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Title: The creative actors influence on Beirut's socio-cultural resilience.

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**The creative actors influence on Beirut's
socio-cultural resilience.**

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Summary

The 15 years Lebanese civil war created a quick city decentralization, and destroyed the city center that was once a bustling social, cultural and economic hub. The city center regeneration plan failed to achieve its vision in recreating the unifying element of Beirut, leaving the city chattered in all possible ways. Life started to regenerate in the surrounding clusters around the city center, dividing the city into parts, and creating complex urban dynamics, where certain resistance is evident through some urban interventions. This is the clash between the 'creative resistance' and the 'neoliberal investors'. This creates challenges to Beirut's socio-cultural resilience, especially in terms of capacity to regenerate the cultural place. However, the creative actors seem to be the centre of discussion in the creative city debate, but there is a lack in understanding the role of creative actors in terms of promoting urban resilience from a social and cultural perspective, especially in Beirut, which is still suffering from unhealed wounds after the civil war.

The objectives of this research mainly consist of developing an understanding of the impact of the actions of Beirut's creative actors on the city's social benefit; through understanding the stimulus, inputs, outputs, and interactions of creative actors in the cultural sector, within a complex context of strong power dynamics. This will help in building knowledge on how top-down and bottom-up forces interact in the case of Beirut. In other terms, this would entail looking for the facilitators and barriers for urban processes in the social and cultural sector that should advocate the city's robustness in encountering shocks.

A Comparative case study strategy was used for this study since this methodology allows examining a small number of units (Beirut's cultural place regeneration) with assumed independent variables (creative actors) influencing the dependent variable (Socio-cultural resilience). The selected cases are the deserted City Centre of Beirut, where it is not expected to find socio-cultural resilience, unlike the neighbourhood of Mar Mikhael that visibly and presumably managed to regenerate a certain activity leading to the assumption that there is a certain level of socio-cultural resilience in that neighbourhood. The main source of data for this research is primary qualitative data collected through interviews with various identified actors.

One of the main findings supports that creative actors are divided into three categories: the creative activists, the creative placemakers, and the creative entrepreneurs. They all influence socio-cultural resilience in a certain manner. Creative activism interventions are the ones that push the most towards resilience because they bring a social benefit and build a collective identity to a certain extent, due to the strong opposition of the contextual conditions and other actors. Creative placemaking interventions do not have a great positive or negative influence on resilience unless it is combined with creative activism. However, creative entrepreneurial activities can push towards collapse, due to the fact that this category is directly involved in the gentrification of neighborhoods with a clustering of creative industries. The same actor can fit in the three categories making the boundaries between them blurry. Therefore, decision makers have to support certain types of interventions and not certain actors in the city. In the case of Beirut Creative activism interventions have to be supported in order to further guide Beirut towards resilience since it is currently right on the edge of collapse, but still leaning towards resilience.

Keywords

Creative activism, creative placemaking, creative entrepreneurship, Cultural place regeneration, Socio-cultural Resilience.

Acknowledgements

Lebanon is heterogenic and very diverse, Beirut the capital is the manifestation of tolerance and coexistence between multi-faith communities; nonetheless I was paradoxically raised in a very homogenous urban area on the edge of Grand Beirut and Jounieh. I cannot refer to this area as being a neighbourhood, because it is only formed by a group of buildings where everybody is a 'stranger' who belongs to the same religious background. People mostly moved there to settle in proximity to Beirut but far from conflict areas. My Father was one of these people, who moved to Beirut city centre at an early age to study and work, and had to live 7 years of civil war in Beirut, until the point it became impossible to reside in that divided city. Hence, he moved to this safe edge and started his own family. The way I see my childhood now is just a coloured bubble that floats in space ignoring the existence of all other differently coloured bubbles around it. I used to fear 'the others' because I never had a chance to know them. I theoretically knew of their existence somewhere very far from my territory of living. Up until I turned 18, when I started my university studies, I actually met for the first time Lebanese people of my age from different religious background. It was a big shock, especially when I got to know them and realised that we are pretty much a like. My understanding of religion as a personal belief that does not shape a person's identity, helped me a lot in crossing Lebanese social barriers, and pushed me to network in this new 'cool' diverse Lebanese environment, or at least that is how I saw it. I had the opportunity to study Beirut urbanism during my studies. Here, I would like to thank Dr. Charbel Maskinieh who made me fall in love with Beirut and its history. At this point 'Beirut' became a big question to me, which moved me to dig into a never documented history, to understand Beirut's last episode of destruction and reconstruction. I started to realise that division in Lebanon is not healthy, and it has no valid reason to happen, and this became even more evident to me after I followed a short-course at IHS in 2015, and saw that 'diversity' is a strength and not a weakness like most Lebanese see it. Hence, I would profoundly like to thank IHS diverse environment including all my colleagues in particular Line, professors, and staff to make me embrace the importance of diversity, and highly inspired me to write this thesis about Beirut.

