Last accessed on 13 June 2014 from:

[<http://www.lib.luc.edu/specialcollections/items/show/768>].

- Serageldin, M. and Vigier, F. (1980). 'Changing roles and procedures in the design of public buildings', in Safran, L. (ed.) *Places of Public Gathering in Islam*. Philadelphia: Aga Khan Award for Architecture, pp. 17-28.
- Sergeant, J. (2010). 'John Sergeant on tracks of empire, unite and divide.' Episode 1 of 2 a televised documentary, first broadcasted on BBC Four on Tue 13th July, 2010, 21:00.
- Shawesh, E. M. (2000). *The Changing Identity of the Built Environment in Tripoli City, Libya*. Ph.D. thesis submitted to the University of Newcastle upon Tyne, UK. [Online]. Available at: <http://hdl.handle.net/10443/300>.
- Shin, D.C. (1977). 'Quality of municipal service - concept, measure and results', *Social Indicators Research*, 4(1), pp. 207-229.
- Slack, D. (2008). Photograph of Boston City Hall. Published in "Menino shelves plan to replace city hall: Cites economy as basis for decision." The Boston Globe, 30 December 2008. Available from: http://cache.boston.com/resize/bonzai-fba/Globe_Photo/2008/12/29/1230604781_7636/539w.jpg.
- Slyomovics, S. and Miller, S. G. in Slyomovics, S. (ed.) (2001). *The Walled Arab City in Literature, Architecture and History: The Living Medina in the Maghrib*. Routledge.
- Smith, M.E. (2007). 'Form and meaning in the earliest cities: A new approach to ancient urban planning', *Journal of Planning History*, 6(1), pp. 3-47.
- Social Research Association (SRA). (2003). *Ethical Guidelines*. December edn, 2003, SRA. Available from: [<http://the-sra.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/ethics03.pdf>].
- Space Syntax Limited (2014). 'The Space Syntax Analyses of Hillingdon Hospital,' www.spacesyntax.com.
- Spreiregen, P. D. (1965). *Urban Design: The Architecture of Towns and Cities*. New York, McGraw-Hill.
- St John, R.B. (2012). *Libya: From Colony to Revolution*. Oneworld Publications.
- Sutcliffe, A. (1981). *Towards the Planned City: Germany, Britain, the United States, and France, 1780-1914*. Oxford (Oxfordshire): Blackwell.
- Tanghe, J., Vlaeminck, S. and Berghoef, J.F. (1984). *Living Cities: A Case for Urbanism and Guidelines for Re-urbanization*. 1st English edn. Oxford Oxfordshire; New York: Pergamon Press.
- Taylor, F.W. (1911). *The Principles of Scientific Management*. New York; London: Harper & Brothers.
- Thompson, G. L. (2002). 'City center to regional mall: Architecture, the automobile, and retailing in Los Angeles, 1920-1950', *Transportation Research Part a-Policy and Practice*, 36(1), pp. 65-73.
- Thorns, D.C. (2002). *The Transformation of Cities: Urban Theory and Urban Life*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.
- Tiesdell, S. and T. Oc (1998). "Beyond 'fortress' and 'panoptic' cities – towards a safer urban public realm", in *Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design*, 25, 639-655.

- Tittler, R. (1991). *Architecture and Power: The Town Hall and the English Urban Community, c. 1500-1640*. Oxford.
- Todd, M. L. (1912). *Tripoli the Mysterious*. London: Grant Richards. Available at: [<https://archive.org/details/tripolimysteriou00todd>].
- Tripoli Local Council. Official photographs published on the Official Facebook Page (Government Organization) of Tripoli Local Council, launched on 27 September, 2011. Available from: [<https://www.facebook.com/tlc.gov.ly/wall>].
- United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Division for Public Administration and Development Management. (2008). *United Nations e-Government Survey 2008: From e-Government to Connected Governance*. New York: United Nations. Available from: [<http://unpan1.un.org/intradoc/groups/public/documents/un/unpan028607.pdf>].
- United Nations, Habitat, and Economic Commission for Africa (ECA). (2008). *The State of African Cities 2008: A Framework for Addressing Urban Challenges in Africa*. Nairobi: UN Habitat.
- United Nations, UNDP-LIBYA. (2004). "A summary of the development co-operation between LIBYA and the UN development program (UNDP)." April 2004. Accessed on 6/11/2008 from: [www.undp-libya.org].
- United Nations, UNDP. (2010). 'UNDP in Libya: About Libya.' Available from: [<http://www.ly.undp.org/content/libya/en/home/countryinfo/>] (Last accessed in June 2014).
- United Nations, UNDP. (2013). *Human Development Report 2013. The Rise of the South: Human Progress in a Diverse World*. New York: UN.
- U.S. Army Map Service. (1943). "Tripolitania (Libya) city plans, Tripoli." University of Texas Libraries. Available at: [http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/ams/tripolitania_city_plans/].
- University of California (UC) Berkeley Library: (www.lib.berkeley.edu). Map of Tripoli (c.1930). Created by Istituto Geografico de Agostini Novara, Italy.
- Viser, M. (2007) "Boston City Hall—a landmark?", *The Boston Global*, 24 April 2007. Available from: [http://www.boston.com/news/globe/city_region/breaking_news/2007/04/boston_city_h al.html]
- Vale, L.J. (1992). *Architecture, Power, and National Identity*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Varna, G. (2011). *Assessing the Publicness of Public Places: Towards a New Model*. Ph.D. thesis, University of Glasgow, Glasgow.
- Varna, G., and Tiesdell, S. (2010). "Assessing the publicness of public space: the star model of publicness". *Journal of Urban Design*, 15 (4). pp. 575-598.
- Vitruvius, P. and Wilkins, W. (1812). *The Civil Architecture of Vitruvius: Comprising those Books of the Author which Relate to the Public and Private Edifices of the Ancients*. London: Longman Hurst Rees Orme and Brown.
- Warren, J. (2005). 'An overview of the cities and towns of ancient Egypt'. 26/12/2008 Touregypt.net. Available at: <http://www.touregypt.net/featurestories/cities.htm>.
- Watkin, D. (1986). *A history of Western Architecture*. London: Barrie & Jenkins.
- Wehr, H. and Cowan, J.M. (1966). *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*. Cornell University Press.

- WesScholar, "[A map of the city and] port of Tripoli in Barbary," Institutional Repositories (IRs), Wesleyan University. An Engraved map of Tripoli (in 1675), by John Seller. Available at: [\[http://wescholar.wesleyan.edu/scamaps/24/\]](http://wescholar.wesleyan.edu/scamaps/24/).
- Whiffen, M. and Koeper, F. (1983). *American Architecture: 1607-1860*. MIT Press.
- Whyte, W.F. and Whyte, K.K. (1984). *Learning from the Field: A Guide from Experience*. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications.
- Whyte, W. H. (1980). "The life of plazas". In Carmona, M. and Tiesdell, S. (eds.) *Urban Design Reader*. Oxford, Burlington: Elsevier, Architectural Press, 2007, pp. 226-229.
- Whyte, W.H. and Underhill, P. (2009). *City: Rediscovering the Center*. University of Pennsylvania Press, Incorporated.
- Wright, J. (1981). *Libya: A Modern History*. Croom Helm.
- Yadav, C.S. (1986 a). *Comparative Urbanization: City Growth and Change*. New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company.
- Yeh, A. G. O. and Wu, F. (1999). "The transformation of the urban planning system in China from a centrally-planned to transitional economy", *Progress in Planning*, 51(3), pp. 167-252.
- Yeh, A. G. O. and Xu, X. (1996). "Globalization and the urban system in China". In *Emerging World Cities in Pacific Asia*, Fu-chen Lo and Yue-man Yeung (eds.), pp. 219–267. United Nations University Press, Tokyo.
- Zabel, C.R., Munshower, S.S. and Scott, S.C. (1989). *American Public Architecture: European Roots and Native Expressions*. Pennsylvania State University.
- Zimring, C., Joseph, A., Nicoll, G.L. and Tsepas, S. (2005). 'Influences of building design and site design on physical activity - Research and intervention opportunities', *American Journal of Preventive Medicine*, 28(2), pp. 186-193.

Appendixes

Appendix A: English Translation of the Study Questionnaire

Respondent No: [R 000.]

General Questions (About Yourself):

Please complete the following questions, which will help to see if there are differences between the experiences and views of the surveyed numbers of Tripoli citizens. The information will help investigate the already explained subject of this study. **There is no need to write your name** or to give any detailed information that you think can reveal your identity.

Please complete this questionnaire by marking the appropriate choice or writing in the space provided

1. Gender:

☐ Female ☐ Male

2. Age Group:

☐ Under 18 ☐ 18-24 ☐ 25-39 ☐ 40-59 ☐ 60-64 ☐ 65-74 ☐ 75+

3. Your Current Educational Stage:

☐ No qualifications right now ☐ Below Secondary School ☐ M College
☐ Secondary School ☐ H College ☐ University
☐ Higher Education Degree

Occupation:..... Place of Work:.....

4. Domicile:

4.1. How far away do you live from the central municipal building?

☐ Very close to the building ☐ Still inside the city centre region ☐ On the outskirts of the centre
☐ Far from the city centre ☐ Outside Tripoli city

4.2. Are you officially registered with Tripoli Civil Status Registrar (CSR)?

☐ Yes ☐ No

5. PC & IT Usage:

5.1. Do you own/use a PC?

☐ Not familiar with it ☐ I use it but do not own one ☐ We have one at home
☐ I have a laptop ☐ We have one at work

6. Internet Usage:

6.1. Place(s) of accessing the web?

☐ Never used it ☐ I use it at home ☐ At work ☐ At a friend's house
☐ In cybercafés ☐ On my mobile ☐ Wirelessly on laptop

6.2. How often do you access the web?

☐ Rarely ☐ Occasionally ☐ Often ☐ Constantly

6.3. What is your main use when accessing the web? For:

☐ E-mails ☐ E-services ☐ Browsing & searching ☐ Entertaining
☐ Commercial ☐ Educational ☐ Social interactions

The Significance of the Central Municipal Building & Average Use:

7. Knowing the Building & the Frequency of Your Visits:

7.1. Have you ever visited Tripoli central municipal building?

1. ☐ I do not even know its current location
2. ☐ I have visited the building once
3. ☐ I visit it when there is a need
4. ☐ I am still visiting it on a regular basis

-
5. ☐ I pay it a visit occasionally
 6. ☐ I know it but never went inside
 7. ☐ I work in it now
 8. ☐ I worked there in the past
 9. ☐ I work close by, but did not visit it
 10. ☐ I work close by, and I visit it
-

8. The Motive for Visiting the Building:

8.1. What is your main reason(s) for coming to the central municipal building?

1. ☐ Because I work there
2. ☐ To acquire a municipal public service
3. ☐ To submit an application
4. ☐ To provide an opinion or suggestion
5. ☐ To obtain an official certificate or license
6. ☐ To give a notification or complaint
7. ☐ To pay official dues
8. ☐ To ask about bureaucratic information, procedures or/and decisions
9. ☐ To follow up on a previously required service
10. ☐ An educational visit as it is a significant historical building
11. ☐ A research-based trip
12. ☐ To meet up with a friend or a relative there
13. ☐ Visits for governmental or other official business
14. ☐ For other purposes (please specify):.....

