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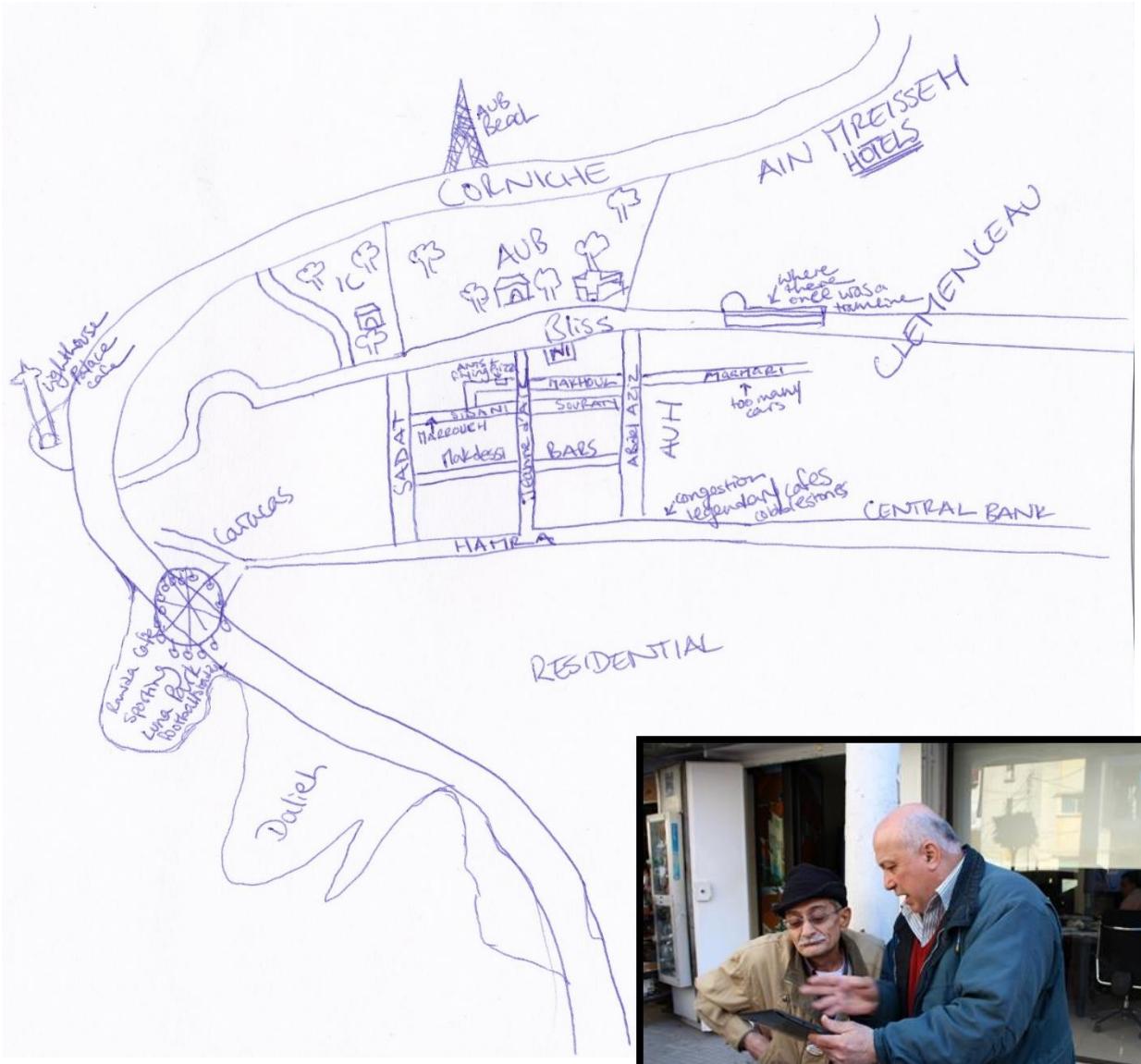
Embodied Spaces of Ras Beirut and the Inherence of Tourism

- A case study of mental mapping and photographic narratives -



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Master Thesis in Tourism, Aalborg University-CPH, 1st of June 2015

Abstract

This Master thesis is concerned with the role of tourism in Ras Beirut, Lebanon. Based on historical events of the civil war this thesis sets out to investigate the embodied spaces of Ras Beirut. It employs an untraditional outline of the Master thesis the explore the post-disciplinary elements and approaches to tourism. Applying mixed ethnography and visual methods and a reflexive, the various data collections are analysised.

There is an overlap between residential living and tourism in RB manifested in a co-creation of space and meaning. Experiencing Ras Beirut is a journey through time, and tourism function to some extent as a tool to link the past and the present in a way where the future will be aware of this continuity. The data collection consisted of participant observations and casual interviews at the City Debates at the American University in Beirut as well as collection of mental maps. The photos were unpublished pre-war photographs that in this thesis are compared to the current locations to emphasise the importance of continuity. The photographs became the facilitator of *tourism mobilities* for a means to understand the embodied space of the area. The thesis concludes that urban space is shaped as much by visitors as by resident and that RB is a touristic space more than atourist destination.

Adapting the idea of RB as an *experiencescape* opens up for the possibilities of highlighting the extraordinary role Ras Beirut has as a site of multireligious interaction, of a long history of foreigners settling down as well as being a space in which knowledge and education is a main contributor to the identity of the area. Tourists and residents are moving spatial bodies that tell the stories and history of the area. The mental maps show the differences and similarities between tourists and residents and highlight the embeddedness of tourism in this place.

It is a neighbourhood where people have a strong sense of belonging, a strong sense of place by embodying Ras Beirut. Ther Ministry of Tourism are promotiong the more prominent areas of the city leaving out the areas of living heritage, leaving out the places in which the memeories of the war are an integral part of the everyday lives as oppsed to the authoritative desire to create *shared amnesia*. The way in which tourism is interwoven with the everyday in Ras Beirut witness of the continuity and significance tourism has for the history and urban identity of Ras Beirut.

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Acronyms

AUB: The American University of Beirut

RB: Ras Beirut

NI: Neighbourhood Initiative

CD: City Debates

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1. Introduction

Tourism has always been a part of the urban fabric of Beirut. Before the Lebanese Civil War the city was known internationally as the *Paris of the Middle East*. Today the ghosts of the aftermath are still present yet tourism is celebrating its continuity in the city. Since the 1800s foreigners have visited and settled in Ras Beirut, initiated by David Bliss, the founder of the American University in Beirut. "*Build it and they will come,*" he said, and so they did. Tourism is such an embedded part of Ras Beirut that the lives of tourists overlap with the lives of residents, creating a touristic landscape rather than a tourism destination. Tourism is a layer on the living landscape of RB.

RB is an *experiencescape* in which tourists and residents become a part of each other's daily lives, illustrating the *banalities* and *habitual activity* of tourism (Edensor 2007) and co-creating meaning (Reis 2011). Today Beirut is a much debated topic concerning access to the public space and the use of space in general. Annually, the AUB and the organisation *Neighbourhood initiative* host a conference called *City Debates*, a free and public conference to create dialogue amongst citizens and professionals from the fields of architecture, social sciences and urban studies. The attention Beirut attracts from foreign scholars and the residents alike is grounded in a search for belonging, a strong sense of place that is at risk due to urban changes. Post-war space is contested in a dualism between *shared amnesia* (Khalaf 2012: 78) and *collective memory* (Nagel 2002: 718) and Beirut is struggling to find a balance between the two.

In the 1960s the Danish geographer Per Kongstad went to Beirut to work with the AUB and took abundant photographs of architecture and particularly the streets in the North-Eastern part of Beirut; Ras Beirut. The photos have never been published and have been lying undocumented in various locations in Denmark since Kongstad's mission in the 1960s. This thesis provides a comparison of his photographs with the current locations to establish an understanding of the pre- and post-war urban identity. The ethnographic work connected with locating the photos involved conversations with residents on the streets and in shops, getting a sense of the *embodied space* that is Ras Beirut. *Visual ethnography* was applied for obtaining the current locations documented and the photos allowed for adding a post-disciplinary element to the thesis.

This thesis is breaking the traditional structure of and approach to Master theses. The thesis is employing mixed ethnography and visual methods while adopting a reflexive and post-disciplinary approach, which draws on cultural studies like human geography, sociology, ethnography, urban studies and tourism. Using the mixed qualitative methods including *mental mapping* this thesis sets out to investigate how space is perceived and embodied in everyday life in post-war RB. Comparing the maps drawn by residents with

those drawn by tourists, astonishing findings illustrate how RB is an *experiencescape* (O'Dell 2005) in which tourists are participating in the meaning creation seemingly equal to residents. To further the understanding of the importance of this space, *participant observation* and *informal interviews* at the City Debates were chosen to gain insight into the perspectives on urban change and the role of tourism in this. The fieldwork posed the question: Is tourism a legitimate part of the Ras Beirut's urban identity?

1.1 State of Art

Perception of space can be investigated with various perceptions. Urban space and people's perception of this has been investigated by Lynch (1960) and his theory of urban legibility has influenced the work of many others working in urbanscapes.

Discussions on urban space are currently concerning gentrification and raises questions of what role tourism has in the urban scene. Page (1995) describes the convenience often associated with urban tourism as facilities are accessible for tourists and residents. Urban areas like Beirut entail "*modern ruins*" (Fraser 2012) that may give contrast to the gentrified areas or awaken a memory induced tourism.

Memory changes over time and space (Legg 2007) and urban areas change rapidly. In post-war settings the city may ease a process of forgetting instead of commemorating. This may cause for collective amnesia (Khalaf 2012) in which governmental efforts are made to leave behind a dark past.

Urbanscape is adjustable and creation of space is a fluid performance (Low 2003) and therefore *tourism mobilities* (Hannam *et al.* 2014) need mentioning.

Proxemics (Hall 2004) describe the way in which people interact with each other in the daily lives and follows into the arguments of Edensor (2001; 2007) about tourism being habitual activities resembling the everyday sense making processes. Much like Heidegger's *being-in-the-world* in which people first and foremost exist and have to use their very day sense making in order to understand this condition of *being there* (Pernecky 2010). A linkage to tourism is manifested I O'Dell's (2005) *experiencescapes,* that expands the field of experience by putting an emphasis on the co-creating occurring in the encounter between tourists and residents, a *double gaze* (Urry & Larsen 2010).

The understanding of these theoretical approaches are met by Darbellay and Stock (2012) in their post-disciplinary description of the field of tourism, allowing tourism to be an element in research to investigate how different societies react to tourism.

1.2 Research Question

Is tourism a legitimate part of the Ras Beirut's urban identity?

1.3 Research Aims

The following describe the research aims:

- To explore embodied spaces of Ras Beirut by investigating the overlapping relationship between residents and tourists using *mental mapping* and *casual interviews*.
- To evaluate the continuity of living touristic spaces of Ras Beirut by focusing on comparison of photographs from the 1960s and today.
- To investigate the dualism between collective memory and shared amnesia by looking at residents' and the Ministry of Tourism's perception of memory creation.

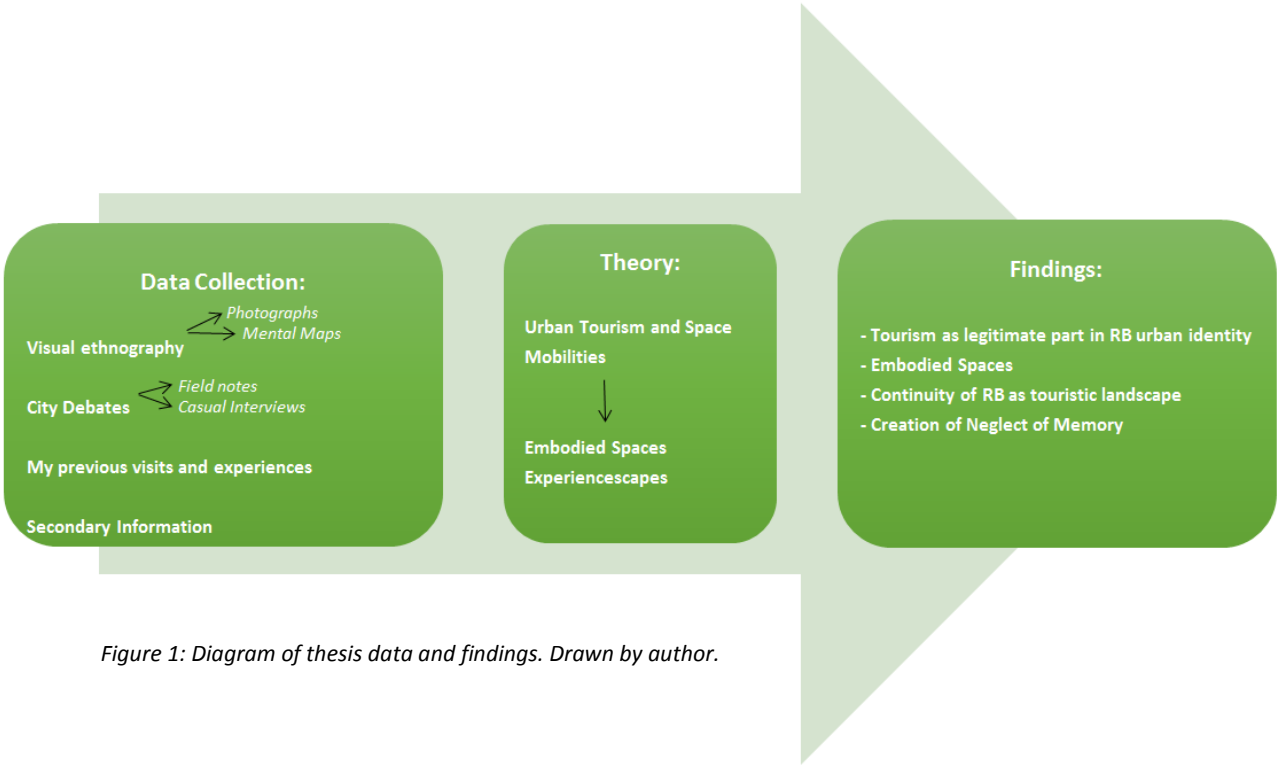

Figure 1: Diagram of thesis data and findings. Drawn by author.

1.4 Thesis Structure

As delineated in the table of contents, this thesis consists of seven chapters. Firstly, the introduction will clarify the aims of the project as well as the initial events, which made this fieldwork possible. The second chapter is a methodological section, which sets out to explain the qualitative approaches chosen for carry-

ing out the fieldwork. Thirdly, a brief outline of relevant historical context is provided to give an understanding of this area of Beirut. The fourth chapter contains the theoretical considerations before the fifth chapter introducing post-disciplinary research in the context of tourism and narrative, interpretive and reflexive analysis of the photographs. The sixth chapter is the analysis of mental maps and participant observations. Finally, the conclusion is found in Chapter 7 along with suggestions for further research.

1.5 Introduction to Case study

This section will elucidate the events, which led to the commencement of this project. In the 1960s the Danish geographer, Per Kongstad, conducted a survey in Lebanon and left with – in addition to his work - hundreds of photographs, illustrating his role of a researcher and a tourist. When compared to photos taken at the contemporary locations, Kongstad's photographs help illustrate the changes, which have taken place in the space of Ras Beirut, and will elucidate that certain areas have changed drastically whereas others have changed only by gaining patina on the facades. The mental maps (described in section 2.5.3) will clarify the various ways in which residents and tourists navigate in this space and how the two groups overlap. Further, it will bring an emphasis to the importance of the past to understand the present. And that entails that Beirut is an *embodied space* (Low 2003: 11), a space embodied by the people using it and by the events that have occurred there in the past. The fieldwork was planned to coincide with the City Debates, so as to be able to shed light on the physical role of tourism in Ras Beirut as well as present an academic void, which a post-disciplinary positioning to tourism may aid to fill.

1.5.1 The Research Duo - Per Kongstad and Samir Khalaf

In the 1960s the Danish geographer, Per Kongstad, set out to do an ambitious project in Beirut. Alongside the sociologist Samir Khalaf, working at the AUB, they co-wrote the book *Hamra of Beirut - A Case of Rapid Urbanisation,* a book that should prove to be the first of its kind, concerning urban changes and social geography in a Middle Eastern capital city (Kongstad & Khalaf 1974: 2). The book was supposed to consist of an assessment of the Beiruti neighbourhoods Hamra, Achrafieh and Basta (*ibid*: 1974: 4), but due to the acceleration of events, which led to the outbreak of the Lebanese Civil War in 1975, the duo had to cease surveying and Per Kongstad returned home, taking with him all the material produced. Their work resulted in the aforementioned book yet the other two areas were never investigated as such - neither by these two gentlemen nor by others - due to the urban destructions during the war, which made it impossible to conduct a survey on the same premise as the earlier one. The book can therefore be considered unique as it just precedes the war, which caused severe urban changes to the capital both in the physical cityscape due

to division, damage and displacement but also in the political and urban planning decision-making of the government. The urbanisation of Beirut occurred during the span of about only twenty years in the first half of the 20th century and the point of departure for the book is seeing the city as a "*zone in transition*" (*ibid.* 1974: 5). Kongstad and Khalaf were concerned with the relationship between historical and social factors in Hamra, *"which help to determine urban spatial structure*" (*ibid.* 1974: 5), a question still relevant for Hamra and Ras Beirut in general. The Kongstad and Khalaf publication aids a study of the same area yet in a post-war setting. For the field of tourism this book presents a relevant piece of history and heritage with regards to how this area was perceived prior to the war and in comparing their work with the current cityscape it invites the question of the nature of tourism here. This thesis argues that RB is a touristed landscape instead of a tourism destination, meaning RB was never planned out as a space economically dependent on tourism; tourism is merely an additional layer on the living landscape.

One element of Kongstad and Khalaf's work resulted in detailed maps of the Hamra area, which were published in the book. Another element was photography, which illustrated some of the traits of urbanisation visible when compared to photographs from the turn of the last century. A lot of these photographs were never published and we can only assume that Kongstad took many of these simply out of his own interest and for either private use or in order to show them in lectures when in Denmark. After Kongstad passed away in the 1990s, his wife donated all the materials to a friend of Kongstad who works at Roskilde University, where the material was stored. Until January 2015 the material was stored there. A former archaeology colleague of mine, Elise Thing, who is currently also a Master student at Aalborg University studying Geoinformatics, was offered to have a look at the original maps. The material consisted of cases of dias slides of places in the Middle East; mainly Lebanon yet also Jordan and Kuwait. This was the initial step for the joint fieldwork between Elise Thing, Bruno Correia Cardoso and me, which is described in detail in section 2.5.2. Figure 2 Samir Khalaf's office at AUB. From the left: Samir Khalaf, Marie Brøndgaard, Bruno Correia Cardoso and Elise Thing. (Figure 2). Chapter 2 and my field notes (Appendix 28) will describe how we came about sorting the material as well as which methodological considerations were behind the fieldwork we did together even though we present two very different theses.

Figure 2 Samir Khalaf's office at AUB. From the left: Samir Khalaf, Marie Brøndgaard, Bruno Correia Cardoso and Elise Thing.

In the late 1800s Franklin Moore, an amateur photographer, took a large amount of photographs in and around the AUB. Years later, the glass slides were found and published in a unique book showing this part of Ras Beirut in the years before urbanisation. The publication is an archival and historical treasure as the photographs were found by coincidence and have provided information about the urbanscape from a time that before was undocumented. The Moore collection may have a higher degree of historical significance than the Kongstad's photos, but this thesis will elucidate the importance of Kongstad's photographs as yet another photographic treasure. So however boldly, his photographs can be compared to the Moore collection.

1.5.2 The Neighbourhood Initiative and the American University of Beirut

The NI is a project, which operates under the AUB. The coordinators are Cynthia Myntti and Dalia Chabarek (Figure 3), who conduct the daily operations from an office on Bliss Street on top of Burger King, overlooking the university grounds on the other side of the road. The initiative was established in 2007 and was founded on a vision to carry out logistical and infrastructural projects beneficial to local residents. Through these projects they functions as a mediator between the university and its faculty staff, the municipality and local residents. The aim is to have the university open up to the area in which it is situated to take responsibility for urban issues in RB. The AUB has a significant role in RB as will be discussed in Chapter 6.

Figure 3: At the Neighbourhood Initiative. From the left: Dalia Chabarek, Marie Brøndgaard, Elise Thing, Bruno Correia Cardoso and Cynthia Myntti.

The three of us contacted the NI introducing our two projects; one concerning geoinformatics and the other tourism. They were enthusiastic about the original materials, which were the foundation for the much quoted Kongstad and Khalaf publication and agreed to cooperate with us during our month long stay in Beirut in March 2015. The Initiative has no projects concerning tourism and in their collaborative work with the municipality, tourism is not incorporated. This presented a void in which tourism could be examined in Ras Beirut in an unprecedented manner. They invited us to participate in a three day annual, public conference at the university called *City Debates,* of which they were organisers*.* This year's topic was gentrification and urban change*,* and during the conference I conducted participant observation research to gain an understanding of the attitudes toward changes in the cityscape of Beirut. The conference approached gentrifications issues this year and especially the ceaseless construction of high-rises that limit the development of infrastructure, was a point, which I noted from various speeches. Interestingly, Kongstad and Khalaf (1974: 18) described this same issue in 1974. Chapter 6 will give further insight into the work of the NI as well as the CD to provide a linkage to tourism.

2. Methodology

This chapter introduces the various methods and approached adopted for the data collection. *Social constructivism* and *ethnography* are the chosen approaches for the thesis, which entail a relative ontology. The

following sections elaborate on the selection criteria as well as the methods used during the empirical fieldwork in March 2015.

2.1 Selection Criteria for Given Research

The reasoning behind choosing this research is threefold. Firstly, I have visited Lebanon multiple times and never for less than a month at a time. Ras Beirut has always been an intriguing environment and a place for entertainment and cultural experiences and during my precious visits to RB I have been intrigued by this dynamic space. My previous projects at AAU have concerned development work and *voluntourism* in the slums of Kibera in Nairobi, Kenya as well as in the refugee camp of Shatila in Beirut, and furthermore identifying a link between heritage and tourism was the aim of my internship project. I, therefore, set out to create a research project in which I could draw from my previous experience by expounding the tangible, urban heritage present in Ras Beirut and its significance for those navigating in this space. Moreover, I saw a potential for enlightenment into how changing cityscapes in a post-war setting may influence tourism.

2.1.1 Chosen Geographical Area of Study

As mentioned above, when first looking at the photos taken by Kongstad in the 1960s I understood a potential for tourism research and I assumed a linkage between Ras Beirut as a pre-war urbanscape and a post-war *experiencescape*. When reading *Hamra of Beirut- A Case of Rapid Urbanisation* the descriptions made by the authors are uncannily similar to how one might describe this area today. They note that Ras Beirut - pre-war - was "*a fast-growing fashionable and cosmopolitan district with almost no distinct or unifying character. Through predominantly middle class and Anglo-Saxon in style of life, the area has a heterogeneous ethnic and religious composition*" (1974: 21). They go on to explain how Ras Beirut was adapting to these transitions mentioned above: "*because of the invasion of commercial and cultural activities it is beginning to lose its residential quality and is attracting an increasing proportion of transient and marginal groups*" (*ibid.* 1974: 21). This latter quote is one of the main reasons for choosing this area for the thesis as the transient groups referred to, includes the tourism element. Students, educators, clergy, volunteers, humanitarian aiders have been an inherent part of Ras Beirut in the urbanisation process, during the glamorous decades when Beirut was the *Paris of the Middle East,* and ever since the civil war ended.

Ras Beirut is situated west of the city and has the AUB, which is a focal point for many people in Beirut, not only students. Prior to the civil war this area was epicentre for cultural performances and exchange, including tourism. National and international artists and writers would frequent RB and it was responsible for

much of the atmosphere, which led it to be called: *the Paris of the Middle East.* Lebanon experienced hostilities in 2006, which worsened the political situation and much business shut down and the university, which had closed in on itself after the civil war, did not open up much in the aftermath. It was, however, at this time that the NI was established. Maria Abunnasr, the initiator of the *Oral History Project* in Ras Beirut (Neighbourhood Initiative n.d.), wrote her doctoral thesis. on the *exceptionalism* of Ras Beirut based on systematic archival research and extensive interviews with residents (Abunnasr 2014:8). Her doctoral thesis provided an invaluable account of the intangible heritage in Ras Beirut and her assistance during my fieldwork provided a great insight into Ras Beirut and the foundation of her thesis.

A difficulty in defining the area of Ras Beirut has been realised by researchers before me. Much of the current urban planning dates back to the French Mandate from 1920-1946 (Fregonese 2009: 310) when Beirut was divided into *sectors* or *quarters* (Arabic: *manatiq*) of which there are sixty and *electoral districts* (Arabic: *mahallat*) of which there are twelve (Abunnasr 2013:4). The real challenge with these divisions is the fact that Ras Beirut is the seventh electoral district but at the same time Ras Beirut is the name of the thirty-fifth sector, which is a sector within the electoral district of Ain Mressieh (district nine). Hence, Ras Beirut is both a quarter and a district resulting in some confusion and is a fact most people in Beirut are unaware of. When asking people on the street, most are unaware of this division of *mahallat* and *manatiq*. Initially, much time was spent in an attempt to define the borders of Ras Beirut and to find a simple way to describe these divisions. This however, proved impossible and instead data collection aided how to define the borders; Kongstad's photo slides all had a description on the back, some said "RB" meaning Ras Beirut and these included photos from the Rousche (where the famous pigeon rocks are situated), Manara (the lighthouse area), Ain Mressieh (Corniche area), Hamra and AUB. These parts of the city coinciding with the borders on the majority of the mental maps. This became the chosen borders of Ras Beirut. Ras Beirut in Arabic means *the head of Beirut* and in the sense of the linguistic meaning the above areas fit. Borders are often difficult to detect for researchers as they may be detected in subconscious routines and at times they are independent of geographical reality and can be defined individually in the minds of people (Sandberg 2009: 114). Appendix 29 is a map of this area.

As opposed to using an artificially induced borderlines created by government maps, a *social construction approach* (Bryman 2012: 38) of the area is adopted. Everyone has individual borders stored cognitively, and they include fixed, semi-fixed and dynamic elements such as landmarks, construction sites or places where they experienced something worth remembering. These will change over time in accordance with how people's experiences, familiarity, proximity changes and corresponds to the theory on *embodied spaces*

(Low 2003: 11) and spaces that remember (Orley 2012: 39), outlined in Chapter 4. I have applied a *post-structural approach*, in which the researcher acknowledges that things are not always as simple as they seem (Bryman 2012: 463); in this case the borders of Ras Beirut are relative, individually based. In order to establish these borders of any given area *mapping* is a useful ethnographic tool, which is why *mental mapping* was chosen to assist the understanding of the borders and internal features of Ras Beirut.

2.2 Social Research Strategies

An *exploratory approach* was utilised (Davies 2006: 3) as means of methodological research approach as this thesis will combine empirical data and experience with existing, relevant theory. Although Ras Beirut is big area and cannot be described as a closed, social entity, the *exploratory approach* allowed for investigating this topic through the experiences I gained along the way. Researchers who work from the notion of exploratory research "*are concerned with the development of theory from data in a process of continuous discovery*" (*ibid.* 2006: 3). This leads on to why an *inductive approach* correlates well with the exploratory approach.

There are multiple ways in which social research can be carried out; *deduction,* which entails a theoretical foundation that is tested through research and *induction*, which allows for the empirical findings to navigate the course of chosen theory (Bryman 2012: 25). Working from an *inductive* notion, "*theory is the outcome of research*" (Bryman 2012: 26), and as this thesis is generating theory through exploration and observations, the *inductive* stance was chosen for methodological approach. Theory and knowledge is generated through a co-creation between everyone involved with the banalities of tourism in RB.

2.2.1 Ontological Considerations

Social ontology is "*concerned with the nature of social entities*" (Bryman 2012: 32) and it is the point of departure for this thesis. An epistemological orientation of *interpretivism* (*ibid*. 2012:36) that strives to obtain an understanding of social realities instead of merely describing them, positions this thesis within *constructivism* (*ibid*. 2012:36) and for the purpose of this thesis; *social constructivism* or *interpretative social science paradigm* as it is sometimes called (Jennings 2010: 38). The ontological position of *constructivism* is applied because it signifies that social reality changes over time, and that culture is negotiated through social interaction, as opposed to *objectivism*. *Objectivism* separates social phenomena from the actors due to the fact that social phenomena "*have an existence that is independent of social actors*" (*ibid.* 2012: 33). Social realities in terms of constructivism, are not external force; instead they are a continuous

result of social actors' interaction (*ibid*. 2012: 34). Furthermore, constructivism builds on the notion that realities are "*socially constructed*" (*ibid*. 2012: 33) and not objective. Bryman (2012: 34) explains the essence of constructivism as follows: "*reality in a continuous state of construction and reconstruction*".

An inductive approach is phenomenology, which invites the researcher to "*allow phenomena to speak for themselves*" (Gray 2004: 21) corresponding with the noting that social reality is understood as a part of people's subjective experiences. In order to interpret and understand social phenomena, the researcher must collect experiences from those under study by engaging with them (*ibid.* 2004: 21) and thus allow for inter-subjectivity. Phenomenology usually requires extensive interviews (*ibid.* 2004: 22), which is not a primary method for this thesis. However, a short presentation of phenomenology is needed to emphasise the complexity of researching social realities and phenomena as they are highly subjective and the researcher, at all times, and must be aware of their positions and their own biases. Through applying methods beyond that of interviews such as ethnographic methods (described in section 2.5), *constructivism* allows for a subjective yet critical account of the cityscape in RB.

Constructivism adopts *relativist ontology* (Jennings 2010: 40) and is therefore a postmodern stance. A postmodernist approach aids the understanding of a *relativist ontology* because it permits a multiplicity of truths; multiple realities. Furthermore, the adoption of postmodernism in social sciences dismisses pure objectivity, which is not achievable as the research will be influenced by the researcher's own life history and academic background (Andrews 2012: 224). As a result, a postmodernist approach is applicable for this research. Due to the use of *mental mapping* (further explained in section 2.5.3) relativist ontology allowed this thesis to present my understanding of the social phenomena that have shaped the tourism context in greater RB.

2.3 Qualitative Approach

In social research both a quantitative and qualitative approach can be utilised, however, following the *inductive* stance mentioned above the qualitative approach proved more suitable for this data collection. This approach is often associated with generating theory rather than testing theory because it "*embodies a view of social reality as a constantly shifting emergent property of individuals' creation*" (Bryman 2012: 36) in order for the researcher to present "*a slice of life*" (Jennings 2010: 22) from the subjects under study. Below are introductions to various perspectives that emphasises the qualitative approach.

2.3.1 Research Multi-site Field

One way of approaching fieldwork is though a *multi-sited perspective* (Marcus 1995: 95), which has an anthropological origin. The traditional approach is *single-sited* yet it poses multiple inflexibilities (*ibid.* 1995: 99); the field is considered a place with well-defined borders within which the researcher can conduct a descriptive and objective analysis of a social phenomenon. A multi-sited perspective, on the other hand, is pursuing *"connections rather than accepting the field boundaries that might on first sight seem obvious*" (Hine 2007: 656). Working in a multi-sited perspective moves away from a more traditional perception of fieldwork and analysis being two separate entities. From a *multi-sited* stance the field is perceived as abstract as well as a continuous re-negotiation of this field occurs in the interaction between researcher and actors (Marcus 1995: 96). Furthermore, the field becomes wider and rejects the notion of the "*field as a location, a place or a space that is 'entered', or travelled to, in order to 'get access' to 'subjects' or to 'collect data*'" (Reis 2009: 44). Conducting multi-site fieldwork presupposes that research is an ongoing process as opposed to a linear process, hence why, I was able to interpret and analyse while doing fieldwork. It corresponds with the theoretical considerations introduced in the fourth chapter, where *being-in-the-world* (Heidegger 1996 in Pernecky 2010:6) includes how people use sense-making of everyday and habitual activity to make meaning of the world they are in. Following this notion, the following section describes the *sense-making* approach.

2.3.2 Sense-Making

Bryman (2012:15) writes: "*research is full of starts, blind alleys, mistakes, and enforced changes to research plans,*" which may at first seem terribly discouraging to social researchers but on the contrary it allows for an investigation of the subjective experiences and findings based on experimental inquiries into social phenomena. On this notion *sense-making* is an applicable theoretical approach for this thesis. *Sense-making "assumes that each individual is the expert on his own world, or experience of it"* (Spurgin 2006:103), and the research in RB has indeed showed me that my experience of this space is included in and has influenced the research process. Elaborating on postmodernism, mentioned in section 2.2.1, *sense-making*, too, is a relativistic approach, meaning the researcher's own experience is included causing deliberate and critical subjectivity. It presents events as experienced and in doing so offers "*a slice of life*" falling under Jennings (2010: 22) description of qualitative data collection and accepts that the events are understood as experienced at that particular moment in time and space (Spurgin 2006:103). Tourism is a part of the everyday and the habitual sense-making is how people make sense of the world around them (Pernecky 2010:8). *Sense-making* is the process of critical subjectivity accepting the fact that findings will be a construction of the researchers own interpretative understanding, and therefore much like *social constructiv-*

ism allows for "*multiple realities*" (Jennings 2010: 39). A *heuristic research* method encompasses *sense-making* due its reliance on the personal insights and experienced events of the researcher (*ibid.* 2010: 159). Additionally, *heuristic* research as a qualitative method invites the researcher to explore, hence leads into the ethnographic process, also utilised in this research. Before an account of ethnographic methods, the case study research is introduced below.

2.4 Case Study Research

Case study research is often the extensive investigation into a community or an organisation (Bryman 2012: 67), which produces an interpretation of a single case to contribute to a greater whole and to theory building. This thesis aims to understand space and tourism in a post-war city, and therefore RB was chosen as case study.

Flyvbjerg (2010: 469) states that much scholarly attention has been paid to the critique of case study research, however, finds much of this critique to be mere misunderstandings. Flyvbjerg continues by explaining some of these misunderstanding; case study research have been criticised for not functioning as research in its own right and rather needed to be attached to a hypothesis meaning that it cannot be used to generalise or understand a larger whole (*ibid.* 2010: 464). In this critique a case study has no independent value and is an element in the deductive research strategy (*ibid.* 2010: 464), however, within the social sciences case studies incorporate *participant observation* and ethnography (Jennings 2010: 177) as will be the case in this thesis.