Furthermore, I started knowing Beirut in the last few years, which leaves my body of knowledge with a lot of loopholes, making it so hard to understand the city's dynamics in a structured way. Hence, I would like to deeply thank both; my supervisor Mrs. Sasikia Ruijsink and my second supervisor Mrs. Carolina Lunetta, for helping me organize my ideas, and guide me to finally finish this work. In addition to my second reader Mrs. Sukanya Krishnamurthy, who continuously provided me with constructive feedback. I am very grateful to have the opportunity to write this thesis, because on a personal level it made me grow and reflect on lifetime personal questions. Which mainly became evident after long discussions with my interviewees, which I would like to sincerely thank for their openness, sharing interest, quick availability for meetings, and most importantly for making Beirut live again.

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Abbreviations

IHS	Institute for Housing and Urban Development
MM	Mar Mikhael
CC	City Center
CBO	Community Based Organisation
NGO	Non-governmental Organization
IV	Independent Variable
Inter V	Intermediate Variable
DV	Dependent Variable
CA	Creative Activism
CP	Creative Placemaking
CE	Creative Entrepreneurship
SCR	Socio-cultural Resilience
FCA	Factors Conditions and Actors
OA	Other Areas
BDD	Beirut Didgital District

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Background

It all started in a 'centre' of 'three continents centre'. An urban matrix made by the superimposition of various settlements principles: Phoenician, Greek-roman, Byzantine, Arab, Medieval, Ottoman, and French, each adding a veil to Beirut city following every deconstruction and reconstruction (Maskineh, 2014). Today, Beirut is a contemporary city where 'difference' is the basis of its daily life. A place of contrasting religious, urban, political, and social characters, gave birth to an evolutionary laboratory. Thus, one has to wonder whether the city's controversial history of endless succession of conflicts, invasions, dominations and destructions, makes Beirut a rich or poor place due to its 'biodiversity' (Andreini, 2014).

Beirut is a multifaith living place of eighteen different religious sects, all living in a space with massive and ridged infrastructure that act as a connector or/and separator between them (Santini, 2014). Beirut, a complex urban tissue, proved to have "extraordinary and invincible antidotes in its genetic heredity, that enable it to regenerate itself and return to the stage as one of the main political and financial stages in the whole Middle Eastern areas, succeeding in withstanding the profound mutations – but perhaps we should rather call them 'amputations' – of whole parts of an urban body that continues to resist invasions, civil wars and bombardments, fires and devastations of every kind" (Andreini, 2014, p.1). Thus, if Beirut is able to regenerate itself politically and economically; what about the cultural and social regeneration? On the cultural level one has to mention the question of identity. Beirut's cultural identity as a Mediterranean city with a diverse, tolerant, modern and at the same time historic urban centre was replaced after the civil war (1975-1990) by sectarian identities. Hence, making the question of 'identity' problematic (Larking, 2011). These sectarian identities also appear on the social level, where Andreini (2014, p.1) makes it clear with this metaphor about Beirut and says, "the parts into which it is divided appear as tectonic plates that clash against one another without ever merging, that float in a magma without integrations or relations between the parts". By the 'tectonic plates' she is referring to Beirut's diverse multi-faith communities that live in the same space but never integrate. Thus, Beirut's urban regeneration after the 1975 civil war does not seem equal on all aspects. Therefore to further understand how Beirut regenerates itself mainly on the cultural and social level, one has to highlight the last episode of deconstruction and reconstruction.