8.2. If you work in the building, does your job include dealing directly with the building visitors?

1. ☐ Yes
 2. ☐ Occasionally
 3. ☐ No
- When did you start this job?.....

8.2. If your work is close to the building area, what kind of activity do you do?

.....

When did you start this job?.....

9. Ways of Visiting the Building:

9.1. Coming:

1. ☐ I come walking
2. ☐ By my own vehicle
3. ☐ With a friend or a relative
4. ☐ Public transportation
5. ☐ Taxi
6. ☐ Car pooling'
7. ☐ I do not go myself

9.2. Going back:

1. ☐ The same method used in coming
2. ☐ Other (please specify):

9.3. If you answered 'I do not go myself' in question 9.1, is that because:

1. ☐ I do not need to visit the municipal place, because:.....
 2. ☐ I do not like to visit the municipal place, because:.....
 3. ☐ I ask someone else on my behalf, because:.....
 4. ☐ Other reasons (please clarify):.....
-

10. Time of Visiting the Building:

10.1. If you frequently visit the building, what time do you prefer to do so?

1. ☐ At the beginning of working-hours
2. ☐ Mid-morning
3. ☐ Before noon
4. ☐ At noon
5. ☐ Afternoon
6. ☐ No predefined time

The Relationship Between the Public & the Municipal Building:

11. *The Position of the Central Municipal Building and its Significance for the Individual, the Community and the City.*

11.1. To what extent do you agree that Tripoli municipal building has a great and distinguishing value for you, for the community and for the city? (please select only one answer)

1. ☐ It has great value
2. ☐ It has significant value
3. ☐ As any other public building
4. ☐ It has no significant value
5. ☐ It holds a negative value
6. ☐ Not sure

11.2. If you consider that the building has any sort of value, what is the reason(s)? (you can select more than one choice)

1. ☐ Because of its distinct historical values
2. ☐ Due to its characteristic design and architectural quality
3. ☐ Because of my close attachment to the building and its place
4. ☐ Owing to its official functional role in the city
5. ☐ On account of its symbolic roles that reflect the image of the city
6. ☐ Due to the potential of its strategic location
7. ☐ Because of its worth as a meeting-centre for the diverse categories of the whole community
8. ☐ For other reason(s) (please specify):

11.3. To what extent do you feel that this building is very close to you, and does it represent Tripoli city or not? (please select only one option)

1. ☐ Very strongly
2. ☐ Strongly
3. ☐ Fair
4. ☐ Weakly
5. ☐ Very weakly
6. ☐ Do not know

11.4. To what extent do you feel satisfied or not satisfied about the functional role of the building? (please select only one option)

1. ☐ Very satisfied
2. ☐ Satisfied
3. ☐ Fair
4. ☐ Dissatisfied
5. ☐ Very dissatisfied
6. ☐ Not sure

12. *The Change of the /building Image and Role Overtime.* (please select only one option)

12.1. Do you think that the building's image has changed over time?

1. ☐ Yes
2. ☐ Maybe to an extent
3. ☐ No
4. ☐ Not sure

12.2. Do you think that the building's functional role has changed over time?

1. ☐ Yes
2. ☐ Maybe to an extent
3. ☐ No
4. ☐ Not sure

12.3. Do you see that the building's form/ external appearance has changed over time?

1. ☐ Yes
2. ☐ Maybe to an extent
3. ☐ No
4. ☐ Not sure

12.4. Do you see that the building's internal spaces have changed over time?

1. ☐ Yes
2. ☐ Maybe to an extent

3. ☐ No
4. ☐ Not sure

12.5. How would you describe the change of the building situation over time?

(in approximately 3 words)

1. The building used to be:.....
2. The building now is:.....

13. The Relationship Between the Municipal Building and the City-Centre:

13.1. The Importance of the Building Central Location for the Citizen:

13.1. Do you believe that such buildings must be located in their city cores? (please select only one option)

1. ☐ Yes
2. ☐ It does not matter
3. ☐ No
4. ☐ Not sure

13.2. To what extent do you think that the current location of Tripoli central municipal building is suitable or not suitable for its foremost role?

1. ☐ Very suitable
2. ☐ Suitable
3. ☐ It does not matter to me
4. ☐ Not suitable
5. ☐ Not suitable at all
6. ☐ Not sure

13.3. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the idea of moving the location of Tripoli central municipal building to another location out of the centre of the city in the future?

1. ☐ Totally agree
2. ☐ Partially agree
3. ☐ Neither agree nor disagree
4. ☐ Partially disagree
5. ☐ Totally disagree
6. ☐ Do not know

13.4. If the building was empty, what would you choose it was used as?

It could/must be a:.....

14. Using the Surroundings when Visiting the Central Building:

14.1. Do you use and/or visit the surrounding places and facilities when coming to the Tripoli central municipal building?

1. ☐ Yes
2. ☐ No (I immediately go away)

14.2. If you answered 'Yes' to question 14.1, what do you do and/or to where do you go when you visit the surrounding area of the municipal place? (you can select many options, or write your own if not listed)

1. ☐ Public spaces
2. ☐ Parks & gardens
3. ☐ Mosques
4. ☐ Cafés & restaurants
5. ☐ Shops & boutiques
6. ☐ Historical landmarks
7. ☐ Browsing in Tripoli Old-City
8. ☐ Browsing the streets of the city-centre
9. ☐ Visiting friends or relatives nearby
10. ☐ Visiting entertainment venues
11. ☐ I go to finish other central public service affairs
12. ☐ I go educational and cultural facilities (i.e. museums & libraries)
13. ☐ Other (please specify):

14.3. When do you usually visit these places? (please select one or more of the listed options below)

1. ☐ Before visiting/acquiring the municipal service from the building
2. ☐ After visiting/acquiring the municipal service in the building
3. ☐ During the break/lunch time of the municipal staff
4. ☐ While being asked to wait for my service to be delivered

5. ☐ I come deliberately for these facilities/places even if I'm not visiting the municipal building
6. ☐ I do not care about using or visiting these nearby facilities/places

14.4. Why do you visit/use the area around the municipal building?

1. ☐ Because I like to do so (i.e. enjoyment)
2. ☐ Because I had to/was forced to do so (i.e. to waste time rather than having to wait inside the building)

14.5. To what extent do you exploit your chance to come to visit the municipal building to go and visit/use the area around it?

1. ☐ Always (whenever I come to the building)
2. ☐ Very often
3. ☐ Sometimes
4. ☐ Rarely
5. ☐ Never done that
6. ☐ Not sure (can't remember)

14.6. Do you see other municipal workers and visitors use/visit the surrounding places and facilities?

1. ☐ The majority of them do
2. ☐ A big number of them do
3. ☐ A fair number of them do
4. ☐ A minority of them do
5. ☐ I rarely see some do it
6. ☐ I don't know

14.7. What do you think of the quality, vibrancy and diversity of the activities and facilities in the urban public and private places around the central municipal building of Tripoli now?

1. ☐ Excellent
2. ☐ Good
3. ☐ Fair
4. ☐ Bad
5. ☐ Very bad
6. ☐ I don't know

🔧 Places of Interactions Between the Users of the Municipal Building:

15. Points of Users Face-to-Face Contacts, inside and outside the Municipal Place:

15.1. I am:

1. ☐ A 'visitor' to the municipal building, who seeks its services
2. ☐ A municipal 'worker'
3. ☐ A witness/observer, who often passes by the building

15.2. First: Places of Visitor (V) to Inhabitants (I) and vice versa Interactions (I to V):

- a) **If you are a Visitor to the municipal building:** Where do you often meet with the municipal staff? And where do you observe other 'visitors' like you do meet with the staff?
- b) **If you are a worker in the municipal building (Inhabitant):** Where do you often meet with the building 'visitors'? And where do you observe other municipal 'workers' like you meet with the building 'visitors'?

I. Inside the municipal building (you can select more than one choice)

1. ☐ In reception areas
2. ☐ In staircase areas
3. ☐ Near the elevator area
4. ☐ In the corridors
5. ☐ Near the entrances
6. ☐ In waiting rooms (standing)
7. ☐ In waiting rooms (while sitting)
8. ☐ In the dedicated areas for public services (halls/rows)
9. ☐ In staff offices (standing)
10. ☐ In staff offices (while sitting)
11. ☐ Through the devoted service windows

12. ☐ In the secretarial offices
13. ☐ In other facility spaces (i.e. archival rooms, printing rooms, storages, kitchens, WCs etc.)

II. Outside the building (you can select more than one choice)

1. ☐ Just outside the main entrance
2. ☐ On the building closest streets
3. ☐ In the nearby cafés or restaurants
4. ☐ In or around the neighbouring shops / agencies
5. ☐ In or around the neighbouring gardens/ parks
6. ☐ In the city centre public spaces
7. ☐ In other central public buildings/ institutions
8. ☐ In the Old City
9. ☐ In car parking areas
10. ☐ In nearby mosques
11. ☐ Using mobile / telephone
12. ☐ Other places (please specify):.....

15.3. Second: Places of (V to V) and (I to I) Interactions:

- a) **If you are a Visitor to the municipal building:** Where do you often meet with the other 'visitors' of the building? And where do you observe other 'visitors' like you do meet with each other?
- b) **If you are a worker in the municipal building (Inhabitant):** Where do you often meet with the other municipal 'workers'? And where do you observe other municipal 'workers' like you meet each other?

I. Inside the municipal building (you can select more than one choice)

1. ☐ In reception areas
2. ☐ In staircase areas
3. ☐ Near the elevator area
4. ☐ In the corridors
5. ☐ Near the entrances
6. ☐ In waiting rooms (standing)
7. ☐ In waiting rooms (while sitting)
8. ☐ In the dedicated areas for public services (halls/rows)
9. ☐ In staff offices (standing)
10. ☐ In staff offices (while sitting)
11. ☐ Through the devoted service windows
12. ☐ In the secretarial offices
13. ☐ In other facility spaces (i.e. archival rooms, printing rooms, storages, kitchens, WCs etc.)

II. Outside the building (you can select more than one choice)

1. ☐ Just outside the main entrance
2. ☐ On the building closest streets
3. ☐ In the nearby cafés or restaurants
4. ☐ In or around the neighbouring shops / agencies
5. ☐ In or around the neighbouring gardens/ parks
6. ☐ In the city centre public spaces
7. ☐ In other central public buildings/ institutions
8. ☐ In the Old City
9. ☐ In car parking areas
10. ☐ In nearby mosques
11. ☐ Using mobile / telephone
12. ☐ Other places (please specify):.....