A case study is *"an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context"* (Verschuren 2003: 123), which is true for RB here contextualising it historically. Where "*boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident*" (Jennings 2010: 176) case studies are able to establish a connection in a complex research situation. Empirical research can be unique and complex and a case study approach gives room for adjusting to unforeseeable yet inevitable changes and occurrences, which are bound to happen (Verschuren 2003: 123). As I encountered more people and collected more data in RB I was able to adjust to changes in my understanding of the topic.

2.5 Ethnography and Empirical data

Ethnography is a "*highly flexible and creative process*," (Whitehead 2004: 5); a process aided by its dependence on fieldwork and empirical data collection. Ethnography entails the *multi-site perspective,* too (Marcus

1995: 95). Empiricism builds on the fact that knowledge is gained through experiences (Bryman 2012: 23) while ethnography sets *lived culture* in focus. People are the research subject as "*the objects of social sciences - people - are capable of attributing meaning to their environment*" (Bryman 2012: 399), and in investigating embodied spaces, ethnography must be was applied. Ethnography therefore, is an applicable approach to research within the field of tourism, as this indeed, concerns the study of people, of people's mobility within certain spaces. Expanding on the realm of ethnography, it is described as learning about the ethnographic host' cultural systems through the eyes of the people studied because "*ethnography is not so much about studying people as learning from them*" (Spradley 2004 in Whitehead 2004: 18). Through the fieldwork in RB I set out to understand a process of urban changes in a post-war setting and in order to gain this knowledge I learned from the ethnographic host: people living in and travelling through RB. I carried out the ethnographic research in RB through various methods: *visual ethnography, mental mapping, participant observation, informal interviews* and *field notes*; all described in the following sections.

2.5.1 Visual Ethnography

Vision is a salient element in the tourism experience and tourism performance (Urry & Larsen 2011: 155) and two visual elements were used in this thesis. The first element is that of photography, which builds on Per Kongstad's unpublished photographs. The second element is *mental mapping*, which may appear to be an abstract form of visual ethnography, yet I argue that for this research it was of crucial importance for the analysis. Visual ethnography will aid the understanding of the complexity of the embodied spaces in RB and will make the connection to the inherence of tourism there.

Visual ethnography is a qualitative method (Bryman 2012: 458; Gray 2004: 326), illustrating the fieldwork. For this thesis the use of *visual ethnographic* methods was chosen in order to obtain a varied illustration of the manifold perceptions that one encounters when investigating people's ties to RB. Visual ethnography in its traditional sense refers to images and can be utilised as additional field notes (Bryman 2012: 457). Photography is often a part of social research due to how well it accompanies explanations of places unfamiliar to those to whom they are presented (*ibid.* 2012: 455). This ethnographic tool can aid the investigation of how space embodies meaning in more than one way; as this research proved, photographs revealed how those who saw them felt about the area (sadness, nostalgia, happiness, indifference) and *mental maps* were created by participants for the researcher as a visual ethnographic tool. Applying visual ethnography poses ethical considerations (*ibid.* 2012: 462) and therefore all subjects were photographed with their consent and understanding that they would be featured in this thesis. "*Informants have the right to remain*

anonymous" (Spradley 1979: 37); an ethical standpoint that was employed throughout the photographic data collection and informal interview process.

A one-time permission was provided by the AUB Archives in order to be able to include a number of their images in the thesis (Appendix 27). However, it was also of great importance that I keep the integrity of my own role as researcher. In certain places, which would otherwise have added extraordinary evidence or added verification to certain arguments made in the analysis, we were prohibited by police or passers-by from taking photographs for security reasons. In most cases we complied with these directions but in certain places, however, we either came back when police were not present or we went further away to get the shot.

2.5.2 Photographic Comparison

Photography as a visual ethnographic tool is described above and therefore this section will explain the method used of photographic comparison. Photography is likely to "*capture certain processes that are too rapid for the human eye*" (Gray 2004:326). The comparison is based on two entities of photographs; the first from the early 1960s and the second from March 2015. They are included to illustrate the urban changes in RB and some are complemented with even earlier photos from the 1990s to further emphasise the development, RB underwent. The findings regarding this data are analysed using a *reflexive methodology* (Reis 2011) in Chapter 5 to present the findings as a personal narrative. Photos are distributed in the thesis to illustrate points and to engage the reader in the experience of this particular fieldwork.

To help memory of a researcher along, photographic data can be useful (Bryman 2012:448); Per Kongstad may have taken all these photos simply to remember the places as well as to show them to people at home, presumably in some kind of professional manner e.g. for lecturing. I too, took a lot of photos in order to remember these places as well as buildings not included in the thesis as I am likely to outlive many of the current buildings and for me, as a tourist, these photos were taken only out of interest. Therefore, the photo comparison was chosen to be analysed from a post-disciplinary stance, which is described in Chapter 5. Untraditionally, this thesis encompasses two analyses, whereof the first concerns the photographs. Chapter 5 thus includes an introduction to *reflexive methodology* rather than having that section in this methodological chapter. A narrative method was chosen because the photo comparison proved to contain such enlightening stories and quirky anecdotes that successfully emphasised the results of the findings; the use of space, the historical context, the post-war changes and the embodiment of place as a co-creation between the researcher, space and those under study.

Prior to going to Beirut, the two Geoinformatics Master students and I sorting out Per Kongstad's dias slides. Our first task was to sort the photos relevant for our research. The slides were divided into boxes labelled *Jordan, Kuwait* or *Lebanon*. Within the boxes there was no actual system, but we believe a certain system was there at some point yet ruined due to the passing of years, continuous relocation and multiple people looking at the slides. About 450 dias were Lebanese locations and we digitised those using a dias slide scanner. On the back of most slides there was a description of where the picture was taken. At times a small sketch with a map was drawn on the back, this on some slides provided corners of the world. Deciphering his writing was a times difficult, hence we photographed all slides in order to bring these to Beirut and ask people at the NI if they recognised any street names. This proved to be an excellent orientation exercise, where Maria and Yaser Abunnasr aided the deciphering process. Noteworthy is it that all Kongstad's descriptions were in Danish and not all equally legible (Figure 4). We were able to identity fifty locations from Kongstad's collection. The remaining part of the slides was taken either outside RB or the slides had provided no description.

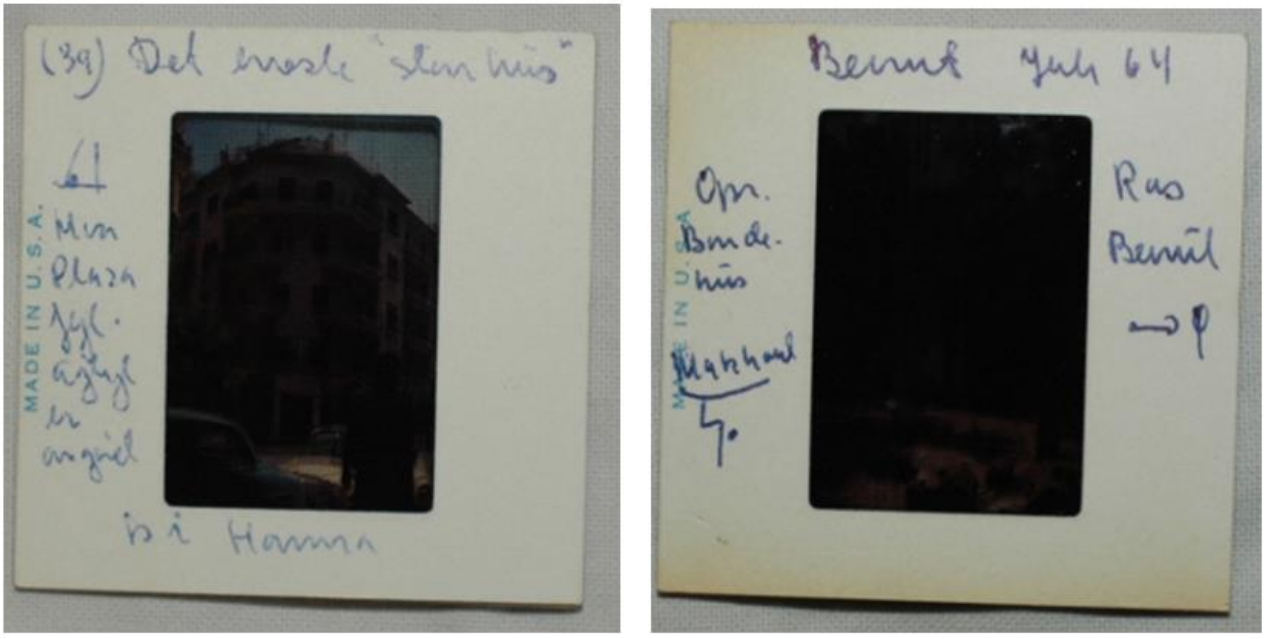

Figure 4: 1964. Example of Per Kongstad's writing on back of slides. They have a Danish description and a small map to locate them within Ras Beirut.

In the field we had a cadastral mad with Kongstad's notes on and from that we looked for the locations of the new photos. We carried out the photography together but the rest of the fieldwork was separate. The two other are writing their Master thesis under the title: *Integrating Historical Maps and Photographs into*

Geographic Information Systems (GIS): Hamra of Beirut Revisited, hand-in date 10th of June 2015. Figure 5 show the field map we used.

Figure 5: Beirut cadastral map that Per Kongstad used in the field. It is overlaid with street features from Neighbourhood initiative. The green numbers are points of interest labelled corresponding to the assumed locations of Kongstad's photographs.

2.5.3 Mental Mapping

Qualitative research derives from the interpretation of social phenomena, understood through the meanings that people attach to them, and mental mapping illustrates the cognitive image of landscape. In the case of RB the history and the meaning this area has to people living there and visiting constitutes a social phenomenon. The mental maps, which is part of the data collection will be analysed in Chapter 6. The term was coined in the 1940s by psychologist E. C. Tolman (Ben-Ze'ev 2010:237) as a tool to understand how the human brain stores spatial information and knowledge. Theory on *mental mapping* is used with a variety of fields and in certain fields referred to as *cognitive maps.* However, the method is the same and its purpose is to capture "*spatial mental representations*" (Klippel 2008:3).

Expanding on this, Kevin Lynch' *mental mapping* theory, which was developed for urban spaces in order to investigate "*form*" (1960:46) and proved applicable and appropriate for this particular research. Mental

mapping is a frequently used method in sociological research yet has been used extensively as a means for geographers and urban planners to understand cityscapes. As I embarked upon the fieldwork this method was chosen as it became evident that RB is nuanced and in order to capture the different perceptions and uses of this neighbourhood, *mental mapping* seemed to be a tool for understanding such a diverse place. Also, it appeared to be an applicable method for me considering my language barrier; introducing people to drawing mental maps is tangible task and the researcher participates in the creation of the map. By this is meant that the researcher participates because the conversations happening during are as much a part of understanding the mental map as the drawing itself.

The method behind the use of *mental mapping* in an urban context was developed by Kevin Lynch in the 1960s in order to have a tool for understanding contemporary American cities (Lynch 1960:2). Lynch' "*work is currently undergoing a renaissance*" (Klippel 2008:4) and modern technological navigational devices are built on the principles Lynch listed. He argues that "*most often, our perception of the city is not sustained, but rather partial, fragmentary and mixed with other concerns*" (Lynch 1960:2). Due to the fact that the complexity of urban identity he emphasised the need to analyse the cityscape through three elements: identity, structure and meaning (*ibid.* 1960:8). Due to "*not one American city, larger than a village is of consistently fine quality,*" (*ibid.* 1960:2) his aim was to create a method for analysing the legibility of the urban environment. In order to do so, certain recognisable components are needed. Thus, he listed the following components for making up the image of the legible city (*ibid.* 1960:46):

- *Paths:* the streets, pavements, trails, and other channels in which people travel.
- *Edges:* perceived boundaries such as walls, buildings, and shorelines
- *Districts*: relatively large sections of the city distinguished by some identity or character.
- *Nodes:* focal points, intersections or loci.
- *Landmarks*: readily identifiable objects, which serve as external reference points.

Lynch' five components combined establish *imageability* (Lynch 1960:9), which are the physical elements that aid the people to construct a mental image. This term is based on Lynch's illustration of *legibility* in the cityscape, where the landmarks, districts etc. make for a city that is legible or easy to navigate in (*ibid.* 1960:3). All of Lynch' five components are increasingly considered to be landmarks, in the sense that they all function to "*structure spatial knowledge and generate route directions"* (*ibid.* 2008:4). As will be clarified in the analysis in Chapter 6, landmarks have a broad meaning in the mental maps drawn by people in RB.

The five components result in a method of interpreting *mental spatial representation* and Allen *et al.* (1978:22) described the method as a tool for understanding the process of knowledge generation of spatial representation. It resulted in three states of navigational or spatial knowledge; *landmark knowledge, route knowledge* and *survey knowledge* (Klippel 2008:3). These could also be explained as three stages, based on the fact that when someone is introduced to an unknown landscape, one is likely to immediately start navigating after obvious structures such as landmarks. *Route knowledge* is achieved when one gets familiar with routes between the landmarks where after one can embark upon the last stage: *survey knowledge*. This knowledge involves the ability to connect the routes (*ibid.* 2008:4). This division is outdated for understanding mental spatial representations instead it serves as a means for understanding spatial knowledge (*ibid.* 2008:4). The mental maps included in this thesis cannot be analyses using the different *knowledges* as for this to be reliable; the same participants should have drawn multiple maps over a period of time.

In the 1970s scholars drew attention to "*the bond between social belonging and spatial sensitivity*" (Ben-Ze'ev 2012:238) and people were to an extent limited to being a socially constructed subject instead of "*a participant in an ever-changing reciprocal relationship*" (*ibid.* 2012:239) as allowed by postmodernism. Lynch's theory certainly has made the foundation for *mapping* and therefore has influenced the work of urban research since; however, his position is modernist as opposed to the postmodernist position adopted in this thesis. This means that using Lynch in a postmodern research design is to analyse mental maps in an abstract or relative sense. From a post-structural point of view RB is defined by relative and socially constructed borders, a perception that in turn would fall outside the more strict guidelines defined by Lynch. Ethnographers are obliged to notice the use of space and architectural elements or they will lose out on important findings (Kent 1995:459); use of space also entails the negotiation of borders and perception of *embodied spaces*.

Due to increasing mobilities, people are getting more dependent on navigating but rapid urban changes makes this difficult and the feeling of not being in control of one's surroundings influences people's cognitive understanding of space (Ben Ze'ev 2012:240). As a result of conflict certain areas may be associated with specific events, meaning that these areas then be perceived as inhospitable and restricted (*ibid.* 2012:241); borderlines may also become arbitrary in these instances. This is true for Beirut in general where certain taxi drivers are unwilling to take passengers from East to West Beirut as they have to cross what used to be the Demarcation Line during the civil war. This way of understanding *mental mapping* and post-war spaces is elaborated upon in the analysis and the way in which borders and spaces are influenced by past events is unfolded in Chapter 4 concerning spaces that remember. The boundaries are important as

it reflects the way residents view their neighbourhood, about their sense of belonging. The analysis will show how different residents and tourists perceive "their" space.

Abundant research projects on mental mapping include extensive interviews with the participants asking them to take certain routes (Lynch 1960:141). As I wanted the mental maps to be completely subjective, I asked people to draw a map out of their memory and that street names and directions were unimportant. Upon finishing the map, we would discuss their choices and their reasoning for including and excluding certain landmarks or streets etc. Mental maps are often used in order to understand an area from the perspective from those native to it. Ingold (2000:219) states that "*places do not have locations but histories. Bound together by the itineraries of their inhabitants, places exist not in space but as nodes in a matrix of movement*". This statement is interesting for post-war reconstructed Beirut as history and the collective memory or shared amnesia (both terms explained in Chapter 4) is an ever present topic screamed out loud or made taboo. Spaces functions as focal points for movement of people, which can be applied to tourism as well since spaces have different meaning to people who visit and to those who live with them.

Four out of 26 people asked, declined the offer to create a mental map as they felt uncomfortable doing it. Potentially, they feared the product would be graded in a manner or that their drawing skills were inadequate. However, I believe they truly believed their knowledge of the area of being too limited, as one person disclosed: "*I don't know any street names except Hamra"* (Student at AUB). Alas, this is not a unique case due to a complicated street name system, which corresponds to the difficulties of *districts* and *sectors* described above. For instance, street signs give a number of the sector and another of the district (Figure 6: 2015. Street sign in Beirut, showing no street name, just numbers.Figure 6) only main streets such as Hamra, has the name written out.

Figure 6: 2015. Street sign in Beirut, showing no street name, just numbers.

Tourists and people who move to Beirut find it difficult to navigate without a GPS. Many people are generally unfamiliar to the idea of producing a cartographic representation of their neighbourhood and therefore, it is uncertain *"whether peculiarities of the map are true representations of the mental picture or whether they are the result of poor drawing skills*" (Haynes 1981: 15). Also, I believe that an increased reliance on Google Maps and GPS are affecting people's mapping skills. However, the mental maps created for this thesis correspond well with the accounts participants gave whilst drawing them. Below are tables showing the demographic of the 22 participants, who created mental maps for this thesis:

Gender	
Female	IIIIIIIIIIII
Male	IIIIIIII

Age	
16-20	I
21-25	III
26-30	IIIIII

31-35	I
36-40	IIII
41-45	III
46-50	I
51-55	
56-60	
61-65	I
66-70	I
71-75	I

Occupation (some have more than one)	
Student (Undergraduate, Master and Ph.D.)	IIII
Volunteer	III
Retired	I
Social Worker	II
Teacher	II
Real Estate Agent	I
Restaurant Manager	II

NGO-employee	III
Artist	I
Archaeologist	I

Nationality	
Lebanese	IIIIIII
Palestinian	IIII
Lebanese-American	III
American	I
German	I
Danish	III
Belgium	I
Norwegian	I
Syrian	I

Current place of living (some have more than one)	
Beirut	IIIIIIIIIII
Denmark	IIII
Germany	I

Madrid and Beirut	I

In order to analyse the *mental maps* from this data Lynch' components will be applied to understand certain elements for comparison of the maps although a rigorous use of the components will not apply to this research. A comparison between the mental maps drawn by tourists and those drawn by residents will be the focus for understanding blurred borders and landmarks. This comparison will show how despite my argument that the lives and every day of tourists and residents overlap, there are certain embedded characteristics of maps made by those born in RB.

2.6 Participant Observations

Urry and Larsen (2011:2) argue that "*one's eyes are socio-culturally framed and there are various 'ways of seeing'*," and therefore *participant observation* simply provides an account of the researcher's experience. Nevertheless, having in one's own subjectivity in mind whilst participating, the account will still reach a critical level. I was doing *participant observations* during the three days City Debates Conference, which I attended. The mental maps covered various sites in RB, which allowed me to also experience these different scenes with the participants during the mental map creation. Additionally, it allowed me to experience the cultural performances at these sites, getting an impression of tourism performances as well as insight into how RB is for tourists and residents. Being a *participant observer*, allows the researcher to keep an open mind, which allows "*concepts and theories can emerge out of data*" (Bryman 2012:12). Participating in the CD and cooperating with the NI granted me further access than I would have thought possible. This point of *access* (*ibid*. 2012:435) is an important issue when working in Beirut as security concerns make it difficult to enter gardens or even stairs going from one pavement level to another as it may be closed by barbed wire.

Being a participant observer I took on an *overt role*; meaning that the people knew the purpose of my presence and my research goals in all element of the data collection. Contrary to conducting research *covertly,* one is granted more access when those under study are aware of the intentions of the research project (Bryman 2012:433). When I showed people on the streets Kongstad's photos people were often more likely to help than when I asked for an actual address or landmark. Getting access to people is a more demanding task than getting physical access (*ibid*. 2012:439), and the photographs were an invaluable tool in this process.

Participant observations result in findings from a "*real-world setting*" (Jennings 2010:171) and therefore the researcher must be aware that these findings represent a set of events at a specific time, and consequently must understand that these findings may change over time. The perception of space that this thesis presented in this thesis is likely to change over the coming years. Nevertheless, it offers first-hand information ready for analysis (*ibid*. 2010:171). Being a participant observer in RB, a place highly influenced by foreign capital, by governmental issues and by its own history of glory and tragedy, made room for working from participant observations and from a *sense-making* (described in section 2.3.2) approach.

2.6.1 Participating in the *City Debates* Conference

The AUB annually hosts a public conference on matters concerning the city in terms of planning policy, urbanism and urban changes. This year's conference was hosted at the *Department of Architecture and Design* in the Hassan Smadi Architecture and Design Lecture Room at the university (Figure 7). The conference strecthed over three days, from the 4th until 6th of March 2015 and the topic was *Other Gentrifications: Urban Change Beyond the Core.* This topic was to give insight into the "*processes of urban and social change associated with gentrification*" (AUB 2015) and national and international scholars, who were invited by the university to participate, held lectures. All international participants were offered to stay at a hotel on Hamra Street in RB. The conference took place during the first week of my fieldwork in Beirut.

Figure 7: The City Debates at AUB. March 4th-6th 2015.

Conducting participant observations gives the researcher member status of a group and thereby "*begins to understand their situation by experiencing it*" (Gray 2004: 241) and by attending the conference I was able to be present at every lecture, talk to scholars and other participants during the breaks as well as joining in the evening events. Because I was in the audience, I remained somewhat anonymous in my political and academic opinions as not every conversation I had would involve me talking about my research, and there-

fore, I could keep a balance between being an insider and an outsider of the group (*ibid.* 2004: 242). My participation here became a setting for understanding urban change and development in order to get an idea of how these topics are perceived and presented within an academic epistemic group, albeit from an inter-disciplinary perspective. Urban planners, architects, social scientists, economists, scholars of politics and practitioners presented different views and the lectures showed how these scholars all gave meaning to cityscapes. The official poster of the conference depicts the silhouette of a person but covered in an abstract cartography, quite literally an illustration of the embodiment of space that is the focus of this thesis and embodied spaces are discussed in section 4.2. The poster can be seen on Figure 8 and will be further referenced to in Chapter 6.

The empirical data collected at the conference, was to provide an overview of the different urban issues in play as well as to offer an illustration on the vast amount of academic fields that represent studying urban change and the use of space. This will further my argument of post-disciplinary research outlined in Chapter 5.

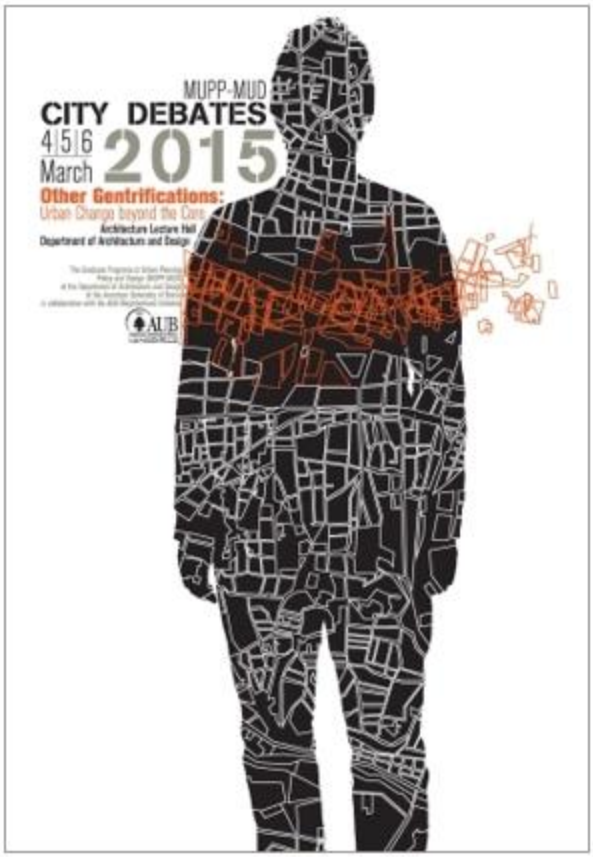

Figure 9: official poster from the City Debates 2015.

The empirical findings from the conference are analysed in Chapter 6 as means of considering which role tourism was given in this context. Interestingly, a lecture on the problematic effect tourism may cause on cityscapes was the only presentation to concern the topic at all. The entire conference was filmed and the videos are available on the CD website (City Debates n.d.) and is to be published on *YouTube* as well. These videos will therefore join photographic data and field notes to form the foundation for the analysis of this empirical element.

2.7 Informal Interviews

Interviewing has developed into one of the most effective methods for conducting qualitative research for empirical data collections (Tanggaard & Brinkmann 2010:29). However, interviewing in Beirut is not that straightforward due to some people not wanting to talk about the time immediately before or after the Civil War. Due to my prior visits to Lebanon, I was aware of this challenge and instead relied on a more casual setting: *conversational interviews* (Jennings 2010:159). Coming from a qualitative approach encouraging *heuretic* research (*ibid.* 2010:159) and *sense-making* (Spurgin 2006:103), *conversational interviews* were appropriate and were conducted in order to achieve a more natural setting for people to enlighten me into the complex socio-political and historical arena of RB. In this interview method it is vital to avoid setting up fixed question as the researcher must be able to redirect and adapt to any development of the conversation (Tanggaard & Brinkmann 2010:35). This method of interviewing is particularly applicable for researchers of participant observation, due to the conversations emerging from the everyday context the researcher is a part of (*ibid* 2010:35). This approach to conversational interviews are similar to that of a "*friendly conversation"* identified by Spradley (1979:58) as being a strong component of conducting ethnographic interviews.

Throughout my fieldwork in Beirut, I was trying to establish contact with the Ministry of Tourism; via email and with help from my contacts at the AUB, from an acquaintance from a cultural NGO and through the NI. By talking to someone at the Ministry of Tourism I was hoping to investigate to what extent tourism is a valid component in urban planning and development or what their views of urban change was. Getting an idea about the Ministry of Tourism and their considerations on these developments would assist the clarification of the role of tourism in the urban scene of future Beirut. However, after returning to Denmark I received an email from Nada Sardouk, the Director General, who provided me with some answers. Other than that, my analysis of the Ministry of Tourism is replying on promotional material, the one email, and the conversations I had with various employees when I went to the Ministry as well as the prologue and

epilogue found in the book: *Beirut E-Motion*, a book based on photography from before the civil war. More about the Ministry is found in section 2.10 on limitiations.

Conversational interviews or informal interviews were conducted with other participants and scholars at the *CD*, with *mental map* participants, residents from RB who we met on the street during the fieldwork, the pastor and his wife at the St. Mary Orthodox Church, staff at the NI, Maria and Yaser Abunnasr, Samir Khalaf and employees at the Ministry of Tourism (in person and via email). During these conversations, I was not always able to write notes and therefore field notes, written afterwards, make up the documentation of these interviews. Therefore, there was not transcriptions involved. Field notes are described in the following section.

2.8 Field Notes

Each researcher is likely to develop a unique design of field notes (Spradley 1979: 74) and are a requirement for conducting ethnographic research (Whitehead 2004: 5) and the simple reasoning behind field notes is how quickly the memory is either transformed or events simply forgotten (Bryman 2012: 447). As the research develops the researcher may change his or her view, and therefore, the notes function as a great source to document this change in perception. The field notes method used for this thesis is a combination of *Field Work Journal* and *Analysis and Interpretation* field notes (Spradley 1979: 76). The prior is that of a diary, recording dates and places and will after the fieldwork provide and account of the researcher's own biases and change in ideas as the "*ethnographer becomes a major research instrument*" (*ibid.* 1979: 76) and the latter provides "*a place to think on paper*" (*ibid*. 1979: 76) that includes brainstorming and short insights into the culture under study. Field notes for this thesis were written down every evening to avoid having to write too much down whilst conducting fieldwork, as this may influence the observations as people get self-conscious once they notice the researcher writing down notes (*ibid*. 2012: 448). The field notes are included as Appendix 28.

2.9 Crystallisation and Analysis Layout

This thesis has adopted a mixed method approach including various qualitative methods; however the data collection has no quantitative elements. The data collection encompasses empirical findings as well as promotional materials from the Ministry of Tourism, which essentially constitutes the secondary sources. In order to analyse the data collection, theory, is applied in order to contextualise this thesis within the study of Tourism. A much-used methods for cross-referencing qualitative data is *methodological triangulation*

(Gray 2004:344), which is a *within-method* that allows for various techniques within the same method to be utilised (*ibid.* 2004:344). Triangulation aid the improvement of the reliability of the qualitative research, which entails collection information and data from "*multiple sources or by using multiple data gathering tools*" (Gray 2004:344).

However, in post-modern research and in line with social constructivist research, as is this thesis, an alternative to triangulation is *crystallisation,* a process first described by sociologist Laurel Richardson is now as a framework for qualitative research (Ellingson 2009:4). Crystallisation is utilised by auto-ethnographers and ethnographer as it allows the researcher to work with "*post-modernist mix-genre texts*" (Richardson 2000:934). This approach differs from triangulation in that it combines

"*multiple forms of analysis and multiple genres of representation into a coherent text or series of related texts, building a rich and openly partial account of a phenomenon that problematizes its own construction, highlights researchers' vulnerabilities and positionality, makes claims about socially constructed meanings, and reveals the indeterminacy of knowledge claims even as it makes them*"

(Ellingson 2009:4)

Crystallisation was applied for this research due to the adaptation of the above quote. Two analysis are presented in this thesis: Chapter 5 encompasses the post-disciplinary introduction to reflexive methodology in which a narrative approach is used for analysing the photographic material from Kongstad and my own fieldwork. Using narrative within qualitative research is one of the components, described by Ellingson (2009:10) as characterising crystallisation. Chapter Six is an analysis of the participant observation at the CD as well as the mental maps. The following section (2.10) is an outline of the limitations of biases, which have influenced this research. Crystallisation is less so a cross-referencing approach than is triangulation, because the knowledge creation is based on the assumption that knowledge is "*situated, partial, constructed, multiple, embodied, and enmeshed in power relations"* (ibid. 2009:10). This thesis aims to utilise the empirical findings to illustrate the multi-genre and subjective knowledge creation that is crystallisation.

2.10 Limitations, Biases and Validity

Increasingly more researchers explain their biases and limitations to their readers in order to prepare them for how the findings may have been influenced by these (Bryman 2012:40). While I have touched on this subject above, this section will seek to explain the limitations faced, partly due to my own biases and partly due to external circumstances.

One such limitation was the restriction of photography. A vital element in the current postmodern tourism practices is representations through the medium of photography , with less focus on is the directly experienced reality by the tourist (Urry & Larsen 2011:155). Due to visual ethnography being such an important part of the research it was indeed a limitation when security guards, such as those patrolling close to the Saudi Arabian Embassy, and policemen would for photographs to be deleted or refrain from taking photographs certain spaces.

Lynch's first sample of mental maps had a lack of differentiated socio-economic status (Lynch 1960:152). I, too, could have chosen a broader array of people but instead, the participants were chosen to represent different backgrounds so as to not end up solely with AUB students or solely with restaurant owners. Noteworthy is the language barrier as I believe I could have obtained a larger sample of mental maps had I been able to speak and explain the process of creating mental maps in detail in Arabic.

An unexpected limitation was found in the correspondences with the Ministry of Tourism, who firstly did not reply to my emails; secondly, had another email account that was maxed out; and thirdly, that multiple numbers on the website were either out of service or the person, whose name was linked to a phone number, no longer worked at the Ministry. Upon arrival at the Ministry I spoke to seven different people, who gave me promotional material for Lebanon yet failed to provide me with answers about tourism in RB or a strategic outline of the Ministry's future or current work. In their defence they under the lack of centralised government and "*the ministry can only hold up the fort*" (Exchange student of Politics at AUB). This leads into another limitation in this research, namely the economic aspect. Further research could be done in examining the economic challenges and benefit tourism brings to RB, which could certainly coincide with the urban changes and post-war reconstruction, alas this falls outside the scope of this thesis.

A bias lies in my endless love and affinity for this city and in the complex political and contested environment the city presents to its visitors, in which I as researcher, student and tourist navigate the best I can. There is in this case a connection between subject under research and the researcher, which was established prior to the undertaking of this project. The sense-making approach adopted for this thesis was in part chosen due to my preconditioned relationship with the city. However, it has been challenged and certain of my views on urban planning in post-war Beirut has been changed during the fieldwork as I learnt more and as I was able to see RB through the eyes of participants of the mental mapping, participants at

the CD and through the eyes of those embodying the space of RB. Moreover, my understanding of tourism as part of the urban fabric and continuity of space was modified during the course of fieldwork.

2.11 Conclusion of Methodology

The above chapter presented the social constructivism, from which this thesis is written. The mixed methods are allowed by applying crystallisation to the project. From the notion of sense-making the fieldwork was carried out and has explained how tourism is researched as part of the everyday spaces of RB.

3. Historical Context

Before embarking upon the theoretical framework, a historical account is necessary, to fully grasp Beirut of an urban and spatial study. It is not possible to understand any community without contextualising it within a historical framework (Kongstad & Khalaf 1974:12) hence, this outline of relevant historical events.

Lebanon is a small country with borders to Jordan, Israel and Palestine as well as its biggest borderline to Syria, borders that have situated Lebanon as an important port area from Europe to the Eastern world as well as a political target and stronghold for various powerful entities throughout history. Babylonian and Assyrian kings conquered Beirut before the Egyptian pharaohs evidenced by the famous Amarna-letters, followed by the Romans who redesigned Beirut as an urban centre and through various Muslim dynasties starting with the Seleucids after Alexander the Great and followed the Ottomans (*ibid.* 1974: 13). At the end of this succession of conquerors Lebanon fell under French mandate (Nagel 2002: 719), the inauguration of a long-lasting geopolitical venture, and although Lebanon no longer is legally bound by the mandate, the French influence is inherently a part of the country. The soundscape of the city is certain places dominated by French lingua and a multitude of French schools and restaurants are found spread over the city. Despite the many foreign influences Beirut has experienced, the large urban scape is a product of the late 19th century where a rapid expansion from the Downtown area into the suburbs of Beirut was embarked upon. One such suburb was RB. RB was an agricultural area known for its abundant cactus growth that even in the 1920s were visible at Hamra Street; the most crowded commercial street in Beirut, which took its current shape in the 1950s (Abunnasr 2013: 122).