After the end of the French mandate (1920-1943), the country gained its independence, moving Beirut to enter its 'golden age'. A time that reflected a booming lively city centre, overlapping all sorts of day and night activities. Cafes, bars, cinemas, theatres, restaurants, and markets of all kinds were the expression of the Lebanese society's love of life, generating a piazza of social mixity and diversity. Therefore, the heart of the city was the melting pot of Beirut's various communities, branding Beirut as "Paris of the east" (Kassir, 2010). One has to acknowledge that this reputation did not come only from the rich modern cultural lifestyle in Beirut, but also from the Haussmanian influence on Beirut's urbanism in the first quarter of the 20th century, during the ottoman age and later with the French mandate. The beginning of the 20th century was the start of Beirut modernization. Nonetheless, the real city modernization started in the independence period (1943-1970's). It began with both, the 'Shehabists reforms' and the 'Plan Echochard'¹. These interventions were mainly on the transportation infrastructure

¹ The 'Shehabists reforms' and the 'Plan Echochard', refers to modernization interventions on the transportation infrastructure level during the independence period of Beirut. These interventions included: the shoreline promenade, the harbor and port extension, the airport construction, alleys and highways, Charle Helou bus and taxi station, etc.

level; later followed by a boom in modernist architecture masterpieces around the city centre, making out of Beirut a “super-imposition, not superposition” due to its “history of super-impositions of modernity on modernity” (Maskineh, 2014). Furthermore, during this period efforts were employed defining a common Lebanese identity on an institutional level. “The National Pact of 1943, which became the basis for Lebanese governance until the civil war Taif Agreement, was constructed upon the statistics of the 1932 census. The pact’s most significant measures were awarding a 6-5 Christian-Muslim ratio in the Lebanese legislature, the presidency to Christian Maronites, the Prime ministership to the Muslim Sunnis, and the speaker of the parliament to the Muslim Shia” (Larkin, 2011, p.8). The aim of the pact was to keep Lebanon’s democratic status as an independent country from the dictatorial peripheries, and neither bound to eastern or western identity. This pact remained not formalized in writing, and became the accepted implicit guiding document for Lebanese politics. This implicit “political document in the Lebanese history symbolises the inability of the various sects to construct a national identity” (Larkin, 2011, p.8). Indeed defining an identity on an institutional level was problematic for Beirut’s diverse communities and cultures; this political system did not last for long and crashed to ground leading to the drastic 1975 civil war that dramatically interrupted the city’s growth and welfare (Larkin, 2011). This socio-cultural and political shock divided the city into western Muslim Beirut and Eastern Christian Beirut, transforming the city centre into a battle arena, resulting in a heavily destroyed and bombed city centre (Kassir, 2010). A “no man’s land” was the expression that described Beirut city centre during the war period. Moreover, the war accelerated the city’s decentralization; it made the centre’s activity move quickly to self-sufficient sub-centres around it. The mutation from a monocentric city to a polycentric city was too quick and brutal, resulting in the loss of its centre. This can be further explained by saying that the war taught the city how to survive without a centre, by the creation of smaller self-sufficient entities, distributed among the various divided community neighbourhoods, abolishing the necessity of commuting to the public markets in the city centre, where they used to meet and interact. Surviving without the only unifying element (the city centre) enforced segregation between the various communities and created an irreversible city metamorphosis, called the “war urbanism” (Sinno, 1989).

In the early 1990’s, after the end of a 15 years civil war, the downtown urban development plan by Solidere started, a private company assigned by the government to rebuild the mostly damaged area from the war: the city centre, which falls under a corporate planning system. In the meantime other areas of Beirut were left unplanned and only operating under the aging bureaucratic system that operates under the 1950’s zoning. Both planning systems are driven by market forces, but each operate with a different flexibility and top-down control (Maskini, 2014) (Santini, 2014).

During the process of the city centre reconstruction plan, ownership right were taken over and compensated by transactions in the company, which transferred all the powers to Solidere, and evicted old-time owners from the centre. Therefore, Solidere can be described as “a single entity capable of acting with great efficiency and freedom; a freedom which clearly poses questions of an ethical and operational kind” (Andreini, 2014, p.2). This single entity operated under a neoliberal political vision that prioritized real estate development and started a ‘tabularasa’ process. Raising Beirut’s old city’s intricate urban fabric and replacing it by huge block parcels, changing the centre masses and voids proportions; implementing international architects’ projects, in the aim of creating an internationally competitive contemporary image of Beirut, targeting higher income groups from Arab gulf countries. The war recovery plan designed the centre as a separate district, an isolated unit with architecture of icons, which failed to reconnect with the surrounding complex urban tissues. Moreover, the main challenge that this political vision failed to achieve was the rebirth of a new modern society from the ashes of the war (Maskineh, 2014, 2015). Which Harb (2017 p.1) verifies by saying, “there

was never a real post war attempt to bring people back together... The demarcation line got reopened, people were able to circulate, but the idea of the 'west of Beirut' and the 'east of Beirut' was still very, very strong" (Harb, 2017). The Solidere plan raised many controversies, and today "even though the Lebanese capital is a bustling and even glamorous place, the heart of Beirut is empty" (Harb, 2014, p.1). Henceforward, the result of this very polished, elegant and expensive city centre can be interpreted as an intended act of gentrification that started to transfer into surrounding areas. This was done through the creation of high incentives for the real estate development sector, which started Beirut's gentrification cycle (Germal, Hrycaj, et al., 2016). After this failing attempt to regenerate Beirut's unifying element (the city centre), Beirut is suffering from a huge social gap (Maskineh, 2014).