16. The Driver(s) of Interaction:

16.1. Please specify what makes you stop to meet and interact with others in and/or outside the municipal building.

1. ☐ For social or dialogue-based meetings
2. ☐ For meetings that are impartially demanded by the job/service

-
3. ☐ For delivering or seeking required information
 4. ☐ For providing or requiring some help for the required service
 5. ☐ For other things (please specify):.....
-

17. When to Interact:

1. ☐ At the beginning of working-hours
 2. ☐ Within the working day
 3. ☐ When resting/lunch break
 4. ☐ After working hours
 5. ☐ Coincidentally
-

18. Average time of Interaction:

1. ☐ Just a few moments
 2. ☐ Less than 5 minutes
 3. ☐ Less than 15 minutes
 4. ☐ Less than 30 minutes
 5. ☐ One hour or more
 6. ☐ Unspecified time
-

19. Change in the Users' Interactions:

19.1. Have you noticed any change in the way or the place of direct interactions among the users of the building before and after moving the Civil Status Registrar services from the building?

1. ☐ Yes
2. ☐ Maybe to an extent
3. ☐ No
4. ☐ I don't know

19.2. If you answered 'Yes' to question 19.1, in what way do you see this change? For example:

1. The building became:.....
 2. The people/users became:.....
 3. The way of public interaction became:.....
 4. The place where people interact became:.....
-

Crucial Public Services in the Municipal Place: The Decision to Move them & its Impact:

20. The Way of Delivering Public Services in the Municipal Building:

20.1. How do you evaluate the administrative process of producing the service provided in the municipal building now?

1. ☐ Excellent
2. ☐ Good
3. ☐ Fair
4. ☐ Bad
5. ☐ Very bad
6. ☐ I don't know

20.1. How satisfied are you with the way of delivering the service that you receive (or provide if you are a staff member) from the municipal building?

1. ☐ Very satisfied
 2. ☐ Satisfied
 3. ☐ Fair
 4. ☐ Dissatisfied
 5. ☐ Very dissatisfied
 6. ☐ Not sure
-

21. Decisions of Changing & Relocating Public Services out of the Municipal Building:

You probably are aware of the recent changing decisions that have been made in the history of the services and the central building of Tripoli Municipality, including:

- 1) The decision to take out the Civil Status Registrar:
 - Firstly, by segregating its reliability to another governmental body (the Ministry of Public Security) while still serving inside the municipal building. (from 1972-1999)
 - Secondly, by moving this particular service physically from the central municipal building to another locations (1. To Al-Gazalah. 2. To Al-Mansorah. 3. And finally to Sd, Khalifah) (from 2000 until now)
- 2) The decision to relocate the central Municipal Building from its current site to another location (secluded from the city centre) and also the decision to bring it back after about 12 months.

21.1. Do think that making these changing decisions were correct?

1. ☐ Yes
2. ☐ Maybe to an extent
3. ☐ No
4. ☐ I'm not sure

21.2. If you selected 'Yes' to the above, which decision in particular do you think is correct, and why?**21.3. In your opinion, how do you understand the reason behind relocating the central municipal building to another location away from its traditional site?**

1. ☐ A technical cause forced these decisions (e.g. shortages of inside space)
2. ☐ Traffic problems outside the building in the city centre
3. ☐ Due to administrative & organisational reasons
4. ☐ No clear/rational reasons appear to me
5. ☐ Economic/financial reasons forced this change (i.e. high land value in city centre)
6. ☐ Other reasons (please specify):.....

21.4. Do you think that the current location of the CSR in Sd, Khalifa, is suitable for the functional and symbolic role required from these kind of public services?

1. ☐ Yes
2. ☐ Maybe to an extent
3. ☐ No
4. ☐ I'm not sure

21.5. If you selected 'No' to the above, where exactly do you think the CSR services should be allocated in future?

1. ☐ Nothing should change
2. ☐ The current site should not change, but there must be an overall reformation and improvement
3. ☐ It should be distributed among smaller decentralized municipal branches
4. ☐ It must be returned to the central civic centre
5. ☐ It should be moved to another independent building outside the city centre
6. ☐ Other solutions (please specify):.....

21.6. How do you currently evaluate the method of delivering the CSR services that are provided in the current location (in Sd, Khalifa)?

1. ☐ Excellent
2. ☐ Good
3. ☐ Fair
4. ☐ Bad
5. ☐ Very bad
6. ☐ I don't know

21.7. Have you ever visited or worked in the central municipal building when the CSR was serving inside the building?

1. ☐ Yes
2. ☐ No

21.8. If you selected 'Yes' to the above, how satisfied were you with the way of delivering the CSR services provided in the municipal building at that time?

1. ☐ Very satisfied
2. ☐ Satisfied
3. ☐ Fair
4. ☐ Dissatisfied
5. ☐ Very dissatisfied
6. ☐ Not sure

22. The Impact of Changing & Relocating Public Services out of the Municipal Building:**22.1. Do you think that there are some considerable effects because of these 'decentralizing' decisions?**

1. ☐ Strong negative effects
2. ☐ Some negative effects
3. ☐ No effects
4. ☐ Some positive effects

5. ☐ Strong positive effects
 6. ☐ I don't know

22.2. If you believe that these decisions do have any sort of effects, what exactly do you think they are affecting?

1. ☐ They affect the central building and its role
 2. ☐ The public services been serviced in the building
 3. ☐ Affects the citizen who visits the building
 4. ☐ The urban area around the building in the city centre
 5. ☐ The whole city
 6. ☐ The official authoritative bodies
 7. ☐ Other than that (please specify):.....

22.3. How can you define the situation before and after these decisions?

Before the decision it was:.....

After the decision it is becoming:.....

23. The Expectations and Challenges Facing the Future Role of Tripoli Municipal Building

23.1. How would you prefer to receive public services that generate your personal presence to the municipal place in the future?

1. ☐ Nothing should change
 2. ☐ Keeping the current conditions with removing all the negative aspects
 3. ☐ Distributing these services into small neighbourhood municipal branches
 4. ☐ Reform the current situation administratively
 5. ☐ Reform the current procedures technically
 6. ☐ Privatizing the municipal and civil services
 7. ☐ Reforming the current conditions by applying technological solutions
 8. ☐ Others (please specify):.....

23.2. If you selected 'applying technological solutions', what do you mean by them, and why did you choose this answer in particular?

The solution for example is:

.....

Why is this?

.....

23.1. What do you think are the challenges that will face Tripoli's central municipal building in the coming years? (Please write your opinion in the box below)

If there are any further comments or explanations you would like to add, please write in the box below with the number of the referred question.

Thank you very much.

Appendix B: Authorised Field Study Permission


 الجمهورية العربية الليبية الشعبية الاشتراكية
 اللجنة الشعبية العامة للمرافق
 مراقبة المرافق بشعبية طرابلس

التاريخ: 1 / 1
 الموافق: 20/01/11

الرقم الإشاري: 980-1-7

إلى من يهمه الأمر .
 بعد النجتي ،،،

نأمل منكم مشكورين القيام بمساعدة المهندس / عبد اللطيف محمد العلوس - أحد
 المهندسين المعماريين التابعين لهذه الأمانة وذلك بملء الاستبان المرفق - طيه - والمتعلق
 بموضوع الدراسة البحثية التي يقوم بها حالياً على مبنى اللجنة الشعبية لشعبية طرابلس "سابقاً"
 من الناحية المعمارية والتخطيطية كجزء من برنامج دراسته للحصول على الدرجة العلمية
 الدقيقة الموفد من أجلها إلى الساحة البريطانية بجامعة نيوكاسل بموجب قرار الأخ / أمين
 اللجنة لشعبية العامة للتعليم العالي رقم (444) لسنة 1375.و.ر .

شاكرين لكم مسبقاً حسن تعاونكم لإنجاز كل ما من شأنه الدعم
 بمسيرة العلم والبحث العلمي بمجتمعنا الجماهيري

والسلام عليكم

المهندس / فتححي سالم مسعود

مدير مكتب الشؤون الإدارية والمالية بالمراقبة



صورة إلى :
 ١- وزارة الشؤون البلدية
 ٢- وزارة الشؤون البلدية
 ٣- وزارة الشؤون البلدية
 ٤- وزارة الشؤون البلدية
 ٥- وزارة الشؤون البلدية
 ٦- وزارة الشؤون البلدية
 ٧- وزارة الشؤون البلدية
 ٨- وزارة الشؤون البلدية
 ٩- وزارة الشؤون البلدية
 ١٠- وزارة الشؤون البلدية

AUTHORISED FIELD STUDY PERMISSION TRANSLATION:

Letter Heading: Ministry of Utilities, Utilities Surveillance of Tripoli Municipality.

Date: 11/02/2010.

To Whom It May Concern,

We would be grateful if you could assist Architect Abdelatif Mohamed El-Allous, one of the architects working in this institution, by participating in his survey (attached), as part of his current research on the subject of the building of Tripoli municipality, from an architectural and planning perspective. The study is part of a Ph.D. research project that is undertaken in Newcastle University, the UK, and is sponsored under the resolution of the Higher Education Secretary number (444) in 2004.

Thanks in advance for your kind cooperation to make this research endeavour beneficial for the success of our 'Jamahiri' (public mass) society.

Signed by: Eng. Fathi Salem Masoud

Director of Administration and Financial Affairs

Official stamp of: Documentation Dept, the Ministry of Utilities, Utilities Surveillance of Tripoli Municipality.