Besides the short account above of the earliest historical events in Beirut, there are three sets of historical events, which are relevant to contextualise the empirical data for this thesis. Firstly, The America University in Beirut is described due to it being a key component in understanding the emergence of RB as an urban

space with a distinct characteristic carried on from the turn of the last century, throughout the war and continued in present time. Secondly, the international status achieved by Beirut prior to the Civil War and thirdly, the Lebanese Civil War. Lastly, a section of Beirut as a post-war setting is addressed to introduce to the reader, how RB is influenced by the war but that a continuity, especially in tourism performance, is at play.

3.1 The American University of Beirut

"*Contributing to Beirut's position as a dominant center in the Middle East is its prominent role in learning and culture*" (Kongstad & Khalaf 1974: 19). Today there are an uncountable number of universities, Lebanese, French, English, American schools as well as Arabic language schools as well as European institutes all situated in Beirut. According to Kongstad and Khalaf (1974: 31) the AUB is a "*historical accident*" and it has been a vital factor in the development of RB and its infrastructural changes. The Syrian Protestant College was established in 1866 by Anglo-American missionaries and in 1920 was given its current name: The AUB (Abunnasr 2013:6) was originally named the (see Figure 10). It was established by the farmer's son David Bliss, who the street in front of the university is named after.

The location for the university has the advantage of being able to overlook the mountains and the sea and even more so due to the lack of buildings at the time. Further, the university was isolated from the rest of the city and therefore the residents were filled "*with a sense of difference*" (*ibid*. 2013:6), something that became manifested in an open-mindedness and an acceptance of social diversity, which RB is still praised for today, despite to what extent this might still be true after the civil war. The isolation from the walled city (what is now Downtown) also affected the perception of RB held by tourists in the beginning of the 1900s. They understood the area as a place for day time activities yet would retire in the night time (Kongstad & Khalaf 1974:108).

Figure 10: 1872-73. College Hall at AUB. Photo Courtesy of the AUB Archives.

RB in a sense was a destination for visitors and potentially mysterious to those not residing there. Those who did settle very much became part of the everyday life in RB, elucidated in the current experiencescape of RB, which illustrates the banalities of tourism (Edensor 2007:202). The initial settlers in RB were Protestants and affiliated with the AUB but as more people settled in the 20th century so continued the lifestyle outlined by the first population and seemingly newcomers were attracted to the AUB (Kongstad & Khalaf 1974:132). Visitors have always been attracted to RB and this continuity illustrates how much a part of the everyday urban tourism really is.

3.2 The Paris of the Middle East

The urban development and urbanisation of Beirut has more to do with coincidence, random events and historical influence than it is a product of urban planning (Kongstad & Khalaf 1974: 3). The ancient status of being gateway between East and West (*ibid.* 1974: 15) invited people from Europe as well as from across the Atlantic to explore, settle, be missionary or artists. However, until the American University in Beirut was built in 1966 Beirut was a medieval city behind city walls. The university was built on the top of RB; the head of Beirut and stood amidst the cactus plants and by the foot of it, where the Corniche is today, fishermen were residing and fishing in the sea surrounding them from all sides. Even in the 1960s when Kongstad was visiting Beirut it was still possible to see fishermen boats and houses at the edge of the sea. The end of the 19th century brought change to this area and indeed, the establishment of the university

played a major role in this. The 1950s marked the decade of immense urbanisation yet RB maintained its "*communal attachments and traditional loyalties*" (*ibid.* 1974: 21). The social diverse demography of Beirut has not been affected in accordance with the urban changes happening during the urbanisation, which statutes example for a long tradition of diverse neighbourhoods (Kongstad & Khalaf 1974: 3; Abunnasr 2013).

At the time when Kongstad visited Beirut, RB was becoming a commercial centre in which foreign investment, construction of high-rises, tourism related venues - hotels, restaurants and travel agencies - and governmental offices were situated (*ibid.* 1974:28). These facts sparked Kongstad and Khalaf's interest in exploring this area. The status RB had and indeed still has as an area of community solidarity and accepted diversity is due to the fact that "*no confessional group was in complete command of the land*" (Kongstad & Khalaf 1974:27) before the war, which made it attractive for newcomers. The proximity to the seaside, to the American University as well as health facilities and the absence of poverty attracted foreigners in the 1950s, which made RB the most popular destination in the city (*ibid*. 1974:27). In the decades prior to the Civil War tourism increased and many were able to settle due to the lack of policies on domestic housing. AUB continued to attract academic, journalists, students and radicals (Nagel 2002:719). It can therefore, be argued that this urban space is shaped as much by visitors as by resident and that RB is a *touristic space* more than a *destination*.

Despite the influx of foreigners settling in Beirut, Beirut and Lebanon in general has also served as temporary or permanent dwelling for refugees starting with Armenians who fled after the Armenian Genocide and continued with Palestinian refugees fleeing from the country to the South (Kongstad & Khalaf 1974: 17) and currently, the Syrian refugees are forced to live in Lebanon and are becoming a big part of the cityscape of Beirut (see Chapter 6). 1948 marked the point in time when RB entered a transitional state due to the immigration of Palestinians, who fled Palestine due to the Israeli-Arab conflict and the Suez Crisis in the 1950s resulted in an Egyptian and Syrian influx; the majority settled in RB (*ibid.* 1974:111). RB evidently has been shaped much by foreign settlers.

3.3 The Lebanese Civil War

A multifaceted political and intercommunal set of events led to the Lebanese Civil War in 1975. Interreligious struggles led to the commencement of the war and the beginning of the war is marked by Phalangist gunmen attacking a bus in the Palestinian area of Ayn Al-Rummaneh in Beirut taking the lives of

twenty-seven Palestinians. They counteracted as the Phalangist party (the majority were Maronite Christians) claimed that Palestinian insurgents similarly had attacked a church. This event proved to be one of many attacks, massacres, bombing and destruction of the country. In September 1975 militia from the outskirts of the city entered the city and occupied all the highest towers of the city; hotels and the Murr tower (Fregonese 2009:315). This initial occupation of space immediately constructed sites of atrocities from which gun shots would rain from the skies for a long time.

Even by the end of the war in 1990 these hostilities remained largely unresolved; hence Nagel (2002:719) refers to the reconstruction of Beirut as yet "*another battlefield in the long-running struggle over national identity*". In fact, the war may have ended due to "*exhaustion than from any clear victory of any one group*" (*ibid*. 2002:721). After the civil war "'Lebanon' *had become almost synonymous with senseless destruction and 'tribal warfare,' and the neologism 'Beirutization' had joined 'Balkanization' in the lexicon of social disintegration*" (*ibid.* 2002:718). Beirut suffered badly concerning infrastructure, architecture as well as social segmentation and religious-political unrest. Noteworthy is it that the destruction of RB was significantly less than what the Green Line area (also called the Demarcation Line) and Downtown area. For Beirut the smoke of the civil war has subsided yet the political instability has not changed much.

3.4 Post-War Ras Beirut

One reason why Beirut makes for an interesting subject for investigation in a post-war context is the fact that war constitutes a mental marker, from which everything is counted. Lebanon transformed from being the *playground* of the Middle East to the *battleground* (Khalaf 2012:83); an image with what the country still struggles. The political scene of Lebanon was polarised after the war and outside interference dominated the years of war. Therefore, as a means for establishing themselves as a strong nation not easily disrupted by outsiders, the new government concentrated the reconstruction on the capital city (Nagel 2002:722). Much attention has been paid to the reconstruction, which was carried out by the company: *Solidere*. Solidere is the abbreviation of *Société libanaise pour le développement et la reconstruction de Beyrouth* and was founded in 1994 and is a publicly-traded company and they worked closely with the government. The post-war efforts to unite Lebanon as one is primarily manifested in the Solidere areas; the Downtown area (*ibid.* 2002:722). As Nagel (2002:723) notes, there is no memorial to the victims of the civil war included in the reconstruction of Beirut indicating, "*neither the state nor its private sector partner seems willing to address openly the memories that undoubtedly loom largest in the minds of Beirut's citizens*". RB, as mentioned in the above section, was less affected by tangible losses after the war and

Solidere has no mandate to work there. Bullets holes are visible in the sides of buildings but the war is less present in a sense that it is in the Downtown area. "*The ghosts of the war roam free in the empty spaces reconstructed by Solidere,*" said a Lebanese-American shop owner in RB when I asked about the post-war reconstruction.

A salient point is Solidere's depiction of Lebanon, is not an attempt to forget the civil war instead it is one of the many narratives of Lebanon, which make up the political memory construction (Nagel 2002:725). The multiple Beiruti narratives "*only raise questions about what Lebanon signifies for those who inhabit it*" (*ibid.* 2002:725). These multiple narratives a founded in historical decentralisation and contemporary discontent with political and social status. Tourism has experienced punctuation because of the war yet has never stopped. This historical section was included to contextualise RB as a space embodied by tourism. Space is an important component in understanding Beirut and its struggles as well as the role of tourism in this.

4. Theoretical Considerations

The following chapter will firstly introduce urban tourism and urban spaces to set the scene for the existing tourism activity in RB using theory on *embodied spaces* (Low 2003), *experiencescapes* (O'Dell 2005) and *urbicide* (Fregonese 2009). Secondly, post-war reconstruction is introduced before leading into the last section concerning collective memory and shared amnesia (Khalaf 2012).

According to my findings and observations during my previous stays in Beirut, the majority of tourists in Beirut, identified by this researcher, fall within the following three categories: A) students and researchers, who stay for shorter or longer periods of time either enrolled in university courses or language classes or researchers e.g. myself as well as speakers at the *CD* Conference; B) volunteers working for NGOs, humanitarian or human rights organisations and C) NGO-employees and embassy interns and staff members. This excludes backpackers and rural tourists, who are mainly staying in the Eco Villages in the countryside or at hiking camp sites in the mountains. According to a volunteer at the *Lebanese Mountain Trail Association,* this latter group has decreased due to the hostilities in the Beqaa area and is irrelevant for a RB study. Kongstad and Khalaf (1974:102) identified different socio-economic groups in Hamra in the 1960s and called one of them "*the floating population*" consisting of executives, businesspersons and students. This corresponds with my identification, except I have encountered fewer executives who are only passing through and instead NGO-employees and volunteers. The student factor has been ongoing since the inauguration of AUB.

4.1 Urban Tourism

Even though cities are promised to be the epicentre of progress, freedom and knowledge, the reality, Lowenthal (2001) explains is less prosperous. He argues that "*the visions of planners and the hopes of citizens are periodically blasted by autocracy and greed, vitiated by social and physical decay*" (*ibid.* 2001). Many share this view in Lebanon, corruption is prevalent in the capital city and urban planners have little influence on the increase in high rises that takes place without any development of public infrastructural improvements. Cities are characterised as perishable and changeable and therefore, urban fabric is easily erased from local memory, the memory of events however, may be less easy to remove. To illustrate this point, Lowenthal describes the urban fabric as "*less the rooted tree than the roving bulldozer*" (*ibid*. 2001). Urban environments serve as a platform for memory creation due to its adjustability to physical changes presenting mnemonic symbols and its vast populations, allowing for various narratives to be told (Legg 2007:462). Urban space, between the bulldozers and gentrification, may encompass "*modern ruins*" (Fraser 2012: 137), which are architectural remains "*where long-term neglect has led to a stage of visible decay*" (*ibid*. 2012:137).

Despite the continuous construction of high rises in Beirut, abundant abandoned buildings either empty or resided by squatters, are found along the Green Line (the Demarcation Line separating east and West during the civil war) as well as in neighbourhoods as RB (West Beirut) and Gemmayzeh (East Beirut). Monumental Lebanese tourist sites are often highlighted as the Phoenician ruins of Saida, Tyre or Byblos, and to a small degree the Roman and Byzantine ruins found in Downtown Beirut. The 19th and early 20th century domestic residential ruins in the cityscape are rarely pointed out. Urban space is then where the past and the present meet to discuss the future; the architecture and infrastructure are setting for urban space but it is the people using this space, who bring meaning to it. Accounting for urban life in the 1960s, it is noted that: "*residents in Hamra may* in *but not* of *the city; while others - particularly those in the bourgeoning middle and upperclass suburban communities - may be* of *the city but not* in *it*" (Kongstad & Khalaf 1974: 135). Hence, those engaging with urban space and co-construct meaning, they embody the urban space no matter wherefrom they origin.

Urban areas have from ancient times been attractive destinations; archaic centres were visited as they represented the cultural hub of culture, music, arts, national identity as well as architectural edifices (Karski 1990:15) and therefore, may generally constitute the most important or at least most visited tourist destinations (Edwards *et al*. 2008:1032). Urban tourism is introduced here due to its apparent significance; Beirut is an urban centre in which a high degree of tourism performances occurs. Moreover, Spirou (2011:17)

identified post-war urbanscapes as a way to understand urban tourism as a development tool contextualised in a "*historical and socioeconomic framework"*. Post-war governments are likely to seek economic increase by initiating increased urban tourism as part of the economic post-war reconstruction (*ibid.* 2011:2), however this is hardly the case for Beirut. Further, Page (1995:24) described urban tourism by interpreting the "*tourist experience*" from a mainly marketing-related point of view, however, this view is not prevalent here. In section 4.3 *experiencescapes* are described and that in a sense is a developed version of Page's outline. Another reason for its inclusion of the thesis theory is the lack of attention Beirut receives from the Ministry of Tourism (see Chapter 6). Selby (2004:17) argues that urban tourism becomes a pawn in "*enhancing the image of the city*," a statement fitting for Beirut where any promotion on Beirut is concentrated on Downtown area, reconstructed by the aforementioned company, *Solidere.* Cities are contested spaces in which heritage and memory formation happens and in post-war eras becomes "*an imaginary space*" (Legg 2007: 462) where memory can be altered or transformed into forgetfulness.

Urban space is a frequently utilised tourism destination in most countries; it often has a logistic connection to the airport and in that sense becomes an obvious tourism destination as they carry "*facilities and attractions which are conveniently located to meet tourists' and residents' needs alike*" (Page 1995:9). One of the challenges of urban tourism is that the urban space is taken for granted in the sense that infrastructure constructed for local residents are used by tourists (Edwards *et al.* 2008:1033) and often this is not addressed in city planning or tourism management. Carrying capacity of cityscapes is a pressing matter in urban tourism as it is often not catered for (Page 1995:153) yet in RB, as will be argued below, tourists are as much a part of the daily routines as permanent residents in RB because they study, work, volunteer and live there. Carrying capacity concerning tourism here is therefore, equal to dealing with crowded cities and lack of payable apartments. Due to a strong academic emphasis on consumer identity of tourism (*ibid*. 1995:13), urban destinations and tourism in general have been analysed in an economic context (Pernecky 2010:3). However, urban tourism is rather a study of the use of space, of *tourism mobilities* (Hannam *et al.* 2014) and *proxemics* (Hall 1966), both presented in later sections.

Studies of urban tourism have been carried out using mental mapping, a way to capture the nature of the blurred borders of urban tourism destinations (Page 1995; Selby 2004). Page (1995:223) argues for the tourists' perceptions to be embodied in mental maps. Their views of the *touristscapes* are illustrated in the maps and can be used to analyses how well certain areas in the city has been promoted. Pearce (1977: 203) asked tourists in Oxford to follow Lynch's model to illustrate *paths, landmarks* and *districts*. The purpose was to view different perceptions of the urban space through the eyes of tourists. This thesis is interested

in the similarities and differences visible on the mental maps of tourists and residents, which will be identified looking at especially *landmarks* and *paths*. This analysis will emphasise the importance of space in an urban tourism context to highlight the use of space as opposed to interpreting tourism from a marketing or economic point of view.

4.2 Embodied Space

The relationship between individual and collective memory is often debated in literature on memory (Legg 2007: 458) as time and space will influence in the context in which something is remembered. This entails political discourse encouraging us to forget or remember certain events. Legg (2007:459) explains that collective memory is to be understood as "*a product of individual and institutional memories, as well as their precursor*". Following Legg collective memory form the basis for the formation of individual memory meanwhile, it also may constitute as a "*product of individual and institutional memories*" (*ibid.* 2007:459). When alternative interpretations of history threatens a collective memory, the risk is based on the fear that people may refuse to forget certain events in history (*ibid.* 2007:459). However, memory cannot be dictated, it can be influenced but inevitably, competing interpretations will always exist; some wish to remember, some to forget. Collective memory is a mixture of nostalgia and forgetfulness (Khalaf 2012:78), which in the case of Beirut relies very much on the individual's attitude towards the civil war. "*Space is a key component of memory formation*" (Legg 2005:456) and therefore collective memory in a post-war setting is often concerned with space, urban space in particular. Cities often offer a multitude of conflicting narratives (Lowenthal 2001), hence cities influenced by war can be encompass both collective memory and shared amnesia. A tourist spending a brief time in such a setting, therefore, may not be presented to both images. The importance is that when discussing memory formation, the historical context is important yet it is vital to interpret the space and environments connected to those events (Legg 2007:463).

Low (2003:10) investigates the meaning of the term *embodied spaces*, which refers to the linkages between the body and the spaces in which bodies navigate. The body's experiences are manifested in certain spaces and provide a connection to "*larger, social and cultural processes*" (*ibid.* 2003:10); meaning bodies are part of the construction of space. In order to grasp the complex notion of *embodied spaces* it must be understood how the body is often perceived. There is a tendency to separate the biological perception of the body from the *self*; this entails the social, the physiological part of the body (*ibid*. 2003:10). This to a certain extent is a Western perception that is challenged by theorising embodied spaces. The body expands beyond the biological boundaries and is "*inherently social and cultural*" (*ibid*. 2003:10) and is formed by norms, habits, experience and encounters. A multitude of scholars have argued for various ways of perceiv-

ing the body and presented different divisions of the body in the social, cultural, consumer and political realms (*ibid*. 2003:10). However, for this thesis, the body is understood as being the social and cultural entity utilising the cityscape and hereby influencing the space; thus, there is a co-creation of *embodied spaces* between those using the spaces and the spaces themselves. Embodied space is "*how individuals express themselves through space, changing it in the process*" (Selby 2004:111). It is a complex term yet very applicable for urban research as urbanscapes are condensed space that can be contested and the *right to space* is often a concern in urban studies. This latter point is due to the impact bodies and people have on the production of space both the tangible and intangible meaning attached to it. Further, this is interesting in the urban tourism context as the tourists engage with the cityscape by using their senses and further, tourists and residents make active decisions on "*how to positions themselves in relation to the city*" (*ibid.* 2004:111). In RB the tourism component adds a noteworthy space-creation; are tourists interfering with embodied spaces of RB or are they an inherent part of the co-construction?

A much used theory in social sciences and not least in understanding the use of cities is Bourdieu's use of *habitus* (Centner 2015; Low 2003:10). Centner (2015) argues that Bourdieu provides a toolkit for understanding space. With a starting point in how socio-economic status "*become embodied in everyday life*" (Low 2003:12) Bourdieu understands habitus as the way body and mind work together and are formed through experiences associated with everyday activities. The body and mind, therefore, are subject to social construction and due to their influence by the world in which they exist, *habitus* become a tool for investigating space. Nonetheless, utilising *habitus* in the investigation of *embodied space* is less applicable due to the lack of agency given to the body; the body "*is treated like an empty container without consciousness or intention*" (*ibid.* 2003:12). Instead, the body is a "*moving spatial field*" (*ibid.* 2003:14) thus, the body itself is a space seeking to create its own place in world. By this, Low argues that the body itself is "*a moving, speaking cultural space in and of itself*" (*ibid*. 2003: 16). The moving spatial fields encompass tourists as well as locals and result in the need to rethink tourism practices; the aim is not to keep tourists in one place, one city or one destination instead it is "*to keep them moving through it, and even coming back to it*" (O'Dell 2005: 29). Therefore, *embodied spaces* have a connection to the term *experiencescape*. This is due to embodied spaces falling under Heidegger's term "*being-in-the-world*" (Low 2003:13), relying on the senses and symbols encountered in every experience, thus becoming the existential reality of a space (*ibid*. 2003:13). *Being-in-the-world* is term coined by Heidegger (1889-1976), which entails the "*spatial and temporal relationships between humans and objects in the world*" (Selby 2004: 147). Heidegger is described as interpreting the phenomenology of the everyday (Pernecky 2010:6), which derives from his term *being here* (German: *Dasein*) (*ibid.* 2010:6). It is the notion that being in the world means being part of the tangi-

bility of that and everyday *sense-making* is how we understand being there (*ibid*. 2010:6). Being-in-the-world shapes the phenomenon of tourism, as it constitutes how we make sense of our own lives as well as other people's lives (*ibid.* 2010:11). Tourism, therefore, is be considered a field of study much concerned with the people aspect more so than bound to academically disciplines. This last notion is elaborated upon in Chapter 5.

Places cannot be understood as static and liminal, instead the change over time, meaning that a space will be different even one day from now (Orley 2012:39). Understanding spaces as being embodied gives them "*anthropomorphic qualities*" (*ibid.* 2012:36) and urban centres are often personified in literature and therefore urban spaces have a history of being perceived as such (*ibid.* 2012:37). Orley (2012:40) suggests applies agency to places and poses that "*places are events that might remember other events*" and that people's behaviour will be according to those memories embodied in the space. Embodied spaces are simply spaces that remember and therefore, RB cannot ignore its post-war history because the people remember it and as such, past events are replied at the spaces. Orley (2012:47) conclude her chapter by stating: "*This place, here and now (where you are) might remember you. You are implicated. You are responsible.*" Detaching the body from spaces is not possible.

A last point of understanding embodied spaces is the term *proxemics*. In 1963, Edward Hall conducted cultural anthropological research to investigate perceptions and use of space (Hall 2004:51). In order to do so, he disregarded the notion that two people, who might be experiencing the same, will not experience it in the same way (*ibid*. 2004:52) and as a result, he coined the term *Proxemics.* A knowledge-creation often occurs as something that might be "*taken for granted in one culture may not even exist in another*" (Hall 2004:64) and therefore the use of space can be considered a cultural act and the perception of space as an aspect of culture. For instance, urban outlines will vary from culture to culture and carry different meaning (*ibid.* 2004:52). *Proxemics* is a way to understand how people interact with each other in their quotidian lives and according to how much or little a person is willing to engage with other people, a bobble of personal space that surrounds everyone, can be enlarged or made smaller. This activity makes space negotiable; people assist characterising spaces, much like Edensor (2001) described the (re)production of tourism space. Spaces are embodied because people use them, and as proxemics described the relationship between people and use of space, it evidently describes the embodiment. This understanding of embodied spaces will carry on to the following section of *experiencescape,* outlining the nature of tourism as experience embodied in space.

4.3 Experiencescape

The above section explains the relationship between space and body as a phenomenon happening as a natural part of being-in-the-world. This section is an account of the use of space, of space as a field of activities in which tourism has changed from passive to active. Tourism has entered a phase of "*post-sightseeing*" (O'Dell 2005:27) in which tourists are less interested in the observation of the host country and more interested in engaging, resulting in a shift from passive visiting to active participating. Sightseeing often involves the significance of the *tourist gaze* (Urry & Larsen 2010) and by entering a post-sightseeing phase; tourism is largely incorporating the *double gaze.* The double gaze is when tourists are the object under investigation just as much as they observe the locals (Urry & Larsen 2010:23); they co-construct the experience as well as meaning of the space. *Experiencescapes* offer what sightseeing is missing, which is a more holistic experience that may encompass cultural encounters, insight into an everyday life of the host country as well as a chance for participating with local culture in order to learn more about one's own boundaries. It becomes knowledge-creation.

Experience and tourism are often linked through the commodification of experience, however, experience is an individual phenomena that eventually will be perceived differently by each person due to its intangibility (O'Dell 2005:15). Both the commodification and the urge for gaining experiences is manifested in space (*ibid.* 2005:15). The term *experiencescape* derives from the idea that experiences are spatially bound and that sites such as museums, heritage sites, theatres etc. are places where experiences are consumed. *Experiencescapes* are purposely constructed by urban planners, local business and so on and are frequented by consumers who in these spaces gain the intended experiences. This, however, is not a sufficient description of theses *scapes* as that would reduce them to an imagined space unlike the daily setting people live in; e.g. when the tourists leave a the carnival there are still people living on that street. Spaces are also produced in the *double gaze* (Urry and Larsen 2010:23). Therefore, O'Dell (2005:17) explains how the "*surroundings we constantly encounter in the course of our everyday lives can take the form of physical, as well as imagined, landscapes of experience*" (*ibid.* 2005:16). Similar to Benedict Anderson's (2006:163) "*imagined communities,*" we imagine worlds, argues Appadurai (1996:33). This result in a global connection in which people can imagine the lives of others and from this have a sense of global community; tourists often have the same practise of imagining worlds. O'Dell (2005:17) has furthered the work of Appadurai by emphasising the importance of the physical space. This enables people to obtain cultural encounters through the mobility necessary for being in *experiencescapes;* an experiencescape is never experienced from only sitting on a bench. It, too, according to O'Dell (2005:18) corresponds with Lefebvre's outline of space as understood through different perceptions of a certain space along with how this space is lived in. Social and

cultural activities aid the production of such spaces yet does not exclude the manipulations found in the influence of "*architects, urban planners, social scientists, artists etc.*" (*ibid.* 2005:18). The social and cultural activities constitute not only a production of space but also identity creation. *Experiencescapes* are largely connected to experience economy yet does not mean that experiencescapes are necessarily the high intensity tourism experience with never ending nightlife and visits to attractions; they may also provide the experience of peace and quiet (*ibid*. 2005:30). Experiencescapes include the element of *being-in-the-world*, which is to be understood as a mind-set rather than a location and it is about having an experience of *becoming*.

The element of identity is important in understanding *experiencescapes* and indeed justifies calling the entire area of RB an *experiencescape*. These spaces cannot be perceived as having strictly defined borders not as being politically neutral, which in turn draws a connection between "*leisure, identity and the politics of everyday life*" (*ibid*. 2005:24). This means that these spaces should not be constructed in a way that would exclude certain groups of people who might have daily activities there. O'Dell exemplifies this by describing how a Danish strategist working for a grand Danish tourist destination pleaded for having the young segment along with immigrants leaving the city centre in order to create what he viewed as a more desirable destination (*ibid*. 2005:24). This poses an important role for tourism research; namely, to draw attention to the importance of local culture and sense of place, in which local culture and tourism can and want to co-exist.

4.4 Tourism Mobilities and Spaces of the Everyday

Leading on from understanding tourism as part of space making and embodied spaces, mobilities of tourism is prevailing in tourism research (Hannam *et al.* 2014:172). A further discussion of Lebanon as a player in geopolitical power struggles existing in the Middle East as well as in Europe is important in order to understand the Lebanese position. For instance, the modern ruins become unintended commemorative structures, and as such becomes an element in the political conflict. Hannam *et al.* (2014:172) argue that the connection between geopolitics and tourism is best understood through the mobilities paradigm. Mobilities are part of the urban scene in RB and are particularly important in a society where mobilities were restricted during the civil war.

As embodied spaces, that include a fluid perception of space, tourism mobilities can be identified as a sort of "*dwelling-in-motion*" (*ibid.* 2014:173) where people, places, buildings and objects all partake in producing performances. The *dwelling-in-motion* is identifiable in how tourists along with infrastructure and space

are "*bodies that flow through various mobilities*" (*ibid.* 2014:178). Space is socially and culturally constructed and is continuously produced and reproduced through being utilised by people (Fraser 2012:137), which further complicates the definition of borders, also addressed in section 2.1.1. Massey (1994:154) suggested that places rather are surrounded by imaginative borders and are "*articulated as moments in networks of social relations and understandings*". Urban space is ever-changing and adjustable and therefore the importance of movement is salient in conceptualising the creation of space (Low 2003:14).

Mobilities is an important element In tourism activity, which helps explain the mundane, the habitual as well as the "*exotic encounters*" (Hannam *et el.* 2014:172) associated with tourism. Just as Edensor (2007), Hannam *et al.* acknowledges the quotidian nature of tourism and apply mobilities in order to emphasise the mere movement of people (*ibid.* 2014:172). The following section will elaborate upon tourism as an everyday phenomenon.

The environment is the tourism activity and natural elements as well as people's modifications of that becomes a part of the tourism activity (Pernecky 2010:3) and it is therefore a process and negotiation between space and those using the space. Tourism is an interesting topic in research on space as the investigation into tourism performances are linked with space. Often tourists have been criticised for being "*disembodied subjects, detached from space*" (Edensor 2007:205) but instead tourism is much associated with space and a kind of "*being-in-the-world*" (*ibid*. 2007:206) that is worth understanding. Edensor describes the relationship between tourism and space as "*touristscapes*" (ibid. 2007:205). *Touristscapes* can be the mountain trail of Lebanon's mountains, the nightlife district in Mar Mikhael sector in East Beirut or the townscape of Byblos north of Beirut or arguably the entire *experiencescape* of RB.

Tourism research has also moved from being understood in "*single spheres of daily life*" (O'Dell 2005:33) to include a wider range that positions "*tourism and leisure play as motors of both change and stability in society*" (*ibid.* 2005: 33). Much tourism activity is based on habitual activities and become a quotidian performance including norms and cultural awareness (Edensor 2007:201). The description of tourism as "*unreflexive and habitual*" (*ibid*. 2007:202) presents tourism as an activity based on pre-learned behaviour, which rejects the notion that tourism is "*a special, separate field of activity and inquiry*" (*ibid.* 2001:59). Edensor (2007: 204) argues that due to the high frequency of tourism the performances become unreflexive.

Tourists are a part of (re)producing tourism spaces (*ibid.* 2001:59) and in this *proxemics* is a usable tool. *Proximics* applies agency to the individual person's intimate sphere or personal space and the term is an early notion of embodied spaces. For tourists to feel comfortable there is a tendency for cities to create

niche tourism areas, meaning assigning different neighbourhoods with different themes such as "*ethnic or gay villages, so that increasingly, people belong to spaces where the highlighting of selective cultural and historical attributes is routine*" (*ibid*. 2007:200). This is most successfully done through marketing in the experience economy, however outdated it may be; tourists increasingly seek to understand the whole picture, learn a holistic set of truths about the place they visit. Yet expanding on the notion of niche-creation, RB can be argued to be such a niche because all Beirut's neighbourhood are characterised by different historical and cultural attributes. Nevertheless, these attributes are known through mouth-to-mouth method more so than through organised tourism orientated marketing. Much of the common understandings of how to be a tourist -*habitual tourist behaviour* - is created through promotional materials such as flyers and advertisements (*ibid.* 2007:203) yet RB has received very little promotional material. Brochures etc. may aid the preparation process of the journey and introduce the habitual tourist behaviour (*ibid.* 2007:203); however, for Beirut the brochures would mislead you and not prepare you, as they only described the empty Downtown area. However, this selective marketing method is an element in a larger political national identity creation in which the government wishes to make the Lebanese an "*imagined community"* (Anderson 2006); although the Lebanese are a segmented group with whom creation one national identity has proved difficult.

Edensor argues for the habitual quotidian tourism performance as being a comfortable means of travelling where "*stage-managers and choreographers*" (*ibid.* 2007:204) aid the tourist to navigate in the tourism space. This establishes a co-existence between the tourists and those who facilitate the tourism experience; employees at hotels, guides, chauffeurs and so on, which brings tourism sites to live in the revelation that these spaces are lived in and worked in by staff of the tourism industry (*ibid*. 2007:205). The point is that most tourism performances are far from unique due to a multitude of tourists gaining the same experiences. Albeit tourists may experience the same, the way in which they experience it, remember it and the way in which they engage with space will vary. To understand *touristscape*, Edensor explicate how the tourist performances are such embedded activities in the tourist that the tourist navigate unquestioned in the *touristscape* and is comfortably *being-in-the-world* (*ibid.* 2007:211). It is the knowhow of being a tourist, which Edensor describes as habitual (*ibid.* 2001:73); the banalities of tourism are that tourists normatively reactions to the world. "*Tourism is never entirely separate from the habits of everyday life, since they are unreflexively embodied in the tourist*" (*ibid.* 2001:61).

Furthermore, this theory will encourage tourists to assume certain tourist categories in which they fall under; backpackers, package tourist etc. (*ibid.* 2007:202). The habitual performance entail the tourism activity

as being little if at all different from other tourists' performance even if some disregard the title of *tourist* as being suitable for them. Tourists crave "*otherness"* (*ibid.* 2007:205), which they might achieve but so will other tourists. This is not meant as a reduction of the tourism experience to be robotic or static performance, instead it shows that tourism is based on habitual actions "*inscribed on the body*" (*ibid.* 2007; 2011). In this sense tourists allow themselves to perform in ways similar to how they would go about their everyday lives at home. Tourists who stay for longer periods of time in RB are attracted to the *otherness*, yet also feel at home in the hybrid Western-Middle Eastern culture that Beirut is sometimes described as holding. They can perform their habitual activities whilst getting insight into the lives of others.

As mentioned above modern ruins (Fraser 2012:139), architectural decay depicting recent conflict can be both *touristscape* and *experiencescape*. Urban exploration simply is the activity of people searching for experiences dissimilar to the everyday, *otherness*, which is often associated with modern ruins (ibid. 2012:139). They are most likely to visit modern ruins due to the restricted status (*ibid.* 2012: 38) and risk involved due to long abandonment. In RB most abandoned buildings are either closed up so thoroughly that it would be an impossibility to enter, or they are inhabited by squatters leaving these modern ruins difficult to enter, even for urban explorers. Noteworthy, is the fact that urban exploration often entails illegal trespassing and therefore, not much documentation is accessible from these houses. This compromise urban exploration as tourism practice as organised urban exploration tours can only be advertised casually online and photo documentation from these sites are likely to have been obtained without permission (*ibid.* 2012:140). Nonetheless, these modern ruins are tourist destinations; *touristscapes* and *experiencescapes* and in finding Kongstad's photos we realised that many of these modern ruins had be demolished instead of maintained as destinations.