However due to the ghosts that still echo their thirst for the past yet but not forgotten vibrant life of Beirut, the social and cultural life started to highly manifest in a more bottom-up and self-organized chaotic manner in the various neighbourhoods around the city centre. This began when people started to look for places that they can identify with in order to fulfil their self-actualization needs (Germal, Hrycaj, et al., 2016). These places are affordance spaces, as defined by Gibson (1996); they are spaces with invitational qualities that attract certain types of animals (people) to settle in certain types of niches ². In the late 1995, the start up animals of the self-organized social and cultural regeneration process were the artists and the creative class that were attracted by the physical environment of Monot, an area on the demarcation line with a large supply of affordable cheap spaces. These animals' created new niches in the environment that attracted other animals, and soon the arrival of bars and clubs, made Monot the city's trendiest neighbourhood. This also started to attract the original residents of the area that left during the war. And after the infrastructure upgrade undertaken by the council for development and reconstruction, increasing the land prices, which pushed the area into "stage 3 gentrification" ³. The artists were priced out of Monot in early 2000's, and moved to Gemmayzeh, which quickly entered the in same cycle; Hence, displacing the artists to Mar Mikhael, an area at the end of Armenia Street, an extension to Goureau Street known as Gemmayzeh Street (Germal, Hrycaj, et al., 2016).

Mar Mikhael a decaying neighbourhood left for light industries and mechanics witnessed quick mushrooming effect of artist and creative industries and was soon classified as a "creative district" in 2006 by Gaia Heritage, which continuously conducted studies in the recent years on Mar Mikhael urban dynamics and the naturally grown Creative cluster (Germal, Hrycaj, et al., 2016). The colourful and traditional environment of Mar Mikhael was an affordance space that attracted the new affordable bars followed by the upper-class bars that soon mushroomed densely along the main street. Extending the nightlife to the streets, making Mar Mikhael the most hip area of the city. However, this created a conflict with long-time residents of the neighbourhood, due to competing parking spaces and noise pollution. It also created an economic vacuum to light industries replaced by the bars booming economy. Clearly gentrification started in the neighbourhood. Plus, with new construction law along with the new rent law, and the absence of heritage protection laws, Mar Mikhael became an affordance space for real estate developers, who soon started the demolition of traditional decaying old houses, evicting old tenants, regrouping smaller parcels into bigger ones, in order

² Niches are spaces combining a set of affordances (Gibson, J., 1996)

³ The study published by Issam fares institute in 2016, identified three stages of gentrification in Beirut. Stage 3 gentrification is when a previously vibrant neighbourhood transforms in quiet upper-class residential neighbourhood with very few high-end leisure activities, defined by new high-rise apartments with very high land prices. This is due to the fact that the creative industries were also priced out from the neighbourhood along with the population of origin, and that the food and beverages investors are looking for a neighbourhood with stage 1 gentrification.

to give space for towers to rise (Gerbal, Hrycaj, et al., 2016). This resulted in a situation in which the right to the city is under pressure and as such it can be argued that there is a need to “claim the right to the city, by claiming long-term inhabitants instead of property owners as the rightful appropriator of urban land” (Marcuse, 2014). But claim to who? To a government that wanted to implement a new highway passing through Mar Mikhael demolishing 30 traditional houses and removing the one of few remaining green spaces in the city? These events triggered the rise of the civil society to protest through activism and creative placemaking actions, fighting against out-dated modernist and neo-liberal interventions in the city. Activists, artists, planners, thinkers, academics and architects started with initiatives that later developed to become official NGO’s or CBO’s, like Achrafieh 2020 and Save Beirut Heritage. Mar Mikhael became an affordance space for Beirut’s defensive mechanisms to intervene and resist urban inequalities; fighting the destruction of built heritage, advocating for the protection of public spaces, and raising awareness about the living environment; thus, explore, test and propose new form of planning, to preserve Beirut’s cultural identity by preserving the city’s memories (Gerbal, Hrycaj, et al., 2016). To explain why preserving a city’s memory is important, one can raise the following question: How would an organism become resilient to a virus, if the memory of the previous contamination was erased from its immunity system? As it is known, a strong immunity system has the ability to quickly recognise an antigen and attack it with the previously developed specific antibodies, due to the antigen’s preserved memory from previous exposures to that antigen (PubMed Health, 2014).