Appendix C: List of the Study Key Informative Interviewees

Code	Affiliation
AA	Architect and Academic, at Alfateh University, Tripoli. He is also a senior consultant at the ECOU, particularly on authoring the "Tripoli Urban & Architectural Charter" with ECOU and AKT-IAURIF.
AK	Head of the Libyan national bureau of Engineering Consulting Office for Utilities, in Tripoli (ECOU).
AS	One of the most senior municipal architects in TMB.
EM	Frontline municipal staff at TMB.
ET	The Head of the Tripoli City Urban Planning Dept. of TM.
FA	Architect and Academic, at Alfateh University, Tripoli. He is also a supervisor of the "Tripoli Urban & Architectural Charter" project at ECOU in Tripoli.
FD	The executive chairman of Tripoli Municipality. Perhaps he can be described as the city Mayor in command during the fieldwork period.
HA	An elderly resident of Tripoli historical centre. In his late 70s, he is still a regular customer of the nearest coffee to the municipal building (morning times). This coffee of Al-Baladiya is confronting the main public entrance of the building from the north.
HD	An architect works in Al-Dar Allibya Design studio, which, is very close located near the studied municipal building in al-Istiqlal Street.
MA	Senior Municipal director.
MD	Academic Professor and Historian Architect, Alfateh University, Tripoli. His private Design Studio, Al-Dar Allibya, is very close located near to Tripoli Municipal Building. He was also a former chairman of ECOU.
ME	The chairman of the Department of Urban Planning in Tripoli Municipality (Region of Tripoli). He was also appointed as the principal consultant advisor of urban planning in the central Libyan government at the time (the Libyan Higher Popular Committee).
MK	Senior Royal Officer during The Kingdom of Libya regime 1951-1969. Born in 1912 and has witnessed the Italian occupation period in Tripoli.
MO	Senior Municipal Engineer, since 1983, former deputy director of the municipal department of General Public Projects.
MS	Secretary of Tripoli's Department of Urban Planning at the municipal building.
MSH	Lawyer, and Senior Law Advisor of Tripoli Municipality 1974-2007.
MZ	Former Mayor of Tripoli.
NZ	A Senior Municipal Planner, Head of the Planning Department at the Administrative Apparatus for Implementing the Projects of the Utility Corporation in Tripoli.
OZ	A former chairman of the technical and engineering studies of the municipality's Technical Affairs Department.
SH-1	A senior shopkeeper (owner of Al-Turjaman Translation Services) his office is very strategically located in front of the main public entrances of the building of Tripoli Municipality in al-Istiqlal Street.
SH-2 SH-3	A librarian shopkeeper works at the World Islamic Call Society association, placed opposite to the main official entrance of the Municipal Building in Algeria square. His anonymous friend is a neighbouring shopkeeper of a bounty shop under the same fronting arcade.
SH-4	The Baladiya Coffee shop, in front of the main public entrance.
SH-5	An ealderly/owner of an old established agency in al-Istiqlal Street near TMB.
SM	A former consultant at the Housing and Utility Dept. in TMB. He was also a senior academic at Ex-Alfatih University, now Tripoli University.
SS	Senior municipal architects in TMB.

Appendix D: Example of Responses to Open Questions

Question Number: 12.5:		
1. Negative Change Indications		
R N°	The building Was:	The building is now:
Roo1	Beautiful and organised	Chaotic
Roo2	One of Tripoli's Landmark	A typical building
Roo5	With a high value	its value is not respected
Roo6	Good	Miserable
Roo8	A symbolic value	A symbolic value, but only to an extent
Roo9	Brilliant	Good
Ro10	Beautiful and expresses the art of architecture	Neglected
Ro12	good	Ok
Ro14	Beautiful and in good condition	Tired and needs maintenance
Ro17	An architectural sculpture	A place of chaos and congestion
Ro18	Very good	To an extent
Ro19	Huge and its design is delightful	Its interior looks like any other public building
Ro20	in a very good condition	Neglected somehow
Ro21	Beautiful and in good condition	Dilapidated and needs maintenance
Ro26	It used to be one of the most significant buildings in Tripoli	Important but not among the most significant
Ro29	Better, wider and more beauty	Overcrowded
Ro30	Something that is extraordinary	Something that is ordinary or less
Ro31	A public service provider, clean, and well-organised	Opposite of how it used to be
Ro37	A symbol of the beautiful city of Tripoli	I am not sure
Ro38	Clean, beautiful, organised	Destroyed, yet still can be proud of !!
Ro39	Very good	Ok
Ro40	Very good	Good
Ro41	Clean, Organised, Service-provider	Polluted, Unorganised, Neglected
Ro46	A public building in need of maintenance	A dilapidated building that needs continuous preservation
Ro47	Was much better	--
Ro51	A building that provides easy services and organised	Unorganised
Ro52	Good	Not good
Ro53	Good	Average
Ro54	Modern and clean	Not so!
Ro56	Has value	Has no value
Ro58	Magnificence in its beauty	An old historical icon
Ro59	Among the most beautiful landmarks in Tripoli	Very very bad
Ro61	In good condition	Not good after the alteration
Ro62	It was a symbol to the traditional historical buildings	Ravaged and needs maintenance
Ro64	Significant and vibrant building	Old and needs maintenance
Ro65	In tuned with its age	Ancient and not up to the latest progress
Ro66	Good and a symbol of the city	Somehow neglected
Ro67	In a good condition	In a somehow condition!
Ro69	Was beautiful	Becomes depressed
Ro70	Good	Average
Ro71	Beautiful	Lack of care with the building
Ro76	Very strong	Just strong
Ro78	The building used to function as a 'Baladiyah', its status and prestige made it influential	Its internal spaces and departments are always in change
Ro79	Brilliant and civilized	Neither old nor modern
Ro83	Better than now	Lacks looking after it
Ro85	Good	Bad
Ro89	Beautiful, important, and central	Reasonable, relatively important, and central
Ro92	Was a beautiful building	becomes a historical building
Ro95	Great	Ancient
R103	Distinction, architecturally	Unsuitable additions and renewals (to its architecture)

R108	In the peak	Down at the bottom
R109	In an excellent form	Good
R110	Very good	Unpretentious
R114	A symbol to the 'Baladiya'	Its value has been deteriorated
R118	Very good	Good
R120	Beautiful	A farce/ jock
R121	Very good	Weak
R123	excellent	Not excellent
R124	The design was very well organised	The alterations damaged the design
R126	Represents the local government of the city 'Baladiyah.'	Currently, it is a place that delivers part of the city services (e.g. the different public utility services)."
R127	Was suitable for one intact occupation	The affiliation of the organisations using the building now is attached to many different governing bodies not just to one
R128	Was in a very good condition	Needs to be maintained, with the preservation of its distinctive elements
R129	An icon symbol to the local municipal authority of Tripoli city	An administrative building that is lacking the previous national and symbolic value
R132	Easy to reach	A burden on its site

2. Positive Change

Roo7	Good	Very Good
Ro35	Good	"Masha Allah", [Very good]
Ro55	Neglected needs renewing	Good and for further progress
Ro86	Good	Very good
Ro97	Good	Very good
R101	Not clean in its appearance	Acceptable
R119	Historical	Very functional
R125	Good	Good (its shape and form is been preserved)
R131	Needs maintenance	Maintained somehow

3. No Change

Ro34	An old building	Still an old building
Ro48	Remarkable	Still the same
Ro60	Distinction, to me	Still Distinction
Ro81	Distinction	Will remain distinction
Ro93	I do not know	still as it is
Ro96	OK	OK
R106	As it is.	As it is.
R112	Reasonable	Reasonable

4. No Clear answers

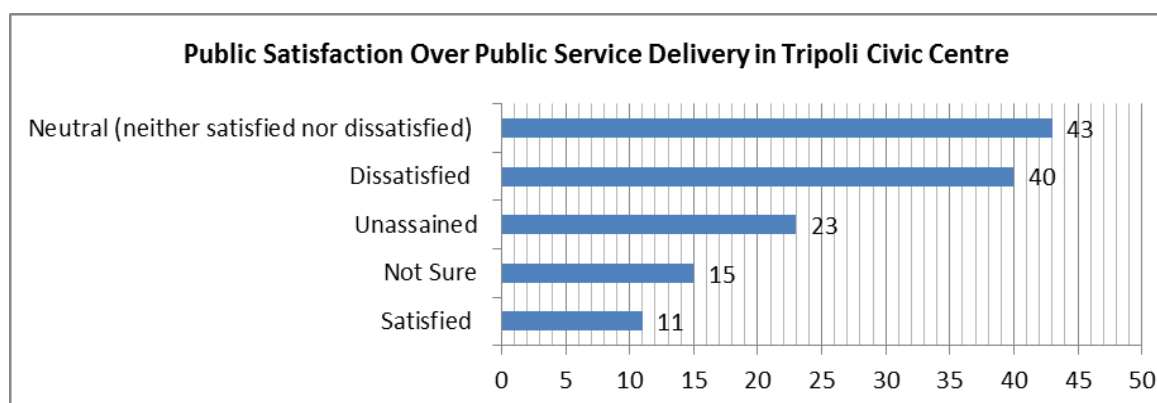
Ro25	I did not see it properly before	Inside is incoherent from its architectural style, "shlafty"* (a slang for inelegant)
Ro98	I did not notice when passing by	--
R122	--	Needs comprehensive maintenance

5. Not Sure/ Do not know

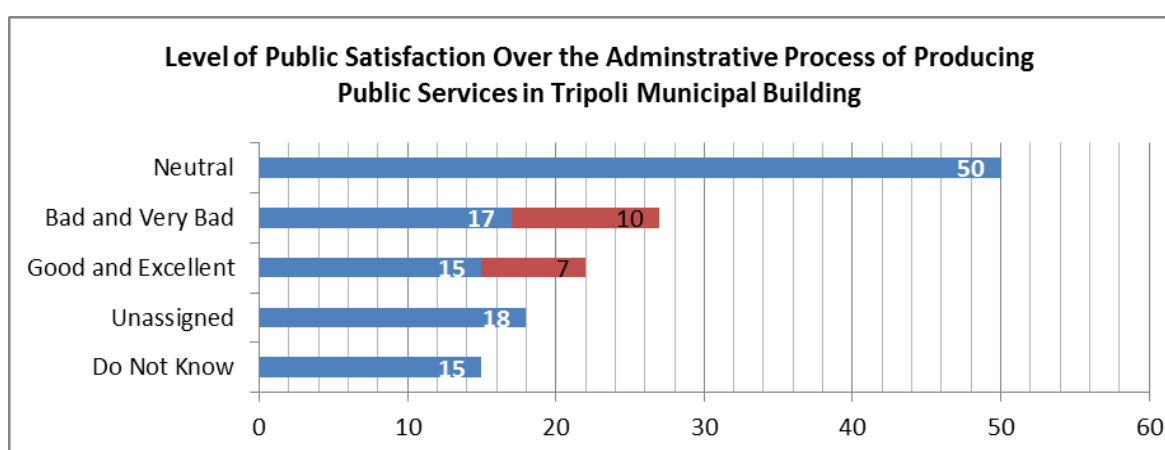
Roo3	I don't know	I don't know
Roo4	I don't know	I don't know
Ro23	I don't know	I don't know
Ro33	I don't know	I don't know
Ro50	I don't know	I don't know
Ro72	I do not know how it was	Do not know it is now
Ro75	I have not visited it	--
Ro87	I do not have enough knowledge about how it was	I only visited it ones
Ro90	I am not sure	I am sure it was better
Ro91	I do not know	I do not know (all what I know is; it is in a good condition)
Ro94	Not sure	Not sure
R100	Do not know how it was	Do not know how it is now
R115	I do not know	I do not know
R130	--	I have not seen it

Appendix E: Participants' Satisfaction (Serving Functions)

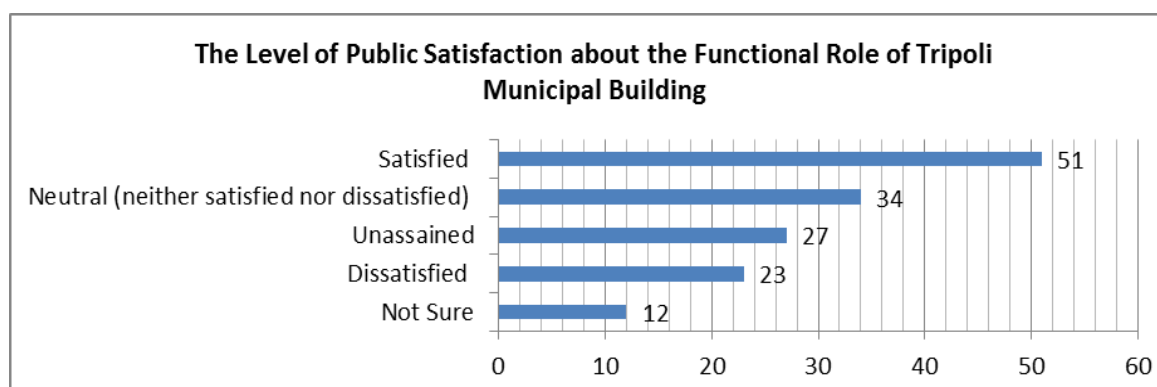
The following figures present the number of participants.