4.5 Urbicide

After the Balkan wars in the 1990s the shelling and total destructions of the city of Dubrovnik and the Ottoman bridge in Mostar, *urbicide* was used to described these events as a means for hurting the populations by destroying their heritage (Fregonese 2009: 310). The symbols and meanings found in urban fabric is much part of the urban identity and history, hence deliberate destruction can be evaluated as the wish to eradicate urban (or national) identity. Urbicide emphasise the varying ways in which political conflicts and violence towards urban fabric shape cityscapes (*ibid*. 2009:311). Primarily, the term and the practise has been referred to post-Cold War conflicts yet earlier occurrences ought to be studied, Fregonese (2009:311) suggests. Additionally, she argues that researchers should refrain from reducing stately conflicts to urban matters just due to the "*apparent urban convergence of contemporary wars*" (*ibid.* 2009:311).

Beirut is a contested space, which progressed in the beginning of the 1970s and exploded in 1975 as the war broke out. Beirut as a space have been a battlefield for contesting ideologies and confessional persuasions that led to an inaccessibility to public spaces that numbed civil society in a manner still relevant today (various lectures at the *CD* stated this). Fregonese (2009:301) argues, about Beirut, that activities like:

"*blocking streets, piercing buildings to create passages, partitioning neighbourhoods, climbing towers or even commemorating urban warfare martyrs, all played a part in the tactics and strategies used to bifurcate – physically and ideologically – this urban environment*".

These practices were most prevalent during the first two years of the civil war, alas became concrete in the minds of people and tangible manifestations of ongoing conflict; an *urbicide* had occurred. The blocked streets, the pierced walls became places that remember events (Orley 2012:40) as they do today.

The term, *urbicide,* has also reference in tourism related matters; urban environments that are exposed to high intensity tourism. Urban tourism can cause damage to cityscapes when not facilitated and managed sufficiently (Page 1995). Cities that give certain areas of a city conservation status or apply for UNESCO World Heritage status enter a field where a debate concerning the balance between preserving and arresting development is likely to occur. Dresden serves as an example for a post-war urban setting that was assigned World Heritage Status and then lost it due to city development. The current urbicide in Beirut is the result of gentrification causing displacement and infrastructural congestion. The post-war reconstruction, nonetheless, also caused a certain urbicide in the pursuit for reconstructing Beirut as means for an agenda to create a national identity.

Often the past is portrayed as romanticised version of what it in fact was, as can be exemplified with postcards depicting the city as it used to be (Lowenthal 2001), uncritical of the issues entangled with past urban fabric. In most Lebanese bookshops one can purchase postcards from the 1920-1940s promoting nostalgia about pre-war Lebanon, not having to deal with current issues of gentrification or the contested reconstruction of the Downtown area. The manner in which this genre of postcards are used as a narrative in multiple cities worldwide, let the tourist understand that the past is preferable to the present urban outline (Lowenthal 2001) instead of displaying the difficult heritage. In Warsaw, tourists can buy postcards depicting the main square right after the bombing during the World War II compared with a photo after the re-

construction (Figure 11); such images will not be displayed to tourists in Beirut. One can, however purchase a postcard of the reconstructed Downtown *souq*, the old whole sale market.

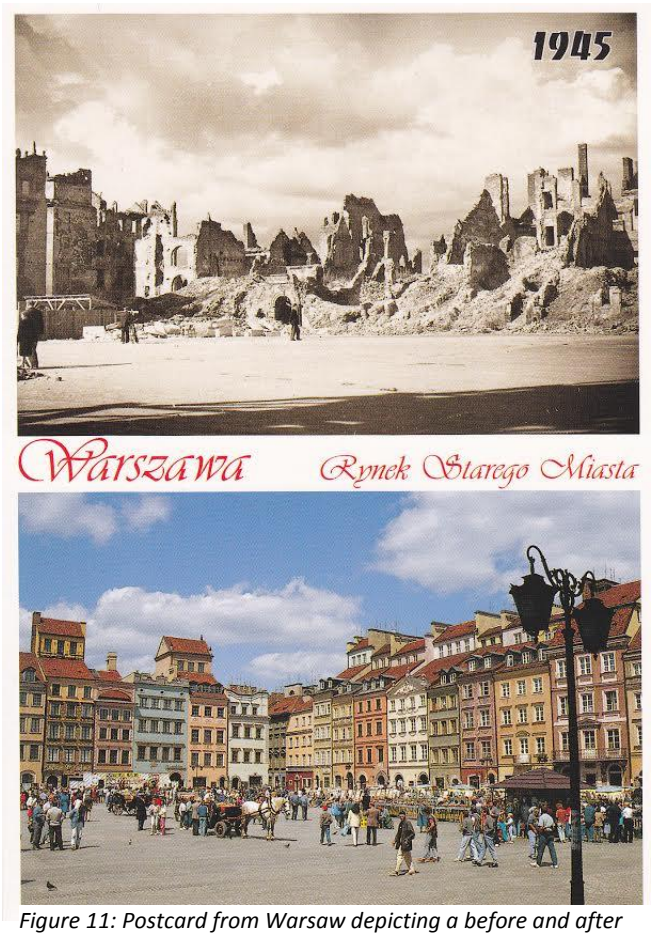

Figure 11: Postcard from Warsaw depicting a before and after photograph of the old town square. The top photo is a place of atrocity, the lower an everyday scene in an urban centre.

Khalaf (2012:77) argues that post-war reconstruction in Beirut is rather different from most other examples of post-war reconstructed urban sites, because a *collective terror* rather than *collective memory* is dominating the healing process. Below is an example of how Beirut is a case of *difficult heritage* using post-Cold War Berlin as a counterexample. One issue concerning reconstructing Beirut was the sheer volume of debris and destruction; where was anyone to embark the rebuilding? The Cold War left a *difficult heritage* (MacDonald 2009: 1) behind too, not due to vast amounts of rubble, on the contrary, because it had been a "*placeless war*" (Uzzell & Ballantyne 2009:507). The Cold War was a long lasting conflict, and yet there were no battlefields, no sites of atrocity (MacDonald 2009:3). It was *placeless* in the sense that there were no sites of bombing in Berlin, no mass murder graves, as would be expected in most wars and which was the case in Beirut. Furthermore, the Cold War was an international and public war that affected people across continents and separated the world in two. Berlin was divided by a physical wall much like the Green Line separated East and West Beirut during the Lebanese Civil War (Nagel 2002:721), which also included re-

gional interference from neighbouring countries. The difference between Beirut and Berlin is the matter of the *sites of atrocities.* The atrocity of the Cold War was the looming presence of the Iron Curtain that parted Europe. Reconstructing a country with people living in such fear is not an easy task, thus, the reconstruction of Berlin cannot be looked at solely in terms of tangibility. The identity of Beirut certainly also suffered, and still does, from similar wounds as Berlin did right after the Cold War; the fear of the unsolved conflict, of the idea that conflicts are hiding just under the surface, as experience in Lebanon in 2006 (conversation with Maria Abunnasr). During the 2006-conflict, the airport and the new Manara (lighthouse), which were rebuilt after the civil war suffered. These among other destructions resulted in a pessimism within the people of Beirut who knew the political unrest still hiding under the surface after the civil war (conversation with lecturer at AUB). Post-war cities often experiences a huge decrease in tourism and means to promote these cities for tourism purposes again can be as it happened in Berlin; certain construction sites were promoted as attractions for visitors and locals alike (Edensor 2007:201). This kind of promotion is likely to be contested as it emphasises a need to move forward and at the same time highlights the recent conflict; forcing people to remember the cities as it were before these building sites. The civil war was not *placeless* but the sites of atrocity are being either masked by high rises or left to decay.

4.5 Conclusion of Chapter

RB is a post-war setting but there is a general *shared amnesia* about this dark past. To understand the role of tourism theory on *embodied spaces* must be employed. Tourism in RB, according to the findings presented in the following two chapters, is habitual acts that involve residents as much as tourists. Post-war reconstruction is more than the tangibility of restoring architecture; it too, is a matter of identity. The events of the civil war are embedded in the spaces of RB and a part of the *experiencescape* and continuous touristic landscape.

5. Analysis of Photographic Material: Post-Disciplinary Journey towards Understanding Ras Beirut

This chapter will introduce a post-disciplinary approach adopted by the author due to the nature of the empirical data. The photographic comparison created a foundation for understanding RB; the space, the history and the people. It is often discussed whether tourism can be considered a field on its own but a post-disciplinary approach analyses "*societies and how they deal with tourism*" (Darbellay & Stick 2012:442) as opposed to analysing tourism as a topic. Hence, this data is best understood from a post-disciplinary point of view as it allows for it to be presented in a narrative structure, which will enlighten the reader into

the world of *sense-making* (described in section 2.3.2) process that was the fieldwork in Beirut 2015. It further corresponds with the *social constructivism* employed for the thesis, understanding RB as a socially constructed space and tourism as an element in constructing space. This will contextualise this chapter in a postmodernist understanding of academic writing allowing for relative use of method, which is why this chapter was incorporated; inspired by the work of Reis (2011; 2009) to provide an *inter-subjective* narrative account of findings yet maintain an "*academe-appropriate*" (*ibid.* 2011:9) perspective as well as integrity to one's field of research.

5.1 Post-Disciplinary Research

As has been mentioned above, multiple disciplines are necessary for researching any aspect of Beirut. However, a shift in the epistemological approach towards tourism has been discussed concerning tourism research, which leaves the contrived and inflexible boundaries of disciplinary limitations (Coles *et al*. 2005; Coles *et al.* 2008). Post-disciplinary approaches to tourism encourages the researchers "*to look beyond what they perceive as their 'natural' intellectual boundaries to reinvigorate their understandings*" (Painter 2003: 639 in Coles et al. 2005: 38). Tourism research has evolved beyond that of conventional boundaries and can no longer be understood solely as an economic field (Tribe 2005: 5). Furthermore, personal biographies and experiences of the researchers are increasingly included in this epistemological turn, providing room for reflexive methodologies and "*greater levels of transparency*" (Pernecky 2010:4). Pernecky (2010:7) states that creating new knowledge is "*an immensely creative act of interpretation*" and argues that people live in a world of meaning and researcher cannot detach themselves from this notion nor "*get access to superior vistas*" (*ibid.* 2010:7). Instead, the embodied researcher embraces those meanings and allows personal "*experience and worldviews*" influence research (Tribe 2005:6). Hence, Darbellay and Stock's notion of dealing with how societies are using tourism broadens the understanding of tourism.

A more profound understanding of the world can be found in tourism research from a post-disciplinary position (Coles *et al.* 2005:39) and the researcher can illustrate different realities by utilising different methods. This means that post-disciplinary research allows for a mix of methods and a mix of disciplines to co-illustrate a point, for instance, narrating can be applied as a valid method for providing an intersubjective account of a set of events. This auto-ethnographic and narrative tendency has increased in tourism literature (Tribe 2005:5). Lévi-Strauss argued that future anthropology will included people studying themselves (Hall 2004:51) and to this end, my experience of doing fieldwork in RB is included.

5.2 Reflexive Methodology and Narrative of Findings

Reis (2009: 46) employs a *reflexive methodology*, which allows the researcher to reflect during the experience of research as opposed to reflecting on past experience, hence she analysed her data through a personal narrative. It is a method in which the researcher is embedded in the research and by using this method "*one's constant engagement with, and presence in the research*" (*ibid.* 2011:6) becomes a part of the findings. A *reflexive methodology* is a process of co-construction with the subjects under study; the researcher's understanding of the experience is continuously reflected upon and his or her position reframed, thus, facilitating a "*dialogue with research 'participants'*" (*ibid.* 2011: 5). Reis (2011:19) argues that the reflexive methods have been employed to social sciences yet that tourism has refrained from engaging with such creative approaches. Additionally, she expresses an adherence to auto-ethnography in wanting to engage readers from other fields and outside any field of study to bring to life unheard voices of those under study through the voices of the researcher and "*to explicitly acknowledge researcher subjectivity is to integrate the voice of the researcher into the research text*" (*ibid.* 2011:20). Furthermore, embeddedness illustrates "*the research as a constructed act of exchange between the researcher and 'Others'*" (ibid. 2011:7). My pre-possessed ideas on RB, my biased meaning about tourism in the area and my memory of experiences during my previous visits to the city opened up applying a *reflexive methodology* as an addition to the methodology based on social constructivist approaches to ethnography and social scientific methods presented in Chapter 2.

In an attempt to understand the space in which I was conducting my research the *intersubjective* approach gives room for a presentation of the relationship between the researcher and those being researched in co-construction meaning (*ibid.* 2011:9). In order to engage the reader and appeal for intersubjectivity, Reis utilised photos to illustrate her experiences. Similar to the personal and subjective account created by auto-ethnographers to depict real life as experienced by the researcher, Reis is adopting a personal and subjective method. Appropriate for this research is Reis' embedded approach, as it allows me to engage with the reader of this thesis by narrating my experience of RB by including my opinions from previous visits. Furthermore, provide a *reflexive methodology* in which a co-creation of meaning occurs between the reader, the subject under research, and the researcher. Hannam *et al.* (2014:182) described how researchers who travel with their subjects beneficially work towards understanding phenomena related to tourism. Their stance is mobilities oriented and they provide an understanding of understanding mobilities and the everyday banalities of tourism, hence, travelling through RB with the 1960s photo collection and a camera at hand, I became involved with the mobilities of tourism.

As mentioned in section 2.3.1 a *multi-site field* (Marcus 1995:95) is an ethnographic perspective that moves beyond boundaries of the field and that encourages a reflexive relationship between analysis and fieldwork, much like the *reflexive methodology* allows for. This means that there are no concise borders of the field "*to be entered and then left*" (Reis 2011:20); meaning I was in the field, embedded in the field and embodying the field. The analysis was an ongoing feature of my fieldwork and vice versa.

5.3 The Necessity of Including Reflexive Methodology

The reflexive methodology, like critical inquiry, acknowledges that the researcher and the research is influenced by political and cultural forces, much like the researcher's background plays a significant role (Reis 2009:46). I have a Bachelor degree in Middle Eastern Archaeology and a previous Master degree in Cultural Heritage management; hence, my prior engagement with the Middle Eastern cultures and heritage is a part of my fundamental understanding of Lebanon, the history of the region and the urban life. My focusing on a reflexive methodology at this stage in the thesis allows for a story to be told.

There has been an increase in demand for innovation within the methodological turf of tourism (Pernecky 2010: 1), which I will explore by applying a narrative structure to the analysis of the photographic material. Utilising the narrative approach is particularly relevant for studying Beirut; mosaics of narratives represent the history, the memory and the identity of Beirut. During the war, geopolitical interests were presented in international accounts of the front line events whilst soldiers or civilians would give a different account of the same events (Fregonese 2009:312). This has continued to shape the story and history telling of post-war Beirut. My narrative will simply be yet another subjective account of the urban space. Photos not included here are available in Appendix 26.

The following section is a narrative of the experience seen from a researcher and a tourist's point of view. The photos chosen reflect the most significant moments, the most coincidental meetings with residents and the most striking architectural and infrastructural notions. By using photographs taken by others - Kongstad's photos - it illustrates a relative data collection in that they are "*fragments of Others' experiences*" (Reis 2011:16). Thus, following Reis (2011:14) the photos represent my memories and occasions, which founded my perception of tourism not as a topic but as a social phenomenon. Photos were chosen to engage the reader with the material to facilitate *inter-subjectivity* (*ibid.* 2011:13).

5.3.1 Narrating the Intersubjective Experience of Ras Beirut

When we got hold of Kongstad's photographs I was delighted as the - to me - very obvious link to tourism they had whilst being an interesting case study for heritage research via urban planning. With Elise Thing and Bruno Correia Cardoso we concocted a fieldwork design suitable for their thesis on Geoinformatics as well as for my thesis. Albeit our two different purposes for using the material, our approach to gaining the data were the same: a photographic comparison of Kongstad's photographs and those we took of the same locations. As we embarked upon the fieldwork I realised that the "*obvious link*" that I believed was there, was less obvious than assumed. Firstly, the photographs belong to Kongstad and as they are not published and as we do not have his diaries or field journals, we were unaware of his exact purpose. Secondly, the photographs had such distinct detail written on the back of the slides that it allowed for the assumption that the photos served as documentation for the urban outline of RB. This is further substantiated by his focus on the streets; an architect is likely to have focused the lens on significant buildings yet Kongstad's focus point on all photos is the street, which indicates a correspondence to the work he did with Khalaf (1974). I believed other tourists I met would be amazed by the photos but instead most people did not seem amazed. What is wonderful about the photos is that they depict everyday scenes in a sequence of mobility around RB. To fully understand the scope of tourism in RB, which is lacking research, this narrative gives an insight into how the regular streets of Beirut carry with them a history that is neglected. *Places remember* (Orley 2012) and the body, the person navigating in the place, becomes embedded in the spaces and therefore I found myself embodying the space. Applying a similar analysis as Reis (2011:19) allows for this chapter to encompass the emotional and embodied experiences of the researcher; depicting the adventure that I had.

In 2013 during my first visit to Beirut I walked - or *promenaded*, if you will - on the corniche and my eyes caught this amazing pink-painted building upon a hill. It looked deserted and immediately made me nostalgic on the behalf of the population of Beirut. That became my favourite building and upon returning to Denmark and when I visited Lebanon again the following year I would tell everyone about this fantastic house. During the CD conference, I realised that this house has played an important role in the fight against gentrification and the demolishment of the bourgeois mansions from the 19th century all over the city. Thus, the Rose House, as it is called (Figure 12), is the favourite house of many who inhabit or visit RB; a landmark and not a unique find of mine. When the Rose House was in risk of demolishing, the suggested and also applied solution was to turn the landmark house into a cultural space open for the public. If the Rose House was in fact permanently becoming a public exhibition house, tourists are likely to utilise this

too. The following section is the attempt to give voice to tourism as a performance of *mobilities* (Hannam *et al.* 2014) and tool for understanding urban change and the significance of space.

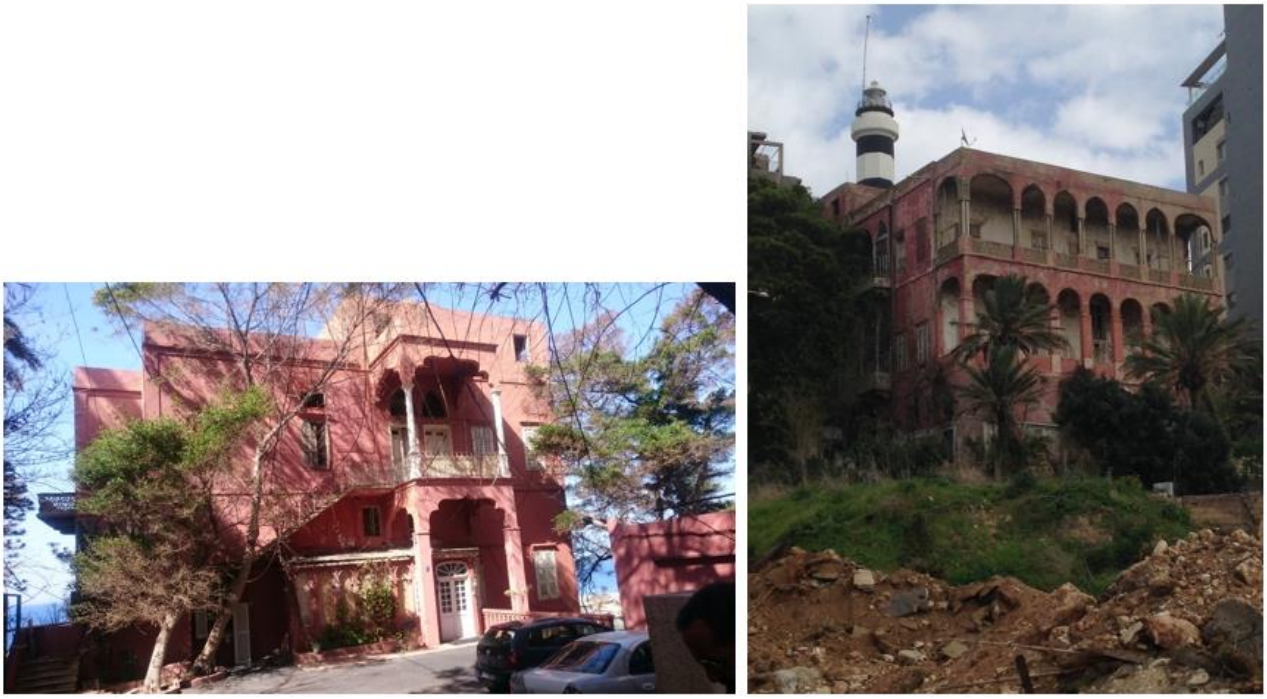

Figure 12: The Rose House, Left: 2015, looking West. Right: 2014, looking East.

As noted by Reis (2011: 20) "*my journey into this research has been one of change and discovery,*" so has this thesis facilitated a sequence of change and discovery concerning my aim of research, my personal approach to academia and my understanding of RB as much more than a neighbourhood consisting of streets, urban ruins and high rises. I start out by introducing the Rose House as it resembles contested memory; it takes you back to *Paris of the Middle East* but the dump in from of the right hand picture (Figure 11) is a witness of an encroaching gentrification. The term *difficult heritage* (MacDonald 2009:1) is described as a contested and awkward past that at the same time is considered important in the present. It is difficult because it might disturb the public identity and is not an immediately or easily celebrated memory. However, it is not only about what is interpreted but equally important by whom and how (Tunbridge & Ashworth 1996: 27) and the purpose for a reconstructed space must be understood beforehand. In some cases it is impossible to reach an agreement, hence dissonance occurs. It is the dissonance between whose values are preserved, whose history is commemorated or neglected (Bruce & Creighton 2006:; Khalaf 2012:86). The Rose House has come to be a place of difficult heritage as soon, it will be the only mansion still erect in this area; hence the Rose House has an aura of nostalgia.

Nostalgia may not be ever-present but it certainly is easy to evoke. As it occurred on our journey through RB, we asked people to look at the E-Reader on which Kongstad's photos were stored. At times people would know the exact location and when we showed it to people at locations of which we were certain were correct a sense of pride and nostalgia was identifiable. Figure 13 is a photo where only a corner of the building is visible. With assistance from Maria and Yaser Abunnasr, we were able to find a likely location. When we went there, there was a shed instead of the yellow house. On Kongstad's photo there are a lot of birdcages in the yard. Oddly, this location – now a parking lot with a shed – were full of birdcages (Field notes March 20th). We showed them the old photo and one man told us we were at the right venue, another said it was not there. It is impossible to determine whether this is in fact the right location, however, it seems to be to coincidental to not be. Being there established an invisible line between the past and the present and the evoked nostalgia was evident with the men at the parking lot. Most tourists or residents would not notice this location, nevertheless, this is an example of the banalities of tourism; we became part of the experience and provided a much needed link between pre-war and post-war RB. In the end, does it matter whether this is the exact destination or is the point that birdcages, which are an everyday object, becomes the middleman between past and present? It is vital to research the "*material mobilities*" (Hannam et al. 2014: 174) of photographs and postcard in order to understand this memory induced tourism.

Figure 13: Corner of Mahatma Ghandi Street and Yamout Street. Left: 1964. Middle: 2015. Right: 2015.

The birdcages and the men running the parking lot represent a piece of living heritage.

What is to be mourned is a valid discussion; urban spaces have always changed and are always in change, which is not necessarily a bad thing but it does pose certain difficulties (Centner 2015). This extents into memory creation as certain urban architectural loses evidently will be more precious to some considering the historical and political connotations. The parking lot has little value in a greater national context but next time I visit Beirut I will be sure to pass by again.

Figure 14: Oldest house in RB on Omar Bin Abdel Aziz Street. Left: 1964, seen towards West. Middle: 2015, same angle as previous. Right: 2015. The black building is where the oldest house were. The domtex building (with the balconies) is still there in 2015.

Certain traditional house sand farmhouses in RB still standing during Kongstad's visits are gone now (Figure 14) and the character of the place has changed significantly. When the picture of this building was shown to a bystander, a strong feeling of nostalgia filled him and he expressed his feeling of dismay in the destruction of such structures. On the contrary, when the same photo was shown to the restaurant staff, in the establishment now adjacent to the destructed building, they showed no interest. Thus, duplicity is at play between different groups in RB. Following Nagel (2002) and Khalaf (2012) who discuss the difficulty in presenting everyone's side of history I found myself torn between the indifference of the restaurant staff and man outside.

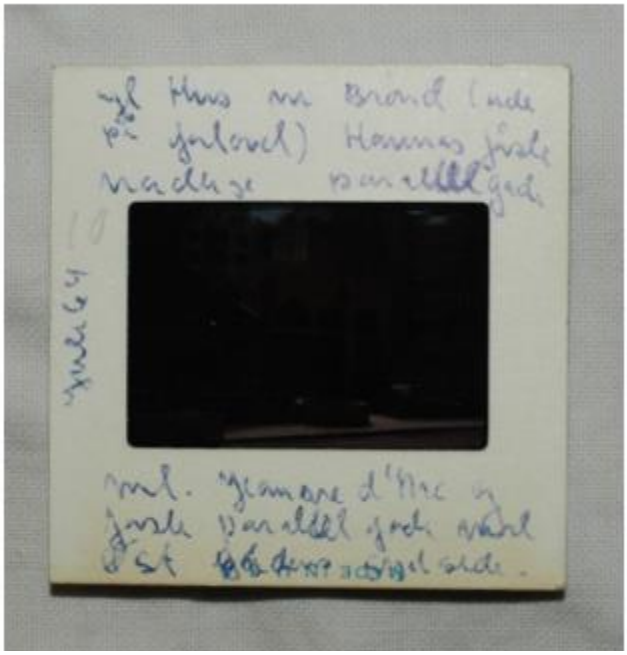

Figure 15: Kongstad's slide with directions to the yellow house.

The following example illustrates the importance of being aware of one's biases and subjectivity when conducting research. The researcher's eager to present the entire history, the researcher who might get so embedded in the nostalgia felt by residents.

To emphasise the element of adventure and discovery (Reis 2011: 20) so often a component of empirical research, below is a comparison of Kongstad's photo of a domestic house (Figure 14) on Makdissi Street and the current vine bar at the same location. Before consulting Maria and Yaser Abunnasr we tried to follow Kongstad's description on the back of the slide (Figure 15).

Figure 16: Left: 1964, domestic houseon Makdissi Street, Right: 2015, same location but today it is Cru Wine Bar.

Because we misunderstood Kongstad's directions, we ended up at the wrong location yet by a restaurant with some resemblance to yellow house of the original photo. Coincidently, the owner of the restaurant, *Bagatelle* (Figure 16), was present and showed some doubt of us being at the right spot. However, until we had the right location provided by Maria and Yaser Abunnasr, it was tempting to believe that the yellow house had survived the war, the urban changes, again the unjustified feeling of nostalgia filled me. That an element of continuous heritage was happening. Instead, it showed that tourists will frequent Cru Wine Bar – the current building where the yellow house used to be - without knowing the history of the structure. Is that important? Because it is not known or noted anywhere, the contemporary structure is a part of the mundane scene of RB and only when we made the photo comparison, does it open for a discussing of heritage tourism. Cru is a popular place, frequented by tourists and therefore already an acknowledged space in the urban tourism.

Figure 17: 2015, photographs from the Bagatelle Cafe on Jabre Doumit Street. This was thought to be the renovated yellow house on Maksiaai Street until realising it had been demolish.

Nostalgia was again a theme when we visited the Hamra Mosque on Commodore Street. We were looking for the alleyway behind the mosque, as is visble to the right below, however, this alleyway is gone. The new Hamra Mosque is also a commercial centre, where rooms are rented out for commercial purposes, the surplus income is utilised for events and maintenance of the mosque. Figure 17 depicts the Hamra Mosque, oldest mosque in RB, as it looked in 1964, Figure 18 show how it now looks very different.

Figure 18: Both photographs are Kongstad'sfrom 1964. Hamra osquMe on Baalbek Street (Commodore Street).

The new Hamra Mosque can be seen on the pictures below. In order to get the same angle as Kongstad, it was impossible to capture the entire edifice. As local activists claimed at the CD: "*Beirut in times of peace has been more disfigured than in times of war*" (AUB 2015) and this proved to be a general perception when we showed the picture from 1964 to congregational members by the mosque. I had quite a unique experience at this location. Across from the mosque is one of the many mobile phone shops found in Beirut. Three young men were present in the shop and when they saw Kongstad's photo of the mosque they let us know we were at the wrong locations. However, by the mosque there is a sign reading *Hamra Mosque* verifying the locations. Coincidently, we arrived just after prayer and a lot of people were outside, showing interest to the photo. Had we arrived five minutes later the mosque doors would have been closed. People were taking mobile photos of the picture we showed them as some remembered the mosque before the remodelling and young boys were unsure of whether this could be fact.

Figure 19: 2015, present day Hamra Mosque on Baalbek Street.

In the meantime, certain areas have remained more or less unchanged, as is the case with Chatila Mosque near the Manara. Figure 19 are pictures of the Chatila Mosque. Only paint and surroundings have changed here. Despite that, more people said they did not recognise the photo even when we stood outside. A point is to be made here about the importance of loss: people do not understand the value of something until it is lost or threatened (Read 1996:196). Memory become nostalgia when, in the case of the Hamra Mosque, something is lost. The Chatila Mosque gets less attention because it has not changed. The new Hamra Mosque is not to be blamed on the war but become a landmark of the renewed cityscape, an inaccessibility to the cityscape. An *urbicide* has been at play here, one which has affected a place of everyday use. On the contrary, Chatila Mosque has been a constant in the urban space.

Figure 20: Left: 1964, Chatila Mosque at Adonis Street. Left: Same mosque 2015.

Leading from unchanged scenery to a street, which had undergone various changes due to its significance for the entirety of RB. Namely, Bliss Street, as seen below.

Bliss Street is named after David Bliss, the founder of the AUB. As will be mentioned again in analysing the mental maps in the following chapter, this is one of the few street names that people know. Figures 20 and 21 illustrate the development from 1900 until present day and since 1920, the beginning of the urbanisation years, this street has remained intact. This development has happened according to urbanisation as opposed to gentrification or post-war reconstruction. "*Leave Bliss Street to be Bliss Street and Ras Beirut will remain Ras Beirut*" (Conversation with student in the café *Urbanista* on Bliss Street) and this may be true. The heart of RB or at least the source of energy immensely led by the NI comes from the AUB. The office of the NI, as mentioned in section 1.5.2, is situation above Burger King. Walking through the doors next to the fast food chain to enter the office, reminded me of the banal part of *touristscapes* as proposed by Edensor (2007) that hide so much history. Bliss Street is a landmark of RB as it is a gateway to the AUB but it also holds a story of development only detectable when the photos are compared. Originally, the photos red roofed houses were medical dormitories (conversation with staff at the AUB Archive) and today they are rented out for commercial purposes.

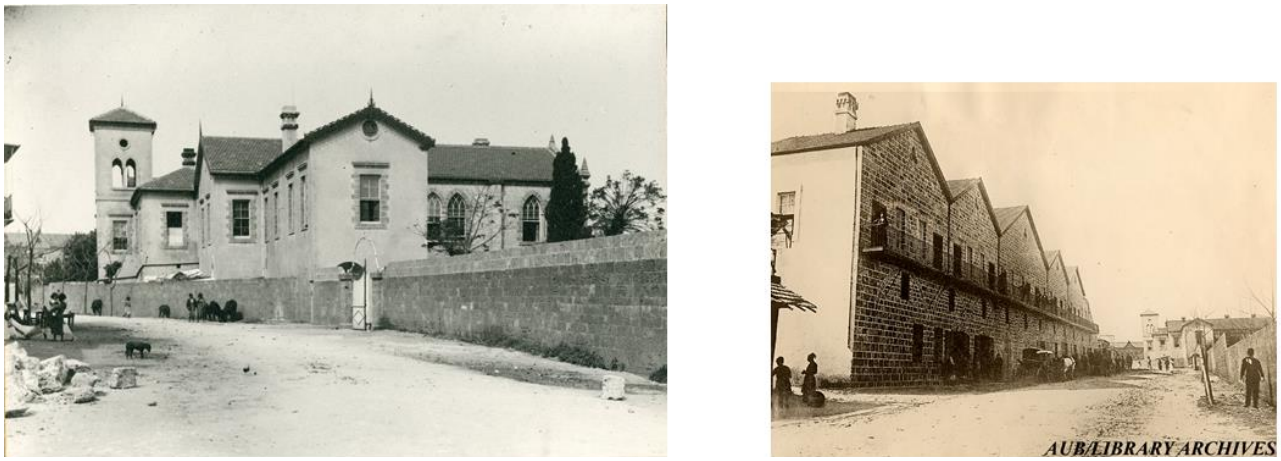

Figure 21: Bliss Street by the AUB. Left: 1900. Right: 1920.

When David Bliss founded the university, he said: "*build it and they will come*" (Moore Collection n.d.: introduction) and so they did. And stayed. These four pictures of Bliss Street depict everyday scenes from one of the busiest streets and the one of the most densely touristic streets in all of Beirut.

Figure 22: Bliss Street by the AUB. Left: 1964. Right: 2015.

This chapter aims not to challenge the five components proposed by Lynch (1960: 46) as this will be furthered in the following chapter. However, the two photos below show, to the left, a photo retrieved from the AUB Archive, of the Manara (*English:* lighthouse) in 1900 and to the right the picture we took this year. The area around the lighthouse is referred to as Manara due to the landmark it has become. However, this is not the currently functioning lighthouse. It has become a landmark of RB and is an element from which people navigate. It survived the civil war and the hostilities in 2006 and is vitally embedded in the urban fabric. The Rose House, as mentioned above, in visible in front of the Manara on the right hand side photo.

These two structures combined are an icon for the city and especially RB and were they to be demolished, as was the original plan with the Rose House, it would undoubtedly be argued as *urbicide*.

Figure 23. The Manara (Lighthouse. Left: 1900 seen towards East. Right: 2015: Seen towards East.)