Clearly, the last episode of destruction and reconstruction has complex dynamics among various actors and stakeholders in the city, putting the cultural and social recovery after the civil war is at quest. For this research we focus mostly on two rather prominent forces in this dynamic power play, which are the Neo-liberal investments (that seem rather powerful in terms of financial capacity, networks, capacity to influence policy and legislation, etc.) and the ‘creative actors’ (that seem less powerful since they have less access to resources and a weaker position in terms of influencing policy and legislation). This choice of actors is based on the interest in creativity in cities on policy level. We can take as an example the research of “The Cultural and Creative City Monitor” developed by the European Commission. The conceptual framework (Annex 1) focuses on the creative economy (creative industries) and the cultural vibrancy within an enabling environment. All are influenced by a set of dimensions, one of which is the quality of governance (European Commission, 2017). This framework was applied in European countries, meaning in contexts with fairly stable and updated governance systems; however it would be interesting to test the applicability of this framework in a context of cultural identity crisis and poor governance; because it seems that in Beirut the ‘weaker’ group of creative actors is able to resist the ‘bigger and stronger’ real estate developers to a certain extent. This is exemplified by the impact of the creative actors on leisure activities and nightlife, where one can observe that a wave of investment is mimicking naturally growing hubs, and growing to a bigger scale in Lebanon by imposing introverted leisure islands under the title of ‘vibrant cultural activity’ in so many other cities and areas, such as “The Village-Dbaye”, “The Backyard-Hazmieh”, “Gardens – Naccache”; this phenomenon is not yet understood. Therefore, if we want to understand how urban development processes are creating trends or patterns, one has to examine the role of creative actors and their relation with neoliberal investors in regenerating urban areas.

1.2 Problem Statement

The Resilience of an ecological system is defined by its capacity to bounce-back, by returning to a steady state of equilibrium, or even bounce-forward by returning to a better state after receiving shocks, stresses, or disturbances (Romero-Lankao, Gnat, et al., 2016). Another

definition explains that “resilience means the ability of a system, community or society exposed to hazards to resist, absorb, accommodate to and recover from the effects of a hazard in a timely and efficient manner, including through the preservation and restoration of its essential basic structures and functions”(UNISDR, 2010, p.13). As resilience is a concept to be investigated in complex and dynamic systems (Jabareen, 2012), the concept of resilience would be applicable to cities due to their complexity. Thus, a “city’s resilience describes the capacity of cities to function, so that the people living and working in cities – particularly the vulnerable – survive and thrive no matter what stresses or shocks they encounter” (ARUP, 2014). Unpredictable external shocks resulting from climate change, are mainly emphasised in the cities resilience studies. However, resilience will be more effective if its goal acts in favour of many disciplines, such as cultural, social, economic, environmental, and spatial (Jabareen, 2012). Therefore, cities with internal socio-cultural conflicts leading to very strong shocks such as civil wars, as in the case of Beirut, can be great examples to investigate the concept of socio-cultural resilience. The 1975 Lebanese civil war, that lasted 15 years, was a socio-cultural shock that has been followed by constant disturbances during the recovery process, and lately a neighbouring conflict crisis leading to political instability, is making it very hard for Beirut to restore its social and cultural structure. Thus, the risk of new clashes and armed internal conflicts is high. This has been verified in the resilience study for Beirut conducted by Burrohappold Engineering (2016), showing that the highest ‘resilience demand’ scores for ‘armed conflicts’ (Figure 1.1); this can be considered as the biggest possible shock on ‘community & inclusion’ which in turn scores (55%) for the ‘resilience gap’ in Beirut. This very high score (55%) for 2016 is at risk of increasing by 27% to reach 82% of ‘resilience gap’ for the ‘community & inclusion’ by 2030 (Figure 1.2). By the expected ‘armed conflicts’ shocks one can relate to the question of citizens collective (or national) identity, that seemed problematic in the past and triggered the 1975 civil war, which led to the creation of sectarian identities. Larkin (2014, p.9) explains that, “the most significant and obvious implication of the war was the utter destruction of any remaining belief that idealized Lebanese national identity-based upon sectarian communities, but ostensibly secular, and unique from East and West- was untenable”. Therefore, Beirut’s resilience challenges significantly affect the cultural and social level.