Graph (E1) Shows the results of question (20.2) measuring the level of public satisfaction about the services of Tripoli municipal building after the relocation.



Graph (E2) Shows the results of question (20.1) measuring the level of public satisfaction about the administrative processes of public services in Tripoli main municipal building.



Graph (E3) Shows the results of question (11.4) measuring the level of public satisfaction about the functional Role of Tripoli main municipal building.

Appendix F: Nvivo9 Analysis Snapshots

The screenshot displays the NVivo 9 software interface. The title bar indicates the project is 'Investigating the role of Tripoli MB Conv.nvp - NVivo'. The 'Media' tab is selected in the top menu. The 'Sources' pane on the left shows a tree view of data sources, including 'Internals' (Content Documents, Interviews, Literature Citations, Project J, Questionnaire (Answers t), Research Reports) and 'Externals' (Memos).

The main window shows a table of interviews:

Name	Nodes	References	Created On	Created By	Modified On	Modified By
MR M.Shai (1)	0	0	17/05/2010 14:01	A	17/05/2010 14:46	A
MR M.Shai (2)	1	2	17/05/2010 14:48	A	17/05/2010 15:38	A
MR M.Shai (3)	2	2	17/05/2010 14:49	A	17/05/2010 14:50	A
MR M.Shai (4)	2	2	17/05/2010 14:50	A	17/05/2010 14:51	A

Below the table, a timeline view shows the audio content. The timeline is labeled 'Click to edit' and has a scale from 0:00.0 to 0:28.0. The content is divided into three segments:

Timespan	Content
1 0:00.0 - 0:06.5	بيت تتبع اللجنة الشعبية العامة للعدل و الأمن العام
2 0:06.5 - 0:19.2	يمكن إحيائها تاريخها تقريباً 1999
3 0:19.2 - 0:29.0	

The bottom status bar shows '4 Items', 'Nodes: 1', 'References: 2', 'Read-Only', 'Unfiltered', and '0:29.0/0:29.0'. The system tray at the bottom right shows the date and time: 'Thursday 11/07/2013 14:16'.

Investigating the role of Tripoli MB Conv.nvp - NVivo

File Home Create External Data Analyze Explore Layout View Media

Transcript Video Size Video Player Fit To Player Split Stop Play/Pause Playback Play Mode Start Selection Select Media from Transcript Finish Selection Assign Timespan to Rows Play Transcript Media Assign Frame as Thumbnail Selection

Sources

Internals

- Content Documents
 - Interviews
 - Literature Citations
 - Project J
 - Questionnaire (Answers t
 - Research Reports
- Externals
- Memos

Look for: Search In Interviews Find Now Clear Advanced Find X

Interviews

Name	Nodes	References	Created On	Created By	Modified On	Modified By
MR M.Shai (1)	0	0	17/05/2010 14:01	A	17/05/2010 14:46	A
MR M.Shai (2)	1	2	17/05/2010 14:48	A	17/05/2010 15:38	A
MR M.Shai (3)	2	2	17/05/2010 14:49	A	17/05/2010 14:50	A
MR M.Shai (4)	2	2	17/05/2010 14:50	A	17/05/2010 14:51	A

1_Abdelatif. Phd Progress Report Old MB 1920s MR M.Shai (2) MR M.Shai (1)

0:00.0 0:50.0 1:40.0 2:30.0 3:20.0 4:10.0 5:00.0 5:50.0 6:40.0 7:30.0 8:20.0

Timespan	Content
4 3:49.5 - 4:03.1	أهمية المبني التاريخية والمدينة
5 4:03.1 - 4:19.6	متعدد الوظائف منها محكمة شمال طرابلس.. علاقة الجماهير به لوجود الأحوال المدنية و دور البلدية في رعاية المواطن في شؤون الجلاء والوفاء
6 4:19.6 - 4:24.7	التعريب بالكامل كان في 1960
1	واجهة المبني نحو مركز المدينة
2	علاقة المواطن بالبلدية و طليدة يومية و مهمة جدا ارتباطه الكامل كان بالبلدية
3	العلاقة الآن تغيرت بسبب سلب الاختصاصات .. منها انتهاء مصلحة الأحوال المدنية منفصلة عن البلدية
*	

In Nodes Code At X

4 Items Nodes: 0 References: 0 Editable Unfiltered 8:30.7/8:30.7 8:30.7

AR 14:26 Thursday 11/07/2013

TMB conv.nvp - NVivo

File Home Create External Data Analyze Explore Layout View

Chart Cluster Tree Graph New Advanced New Run New Run Source Classification Node Classification Cancel
Analysis Map Model Find Query Query Query Reports Classification Sheets Node Classification Sheets Progress

Queries

Look for: Search In: Results Find Now Clear Advanced Find

Results

Name	Sources	References	Created On	Created By	Modified On	Modified By				
Case										
	A: 1.Gender	B: 2.Age	C: 3.Qualifica...	D: 4.1.Domicile	E: 4.2.CSR R...	F: 5.PC & IT ...	G: 6.2.Interne...	H: 6.1.Interne...	I: 6.3.Internet ...	J: 7.1.Recogn...
1: R001	Female	40-59	University	Very close to the	NO	Unassigned	Occasionally	Unassigned	Unassigned	Visit occasional
2: R002	Male	40-59	University	Within the city ce	YES	Unassigned	Occasionally	Unassigned	Unassigned	Worked there pr
3: R003	Female	25-39	University	Within the city ce	YES	Unassigned	Constantly	Unassigned	Unassigned	Know it but neve
4: R004	Female	25-39	H Collage	Within the city ce	YES	Unassigned	Occasionally	Unassigned	Unassigned	Do not know it
5: R005	Female	25-39	University	Within the city ce	YES	Unassigned	Often	Unassigned	Unassigned	Visit when need
6: R006	Male	25-39	University	Around the center	YES	Unassigned	Often	Unassigned	Unassigned	Visit when need
7: R007	Male	25-39	H Collage	Within the city ce	YES	Unassigned	Constantly	Unassigned	Unassigned	Visit when need
8: R008	Male	40-59	HE Degree	Around the center	YES	Unassigned	Often	Unassigned	Unassigned	Visit when need
9: R009	Female	25-39	University	Within the city ce	YES	Unassigned	Often	Unassigned	Unassigned	Visit when need
10: R010	Male	18-24	University	Very close to the	YES	Unassigned	Occasionally	Unassigned	Unassigned	Work nearby, ne
11: R011	Female	25-39	M Collage	Around the center	YES	Unassigned	Occasionally	Unassigned	Unassigned	Visit when need
12: R012	Male	25-39	University	Within the city ce	Unassigned	Unassigned	Often	Unassigned	Unassigned	Visited it once
13: R013	Female	40-59	University	Within the city ce	YES	Unassigned	Occasionally	Unassigned	Unassigned	Visited it once
14: R014	Male	25-39	University	Around the center	Unassigned	Unassigned	Rarely	Unassigned	Unassigned	Know it but neve
15: R015	Female	25-39	University	Very close to the	YES	Unassigned	Constantly	Unassigned	Unassigned	Worked there pr
16: R016	Male	25-39	University	Outside Tripoli	YES	Unassigned	Constantly	Unassigned	Unassigned	Do not know it
17: R017	Male	25-39	University	Within the city ce	YES	Unassigned	Constantly	Unassigned	Unassigned	Visit when need
18: R018	Male	60-64	HE Degree	Within the city ce	YES	Unassigned	Constantly	Unassigned	Unassigned	Work nearby, an
19: R019	Female	25-39	University	Within the city ce	YES	Unassigned	Occasionally	Unassigned	Unassigned	Work there now
20: R020	Male	25-39	University	Outside Tripoli	NO	Unassigned	Often	Unassigned	Unassigned	Visit when need
21: R021	Male	40-59	M Collage	Around the center	YES	Unassigned	Rarely	Unassigned	Unassigned	Visit when need
22: R022	Male	40-59	University	Around the center	NO	Unassigned	Occasionally	Unassigned	Unassigned	Know it but neve
23: R023	Female	25-39	University	Very close to the	YES	Unassigned	Often	Unassigned	Unassigned	Do not know it
24: R024	Male	25-39	H Collage	Within the city ce	YES	Unassigned	Often	Unassigned	Unassigned	Visit when need
25: R025	Female	25-39	University	Far from the city-c	Unassigned	Unassigned	Often	Unassigned	Unassigned	Visited it once
26: R026	Male	25-39	University	Far from the city-c	NO	Unassigned	Occasionally	Unassigned	Unassigned	Know it but neve
27: R027	Male	25-39	University	Within the city ce	Unassigned	Unassigned	Occasionally	Unassigned	Unassigned	Know it but neve
28: R028	Male	25-39	University	Around the center	Unassigned	Unassigned	Often	Unassigned	Unassigned	Know it but neve
29: R029	Female	25-39	University	Within the city ce	YES	Unassigned	Occasionally	Unassigned	Unassigned	Know it but neve
30: R030	Male	25-39	University	Very close to the	YES	Unassigned	Rarely	Unassigned	Unassigned	Work nearby, an
31: R031	Male	25-39	University	Within the city ce	NO	Unassigned	Occasionally	Unassigned	Unassigned	Visited it once
32: R032	Male	25-39	University	Far from the city-c	YES	Unassigned	Occasionally	Unassigned	Unassigned	Do not know it
33: R033	Female	25-39	University	Within the city ce	YES	Unassigned	Occasionally	Unassigned	Unassigned	Do not know it

0 Items Unfiltered

EN 14:55 Thursday 11/07/2013

TMB conv.nvp - NVivo

File Home Create External Data Analyze Explore Layout View

Chart Cluster Tree Graph New Advanced New Run New Run Source Classification Node Classification Cancel
Analysis Map Model Find Query Query Other Actions Reports Reports Extract Extract Sheets Sheets Progress