RB is known and always has been for its light life. Figure 23 is the *Tivoli Night Club* photographed by Kongstad I 1964. Kongstad's photos depict everyday scenes, nothing out of the ordinary. Nonetheless, when I heritage-ise them because they now represent a time lock they become *out of the ordinary.* His photographs essentially is a piece of well-documented *tourism mobilities* (Hannam et al. 2014: 174). The photo below is a picture of a small nightclub in RB that has no documented story. Today, the nightclub is gone and instead one of Beirut's many mobile phone shops is in its place. It comes to represent the banalities of tourism; we went there to find the nightclub and instead found what might be the most representative commercial shops in Lebanon. The history of the nightclub, in a way, gives memory to the current shop; the one-out-of-a-million-shop suddenly was romanticised by us three tourists simply because someone was sipping drinks there fifty years ago.

Figure 24: Nehme Yafet Street. Left: Tivoli Night Club, 1964. Right:Mobile shop, 2015

The Tivoli Night Club has been replaced with one of the most common shops and more of this shift to common or mundane urban elements has happened. An interesting shift in everyday scenes is illustrated in Figure 24. The picture to the left is Kongstad's and is a photo of an average RB house, the most common car

at the time and a lady wearing time typical attire. That same location today has some of the most common and banal moving landmarks of Beirut: the scooter and the orange cranes. For us the shift was incredible, adding to the pile of indescribable change, a regular *urbicide* (Fregonese 2009: 310). In the meantime, we were wrong; whether this is a loss of heritage within the urban fabric is maybe not for me to state, but my thesis is concerned with the banalities of tourism and these photos illustrate just this. A shift in regular everyday elements of the cityscape has occurred, the scene is different.

Figure 25: Bakhaagi Street. Left: 1967 or 1967. Middle and Right: 2015.

Certain places, the everyday has changed and transformed to something different. Below are the comparison of the Ain Mresseih area by the seaside (Figures 25 and 26). Before the rapid urbanisation of RB this

Figure 26: Left: 1964 or 1967, not specified by Kongstad. Right:. 2015. It used to be a fishermen's area but it is now the corniche. Fishermen still fish at the foot of the railing.

area, the more literary *head of Beirut* was inhabited by fishermen (Kongstad & Khalaf 1974; Abunnasr 2013). As can be seen on the left hand side at Figure 25, certain points on the seaside had structures built as an extension of the sea and the boats were ready to go in.

Post-war reconstruction is complex, especially as it is hard to define (Case 2011:71). Various aspects are to be considered; economic, structural, infrastructural and national identity. Post-war reconstruction is a complicated process and the necessity for each case, city or country to be evaluated in its own context has been proved important based on a multitude of post-war reconstruction of urban environments worldwide (Junne & Verkoren 2005). In order to understand the individual case, local culture is vital to understand (Brockmeier 2002: 10) and especially concerning national identity. Beirut has undergone an immense re-construction, particularly in the Downtown area, which has been as much about reconstruction as it has been an attempt to reinterpret the past of Lebanon in order to create a new collective memory (Nagel 2002: 718). The past is an important element in the decision making of post-war reconstruction. Whether those in charge opt for forgetting, remembering or memorialising certain events, the past is salient in that the choice to forget or remember must be made. Nagel (2002:718) argues that "*the built environment is significant not only for what it says, but for what it neglects to say about the past and the present.*"

Figure 27: Left: Photo courtesy of AUB. Avenue de France 1990s. Right: Avenue de Paris 2015. The street shifted name as part of the post-war reconstruction.

After the war, the extreme amounts debris was used to extend the seaside towards Downtown where the *Solidere* expanded the land (Nagel 2002:722). The corniche were during the same efforts reconstructed to look like it does today. It can hardly be a coincidence that the official name of the corniche is *Avenue de Paris*. Before the war, it was called *Avenue de France*. Avenue de Paris brings connotations of Beirut as Paris of the Middle East to mind and appears to be used to create an image, especially for tourists, of the great past of the city. The right hand side picture below is courtesy of the AUB show the area after extensive

bombing during the civil war. Shared amnesia (Khalaf 2012:103) is in play here and tourists are invited to literary walk on the tangible remains of the war.

I believe that shared amnesia in Beirut is identifiable through two channels. Firstly, nostalgia is utilised by the Ministry of Tourism and by Solidere to breeze over the events of the civil war and instead focus on the time prior to it. Secondly, a necessity of holding on, another kind of nostalgia, exercised by residents in the area. Kongstad took the two pictures below assumedly due to both structures being rare composites. "*Yes, I definitely know this building, but I am not sure where it is*" (Shop owner on Bliss Street). People recognised the architectural style, perhaps, yet it is possible that a sense of nostalgia was in play; when they realised the photos were from the 1960s nostalgia enhanced the memory and people *wanted* to remember. When we asked people where the structures were numerous people tried to find them and direct us to where they were. However, after one month of fieldwork and walking Bliss Street and all the suggested places, these two structures were not found and are likely to have been demolished. The essential notion of nostalgia in this event is the desire by residents to remember these, to know where they were in an effort to cling on to the past but more significantly, in order to show a linkage between the past and present. What has survived the war, also carried the memories of the war, they are places that remember (Orley 2012:39). Abunnasr (2013:1) uses the notion of "*landscape of memory*" to describe RB, corresponding to how Fregonese (2009:312) applied memories from people involved with the civil war to bring back the "*real bodies and concrete sites and provide a counternarrative to the hollow spaces of chaos;*" the way Beirut is often described in international publications in the this context. Memory is powerful tool for history and often used as means to promote a country, emphasising times of glory and victory. The unresolved civil war is not an easy promotable feature with neither Lebanon nor Beirut but the lived in spaces are. The touristic landscape of RB is living heritage and times of glory to promote here, is that fact that life goes on. The everyday is marked by the past but not stopped, the diversity of the neighbourhoods in Beirut is a testimony to a city that may fall but where the people fight to stay.

Figure 28: Rue Bliss. Left: 1967. Right: 1964.

As with the Chatila Mosque, not everything has changed since Kongstad walked the streets of RB. Hamra Street was reconstructed after the war in order to maintain its commercial value and supposedly also to keep the interest of foreign business and tourism. "*Hamra never sleeps and never slept during the war*," said a participant at the CD and Figure 28 show that even some shops have survived. The shop *Red Shoes*, is still open under the grey tin façade visible on the 2015-photograph.

Figure 29: Hamra Street at intersection with Abdel Aziz. The Domtex building is on the left. Left: 1967. Right: 2015.

The ongoing gentrification process in all of Beirut made it impossible for all of Kongstad's locations to be found. High rises have simply made it impossible to locate certain farmhouses and infrastructural elements. Edifices like the one below show how certain elements of the urban fabric is still present but the purpose may have changed, the paint is peeling of, the graffiti is not removed but it still stands, still witness of a continuation of life in Beirut manifested in space. The embodied spaces are these houses, those shops that have remained. Nevertheless, the fear of continued change and demolishment is persistent and stems from the unresolved issues from the war. Because tourists to such a high degree are a part of making the space of RB, they may not pay attention to many of these structures, or they take for granted this linkage between the past and present. Why so many fight for built heritage of Beirut is due to a missing linkage from present to the future.

Figure 30: John Kennedy Street by AUB Medical Gate.. Left: 1964 or 1967. Right: 2015.

5.4 Conclusion of Chapter

This chapter set to elucidate the way in which the researcher of tourism becomes embedded with the research and therefore is a performer in creating embodied spaces. The complexity of situating tourism in RB is illustrated by this photo comparison. Tourism is not a fixed academic discipline, restricted within one field; instead preliminary explorations of post-disciplinary empirical data collection will aid the wider understanding of what tourism can do, what role tourism might have in urban changes and how to explore tourism as an element in society more so than a restricted topic. The mixture of photographs showing change and those showing the stability emphasise the dynamic place RB is and the need for researching it post-disciplinarily.

6. Analysis of Mental Maps, City Debate and Promotional Material

The following chapter is an outline of the empirical data collected March 2015, as described in Chapter 2. Chapter 6 encompasses the second analysis part and reflects the three data sets not addressed in the above chapter, namely, the mental maps, the experience of CD and finally, the material, email correspondence and promotional material associated with the Ministry of Tourism situated in RB. The analysis will also rely on casual interviews with people in RB. The data will be discussed entwined with each other to make a holistic analysis of how historical events and the people in RB are embodying space.

6.1 Mental Mapping the Everyday

Whether RB is a unique subject or whether *mental mapping* as a method could be developed further to fit tourism research purposes is not possible to conclude in this thesis but there are two elements to be highlighted from this sample of mental maps. Firstly, the comparison of mental maps made by tourists and residents, and secondly, the attention to detail even though it is obvious that most people are lacking a general knowledge of street names and other official navigational elements, e.g. street names. The latter element is related to the everyday routes and habits. "*Why would a drawn map give a better idea of limits than a real map?*" The real estate salesman said when drawing his mental map (Appendix 22). This raises a valid discussion on how the subjective borders of urban landscape are perceived; and even more so in a touristic landscape undefined by borders such as those a tourist destination would have. A cartographic map will highlight the delimitations decided by planning and governing bodies whereas the mental maps show the subjective, casual and individual borderlines of requested areas. Additionally, it is noteworthy that only two mental maps give the direction of North (Appendix 6 and 8) and that the North arrow is pointing towards East on Appendix 8. Further a few of the mental maps have a confused orientation due to the way the participant utilised RB, e.g. Appendix 2 the orientation is off as she lives in the south of RB.

There is an interesting connection between local residents and visitors. As has been stated before the majority of tourists in greater Beirut are students, NGO-workers and volunteers but most of them live like locals and those who do not, strive to. The mental maps depict a group of participants so different in background yet the elements on the drawn maps illustrate a coherent picture of a shared RB. A limitation is definitely found in that none of the participants come from a background in local or national governance, however more have a relation with the AUB.

6.1.1 Mapping Tourism?

An Arabic proverb reads: *"choose your neighbours before your house"* and before the civil war people settled where they wanted as opposed to necessarily according to where their confessional group lived. During the war the Christians left the Downtown area and Muslims living in East Beirut moved to the West, e.g. RB (Nagel 2002:721). The neighbourhoods became self-sufficient entities and the city was polarised (*ibid.* 2002:721) and today neighbourhoods are not closed but as a visitor, you are constantly aware of when you walk from one neighbourhood to another. The proverb is still valid and RB has maintained its neighbour-value and visitors settle here for various reasons. Nevertheless, from my observations, the majority chose this spot due to opportunity for work, education, exploration as well its continuous and inherent diversity in demography.

"*Everything is built around confessionalism. Talking isolated about politics or religion is pointless*," the pastor at St. Mary's Church in RB told me (Field notes March 23rd) explaining how RB is diverse and prior to the war people would reside wherever, not according to religious settlements. Appendix 4 refers to Sunni and Christian areas and Appendix 5 describe where Syrian refugees sit with their babies and where Syrian political movements stay. Five years ago, before the current war in Syria, these would not have been elements on the mental maps. Syrians are often made scapegoat for residential problems, displacement and lack of job opportunities on RB (Khechen 2015) and tourists, who visit Beirut for ideological, altruistic or political reasons, are aware of these issues. Appendix 3 has a drawing of women wearing the *niqab,* the veil often worn by women in the Gulf states; not drawn on maps made by residents. This is drawn to emphasis the large amount of property by the corniche owned by tourists from the Gulf area. Appendix 2 also has a reference by a drawn house saying: *"Massive luxury buildings paid for with Gulf money"*. Appendix 4 says: "*rich people*" and "*dollar bay",* Appendix 1 reads "*rich people and expensive restaurants"* just as Appendix 2 reads: "*rich people hotels"* and "*selfiesticks*". The latter referring to the way the corniche is used as a setting for dressing up and going out; the corniche is arguably an experiencescape with physical borders. Tourists, often so aware of socio-economic matters, have drawn their perception of the socio-political scene, not just the infrastructural image.

The mental maps drawn by tourists have similar traits; they all have the corniche as their uppermost boundary and their emphasis is first and foremost with landmarks. Therefore, they have written comments as their maps include events and actions instead of pure infrastructural elements. Considering how mental mapping is the cognitive representations of a place (Klippel 2008:3), it makes sense that albeit tourists embedded nature in the everyday of RB there is still a significant difference in the perception of space. The

need many tourists feel for fitting in with the locals is illustrated well through the maps as someone who spent their entire life in RB have all these events and activities as implicit in their identity and performance. The mental maps drawn by tourists are different; their perception of that space is different. However, this is not to say that tourism is not inherent in the urban fabric of RB nor that tourism is not part of the embodiment of space. However, tourism is so embedded in both the everyday and special performances that although these maps show how people still learning about the space, still finding a place in the socio-political sphere, are portraying RB from a different perspective. This is the co-creation of space and the inter-subjectivity where the tourists are becoming and have been since the 1800s, "*just another group added to the diversity of Ras Beirut*" (Lecturer at the CD, private conversation).

It can be argued that urbicide occurred in Beirut during the war and that the reconstruction of Downtown and the corniche, and the cityscape and the experiencescape is then affected by this memory. Further, residents have suffered from the urbicide intangibly; their bodies are *"moving spatial fields"* (Low 2003: 14) and therefore have embodied the spaces of war. They carry with them the atrocities, the division, the unresolved conflict and hence the people form part of post-war setting. What distinguishes the residents of RB and the tourists is found in this issue. The residents and tourists share an overlapping daily life in the sense that tourists conduct a habitual living in RB but they carry not with them the memory of a war, they gain knowledge about it but are moving spatial fields that have no first degree attachment to the war. Where residents either want to forget or at least leave behind the war, tourists are eager to learn and obtain an opinion on the topic. "*Why do you want to study the war in Ras Beirut?*" a lady at the Ministry of Tourism front desk asked me, before she led me to the promotional office. She continued: "*the war has nothing to do with tourism*". Interestingly, based on my observations most tourists come to Lebanon to learn about the war in one way or another.

6.1.2 Residents' Quotidian Maps

The everyday, the mundane, the habitual activities of RB have indeed been manifested in the mental maps, especially those, drawn by residents. Only one map explicitly described the daily activities (Appendix 10). To this end, it must be added that this participant is a student of architecture, very well acquainted with the method of Lynch. Where the mental maps of the residents indeed distinguish themselves from the tourists' are in the pragmatic sense. A few depict only a small area such as Appendix 22, drawn by the real estate agent, mentioned above, who works this area. His daily activities happen here but is a very small part of RB. Other maps, that highlight the significance of perception of space in the everyday, are maps such as Appendix 11 and 19. The latter is a map of a much larger area of Beirut than RB. It has the routes that this

participant drives on his scooter on at least a weekly basis, as his places of work are spread all over the city. His cognitive image of this city is from a mobilities point of view, his movements; his routes are how he defines space through *"dwelling-in-motion"* (Hannam *et al.* 2014:173). The primer is a map of an area south of RB; Mar Elias, a place of a Palestinian refugee camp and home of the girl who drew the map. "*I grew up here, this is my Beirut,*" she said and in a sense this made it, at first glance, useless for this research, however it provided a foundation for arguing that these maps represent the spatial, tangibility of the everyday. For her to have drawn the corniche and the AUB would have been equal to asking her to drawn an area of New York. This explains why multiple maps have restaurants, like McDonalds (Appendix 12), shops like H&M (Appendix 10) that depict mundane element of the urbanscape; what they relate to. A tattoo artist drew appendix 9 and his calligraphic illustrations on the map is showing his personal embodiment of his occupation on the map.

The ever-presence of the AUB is noteworthy. As the institution has been blamed for occupying space in the area, forcing residents of RB to leave (Khecken 2015), these mental maps show how the AUB cannot be dismissed as an unimportant element in the area. On the contrary, the AUB is a landmark and the NI becoming a more inclusive and implicit part of area. "*Build it and they will come*," David Bliss, founder of AUB, said in 1865 and 150 years later they are still here. I, therefore argue for the significance of the AUB as a place, which is largely embodied in all of RB, regardless of its boundaries. Furthermore, the AUB is the historic linkage between tourism and the urban space RB is today. People from NI drew the following three mental maps. Appendix 14, so similar to the maps made by the tourists. It is a testimony to her role and her engagement with RB, her mental recollection goes beyond that of her everyday activities, due to her job being concerned with contested spaces and urban activism. Her illustration of AUB is full of trees, something not associated with Beirut, which is why people visit the AUB simply "*to sit on a bench in a park*" (maintenance worker at AUB). Appendix 16, too, is full of trees, more or less it appears to have the exact location of every – however few – trees present in RB. Mara Abunnasr made this map. Her attention to detail I know from her assistance with the photo comparison. Her map is so detailed that if I did not know her relationship to planning and architecture, I would think she had copied her mental map from a cartographic map. Appendix 15, also a member of the NI, drew a map drawing attention to the security issue and the lack of accessibility to space occurring all over RB. Similar to the tourists understanding of inaccessibility, appendix 15 show the same insight into the right to space. The same map comments "*corniche – public space – much loved*," which is true. The corniche is never empty, it is a fully public space, but for her to describe it as such, draws attention to a lack of public spaces. The lack of public space and the right to

space in RB is a topic unfortunately reaching beyond the scope of this thesis, but stresses the argument that the majority of residents' maps are restricted to their immediate surroundings.

It therefore illustrates a significant difference between residents and tourists; tourism mobilities are happening everywhere in RB, tourists' perception of RB is the area as a whole. There is a difference between this embedded knowledge that the NI staff have of the area and other residents of RB who have little to do with urban planning or tourism. This is illustrated by Appendix 17 and 18; drawn by an employee at *Bagatelle* and his girlfriend (mentioned in section 5.3.1). Their perception of RB revolves around the restaurant and Appendix 17 reads: "*I don't leave this place very much, just these few streets! I wish I could move around more and sightsee*". She told me that understanding RB like a tourist is to understand RB fully. I it not the first time I hear someone with the belief that tourists have a holistic idea of the area, politically, socially and historically. It shows well the double admiration that happens, where residents envy the freedom and learning process of the tourists and the tourists strive to be like residents.

Both Appendix 17 and 18 have Bliss and Hamra as navigation point and it leads back to the point of AUB as a repeated landmark, as the corniche. Those two landmarks are on most mental maps and they truly give an insight into the themes or the daily images of RB. They are repetitively on the mental maps just as Hamra Street or Bliss Street are on the maps as navigational reference points. According to Lynch' five components the streets would be either *paths*, where "*the observer customarily, occasionally, or potentially moves*" (Lynch 1960: 47) or *edges,* which indicate "*linear breaks in continuity*" (*ibid*. 1960: 47). However, the mental maps I collected may call for a need to abstracting Lynch' *landmarks* component by expanding it. These mental maps all have different borders of RB but the constants, such as Bliss Street and AUB indicate that these are necessary because no one knows the street names, as aforementioned. Landmarks can then be natural heritage like the pigeon rocks (described on Appendix 1 as the non-impressive Little Mermaid equivalent), streets, buildings or the abundant orange cranes at construction sites (Appendix 23). It is a simplification of Lynch's components but makes sense in a place like as Beirut where navigation is based on experience rather than cartographic memory.

6.2 Being-in-Ras Beirut

Edensor (2007:205) describes tourism performance as being a habitual and unreflexive representation of quotidian life. RB certainly has connotations with being a unique spot (Abunnasr 2013:9) and it can be argued that tourists there will gain similar experiences as other tourists. One example is the fact that the paths of tourists and expats almost always cross and if you have met someone once, you are likely to meet

them again. The majority of tourists frequent the same restaurants, bars, educational institutions and so on. This is also partly due to my point about similar profiles of tourists who reside in RB. However, simply because tourism is such an inherent part of RB the theory of habitual performance is valid but fully understanding the notion of *embodied space* (Low 2003) allows for an individual perception of RB. The cultural, historical and certainly political embeddedness in the physical environment, in the heritage of RB is being lived in in their daily lives - as well as the daily lives of tourists. The "*compulsions of movement towards 'otherness*' " (Edensor 2007:205) allows for the various tourism mobilities. Further, for tourists in RB the *otherness* that is pursued, is quickly embedded into the tourists because they quickly become part of the cityscape, part of the experiencescape, a full member of RB. Understanding experiencescapes in RB is to accept that it is a hybrid between the everyday and tourism. It must be emphasised that experiencescapes are more than a commodification of space constructed for tourism purposes. As Orley (2012:46) describes, people have an impact on their immediate environment and tourism therefore, cannot be dismissed as unimportant for understanding changes in RB.

Tourism is an embedded element of RB urban fabric and therefore impact and embodies the area. Where other cities have a manufactured experiencescape built up of museums and theatres etc. (O'Dell 2005:16), the experiencescape RB contains certain museums, for instance the AUB Archaeological Museum, but tourism is very visible in street scenarios e.g. Hamra Street shopping and tourists are as likely to be in a Shisha cafe as any Lebanese person. The term *experiencescape* insofar may need an expansion of meaning; to include Heidegger's *being-in-the-world* (Low 2003:13) a way in which people inhabiting and visiting RB make sense of the world around them; they are embedded in the physical urbanscapes and therefore influence that space. Moreover, *being-in-the-world* adds to the existentialism of urban identity in RB and is spatially bound. RB without tourism would be very different because the area is lived-in in the daily lives of both tourists and residents resulting in a duality of being a habitual space of living as well as a tourist space. RB constitutes an important case study for the field of urban tourism in general; RB is undergoing such enormous urban changes caused by gentrification resulting in displacement (Khechen 2015), which changes the local culture in an attempt to create an experiencescape suitable for tourism and expat residents. Thus, the emphasis on the relationship between leisure, identity and politics (O'Dell 2005: 24) becomes vital for RB because neglecting this importance lead to existential unrest in the cityscape.

6.3 Transition Zone

According to Kongstad and Khalaf (1974: 5) Beirut was a "*zone in transition*" in the 1960s; a state the city has been in ever since, first during the war, hereafter as a post-war city and currently as a city still coping

with post-war effects as well as a fast growing gentrification pattern (Khechen 2015). The city is inherently a zone in transition, from the ancient historical accounts until the gentrifying era in which the city dwells in now. Khechen (2015) argues that gentrification plays a part in the mobilities occurring in RB as people sell their houses to developers, and then buy something cheaper in order to be able to stay in RB. People from RB are reluctant to relocate and the tourism influx is never ending.

Fraser (2012:137) states that abandoned urban architecture is the equivalent of modern ruins. The RB modern ruins and even more so in other parts of Beirut, are perforated by bullets and are landmarks of the war and indeed the time prior to the war providing them with the same status - to some citizens - as the Roman ruins in the Downtown area. The abandoned structures serve as a huge contrast to the high rises closer to the corniche and are likely to attract another touristic audience than those owing the high rises. The modern ruins are, as the physical remains of the time before the war and their intangible meaning fills the cityscape with war memories. At the CD the discussions were very much on the negative side of gentrification, of the displacement and the social inequality, but it was not addressed how the abandoned buildings may serve as modern ruins, how they – as structures – embody the cityscape historically. "*Old villas, freshly repainted*," the brochure about Beirut reads but can only refer to the reconstruction of Downtown.

Spirou (2011:17) argues that post-war reconstructed cities are likely to employ strategies to increase urban tourism. Nonetheless, Beirut experiences no such increase. Tourism promotional material has a superficial and short introduction to Beirut, only briefly mentioning the cities *"remaining ruined and abandoned neighbourhoods, a last testimony to the war*" (Appendix 24). In post-war areas an understanding of the pre-war community is vital (Brown 2005:106) and the Ministry have a strong desire to return the pre-war culture and community, as supposed to accept the war as a chapter in Lebanese history and thus an element in the tourism experience.

As suggested by Ben-Ze'ev (2012: 239) people are participating in "*ever-changing reciprocal relationship*" and this negotiation between space and people's memory is so contested that landmark of the war are oppressed in the mental urban image. Only Appendix 10 has a war reference, which is the Murr Tower (Figure 30). The Murr is a landmark that rise above the city, shadowing RB with the memory of its halted construction due to the war. When I asked a European speaker at the CD, who studying for three years at the AUB, what the name of the unfinished high rise was, she said "*Gosh, I don't even see it anymore.*"

Figure 31: Borj el Murr (Murr Tower). Right: Looking West 2015. Right: Looking East 2013.

It is very important for people to know their history in order to belong but if someone who only spent three years in Beirut does not notice unintended war memorials like this, what does that mean for residents who lived in Beirut their whole life, maybe even before the war? The shared amnesia is so strong that RB is embodied by this neglect rather than by the memory. Young people, who are not educated about the war and its ramifications on the current socio-economic and political instability, are likely to view the city not as a post-war setting but simply as an unstable environment. The CD emphasised the importance of contextualising the present according to war. Multiple speeches referred to the socio-economic difficulties, however, no solutions or ideas for improvement were proposed. As a participant observer, I was hoping to identify multiple "*ways of seeing*" (Urry & Larsen 2011: 2), although I believe only two perspectives were represented: firstly, the homogenous perspective of lecturers who research gentrification and social inequality and secondly, the perspective of the one practitioner present; a developer who spoke honestly about the commercial interest in city modernisation (Field notes March 6th). The practitioner, Ahmed Helmi from the

Ismailia Development & Real Estate Company, emphasised the importance of tourism in post-conflict urbanscapes as the tourists will come first, then the residents will follow. This idea of tourism as a tool in post-conflict development is interestingly also attempted for in Beirut. The Ministry of Tourism promote the reconstructed Downtown area to tourists, however, tourists prefer the less reconstructed area of RB. The director general wrote to me (Appendix 25): "*The urban changes in Beirut didn't affect tourism, the rebuilding of the destroyed areas is a work of art*". That Downtown is a piece of art might be better description of it, as it resembles something to look at like a museum display reading "*Don't Touch*" instead of place the everyday. Downtown is constructed as an economic experiencescape and has lost its sense of living touristic space; it has become a constructed destination.

Beirut has always been in transition, the post-war setting and gentrification are but two reasons for this. It is habit for Beirut to change but certain elements stay the same; for instance, RB has always been touristic. I will argue that tourism aid the memory creation of the war. Due to the unique composition of the tourism groups, their willingness and wish to learn about the war and the political situation help create awareness of the war, even if the authorities wish to maintain the shared amnesia or create reconstructed pieces of art like Downtown. It can be argued that tourism should have a voice in the CD because tourism has shaped Ras Beirut since the 1860s equal to residents. The AUB has always been a hub for tourism and the conference could help bring out tourism from the shadows, tourism is neglected in this conference despite its seniority in RB. The NI understands the transition zone in RB and work "*for the public good in Ras Beirut, promoting the neighborhood's livability, vitality, and diversity through innovative outreach activities and multidisciplinary research*" (Neighbourhood Initiative n.d.). The following quote by Lowenthal (2001) emphasises the importance and power of public spaces and hereby capsules the vision of NI:

"Just as folk in all walks of life habitually recall earlier stages in their lives through photos on mantels and dressers and walls, so can they enlarge their sense of self and community through collaborative projections of memory in public spaces".

Hence, for them to have co-organised the CD was to create awareness about the issues in the immediate surroundings of the AUB in order to find solutions via innovative strategies using a multiplicity of academic fields to maintain the dynamic social scene of RB and to embrace rather than dismiss the continuous transitions. More of the lectures had a tone of disbelief, a sense of apathy and as a spectator it appeared that there is much to do, that the problem with the current urban changes are causing such socio-cultural implications that a solution seems far away. The CD served as an awareness creator. In the audience I met for-

eign volunteers, who had found the event via social media. As tourists they had decided to join this public conference to get an insight into the current political picture of Lebanon. CD serves as a brilliant example of how tourism is an integral part of RB despite the gentrification, despite the conflicts in the neighbouring countries. The tourists at the conference engaged with the everyday of RB by positioning themselves in the setting of the residents. The banalities of tourism are happening in RB despite the urban changes, despite the encroachment of high rises and lack of attention from the Ministry of Tourism.

6.4 Organised Amnesia or Creation of Neglect

Chronopolitics also include the fact that memory change over time (Gillis 1996: 3) and space. Memory and identity are connected in the sense that neither are fixed and due to the way memory may affect identity. Commemoration is a part of memory creation in a national context. The lack of commemorative structures or events pose issues in societies like Lebanon, which has been addressed by critics of the post-war reconstruction and memory creation in Lebanon (Khalaf 2012:107). A place to commemorate may function as an outlet for forgetting the war by addressing it (*ibid.* 2012:108). Memory is a cognitive process of reconstructing past experiences and events, hence, involves "*a complex but fallible system of storing information*" (Orley 2012:37). Legg (2007:461) gives reference to Nietzsche, who emphasised the importance maintaining a balance between memory and forgetting. "*We have nowhere to go and think about the war, I don't know if I want to mourn or celebrate, all we have now a skyscrapers or bullets holes in walls,*" a Lebanese volunteer at an NGO. It highlights the issue of lack of commemoration; there is only a hybrid of modern ruins or gentrified high rises to balance the memory and forgetting. Considering post-war areas, Nietzsche's argument is particularly essential as the political and religious strives that may have caused or been paramount during the hostilities, are to be forgotten for the sake of moving on. Nevertheless, the memory of the internal wars like civil wars should be appreciated in its value for understanding the past to understand the present, as well as the future. Nevertheless, often the prevailing issue is whose memory is to be presented (Orley 2012:38) and whose voice is heard (Khalaf 2012:86). One bold observation I have, is that some tourists are fearless when it comes to asking questions and I believe this brave questioning aids an awareness creation of the importance of remembering. This issue is relevant in global memory, such as the two World Wars and places like Chernobyl (Gillis 1996:14) but local memory is important for people's individual and collective identity. Memory creation is an ambivalent and ambiguous matter, especially for countries that have experiences conflict or "*those nations born of revolution*" (*ibid.* 1996:19).

The urban changes are a tangible illustration of the issue of collective memory, which is manifested as organised amnesia. There negligence occurs in the authoritative wish to leave a dark history behind instead of

commemorating it. Tourism can be utilised as a tool for celebrating even *difficult heritage* (Macdonald 2009) but the Ministry of Tourism would rather facilitate the creation of neglect. "*Beirut is epitomized by its downtown*" (Appendix 24), reads the promotional material, insisting that the promotion of Downtown takes away attention from the memories of the war. "*Tourists don't want to talk about war on their holiday*," I was told at the Ministry of Tourism.

Residents, tourists, commuters etc. agree on how RB or Beirut in general is to develop. Tourism is not the solution to this issue, which is a far greater political and historically embedded issue that the scope of this thesis can or will entail, yet tourism poses certain benefits. Based on my observations, the majority of tourists, who inhabit and pass through RB are artists, students, NGO-workers or volunteers who demand to gain knowledge and understanding of the complexity of Beirut. I will argue that nostalgia is felt by tourists too, even though they have no or little connection to pre-war Beirut. For future tourism planning, nostalgia is an important tool as it may be a ground pillar in current tourism activity. Tangible elements of memory change are manifested in architectural remains and antiquities (Lowenthal 1996:45), thus, memory change over time and space as urban changes occur. Changes to the urban environment may reinforce these changes to memory, as the physical landscape will affect the intangible landscape of personal and collective memory (Legg 2007:457). The importance of space and surroundings is becoming more salient for the Lebanese, Khalaf (2012:79) argues. This is manifested in the increased attention to especially the urban environment. Khalaf (2012:83) argues that the destruction of space has increased the interest in sense of belonging for the Beirutis. This has resulted in a (re)negotiation of "*spatial identities*" (*ibid.* 2012:81) that corresponds well to the fluid borders of Beirut's neighbourhoods. Space can be the facilitator of a dualism between collective memory and shared amnesia; acknowledging the war memories may aid the healing process whereas the *shared amnesia* furthers a void in which pain and unresolved political conflict may blossom (Khalaf 2012:103).

Based on the promotional material available from the Ministry of Tourism, the cityscape is not displayed to visitors; instead the post-war reconstructed Downtown area and the Roman-Byzantine ruins are highlighted. Potentially, Beirut encapsulates another niche of urban architectural tourism, which would give an insight into the cityscape before the war leading into an understanding of the urban development the city is undergoing now. The need to promote the expensive reconstructed Downtown becomes a powerful means for creating neglect. Instead, could RB serve as an example of a Beirut where nuanced memories are embodied in the cityscape and therefore has a significant role in the experience of space? It might bring peace

to give a voice to the oppressed memories, a voice that could and arguably already is being facilitated by tourism.

7. Conclusion

This thesis has investigated whether tourism is a legitimate part of the Ras Beirut's urban identity. Based on theories of embodied spaces Ras Beirut is a fluid and adjustable touristic landscape influenced by its rich history of migration and tourism since the 1800s. That spaces remember is true for the area as *modern ruins* are standing among high rises, evidence of a neglected but not forgotten past. Using mental mapping the differences between the residents and tourists were elucidated in the two ways of conceptualising borders. However, certain *mental maps* proved to be a mixture of the big picture maps made by tourists and the smaller area-focused maps of the residents. This witness of the unique nature of the overlapping lives of tourists and residents, which result in a co-creation of meaning and space. The experiencescape of RB becomes one reaching beyond that of tourism destinations, as RB is touristic landscape. This thesis concludes that RB serves as a case study for understanding urban tourism as well as it contributes to the discussion of what the field of tourism is and. Moreover, it contributes the research on everyday performances due to its emphasis on RB being a space of habitual touristic and residential performances.

There is an overlap between residential living and tourism and RB is a mundane and habitual space of living. People are *moving spatial fields* and the photographic data collected presented an opportunity to approach tourism from a post-disciplinary stance by embracing the mobilities of tourism by giving a narrative to Kongstad's photographs. The interwoven relationship between the everyday and tourism is evident in the co-creation of space (O'Dell 2005). The photo comparison tells a story of an ever-changing urban environment were space is negotiable but also where the key to understanding the question for this thesis: the urban changes are embodied by the past and are therefore part of the socio-cultural characteristics as well as the physical space. Hence, experiencing RB is a journey through time, and tourism function to some extent as a tool to link the past and the present in a way where the future will be aware of this continuity. RB is a case of continuity of living touristic spaces. This inter-subjective journey, which I undertook with the two other students and the people in RB allowed us to explore the experiencescape from a socio-cultural perspective. Kongstad's photos became the facilitator of *tourism mobilities* for a means to understand the embodied space of RB.

The Ministry of Tourism are aiming to promote Beirut as a diverse and dynamic place but fail as they instead promote shared amnesia allowing for the creation of neglect. The Ministry is nostalgic about *Paris of*

the Middle East but refuse to accept the civil war as a chapter in Beiruti history. Everyone needs remembers the past differently and create memory via photos but the real "*sense of self and community" is found in the collective "projections of memory in public spaces*" (Lowenthal 2001). The complexity of RB as a post-war setting for tourism needs further research but this thesis has contributed to the understanding of the current use of RB, an embodied place, where people embrace *being-in-the-world* by making sense of the urban changes in the past and in the present.