Visualizations Models Find Queries Reports Classification Sheets

Classifications Look for: Search In: Node Classification Find Now Clear Advanced Find X

Source Classifications
Node Classifications
Relationship Types

Node Classifications

Name	Created On	Created By	Modified On	Modified By
Case	11/07/2013 14:49			
1.Gender				A
10.1.MB Visiting Times				A
11.1. MB Value				A
11.3.MB Attachment & Representation				A
11.4.MB Functional Role Satisfaction				A
12.1.Change of MB (Image)				A
12.2. Change of MB (Functional role)				A
12.3. Change of MB (Appearance)				A
12.4.Change of MB (Space)				A
13.1.MBs central location (Attitude)				A
13.2.Suitability of Tripoli MB location				A
13.3.Relocating Tripoli central MB (Attitude)				A
14.1. MB surroundings (Use & Visit)				A
14.2. MB surroundings (Most visited Places & ...)				A
14.3. MB surroundings (Time of visiting)				A
14.4. MB surroundings (Motive for visiting)				A
14.5.MB surroundings (Exploitation of the MB)	15/06/2010 13:39	A	28/06/2010 14:03	A
14.6.MB surroundings (Observation of others)	15/06/2010 13:41	A	28/06/2010 14:03	A
14.7. MB surroundings (Quality of urban place)	15/06/2010 13:43	A	28/06/2010 14:03	A
15.The Respondent Is	15/06/2010 13:46	A	28/06/2010 14:06	A
16.1. Users Interaction (Motives of interaction)	15/06/2010 14:13	A	05/07/2010 16:53	A
17. Users Interaction (Timing)	15/06/2010 14:16	A	28/06/2010 14:07	A
18. Users Interaction (Duration)	15/06/2010 14:17	A	28/06/2010 14:07	A
19.1. Users Interaction (Change in Interaction)	15/06/2010 14:19	A	28/06/2010 14:07	A
2.Age	14/06/2010 17:30	A	28/06/2010 13:59	A
20.1.M Service Proceeding (Attitude)	23/06/2010 12:29	A	28/06/2010 14:07	A
20.2. M Service Delivering (Satisfaction)	23/06/2010 12:32	A	28/06/2010 14:07	A
21.1.MB Relocation (Supporting the Decision)	23/06/2010 12:41	A	28/06/2010 14:07	A
21.3. Cause of MB Relocation (Opinion)	05/07/2010 13:59	A	05/07/2010 14:04	A
21.4.CSR New Location (Suitability)	23/06/2010 12:51	A	28/06/2010 14:08	A
21.5. CSR New Location (Preferences)	23/06/2010 12:53	A	28/06/2010 14:08	A
21.5. Preference Location for Future CSR	05/07/2010 14:05	A	05/07/2010 14:10	A
21.6. CSR Services Delivering (Attitude)	23/06/2010 12:56	A	28/06/2010 14:08	A
21.7. Old CSR Services in the MB (Observing)	23/06/2010 13:00	A	28/06/2010 14:08	A

Attribute Properties

General Values

Value	Description	Color	Default
Unassigned		None	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Not Applicable		None	<input type="checkbox"/>
High great value		None	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Simple value		None	<input type="checkbox"/>
As any other public building		None	<input type="checkbox"/>
No significant value		None	<input type="checkbox"/>
Negative value		None	<input type="checkbox"/>
Not sure		None	<input type="checkbox"/>

Add Remove Sort Move Up Move Down

Apply OK Cancel

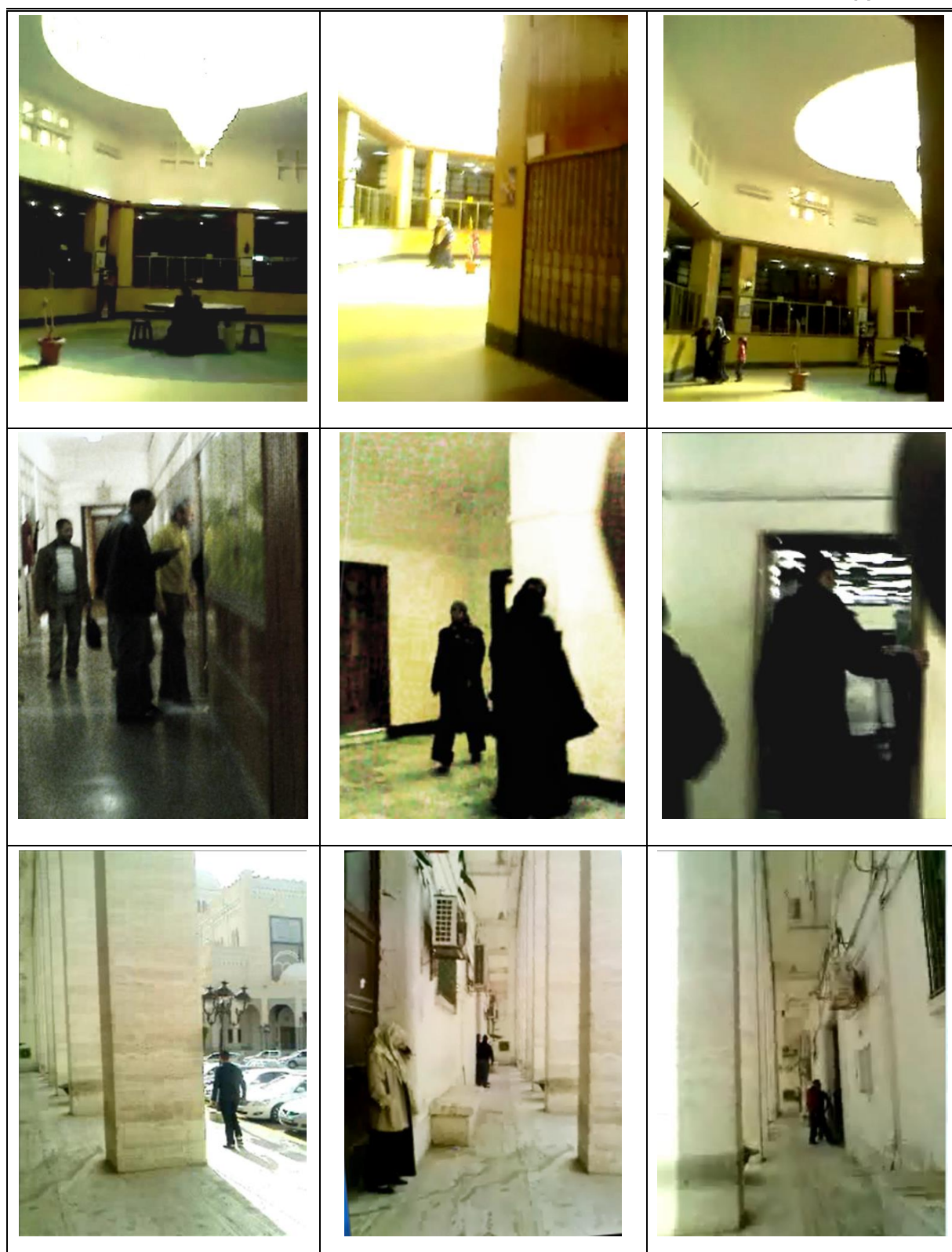
Sources
Nodes
Classifications
Collections
Queries
Reports
Models
Folders

1 Item

EN 15:02
Thursday
11/07/2013

Appendix G: Walkthrough Video Analysis Snapshots





The above snapshot frames were taken from video clips filmed by the present researcher during a walkthrough observation on the TMB site between 11/02/2010 to 17/02/2010 as part of the fieldwork preparation. Most of this material did not survive the inspection by the government security officers as explained in chapter 4. The images give some sense of how the TMB's internal and external spaces, including offices, corridors, staircase and entrances, nearby cafes, streets, and greenery were used at the time. Some images also show the traffic congestion on the main Belaya Street to the north of the building.

Appendix H: Summary of Literature Review on the Elements of Architecture

Vitruvius (25 BC)	Wotton (1624)	Roth (1998)	Conway & Roensch (2005)	Hillier, Hanson, & Peponis (1984)	Markus (1993)	Kostof (1985 & 1995)	Sandaker (2007)	Encyclopædia Britannica (2009)	Summary of Reviewed Literature
Cited in: (Roth, 1998)		<i>Understanding Architecture: Its Elements, History, and Meaning.</i>	<i>Understanding Architecture: An Introduction to Architecture & Architectural History.</i>	<i>What Do We Mean By Building Function? (The Origins of the Space Syntax Analysis Theory)</i>	<i>Buildings & Power</i>	'The Four Premises' in <i>A History of Architecture: Settings and Rituals</i>	<i>On Span and Space: Exploring Structure in Architecture</i>	'The Characteristics That Distinguish A Work Of Architecture From Other Man-Made Structures'	
<i>Venustas</i>	<i>Delight</i>	Firmness: How does the building stand up? Delight: Seeing architecture.	The Exterior (also Style, Period) "is what we usually see first and it is easy just to concentrate on the facade"	"What is it about the building form that leaves its mark on what people do (function)?" "It is the organisation of space that makes the building unique. It is the distinguishing mark of space that sets the work of architecture apart from other artefacts" "We must learn to describe buildings spatially as social products, or we will not be able to arrive at a usable definition of building function" "Social meaning is not a gloss added to buildings: it is an intrinsic aspect of their physical form. Indeed it is their most important aspect. Buildings are for the organisation of space. "	Form	1) The oneness of Architecture: The building Form and Structure "are basically one and the same."	The Building Physical Structure <i>determines</i> ; it defines the building form, space and function.	The communication of experience and ideas through its form.	Form
<i>Firmitas</i>	<i>Firmness</i>	- Perceptual Structure - Physical Structure	Materials & Construction					The stability and permanence of the work's construction,	Structure
<i>Utilitas</i>	<i>Commodity</i>	Commodity: How does the Building function? - Pragmatic utility - Psychological function	Space & Function "The functions of buildings are often complex, and not all utilitarian, in the sense of serving a practical purpose. Many are designed to express emotions or to symbolise ideas, and this may influence the final form of the building."		Function	2)The Community of Architecture All of the building's parts "deserve to be studied" 3) The meaning of Architecture: "Buildings are not only physical presences" - Why the building is there? - Why it is in the way it is? - We must not confuse Function with Rituals. "Public architecture at its best aspires to be just this: a sitting for rituals that makes of each use, a larger person than he or she is in daily life, filling each one with the pride of belonging"		The suitability of the work to be used by human beings in general and its adaptability to particular human activities. The practice of architecture is employed to fulfill both: - Practical requirements. - Expressive requirements. "Society requires that architecture not only communicate the aspirations of its institutions but also fulfill their practical needs."	Function (Both: Practical and Expressive)
		"Delight": Space in architecture.	Site & Place		Space	4) The sitting of Architecture "No building is an isolated object," it belongs in a large site			Space
									Place (The Urban Sittings)

Appendix I: Statistical Results of Users' Interaction within the Municipal Environment

Internal Places and Spaces of Users' Interaction around the Municipal Building

First, Internal Spaces of Dissimilar Type of Users' Interactions: Visitor to Inhabitant (V to I) Interactions (and vice versa).