7.1 Future Research

Further research into the embodied spaces in post-war settings would contribute to an understanding of the inherence of tourism. Adding to this research, a more elaborate investigation of the Ministry of Tourism's promotional strategies would contextualise further research.

Problems concerning governmental instability and de-centralisation in post-war Lebanon would add an interesting insight into long-term issues regarding urban planning and national identity concerning the dark history of the nation.

The right to space, an issue raised at the City Debates, is currently researched by urban planning students, who attended the conference, and their findings will be of high significance for investigating how tourists navigate in city that many residents do not feel they have the right to.

This thesis approached tourism from a post-disciplinary approach by understanding tourism by participating in the society of RB in order to find out what the role of tourism is. This invites further research into post-disciplinary research projects in Beirut to grasp the multiplicity of layers in the urban fabric; tourism being one of many.

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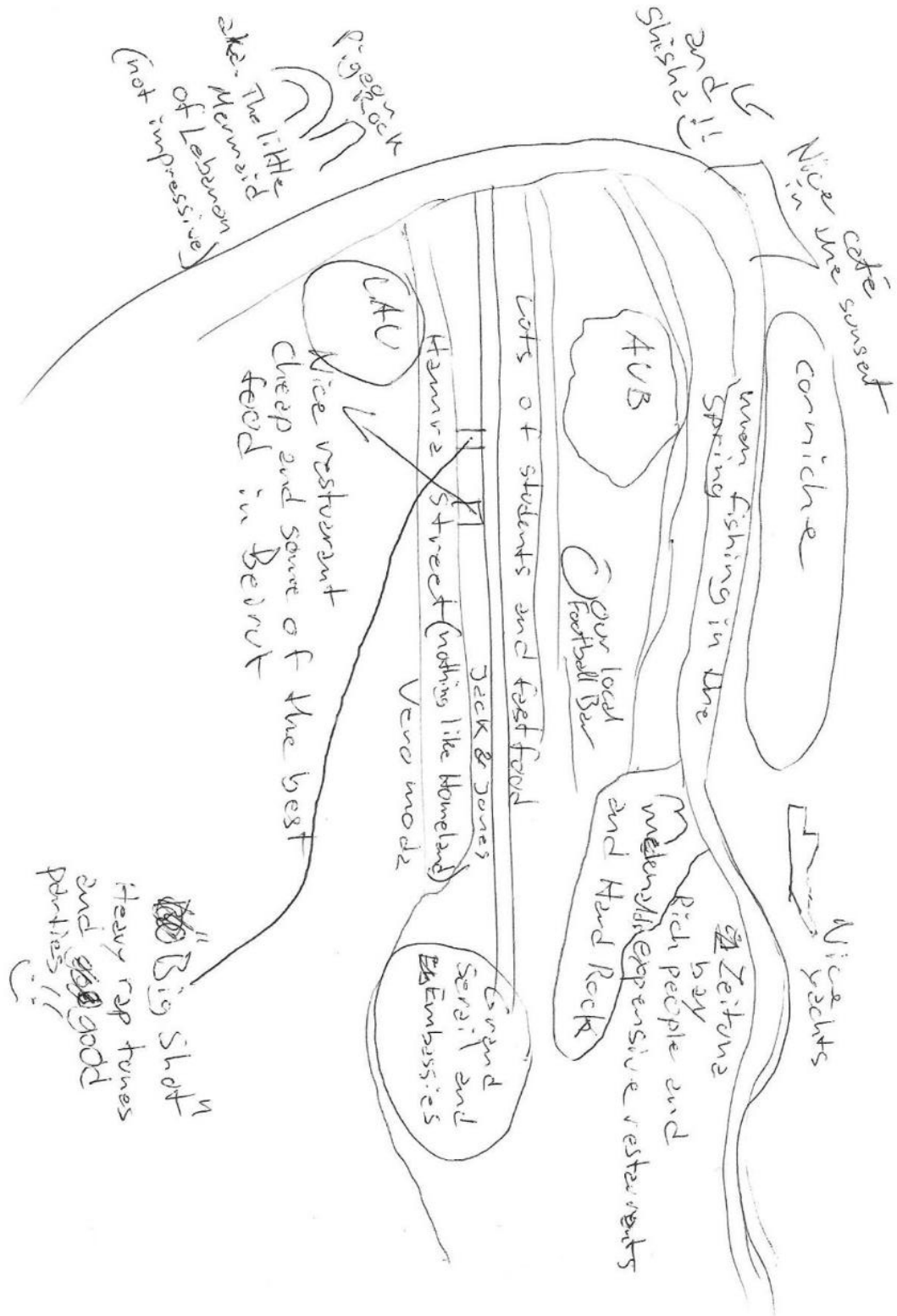
9. Appendices

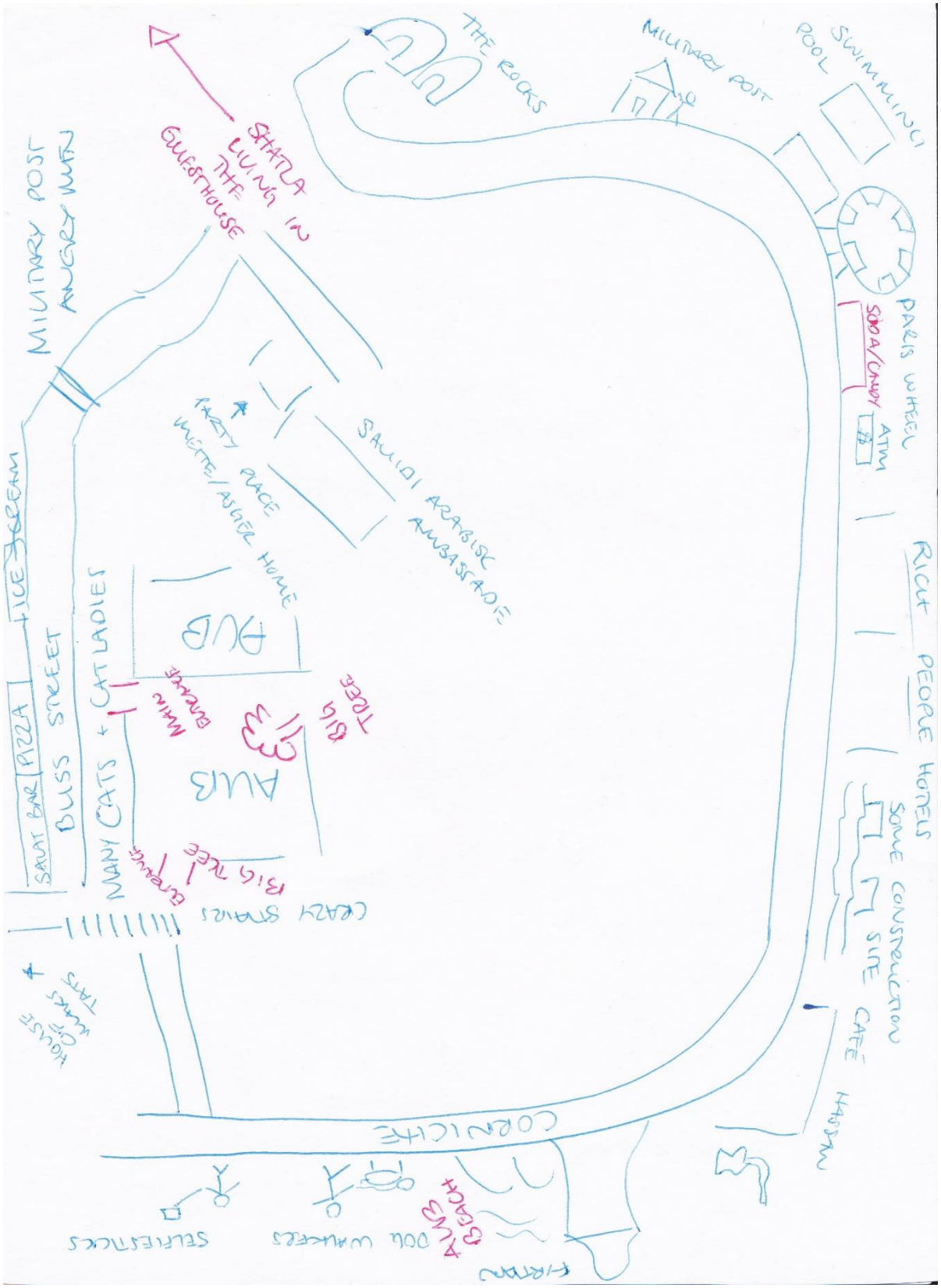
Appendix 1

Mental map drawn by tourist



Appendix 2

Mental map drawn by tourist

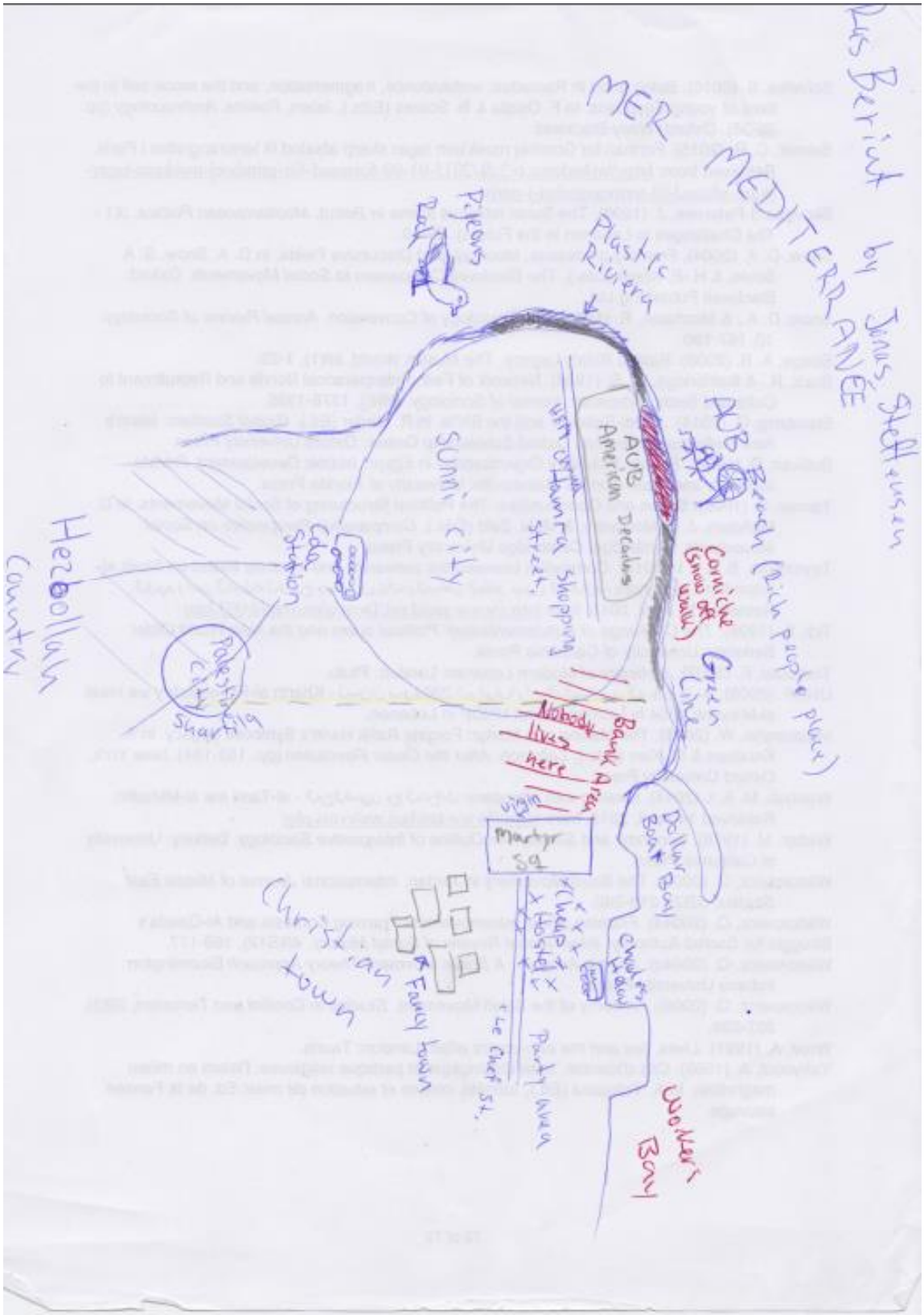


Appendix 3

Mental map drawn by tourist

Appendix 4

Mental map drawn by tourist



Appendix 5

Mental map drawn by tourist

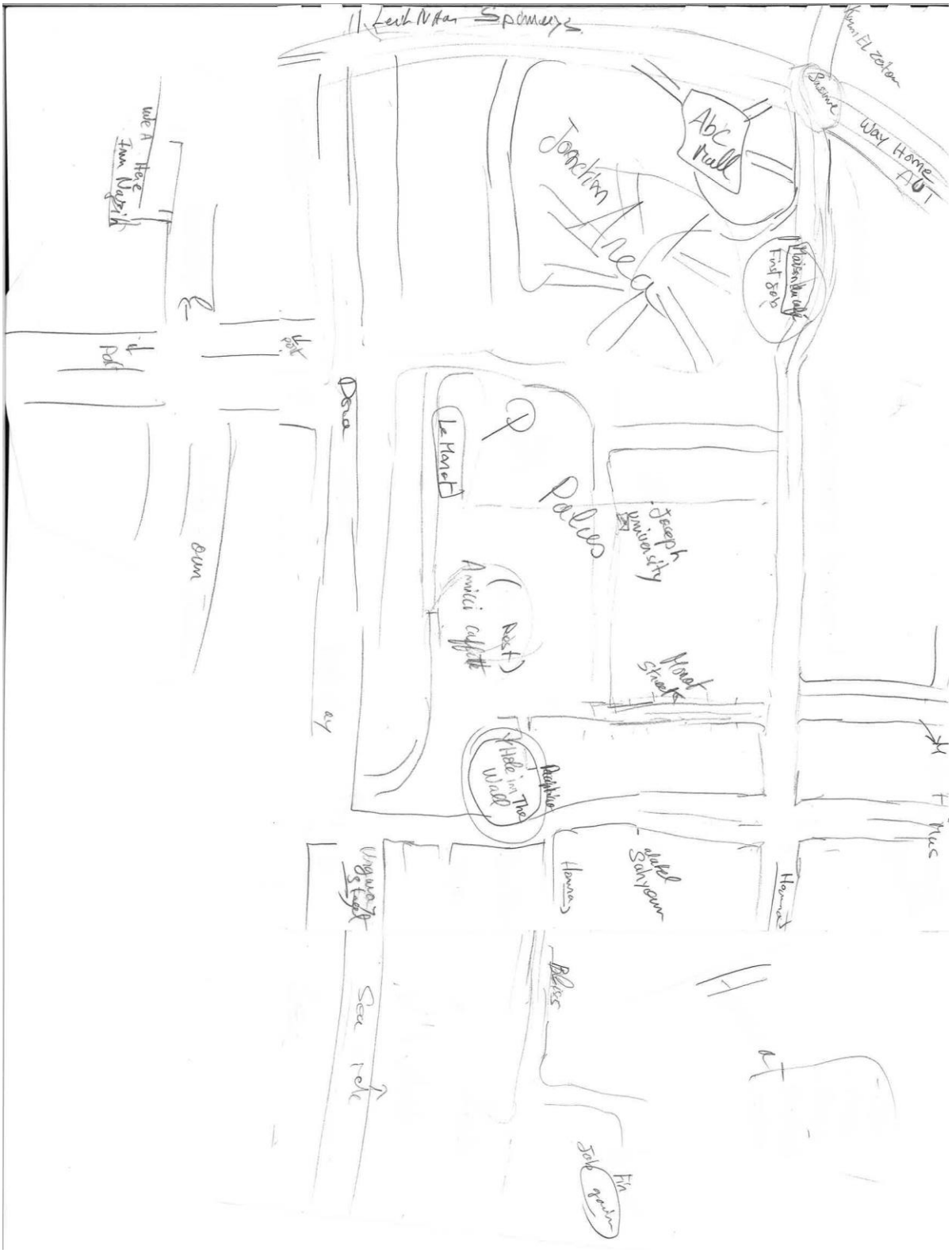
1: Second-hand book shop
2: *Antonie* Book shop
3: Gym
4: *Cafe Younes* (Speedy wifi)
5: Language school
6: Fischermen
7: Luxury Bay (Zaituna Bay)
8: Massive luxury buildings paid for with Gulf money
9: Nice, cheap coffee
10: Fantastic falafel
11: Syrian refugees and their babies
12: A huge Spinneys (supermarket chain)
13: Mosque
14: Small "camp" for SSNP (Syrian Social National Party)
15: Catholic Church