Question 15.2.(i) of the questionnaire asked the surveyed people about the places and spaces of *dissimilar* type of users' interactions, between Visitor and Inhabitant (V to I), and vice versa (I to V), it reads:

Q 15.2 (i): From the provided list of places and space *inside* the municipal place:

- c) If you are a Visitor to the municipal building. Where do you often meet with the municipal staff? And where do you observe other visitors like you do meet with the staff?
- d) If you work in the municipal building (Inhabitant). Where do you often meet with the building visitors? And where do you observe other municipal workers like you meet with the building visitors?

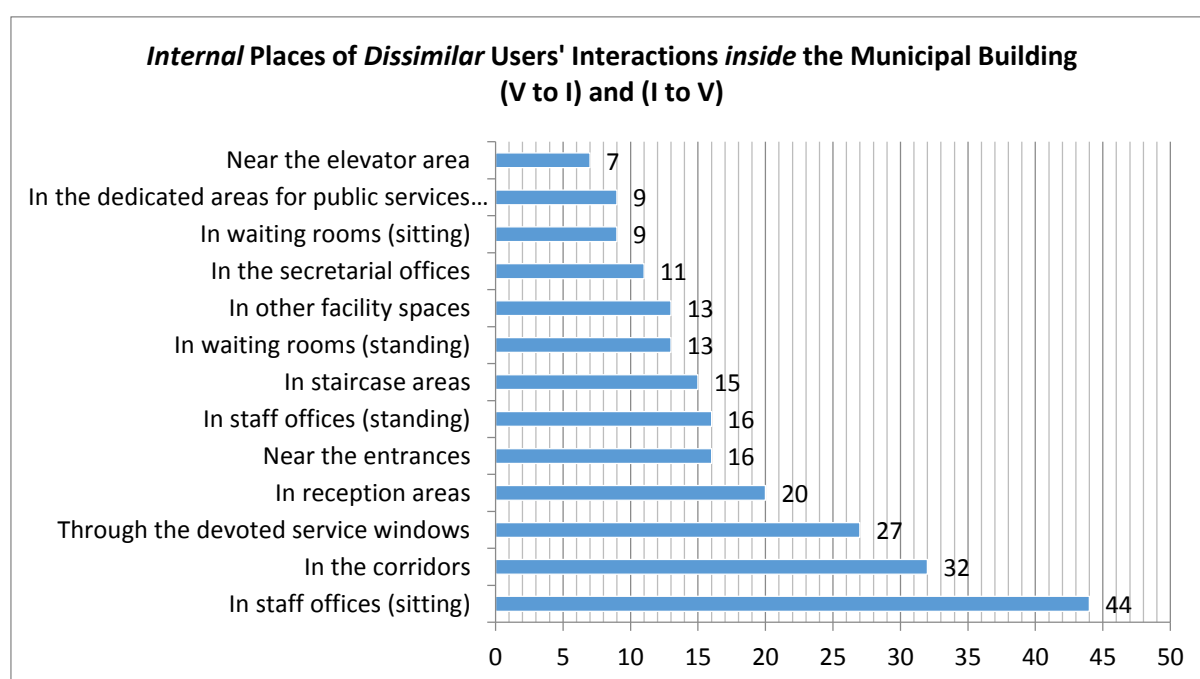


Figure I-1: Statistical analysis of the internal places of dissimilar users' interactions inside the municipal building (V-to-I and I-to-V).

(This figure present the number of participants)

Second, Internal Spaces of Similar Type of Users' Interactions: Visitor to Visitor (V to V) and Inhabitant to Inhabitant (I to I) Interactions.

Question 15.3.(i) of the questionnaire considered the places and spaces of the *similar* type of users' interactions: Visitor to Visitors (V to V) interactions, and Inhabitants to Inhabitant (I to I) interactions, it reads as follows:

Q 15.3 (i): From the provided list of places and space *inside* the municipal place:

- a) If you are a Visitor to the municipal building. Where do you often meet with the other visitors of the building? And where do you observe other visitors like you do meet with each other?

- b) If you worker in the municipal building (Inhabitant). Where do you often meet with the other municipal workers? And where do you observe other municipal workers like you meet each other?

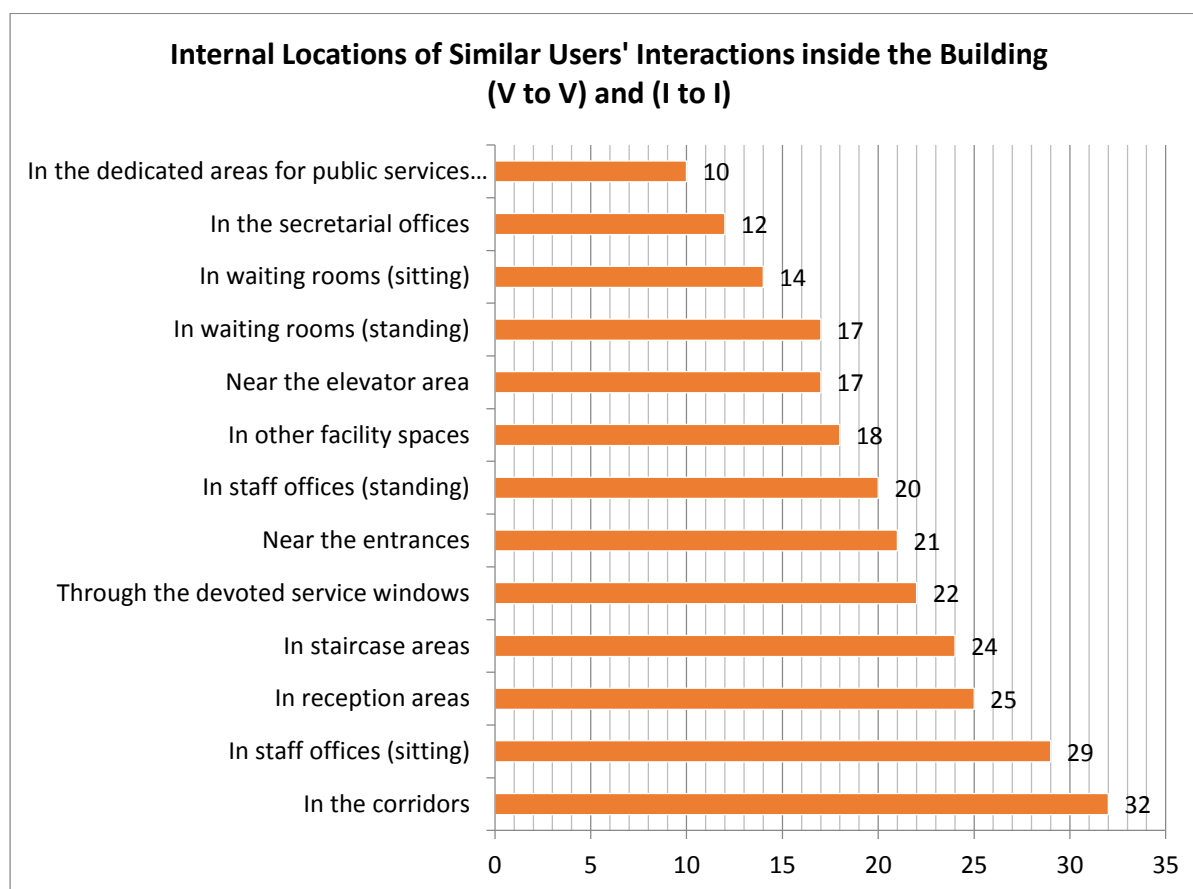


Figure I-2: Statistical analysis of the internal locations of similar users' interactions inside the municipal building (V-to-V and I-to-I).

(This figure present the number of participants)

External Places and Spaces of Users' Interaction around the Municipal Building

First, External Spaces of Dissimilar Type of Users' Interactions Outside the Municipal Building: Visitor to Inhabitant (V to I) Interactions (and vice versa).

In question 15.2.(ii) of the study, the participants were asked about the locations of *dissimilar* types of users' interactions *outside* the municipal building, between Visitor and Inhabitant (V to I), and vice versa (I to V):

Q 15.2 (ii): From the provided list of *outside* locations around the municipal building:

- If you are a Visitor to the municipal building. Where do you often meet with the municipal staff? And where do you observe other visitors like you do meet with the staff?
- If you work in the municipal building (Inhabitant). Where do you often meet with the building visitors? And where do you observe other municipal workers like you meet with the building visitors?

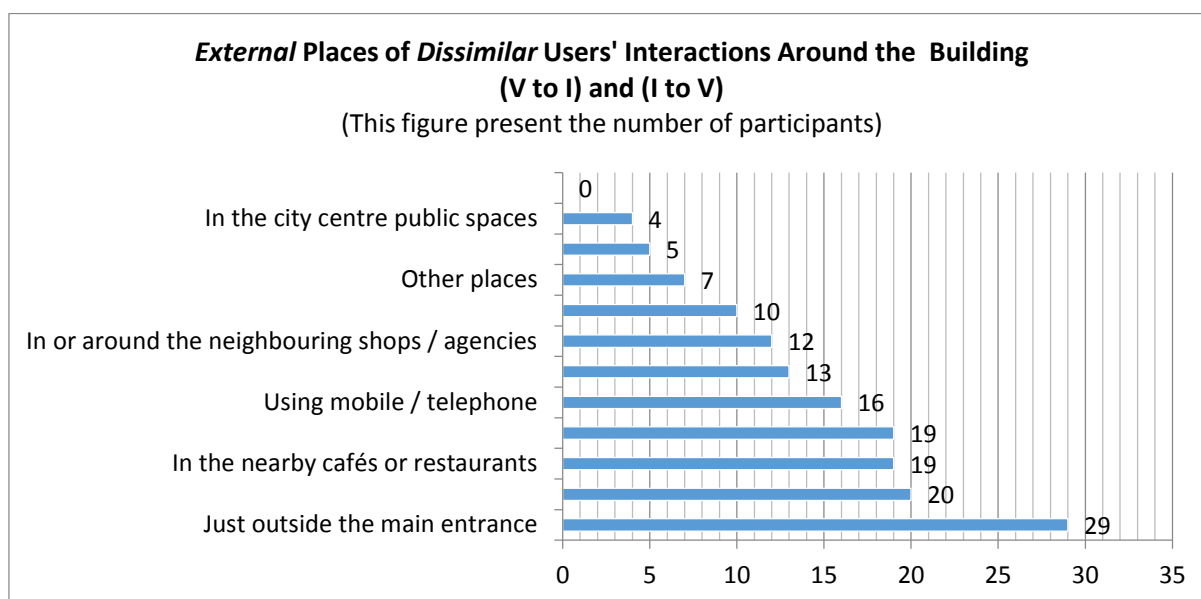


Figure I-3: Statistical analysis of the external places of dissimilar users' interactions around the building (V-to-I and I-to-V).