Appendix 6

Mental map drawn tourist

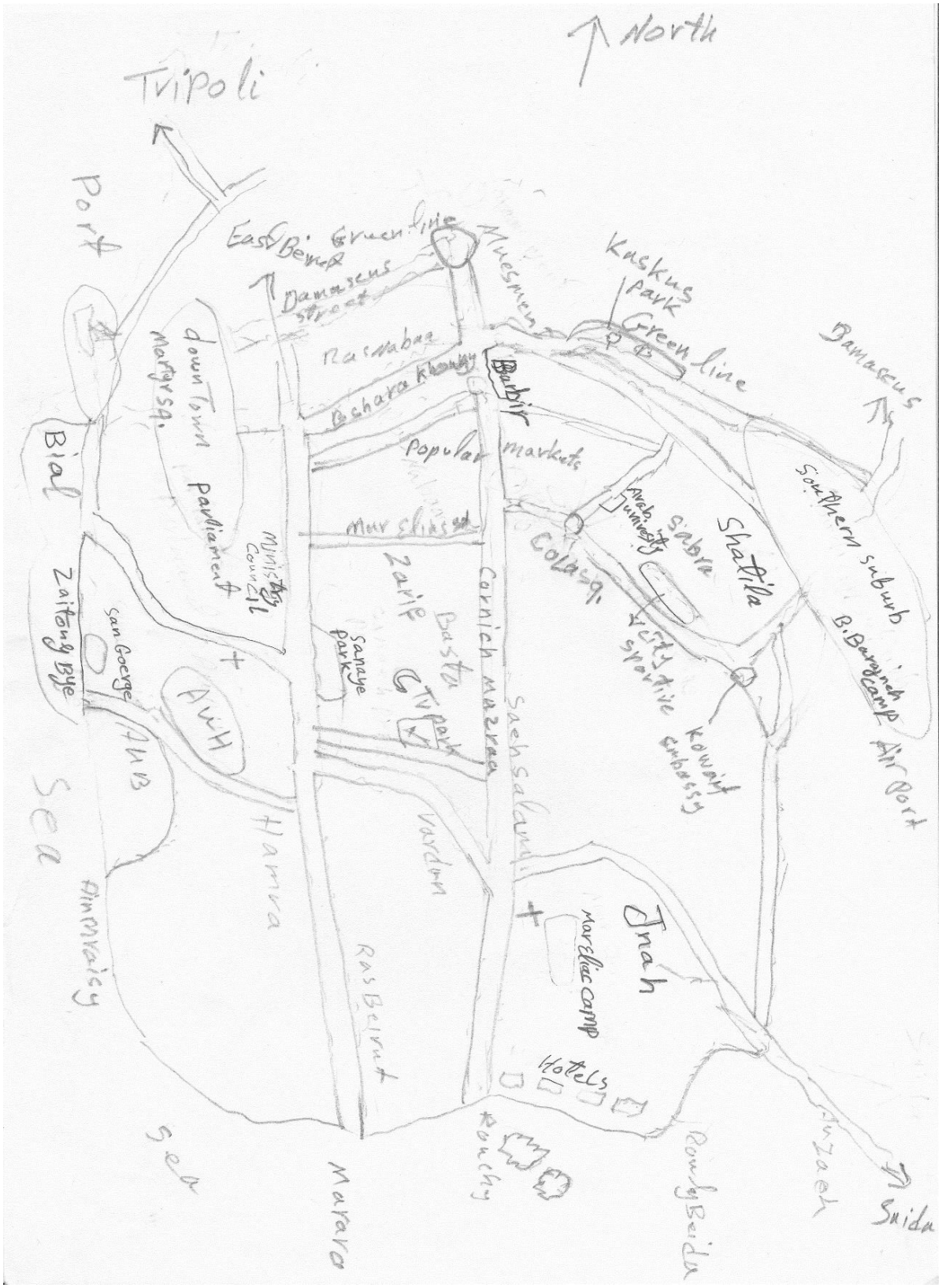
Appendix 7

Mental map drawn by resident in East Beirut



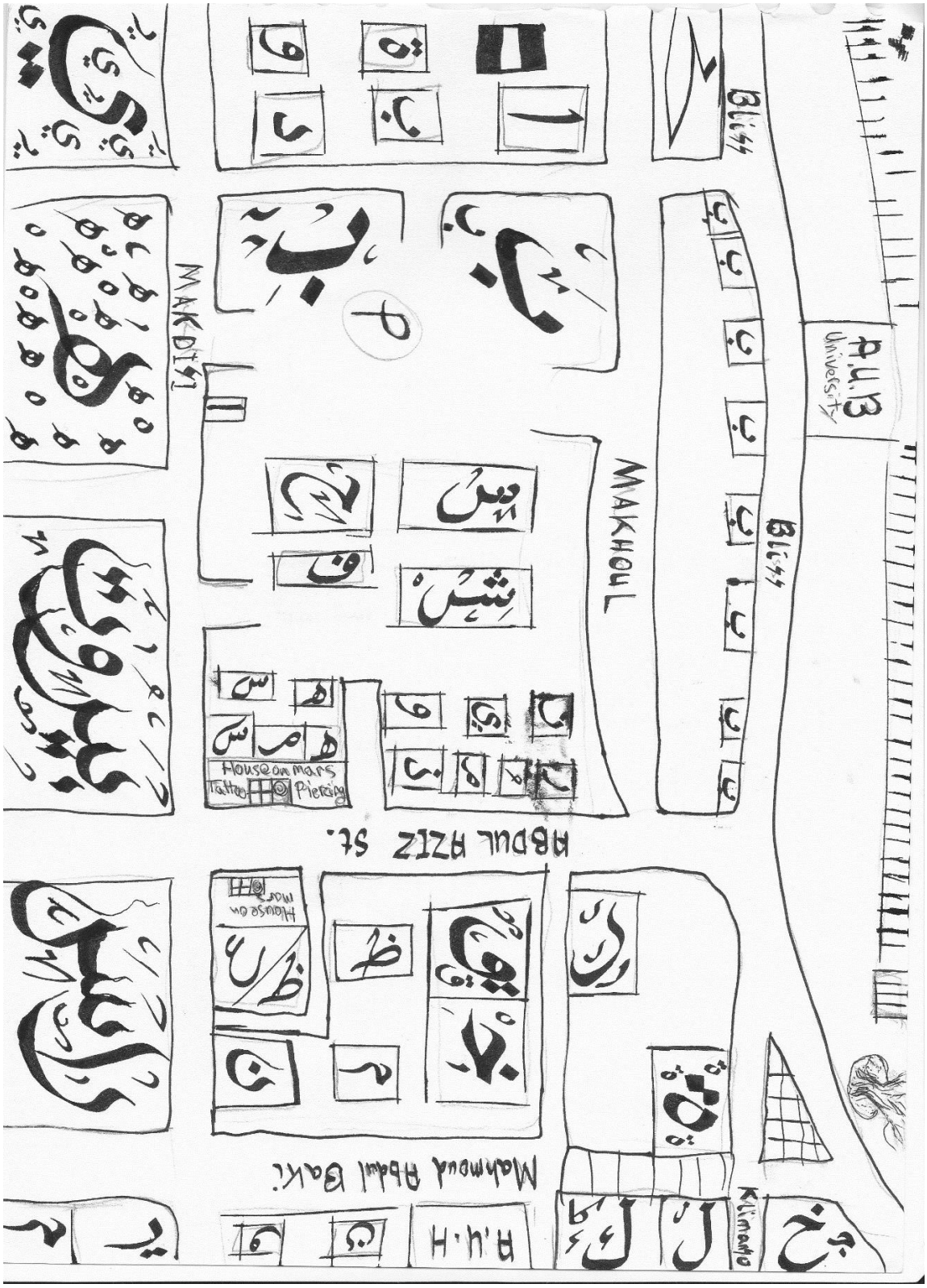
Appendix 8

Mental map drawn by resident by Shatila Refugee Camp



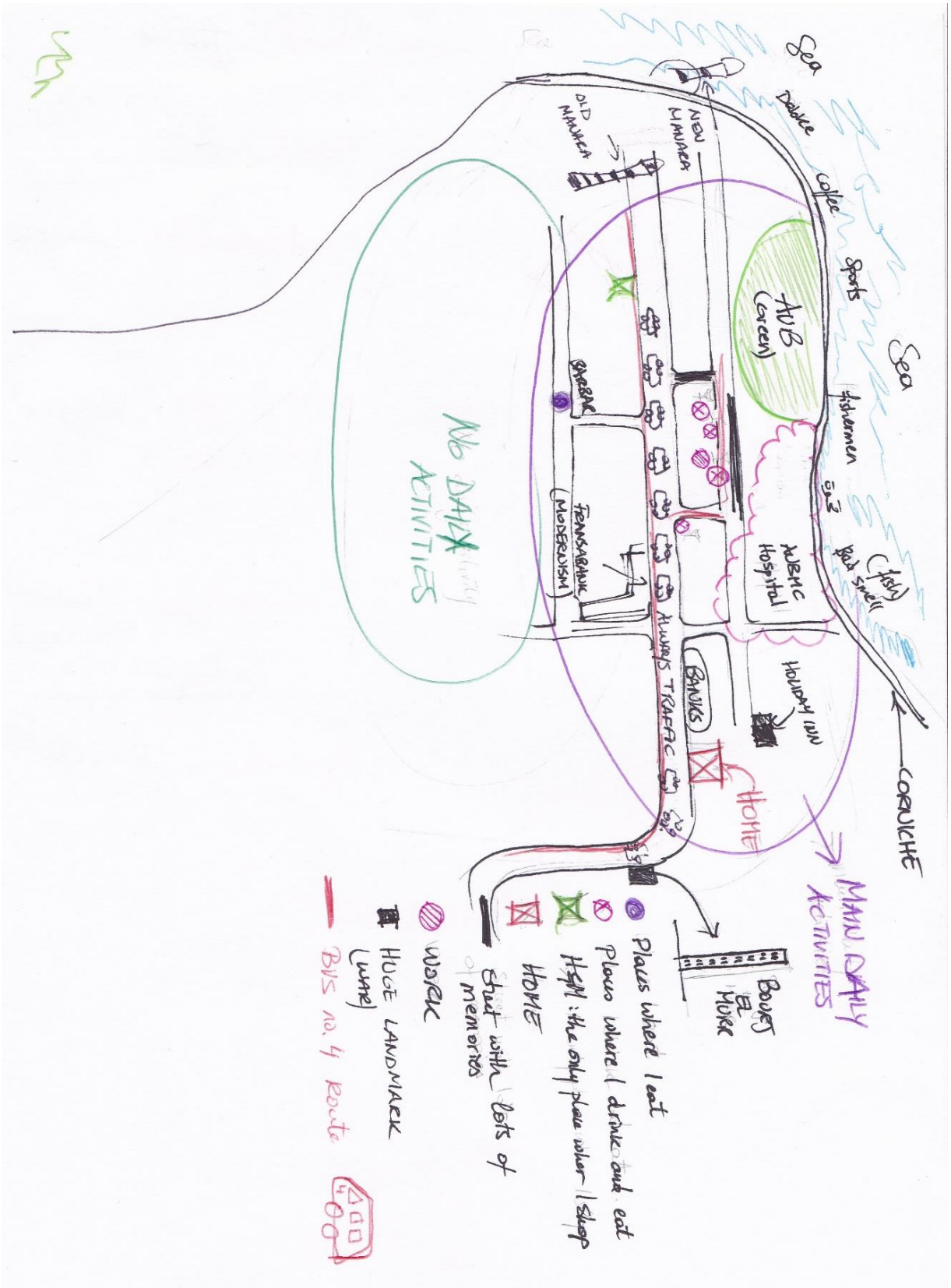
Appendix 9

Mental map drawn by resident in Ras Beirut



Appendix 10

Mental map drawn by resident in Ras Beirut

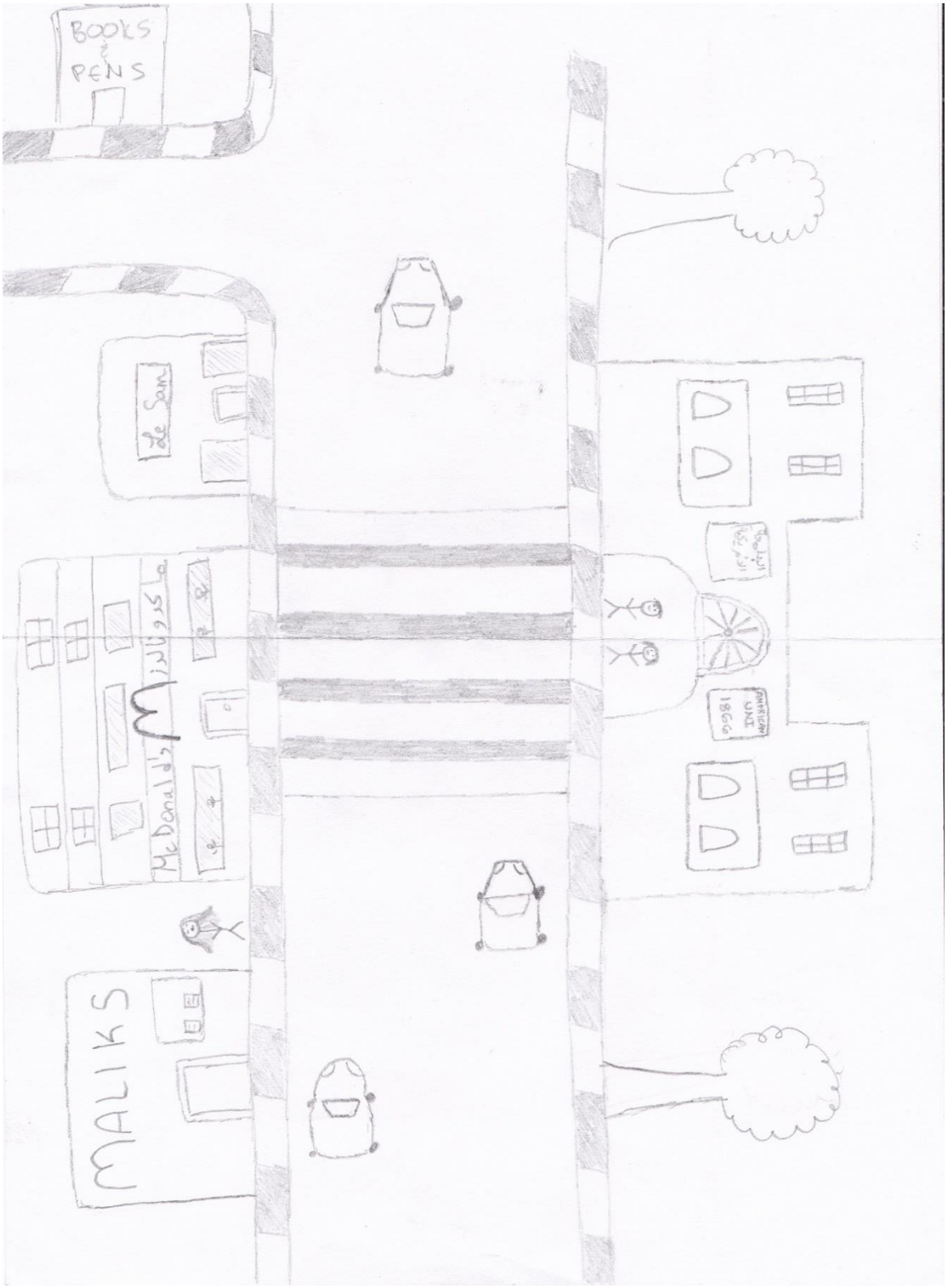


Appendix 11

Mental map drawn by resident in Mar Elias Camp, South Beirut

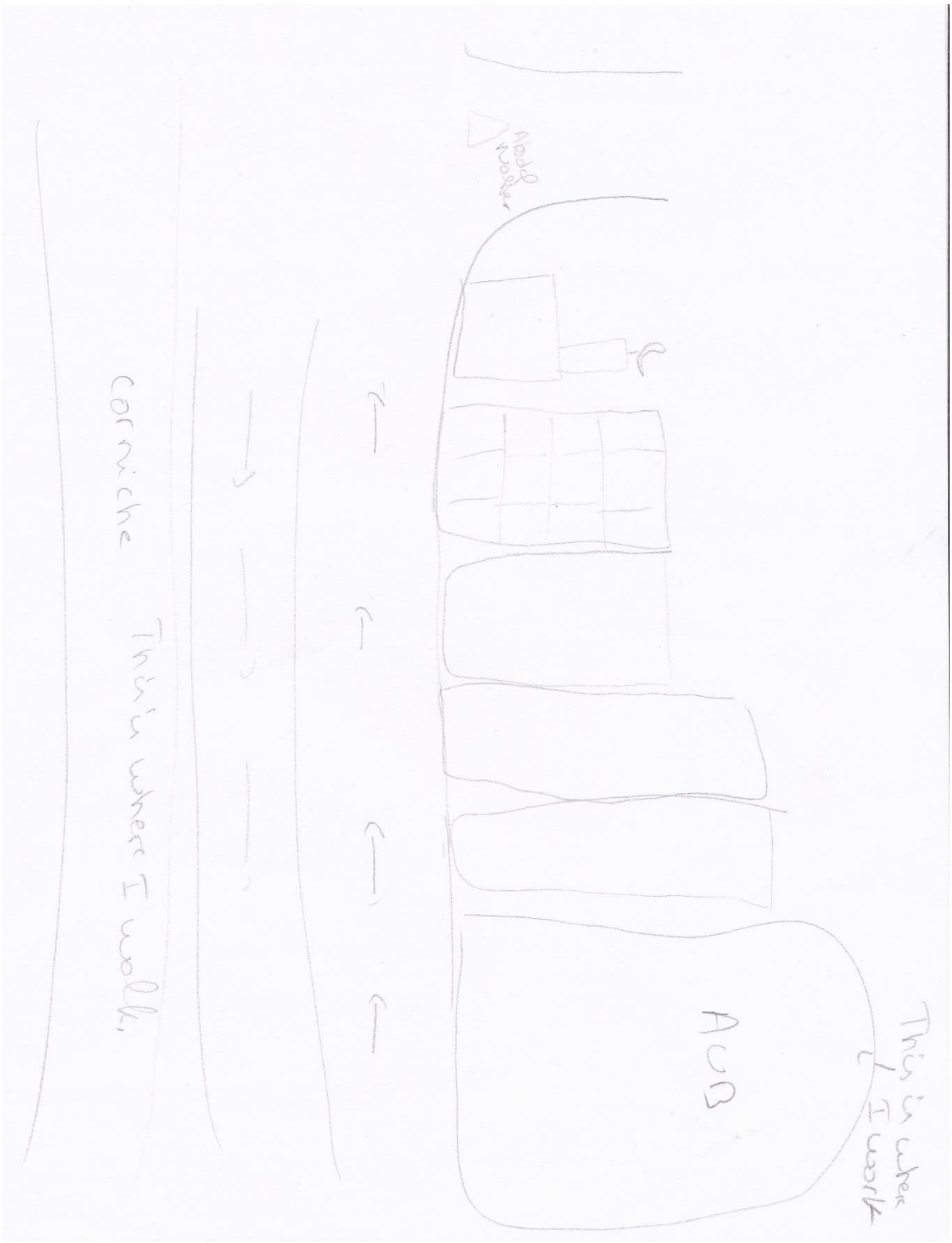
Appendix 12

Mental map drawn by resident in Ras Beirut



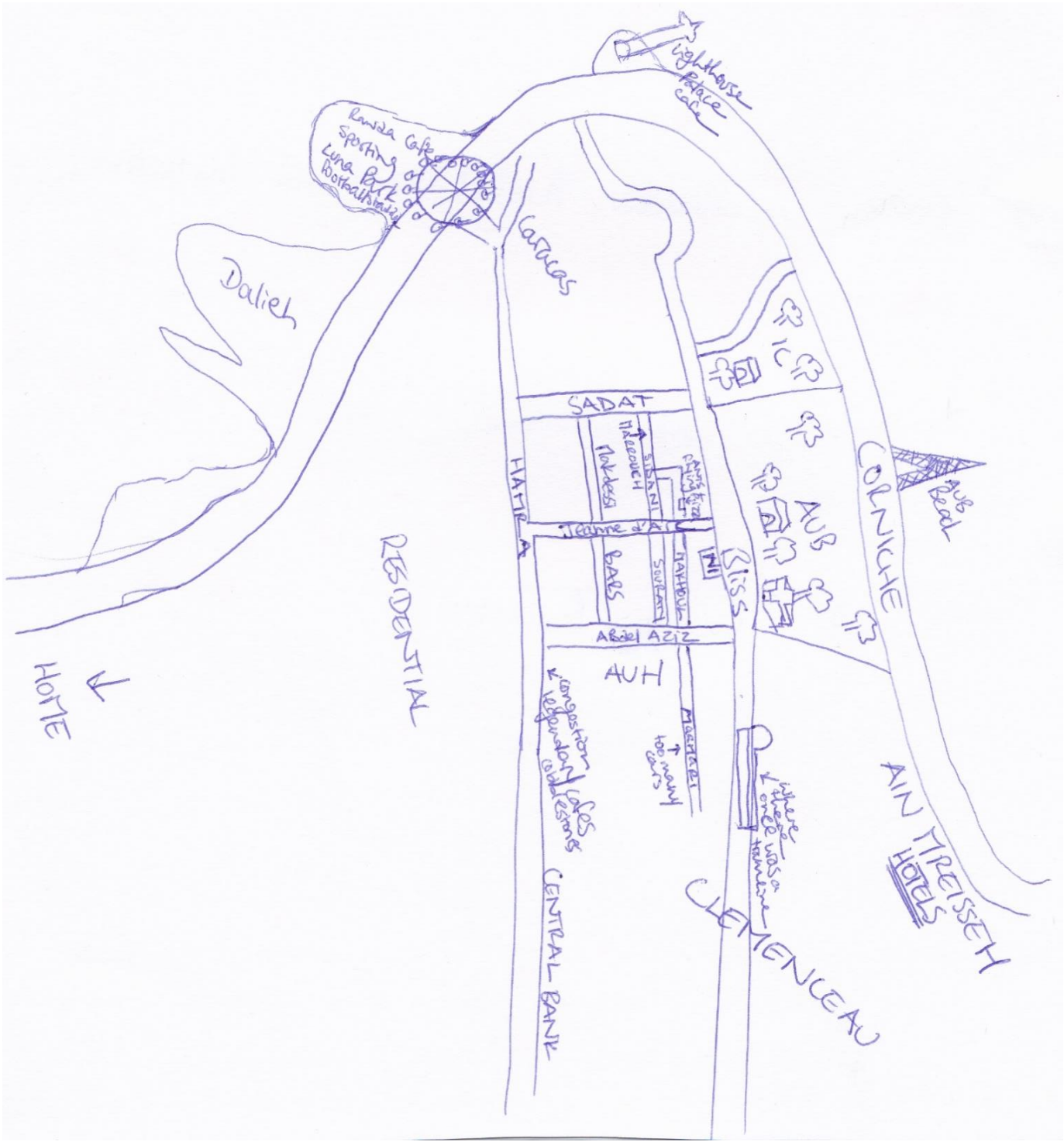
Appendix 13

Mental map drawn by resident in Ras Beirut



Appendix 14

Mental map drawn by resident in Ras Beirut



Appendix 15

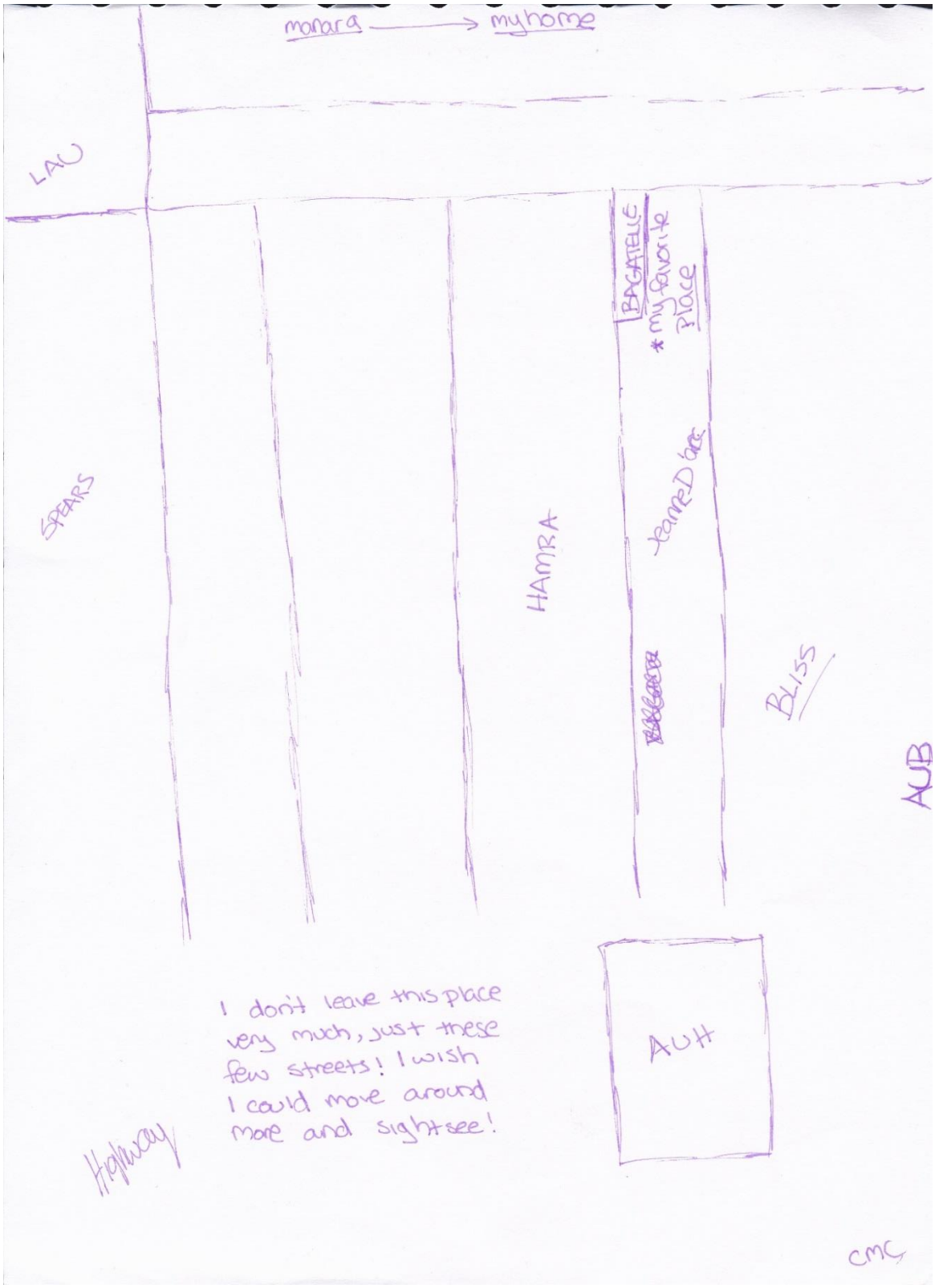
Mental map drawn by resident in Ras Beirut

Appendix 16

Mental map drawn by resident in Ras Beirut

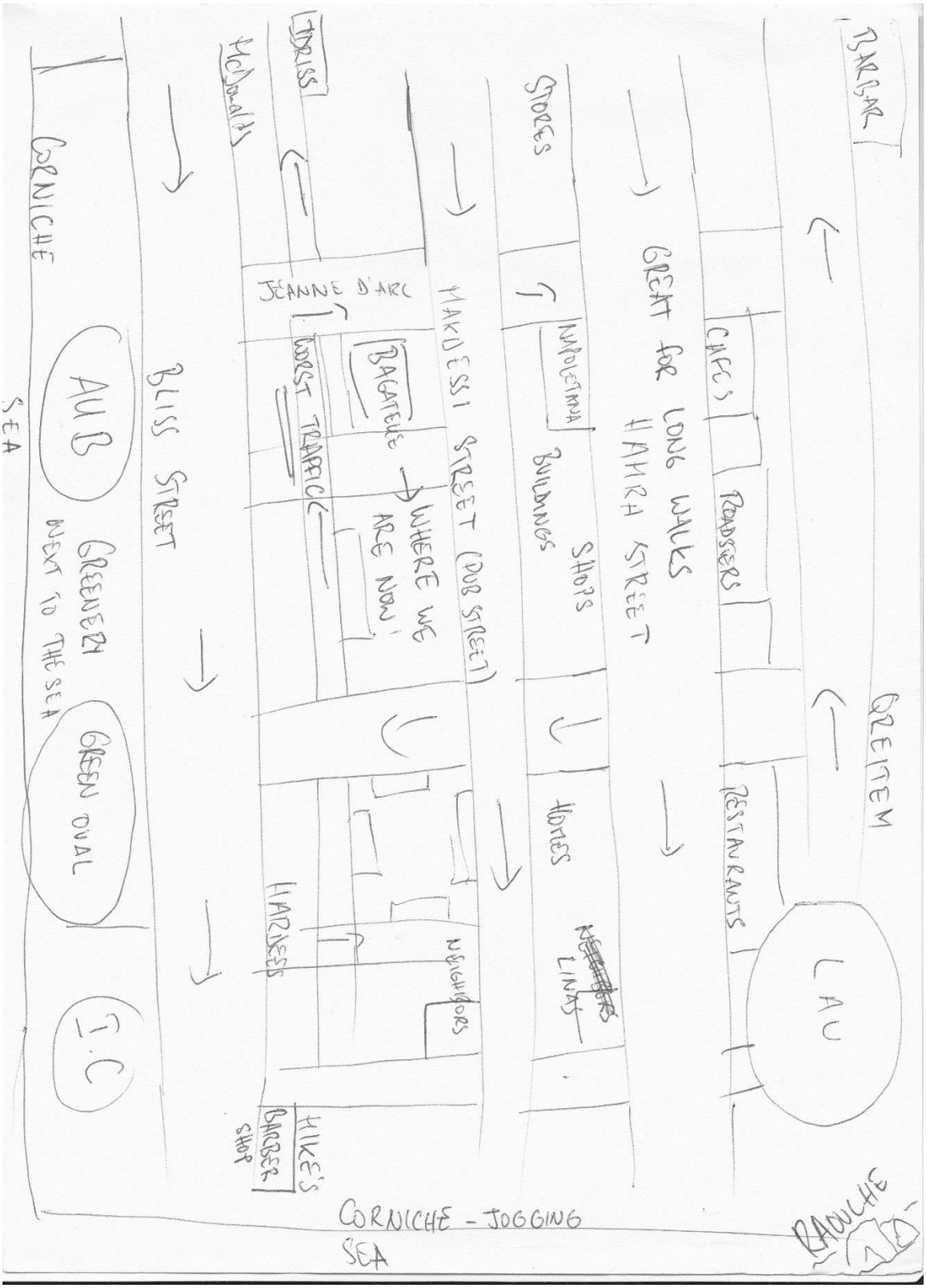
Appendix 17

Mental map drawn by resident in Ras Beirut



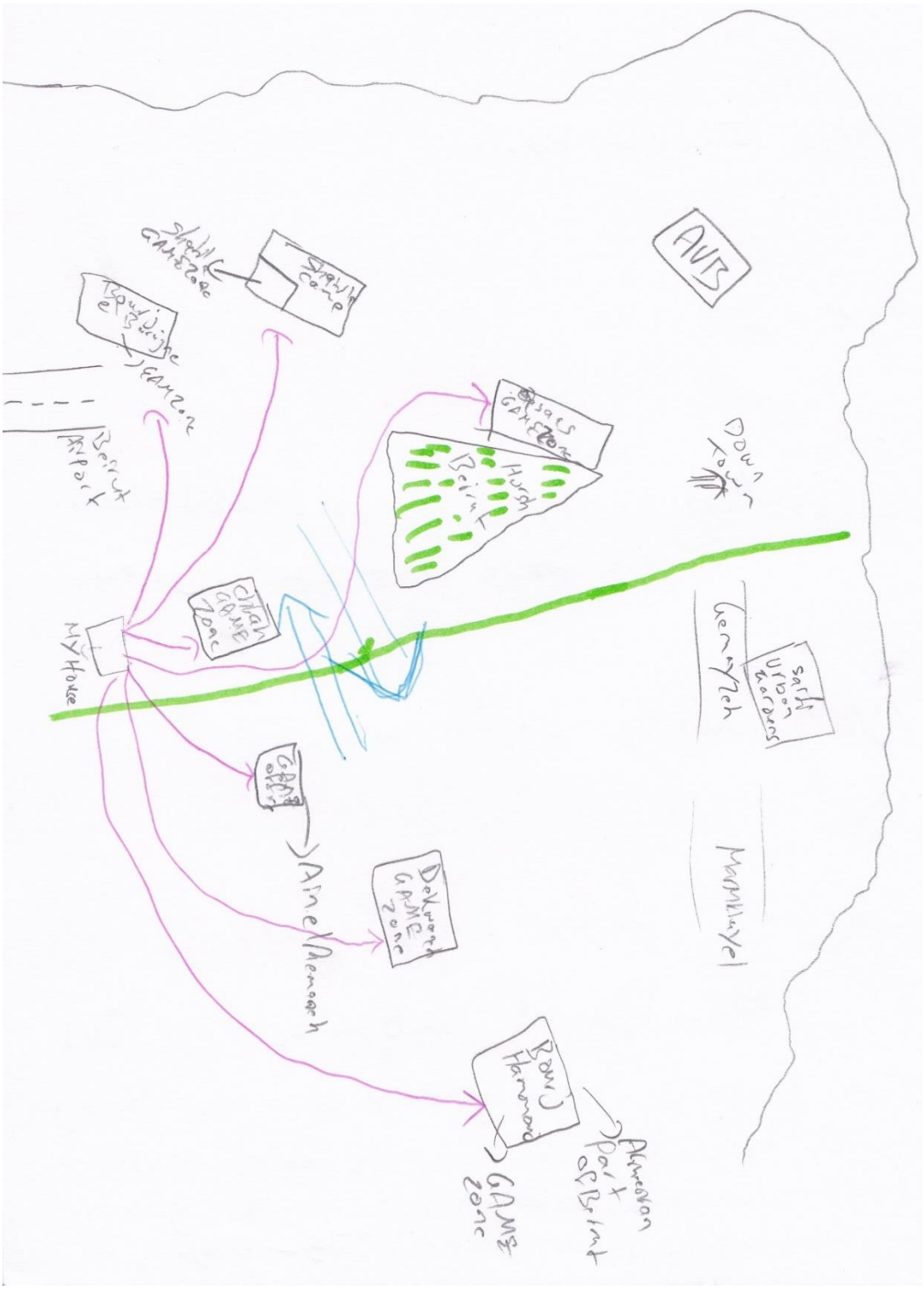
Appendix 18

Mental map drawn by resident in Ras Beirut



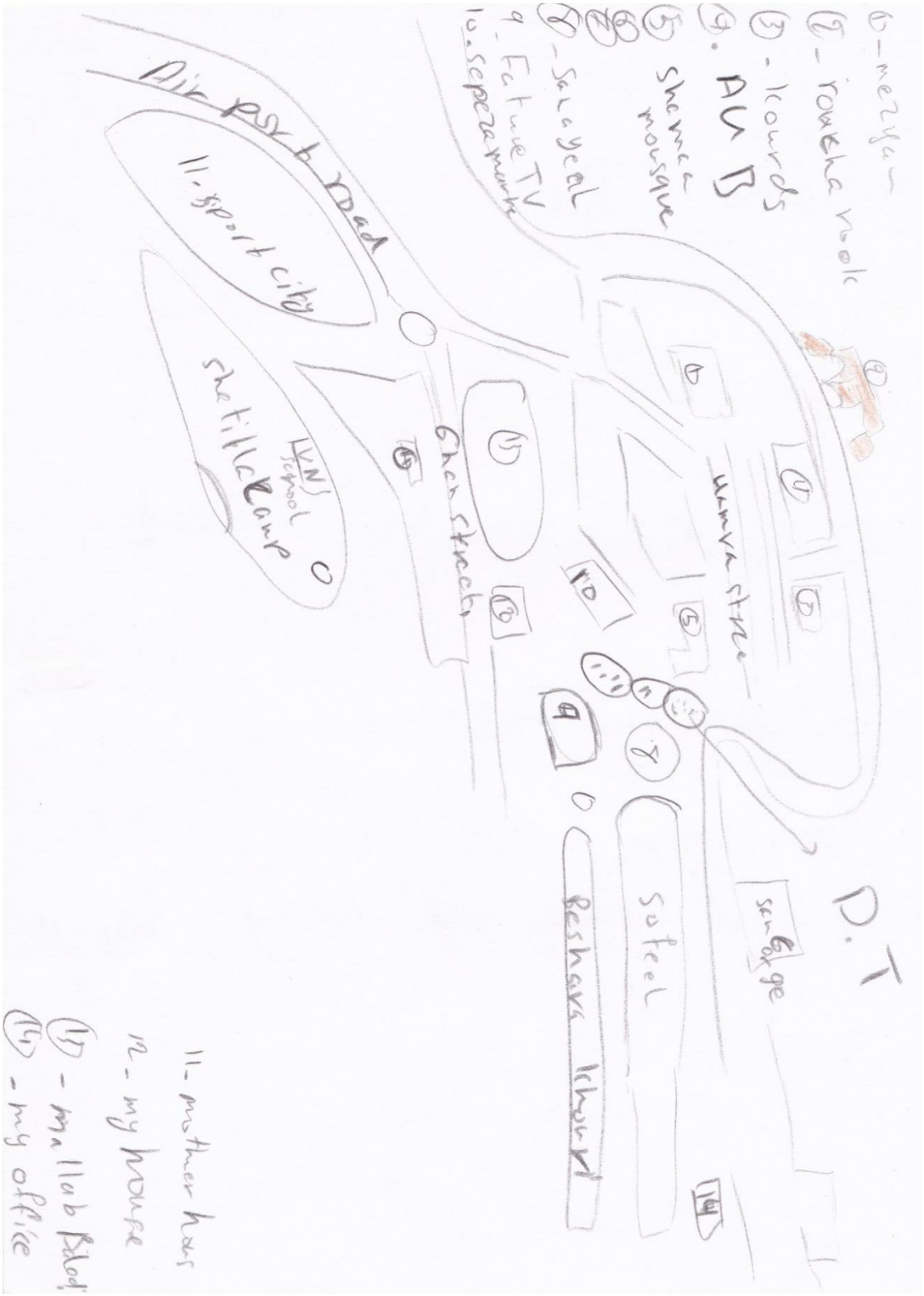
Appendix 19

Mental map drawn by resident in South Beirut



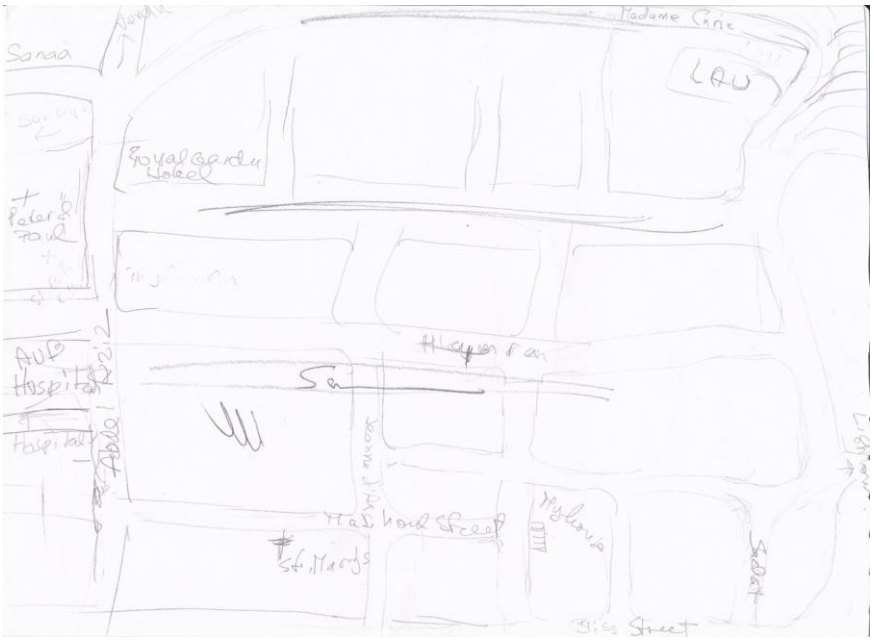
Appendix 20

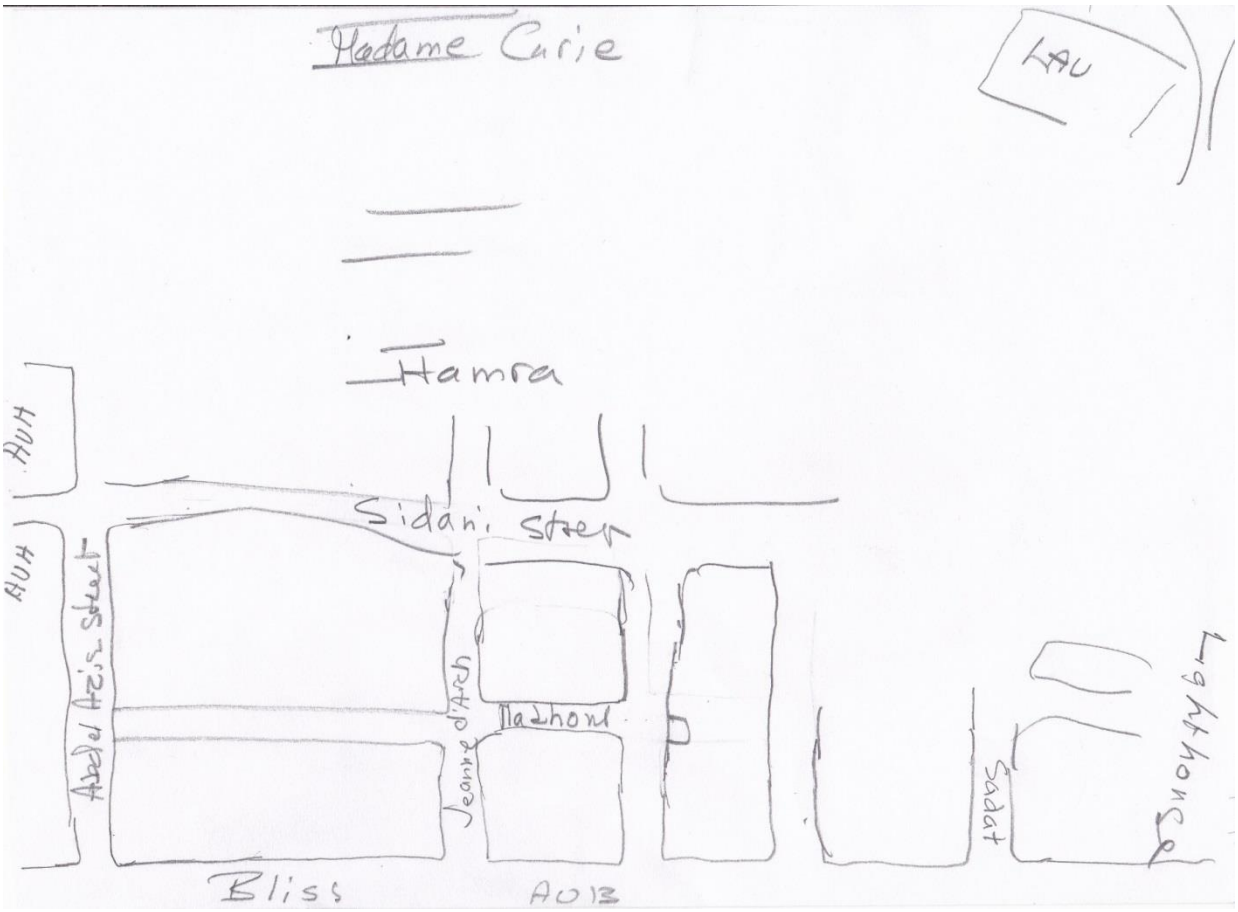
Mental map drawn by resident by Shatila Refugee Camp



Appendix 21

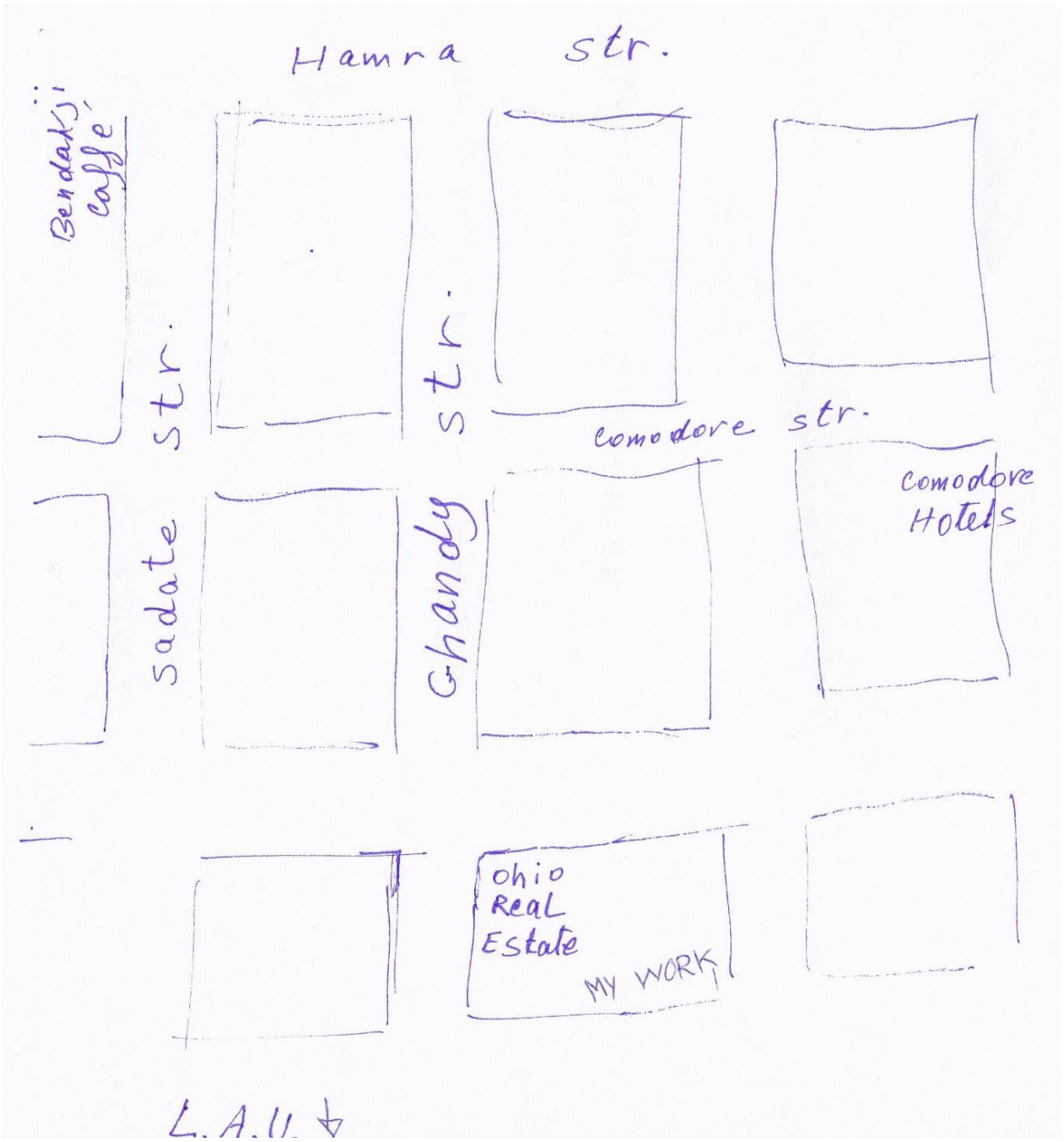
Mental map drawn by resident (She drew two and was dissatisfied because she could not include everything.)





Appendix 22

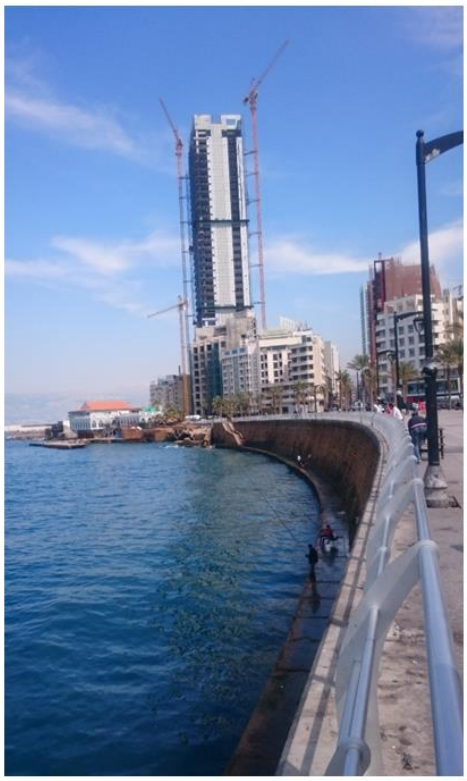
Mental map drawn by resident in Ras Beirut



Appendix 23

Construction work. The orange cranes have become a significant landmark of Beirut.

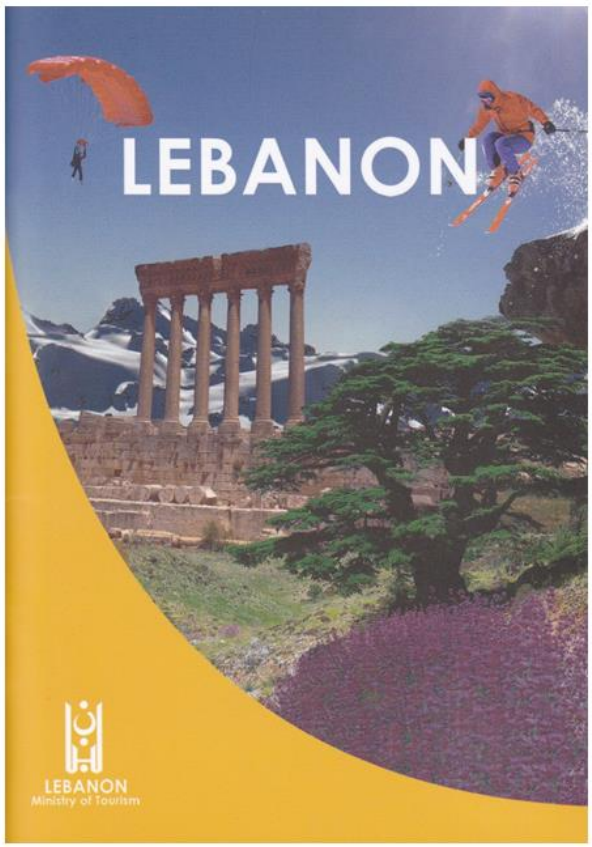
2015



2015

Appendix 24

Promotional material from brochure given to me at the Ministry of Tourism.



LEBANON

BEIRUT
CITY OF CONTRASTS

Star's Square

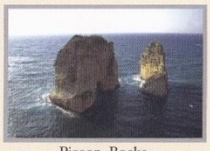
Many times destroyed and rebuilt, Beirut is a city of many facets - all accented by a charming mix of East and West. Dynamic, congested, elegant and ostentatious, it shows a different aspect at every turn.

Beirut never leaves a visitor indifferent; its contrasts are too overwhelming. Luxurious air-conditioned shops sell elegant international brands. Old villas, freshly repainted, are reflected in modern glass buildings, mirroring a pastiche of past and present.

More city contrasts appear in its remaining ruined and abandoned neighborhoods, a last testimony of the war. But just around the corner you'll find animated side streets full of restaurants, cafes and shops.

Beirut is epitomized by its downtown, you will see restored buildings painted in beautiful pastel colors in a scene that might have come from «A Thousand and One Nights.» Narrow pedestrian streets with their perfect geometry, are often enlivened by nightime spectacles, fairs and parties - all carried out against the backdrop of the finely carved masonry facades.

3



Pigeon Rocks

Turning off one of these streets you come to the Roman Baths, now harmoniously integrated into the urban landscape. This quarter is dominated by the Grand Serail, a huge building constructed by the Ottomans in 1849.
You will also be tempted to walk along the famous corniche of Raouche. This two-kilometer seaside promenade attracts a wide variety of joggers, sports walkers, strollers, food vendors, and coffee drinkers. At sunset couples walk arm in arm watching the sun sink into the sea behind the landmark **Pigeon Rocks**, just offshore.

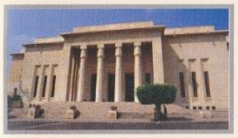
Beirut is a busy, bustling capital with a major port serving the nation's business and commercial interests. But when offices and shops close, Beirutis often go out on the town to enjoy the many restaurants and nightclubs of this cosmopolitan city.

A cultural center as well as the capital city, Beirut is known for its many universities and schools. The National Museum documents the great archaeological past of Lebanon, while musical, artistic and dramatic activities take place year round.

4

LEBANON

BEIRUT
THE NATIONAL MUSEUM



Inaugurated in 1942, the National Museum is home to an extraordinary collection of important archaeological objects.

Recently reopened after extensive renovation, the ground floor displays about seventy large objects. The undoubted star of the collection is the sarcophagus of Ahiram, King of Byblos, which is inscribed with the earliest known example of the Phoenician alphabet.

On this floor as well, is a colossal statue in the Egyptian style, discovered at Byblos. Also look for statues of children used as ex-voto offerings to the healing god of Eshmoun. These were found at the temple of Eshmoun near Sidon. Other outstanding objects include a capital of bulls' heads and various mosaics representing scenes from mythology.

The first floor of the museum holds about a thousand smaller objects from prehistory, the Bronze and Iron Ages, the Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine periods and from the Arab conquest to Mamluke times.
(open daily except Mondays - Hours : 9am - 5pm.)

5

Appendix 25

Email from the Ministry of Tourism

Gmail by Google

Marie Brøndgaard <mariebj.pd@gmail.com>

About Beirut and tourism

1 message

Nada Sardouk <nadaghandour@yahoo.com> 28 April 2015 at 17:45
To: "mariebj.pd@gmail.com" <mariebj.pd@gmail.com>

Dear Marie Brøndgaard,
Thank you for your email and for your questions about these topics:

1) How the Ministry of Tourism work with the concept of memory?
2) Is there any special promotion of Ras Beirut and Hamra or do those areas sell themselves to tourism?
3) Has the urban changes in Beirut affecting tourism in any way?
4) What are the tourism strategies put forward by the Ministry and are they publicly available?
First , we are saving the old photos and the old movies(from the 1960) we have in the ministry of tourism , in digital copies
.We have published a book about Beirut based on these white and black photos to keep the memory of these places alive and the book Beirut in Motion was a real success.
The urban changes in Beirut didn't affect tourism, the rebuilding of the destroyed areas is a work of art, and the old and the new places give to Beirut its charme.
Actually, we are working on a rural tourism strategy to promote green and rural areas beyond the cities and this strategy was the work of the public and the private sectors , along with NGOs and municipalities.This strategy is in the heart of our communication and promotion campaign Live Love Lebanon, it is on all social media .
We can provide you with a copy of Beirut in Motion as well as a copy of the Rural tourism strategy, if you can pass by our offices at hamra street , facing The Central Bank.
Wishing you a good work .
Nada Sardouk
Director General
Ministry of Tourism - Beirut Lebanon.

Appendix 26

Additional photo comparison between our and Per Kongstad's photographs

Crossing of Hamra Street and Sadat Street

1964

2015

Lyon Street (now Emile Edde Street) towards West

1964

2015

Lyon Street (Emile Edde Street) towards East

1964

2015

Crossing of Cairo Street and Hamra Street, towards South

1964

2015

Hamra Street seen towards West

1964

2015

1964, Jabbour Street.

2015

Corner of Baalbek Street (former Commodore Street) and Nehme Yafet Street

1964

2015

George Port Street

1964 or 1967, no year specified on the slide

2015

John Kennedy Street by AUB Medical Gate

1964 or 1967, no year specified on the slide

2015

Najib Ardati Street looking West towards the Manara

1964

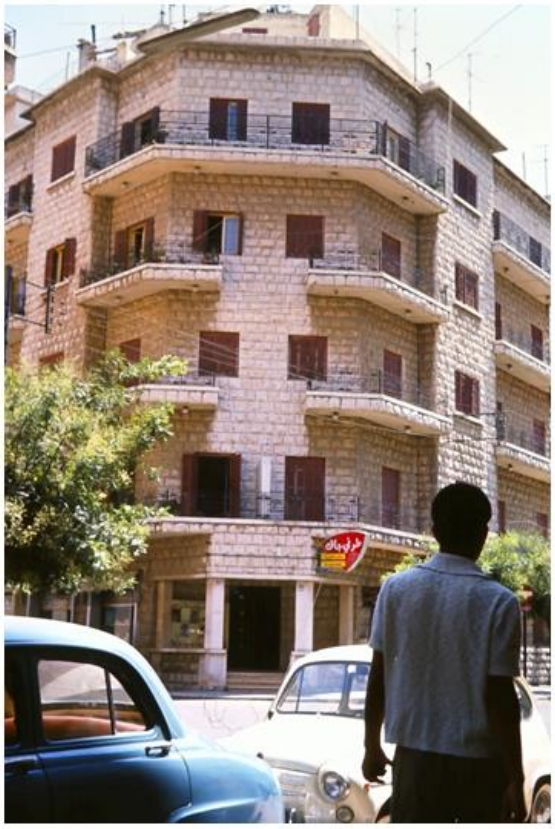
2015

Najib Ardati Street. Towards the lighthouse

1964

2015

Hamra Street towards East



1964

2015

Barbar crossing

1964

2015

Looking North down Omar Bin Abdel Aziz Street

1967

2015

Omar Ben Abdel Aziz Street

1964

2015

Kuwait Street (Former Caracas Street)

1964.

2015

The *Intra Bank* on Omar Bin Abdel Aziz Street

1964

2015

Crossing of Baalbek Street and Sadat Street

1964

2015

Appendix 27

Permission from AUB Archive

AMERICAN UNIVERSITY OF BEIRUT
UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES

FORM REQUESTING
REPRODUCTION FOR SCHOLARLY ACCESS

WARNING CONCERNING COPYRIGHT RESTRICTIONS

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Dear Sir,

I Marie Brøndgaard Jensen am affiliated with Aalborg University as Master Student
Address: Copenhagen, Denmark
Phone: 0045 61 28 65 57 Fax: _____ E-mail: mariebj.pd@gmail.com

Type of Material Requested for Reproduction

☐ Archival Paper ☐ Article ☐ Book ☒ Photo ☐ Poster ☐ Map ☐ Manuscript
☐ Thesis/ Project

Bibliographic information

Title _____
Author _____ Date: _____
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Purpose

The photographs will be used in a Master thesis concerning urban changes and memory in Ras Beirut and its surroundings.

Furthermore, I am aware that there is a cost, paid in advance, attached to the reproduction fee of the item in question and I am willing to pay prevailing rates in:

☐ Cash ☐ Check ☐ Charge to account

I have read the copyright warning given above and agree to observe it. I assume all copyright responsibility for the proper use of the items requested and indemnify and hold harmless AUB, its trustees, officers, employees, and agents from any and all liability arising out of my being granted permission to inspect and/or copy and/or publish the above materials.

☒ I agree Signature _____ Date 23/3-15

Appendix 28

Field notes from February to end of March 2015.

February 8th

Today was the first day of actual fieldwork. Through a family friend I got in contact with Hans Østergaard Hansen, who is a Danish engineer who spend several years in Lebanon working on the post war reconstruction projects. Together with his wife they lived in Lebanon after the civil war from 1994-1997 and again in 2007. His initial work was facilitated by the Ministry of Public Works and entailed road works, establishing of new schools as well as reconstructing hospitals. The latter time Østergaard Hansen worked in Lebanon he was under mandate from the Danish Refugee Aid to work for UN Habitat. As part of the UN Habitat housing interest, 1500 newly built houses were to be erected and Østergaard Hansen was involved with this work. Elise, Bruno and I went to see him in Ballerup where he lives with his wife, Brigitta, who conducted cultural and artistic work whilst in Lebanon. His account of post war Beirut is a useful source in understanding the complex web of interest that dominated the post war time in Lebanon. The difficulties between private and public governance, which dominated the decision making after the war. Hans showed us photographs of the destructed areas in which he worked.

Multiple days in February

Elise, Bruno and I spent various days together sorting out the pictures we needed to use from the Per Kongstad Collection. All the photos were dias slides and divided into boxes named either *Jordan, Kuwait* or *Lebanon*. Within the boxes there was no actual system, but we believe a certain system was there at some point yet ruined due to the passing of years, continuous relocation and multiple people looking at the pictures. About 450 dias were from Lebanon and these we digitised with a dias slide scanner. On the back of most slides a description of where the picture was taken. At times a small sketch with a map was drawn on the back. Deciphering his writing was a times difficult.

March 3rd.

Today I left for Beirut. Finally!

Im going to live in an apartment near by Sanayeh park, near Hamra, the area is called Zaref and it just by Zokak el Blat, an areas that was the first area to be inhabited when Beirut started growing in the late 1800 when the bourgeoisie started moving from Downtown outwards. The area is now divided in two by a highly trafficked road leading traffic from Hamra to Achrefye in the East. The northern part is suffering from the spillover of gentrification from the Downtown area that is powered by the construction company Solidare.

My roommates are Elise and Bruno also master students from Aalborg University, studying Geoinformatics. The fourth person in the apartment is a French student, who we didn't know prior to this trip. He is a politics student with the St. Joseph University, the French university by the Green Line from the war (Damascus road).

March 4th

My friend, who has studied architecture and urban development, showed my two friends and me around the area, Zokak al Blat, close to Downtown and Ras Beirut and Hamra, she explained how gentrification had affected this area. A lot of heritage buildings have been demolished here and a cafe manager was happy to talk about this, a process which afterwards was referred to as the "loss" by people I spoke to. We passed the childhood home of the famous singer, Fayrouz. It's almost a ruin and can only be seen by looking through the remains of an abandoned building. We took photos through a window but a police officer approached us and told us to cease the photography, as this is illegal without a permit. We walked by a 1950s library and press, made of tin, built by American Protestants. The tour was meant to be an introduction to the City Debate Conference at AUB later that same day.

We attended the *City Debates 2015 - Other Gentrifications: Urban Change Beyond the Core* at the Architecture Lecture Hall at the American University in Beirut, situated in Ras Beirut. The Facebook event for City Debates told us that approximately 500 people would show up, however, not all these people at least showed up all at once.

March 5th

City Debates
The themes today were extremely political.
The first session was on "Theoretical and Methodological Framing of Gentrification in the Global South"
The second session was on "Gentrification in Beirut"
The third and last session was on "Displacement and Resistance"

Atmosphere:
The speakers and audience come from around the globe and represent different academic levels, from undergraduate to tenured professors. The audience have the same variety yet are also represented by people from foreign and local NGOs, such as Game Lebanon (which is a sister organisation to the Danish sports and social integration organisation GAME) and concerned citizens. I wonder if there are any developers or representatives from government offices present. It is a public and free event and therefore, there is no reason why they should not be here yet it would be interesting to see if they embrace the opportunity to come and present their voice. It appears that the majority of people in the audience, who ask questions are either other speakers or (at least) the same people who ask questions for each speech.

Political ties:
Speakers from Turkey and Egypt were invited to speak about displacement. Özlem Ünsal spoke about Neighbourhood Associations in Istanbul and the call for including them in policy making and urban development planning. This showed an excellent, although civil movement, comparison for the Neighbourhood Initiative. The Neighbourhood Initiative is established within a recognised institution (AUB) whereas the Turkish neighbourhood associations are not. Although this lecture immediately emphasises the difference between the urban, public resistance neighbourhood groups and the AUB Neighbourhood Initiative, which has an important role too, yet is founded less so in a preservation sense and more in the practical dealing with immediate community issues such as traffic and concerned with bringing back cultural urban practices.
Then comparing this to the Egyptian situation, one realises how public uprising and urban resistance is near to nonexistent and therefore poses that Turkey and Lebanon are lucky in the sense that people engage in the urban development, in that they insist to be heard. It also emphasises the unique organisation found in the AUB Neighbourhood Initiative. This really gave a good impression of the initiative and make one consider their initiative worth analysing. It is interesting that all three speakers on resistance of displacement are foreigners, that there is no comment on resistance to this in a Beirut context. Displacement is a huge issue here, yet addressing it appears difficult, potentially due to an ambiguity of the problem?

We, Elise, Bruno and I, met the Neighbourhood Initiative today. Maria Abunnasr from the Oral History Project (who I hope to work closely with), Dalia Chararek (coordinator), Cynthia Myntti (founder) and Mona Khechen (coordinator of the initiative as well as coordinator of City Debates). We agreed to meet Dalia and Cynthia Monday at 9.30. And we agreed to schedule a meeting with Maria next week too. I hope to be able to meet Mona again.

March 6th
Attending last day at the City Debates conference at the AUB.

This day at the conference was seen from the perspective of the practitioners. It resulted in an interesting discussion on who to cooperate with, how gentrification can occur from multiple place within one space, as was illustrated in Palestine where rural areas are undergoing a certain form of gentrification and meantime Israeli settlements are experiencing gentrification within based on a segregation illustrated in the areas where certain social groups choose to reside, e.g. if you are an American jew, who moves to Israel you will live in Tel Aviv and so on.

It turned out that there are developers present, Ahmed Helmi from the Ismailia Development & Real Estate Company, presented a paper on "Gentrification is in the eyes of the beholder". It gave an interesting twist to the debates and the atmosphere. The company has a tourism department that works with attracting locals as well to the downtown area. They need for it to be a cultural hob yet it is still lacking attention. He probably presented the most honest paper. He admitted that his company set out to earn money and when asked if he finds a comparison between his company and the Lebanese Solidare, he replied: "no, we don't have that much power to do that. Of course not". Implying neither that he wanted that kind of

power nor that he didn't. In the break I spoke a professor from the Lebanese University of Beirut and when I told him that I aprreciated his honesty, he said, with a slight smile: “Well, what is the point of him being so honest? Then what is left for us to criticsie and analyse?”

Aziza Chaouni has worked for UN Habitat and works with difficult conservation in UNESCO World Heritage Sites in the Maroccan medina of Fez. This is the only presentation that has linked gentrification with tourism. I find it noteworthy that no one else sees or pays attention to the obvious link between difficult heritage, gentrification and finally tourism. Not for its economic value but for the presentation and the availability of space for cultural performance. Lack of public space is of course a local concern yet will also affect tourism. Her approach was enlightening as it showed how dark tourism is an integrated part of some of the Medinas, and I will argue also in Beirut, where locals are showcased informally for tourists. Gentrification may invite tourists and in that may leave a gap between locals and tourists. I wonder if tourism can be a way in which those for and against city renewal may work together.

The third session today was on responses to the potentialities and limitations of gentrification. The discussants of the session presented tourism in a negative facing, illustrating with an old fashioned dichotomy between good and bad. Instead of discussing solutions on rational and sustainable tourism, and example from Bruges was used, where tourism activities were on hold for a while, resulting in hotel activity diminishing.

March 7th
Tour of Ras Beirut, Manara, Hamra, Ain Mresseih and Downtown (the souq area) with the speakers of the conference. Cynthia from the Neighbourhood Initiative was the guide. The tour ended in a meeting with the development company Solidere, which has caused much political debacle in Lebanon mainly due to the shadowed manner in which the company was established by the former prime minister Hariri. The representative from the company was eager to talk about the development in the Downtown area yet less eager to reveal the information about lack of archaeological investigation as is required by law. He explained about the retainment of land, which Solidere created after the war by throwing rubble etc into the waters to create a greater port aream which is now Zeituna Bay and the port area.

Visit to Em Nazih
Sorting out apartment issues

March 8th
We stayed in to study. I found the Kevin Lynch book on Mental Mapping and planned the mental mapping collection with people.

March 9th
We had a meeting with Dalia and Cynthia at the Neighbourhood Initiative office, above Burger King at Bliss Street at 9.30. We are allowed to use their conference room for studying while we are here. That is just so nice of them.

Questions for Dalia and Cynthia:
- How is the conference organised? Are governing bodies invited or just expected to participate?
- What are the daily organisational tasks of NI?
- Who are NI cooperating with? Government etc or only AUB?
- Is there any focus on tourism or is it in any way considered a component?

In the evening we went to a public lecture on time and space in a narrative structure at 6.30 pm at AUB, Department of Architecture. It turned out to be in Arabic but consisted mostly of small video clips with English subtitles and the question session was in English. They spoke about how to use and navigate in restricted and inaccessible space, such as Beirut.

March 10th

I got my first Mental Maps and we started planning the photo session, so we can start taking the photos of the locations on Per Kongstad's photos.

Cille's birthday.

March 11th
We were studying at the Neighbourhood Initiative office. We had to translate the database in Excel from Danish to English, so the AUB can use the information when we give them all the photos. So far we have scanned/digitised all Per Kongstad's slides in Denmark. We took pictures of all the frames because deciphering his writing on the slide frames have caused some problems. Also, some of the frames included small drawings of maps indicating where the pictures were taken. So linking the digitised photo-number with the photo-number of slide frames had to be included in the Excel-database along with the Danish and translated description on the slide. I reckon this database will not be included in my thesis, as it has little relevance to my findings. Instead, my thesis will include Per Kongstad's photos from the 1960s and the photos we have taken of the same locations. The database will be used by Elise and Bruno and finally donated to the AUB.

March 12th
I went to Shatila refugee camp to meet with friends from when I volunteered there last year. I also visited a school for illiterate children, most of them were Syrian. A German girl, working for the Palestinian Human Rights Foundation was there too.

March 13th
We met with Maria Abunnasr, who is the organiser of the Oral History Project. She is half American half Lebanese and has spent her entire life in Beirut only interrupted by university studies in America during the Lebanese Civil War. She remembers not being able to leave West Beirut and only have very early memories of the East. She looked through the pictures, which we have digitised and was very excited. Her (Lebanese) husband works in urban planning, so he is going to meet with us as well.

She is a very interesting person. It is amazing to hear the events from a person so embedded with the make up of the city as well as hearing her academic perspective on things. She could tell a lot of historical facts yet also describe the apathy and inconsistency that is becoming a predominant feature of the Lebanese social landscape and has been ever since 2005. Right after the war ended there was an optimism among the Lebanese, a belief that stability and peace in a sense would occur and the reconstruction of the city in some way aided this process. However, in 2006 when Israel and Hezbollah started fighting and the airport and the new lighthouse got bombed, a new blanket of negativism, lack of hope and apathy covered Lebanon and especially Beirut.

March 14th
Studying in the house. Went for a city walk to understand the boundaries of each neighbourhood. Went to a bookshop to find books written by Samir Khalaf.

Trip to Harissa and Byblos with Mohamad from Shatila.

March 15th
Studying in the house.
Marieke and Hala made their Mental Map.

Trip to the Sunday marked (Souq el Wahed) in Sin el Fin, near the Armenian neighbourhood. Tea with Marieke and Hala in Hala's on the balcony by Hala's parents.

March 16th

Meeting with Samir Khalaf at Nicely 201 at AUB at 11.00 o'clock. He was a remarkable man. He is the coauthor of the Per Kongstad book. He is more than eighty years old and was very happy to hear that we were working on this material. He has written various books and articles (also, an article in the Moore Collection on the AUB). Khalaf told us about his friendship with Kongstad and about how the war interrupted their work. He saw the potential in publishing these photos due to the many urban changes. The damage in the Hamra/Ras Beirut areas were small compared to the total destruction of the downtown area, which is why Beirut is always viewed as a holistic urban whole yet mostly the city is spoken of in their small sectors. And ironically, no one can tell you the borders of these areas.

Fieldwork:
We have made a spreadsheet with information about all the digitised slides. Also, a photo of each slide was photographed as Per Kongstad's writing at times have challenged us, as I have written previously. We had put images from the Hamra area including the Abu Talib area on an E-reader and set out to find the locations from the pictures in order to show the progress from 1964/1967 until now. So many of the buildings weren't even there now. It was amazing to see the development, albeit sad in the sense that when looking specifically for older structures a sense of ownership or at least uncalled for nostalgia embraces you and you leave the objective researcher behind for a while.

There were various places that we couldn't find, either because they were gone, because we couldn't read Kongstad's description or because we were unsure of the street names. In Beirut, all streets have a name, but only rarely are these names attached to the street sign, which mostly show a number of the street and a number of the district in which they are situated. Some street names have also changed through the years, yet no one seem to know when these changes happened, which makes me think it doesnt have an immediate link to the war. Where we struggled to find the locations, we asked people in shops and on the street if they had knowledge about the buildings on our pictures from the 1960s. Some places people didnt want us to take photographs, either house owners, the police or in one place security people as the number plates on their cars should not be photographed.

I want to remember all these people we met, during all out field walking trips. Even though my Arabic is very limited it paints a fantastic picture of how this area is perceived yet also the embeddedness and sense of belonging, the pride people feel. Yet these photos also reminds people of how the city was before. It is not only happy faces these photos cause. I think especially the changes the Hamra mosque has undergone are illustrated well in the photo we have from Kongstad. People were both happy and sad to see this. Some people even denied this locations to be the Hamra Mosque. Alas, we know for a fact that it is, even if the new mosque illustrates all the things people are against: the mosque is not a three storey building with a side building, which is rented out for commercial use. The money goes towards the mosque activities yet some people told us that it represents the greed of the Beirut investors. We has a photo from the alleyway behind the mosque from 1964, yet the new mosque is so big now, that there is no alleyway.

Freja arrives in Lebanon :). Ace!

March 17th
Fieldwork continued as yesterday.

March 18th
Got in contact with the Ministry of Tourism and was told to stop by on Monday. They asked me to email them to remind them. The email inbox was full, so they will not receive my email. I find it odd that they will give me this address. Or convenient :). One number on the website didnt work and one person, listed on the web site, doesnt work there any more. In order to speak with the general director, you have to email and set up a meeting.

March 19th
Meeting with Maria and Yasir Abunnasr at their home near Idriss Supermarket on Sidani Street in Ras Beirut at 11.00. They had found lots of old maps, tourist maps, military maps and maps from the French mandate time and the Municipality maps (that are free at the Municipality in Downtown). We went through a great deal of the photos. Following Per Kongstad's

descriptions as well as consulting Maria and Yasir we were able to locate most of the photos. Elise and Bruno could then point the locations on a map in the programme *ArcMaps (in ArcGIS),* a map provided by the Neighbourhood Initiative. In that way tomorrows fieldwork will be a lot easier.

Maria had a million interesting stories about people she had interviewed, which really made me understand the enormous limitation, which my extremely poor Arabic offers. However, I see her work and her cooperations as a powerful advantage and I am so happy I have had the chance to work with her. She drew me a Mental Map also.

We found out that one location photo (of an old house with a well on the sidewalk), which we had believed to be the restaurant *Bagatelle* on Basra Street in Hamra, was instead *Cru Wine Bar* on Makdissi Street really close by Basra. This also showed as quite a noteworthy point: *Bagatelle* is very similar to the building on the photo, except for the well, whereas *Cru* is a completely new building, similar to other bars in Hamra. It was nice if Bagatelle had in fact been the right building, yet the fact that it is gone shows an excellent portrait of the changes in the urban landscape, that has resulted in the removal and demolishment of old buildings.

March 20th
Fieldwork: We walked the streets of Ras Beirut again and took as many photos as we could. So far we have about fifty locations in new photos. Some photos are overview photos or rooftop photos that are impossible to take even because the area is so built up with high rises or because we cannot access those rooftops. In the Plaza Hotel in Mahatma Ghandi Street in Hamra, the front desk personnel allowed us to access the roof of the hotel and we were able to get the location on one of the photos. In the same street we found the locations of a picture with a yellow house with a lot of birdcages in the front garden. If the locations is correct, it is now a parking lot and a small shed in the corner houses three beds, a sofa and a table. In the parking lot we could identify some birdcages, which seemed liked an amazing coincidence. The people thought the photo was nice. Again, the language barrier was present as we had one man saying this was the right location and another denying that same statement. In the back of the shed, there were about fifteen birdcages with different kinds of birds. Maybe the location was not correct but the coincidence was simply too striking not to note it.

We are missing photos from Downtown, Zoqaq el Blatt and the Barakat Street whereof only the latter is within the Ras Beirut area. However, the pictures from Zoqa el Blatt has proved to be taken from our street and from an apartment, that Per Kongstad supposedly lived in for a while. It seems like a great coincidence that we should find a place to live right where he stayed for a while. This gets better and better.

To *Coop Etat* in Gemmayzeh at 21.30.

March 21st
Meeting with Maria and Yassir Abunnasr at their home at 3.00. Went over more photos. They are an extraordinary source for us. I cannot believe how well they know their city. One photos shows a small alleyway that has two signs: one with a Tailor and another with a women's hospital. They recognised the alley even though the two signs are now gone. We found a street that used to have bars and discos, e.g. the Tivoli Night Club. Now there is one of Beirut's many telephone shops.

March 22nd
Hiking in the Beqa Valley. Took the day off.

March 23rd
Today I had a meeting with Ebba, the wife of the pastor in St. Mary's Orthodox Church near Bliss Street. From the office at the Neighbourhood Initiative, we can see the graveyard from the window. It is quite a big area and from day one I found it interesting that such a big space was able to be kept from being demolished and used for real estate. I believed all the graves to be old and the families long gone from Ras Beirut. Maria Abunnasr, who knows Ebba well, put me in contact with her. Last Wednesday we went to one of the Lent Services where we met her the first time.

The verger unlocked the gates to the graveyard and showed me around. The church was built in 1860, just five years before the AUB was established, and the church didn't suffer much during the war. The oldest grave was from 1860 and most of the graves are still existing either because the families still pay for them to be maintained by the church. Other graves, or rather, mouseleums, are kept because the families still use them. Many graves have tombs under the ground where some of them have eight or more spaces for coffins. I found out that one of my friends, who lives in Achrefiye (East Beirut), still have a family grave there.

The church in many ways also works as a social entity that creates a sense of community despite religious views. There is a school and an Infirmary. Everything is build up around confessionalism. Talking isolated about either religion or politics is pointless, the pastor told me.

Search for mental maps:
I had two at the restaurant *Bagatelle,* but two at the same table declined the option to create a mental map. I had had a deal with the owner to come back, after we first met him, to talk to him about Ras Beirut. When I visited today, his son was there. So that was super.

Then I went to the tattoo shops: House of Mars. He made wonderful mental map.

Lastly, I went to the Archaeological Museum at AUB where I met Hind, and she said I can pick it up Monday.

At 10.00 o'clock:
Meeting Ebba (the vicar's priest of Sct. Mary's Orthodox Church in Ras Beirut) to talk about the changes of the area around the church and to get a Mental Map.

At 12.00 o'clock:

- Sign papers and bring photos from the AUB archives.
- Mental Map session at AUB.
- Ask about pictures from the church tower by the Medical Gate at AUB.
- Ask Dalia and Cynthia about doing a Mental Map.

At 17.00 o'clock:
Skype interview with Eric Eyges from the AUB alumni magazine: Maingate who wishes to hear about our fieldwork.

At 20.00 o'clock:
Meeting Asia (Arabic teacher from 2014) at 8.00 at Em Nazih
Elise's sister arrives to Beirut.

March 24th
Spend the day in Shatila. Reunion with CYC staff in the Guesthouse. Cooking with Freja at 9.00 before the staff arrives for lunch. Walked around the camp, played with the kids. Had a great talk with Abu Moujahed, who was is in charge of the Children and Youth Centre, where I volunteered with Freja last year. He showed all these photos from the 1980s, as actual documentation of the destruction the camp in 1982, the Sabra and Shatila Masscare. There used to be so much free space in the camp, a huge play ground. That is now gone.

March 25th
Spent most of the day in Shatila. Afterwards I went to the Municipality and took the Ain Mressieh photos. Got three mental mas today.

Meet Ibrahim to discuss Game at 17.30. Meet Charles in the evening after dinner with the group and Stephen.

March 26th
We went around and looked for the last destinations. There is no street called Barakat street we found out after asking a bookshop owner, who rang lots of people. Yassir however, told us it is a different place and now has a new name. We tried to get the Municipality maps from the municipality but with no luck. We half visited Freddie's excavation. I was in contact with the Ministry of Tourism. Hurah! Will go Monday. Most correspondence with them will from now on be via email.

Ras Beirut: tourists are using the same infrastructure as local people yet the tourist activities are voluntourism, studying or working. This area is a cultural hub for education, for inter religious relationships and for poor and rich interacting. The historical significance of the area is manifested in the Neighbourhood Initiative and elucidated in the way people speak about the area, e.g. when we were at the oldest mosque in Hamra. The photos can be used to illustrate what has been deemed important by contractors, locals etc, considering the physical heritage, as the photos show what has been preserved and what has not been. The subjectivity of the mental maps explain how this area is different considering how you use the space. Also, it shows that the area is undefined, border wise.
Mental maps show the abstract and intangible perception. The photos show the actual changes, the tangible evidence.

March 27th
Visit Sur/Tyre

March 28th
Visit Stephen McPhillips in Betroun up north. Small archaeological survey-like walking tour.

March 29th
Meet Yassir and Maria at the Mexi bar where we met Cynthia and Maria in our first week at 17.00. Yassir told us where the Barakat street in fact is.

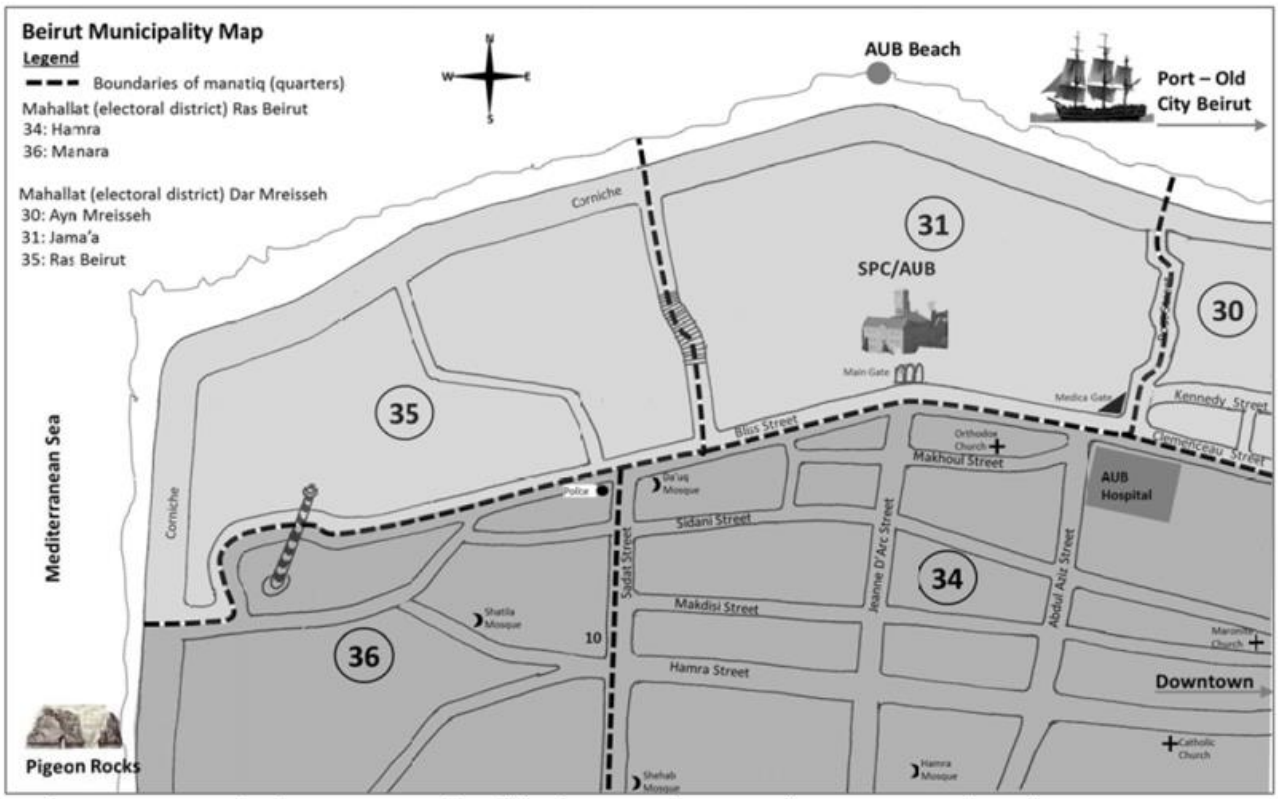
March 30th
Last day in Beirut
At 09.00: Meeting with Hind at the Archaeological Museum and with Mervat at the AUB archives. To pick up mental maps.
At 09.30: meeting at NI with Dalia and Cynthia. Remember to get mental maps. Talk about progress and the future for the Kongstad collection.
At 11.00: Visit the Ministry of Tourism. (Picture by Saudi embassy, couldn't get it as they have increased security there)
At 01.45: meet Robert Saliba in his office at the Architecture Building at AUB

At 15.00: Go to Shatila to say goodbye to everyone at CYC and to celebrate Land Day.
Go to Hala's parents to give back the blankets they lend us.

March 31st
Flying back :(. Arrive Denmark at 10.30 AM.

Appendix 29

Beirut Municipality Map



Map from Beirut Municipality showing *manatiq* and *mahallat* of Ras Beirut. Bliss Street and Hamra Street are also on the map.