Second, External Spaces of Similar Type of Users' Interactions outside the Municipal Building: Visitor to Visitor (V to V) and Inhabitant to Inhabitant (I to I) Interactions

Question 15.3.(ii) asked about the *outside* places and spaces of the *similar* type of users' interactions: Visitor to Visitors (V to V) interactions, and Inhabitants to Inhabitant (I to I) interactions:

Q 15.3 (ii): From the provided list of *outside* locations around the municipal building:

- If you are a Visitor to the municipal building. Where do you often meet with the other visitors of the building? And where do you observe other visitors like you do meet with each other?
- If you worker in the municipal building (Inhabitant). Where do you often meet with the other municipal workers? And where do you observe other municipal workers like you meet each other?

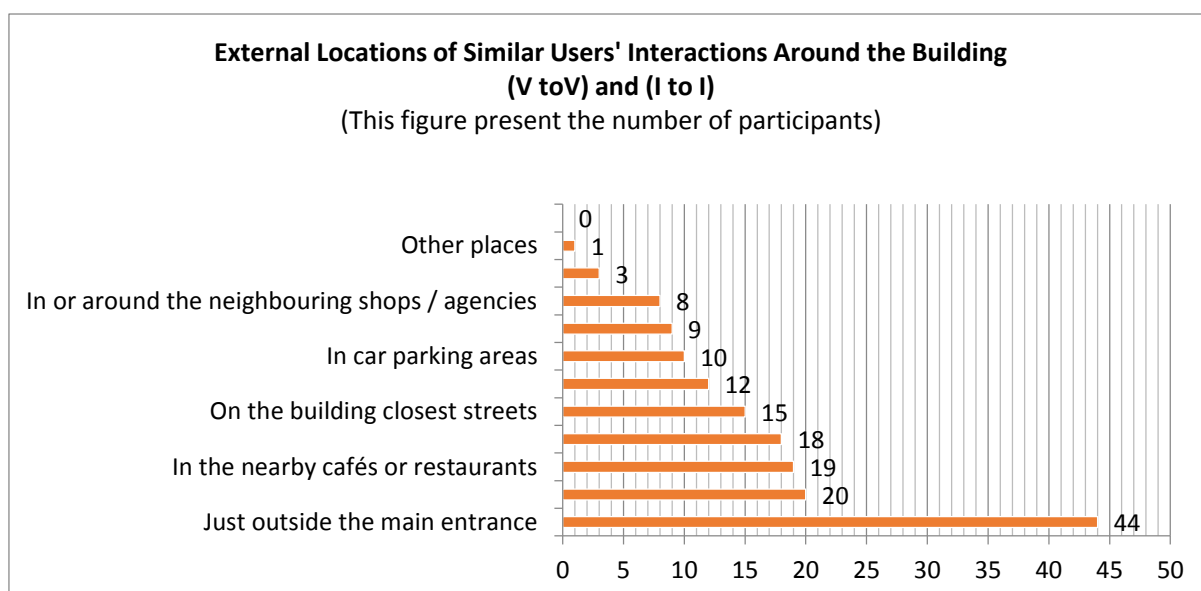


Figure I-4: Statistical analysis of the external locations of similar users' interactions around the municipal building (V-to-V and I-to-I).

Motives and the Timing of Users' interactions

Question 16 of the questionnaire asked the participants why they decide to stop to meet and interact with one another within the municipal environment, whereas question 17 asked the participants about the usual timing of such interactions, and question 18 asked about how long these interactions normally last for. The results are presented in the following three graphs respectively.

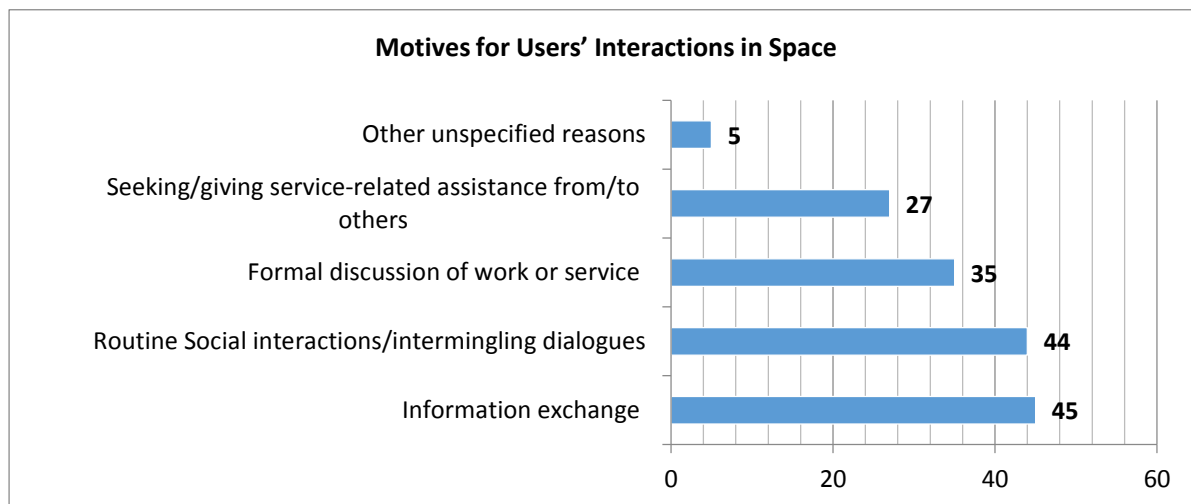


Figure I-5: Answers to Q16 about the motive for initiating users' interaction in the municipal environment.

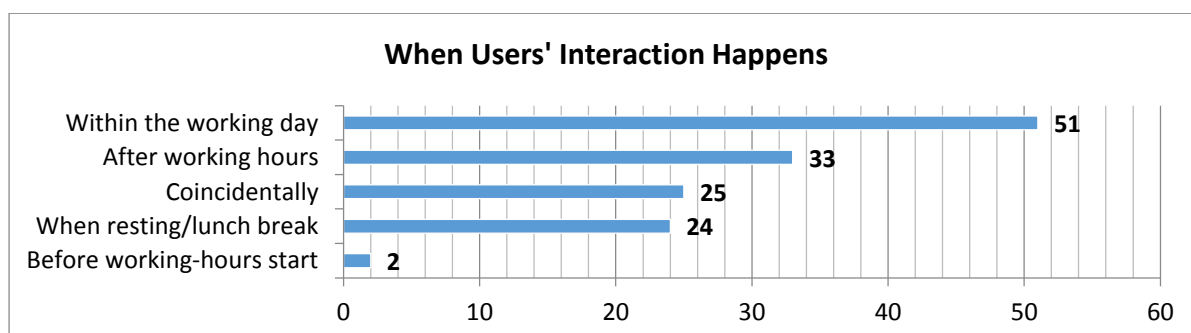


Figure I-6: Answers to Q17 about when users' interactions take place

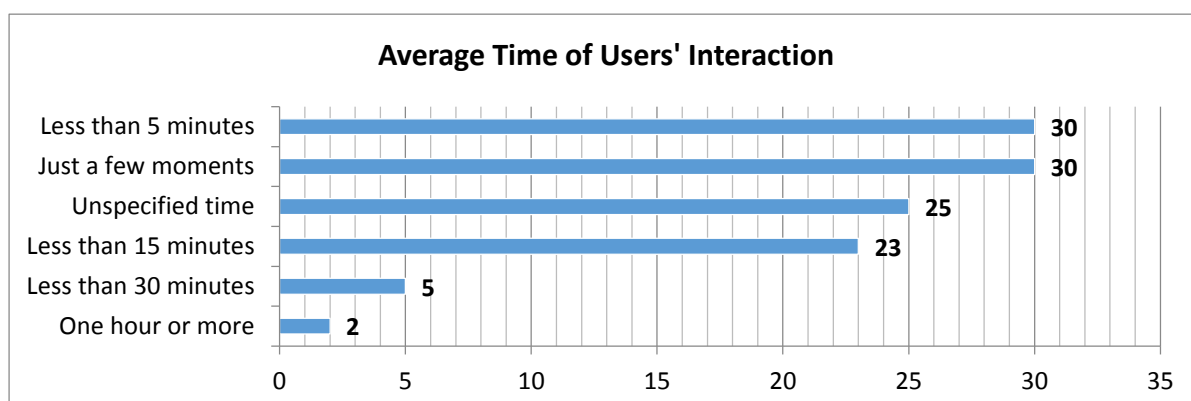


Figure I-7: Answers to Q18 about the average time of interactions.

(The above figures present the number of participants)

Comparison Analysis of Where Different Users Counter Each Other

Comparing the two results of locations of the dissimilar interactions (highlighted in blue colour in the above presented figures) and the similar interactions (highlighted in red colour), we can see that both types of interaction take place almost correspondingly (with a more or less 1:1 ratio; almost the same number of participants in both selected location) in the following places:

- i) Inside the public building:
 1. Corridors (n=32 participants voted to each type of interaction)
 2. Waiting rooms, standing (n=13:14 votes)
 3. Secretarial offices (n=11:12 votes)
 4. Dedicated areas for public services (n=9:10 votes)
- ii) Outside the public building:
 1. Nearby mosques (n=20 participants each)
 2. Nearby cafés or restaurants (n=19 participants each)
 3. Interacting (virtually) via the medium of telephones (n=16:18 votes)
 4. Nearby gardens/parks (n=13:12 votes)
 5. Car parks (n=10 participants each)
 6. City centre public spaces (n=4:3 votes)

In contrast, we find that in the other identified locations, unequal ratios of users' interactions take place. On one hand, we find that percentage of one type of interactions (the similar V-to-V and I-to-I) is more prevalent in the following places:

- i) Inside the public building:
 1. In the reception area (n=25:20 votes)
 2. Staircase areas (n=24:15 votes)
 3. Near the entrances (n=21:16 votes)
 4. Staff offices, standing (n=20:16 votes)
 5. Other facilities spaces (n=18:13 votes)
 6. Near the elevator (n=17:7 votes)
 7. Waiting rooms, sitting (n=17:9 votes)
- ii) Outside the public building:
 1. In front of the main entrance (n=44:29 votes)
 2. Other central public buildings/institutions (n=9:5 votes)

On the other hand, we find that the percentage of the dissimilar type of interactions (between the visitors and the inhabitants V-to-I) is more common in the following places:

- i) Inside the public building:
 1. In staff offices, sitting (n=44:29 votes)
 2. Thorough devoted serving windows (n=27:22 votes)
- ii) Outside the public building:
 1. The building closest streets (n=19:15 votes)
 2. Nearby shops/agencies (n=12:8 votes)
 3. Other unspecified places (n=7:1 votes)