However, in Beirut, creative actors find different ways to address these social and cultural challenges. Thus, different types of creative interventions appear around Beirut. An example is when creative actors express themselves by invading spaces with public art and positive messages to replace political figures posters to emphasise on the cultural identity that got replaced by sectarian identities. This happens in neighbourhoods that comprise people from diverse backgrounds and that have a vibrant activity (Harb, 2014) (Lepeska, 2015). Or when creative actors engage in activism advocating for the preservation of cultural heritage including building considered as ‘war relics’ in order to preserve the city’s memory. Since, it has been considered that the preservation of the memory of the war is an essential part of the city’s healing and recovery process from the strongly remaining war trauma (TED Fellow, 2017).

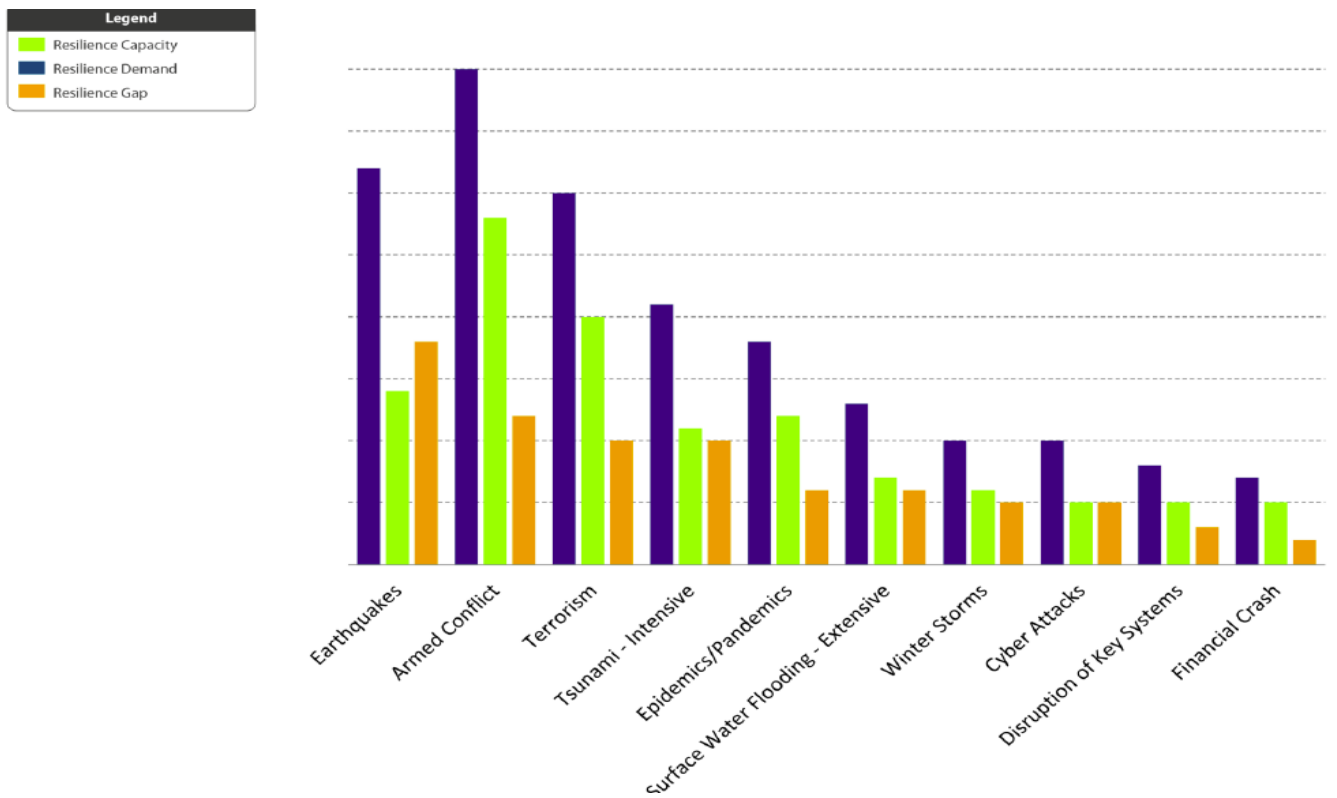


Chart 1.1: Resilience Demand (Bleu) in Beirut as possible shocks (Burohappold Engineering, 2016)

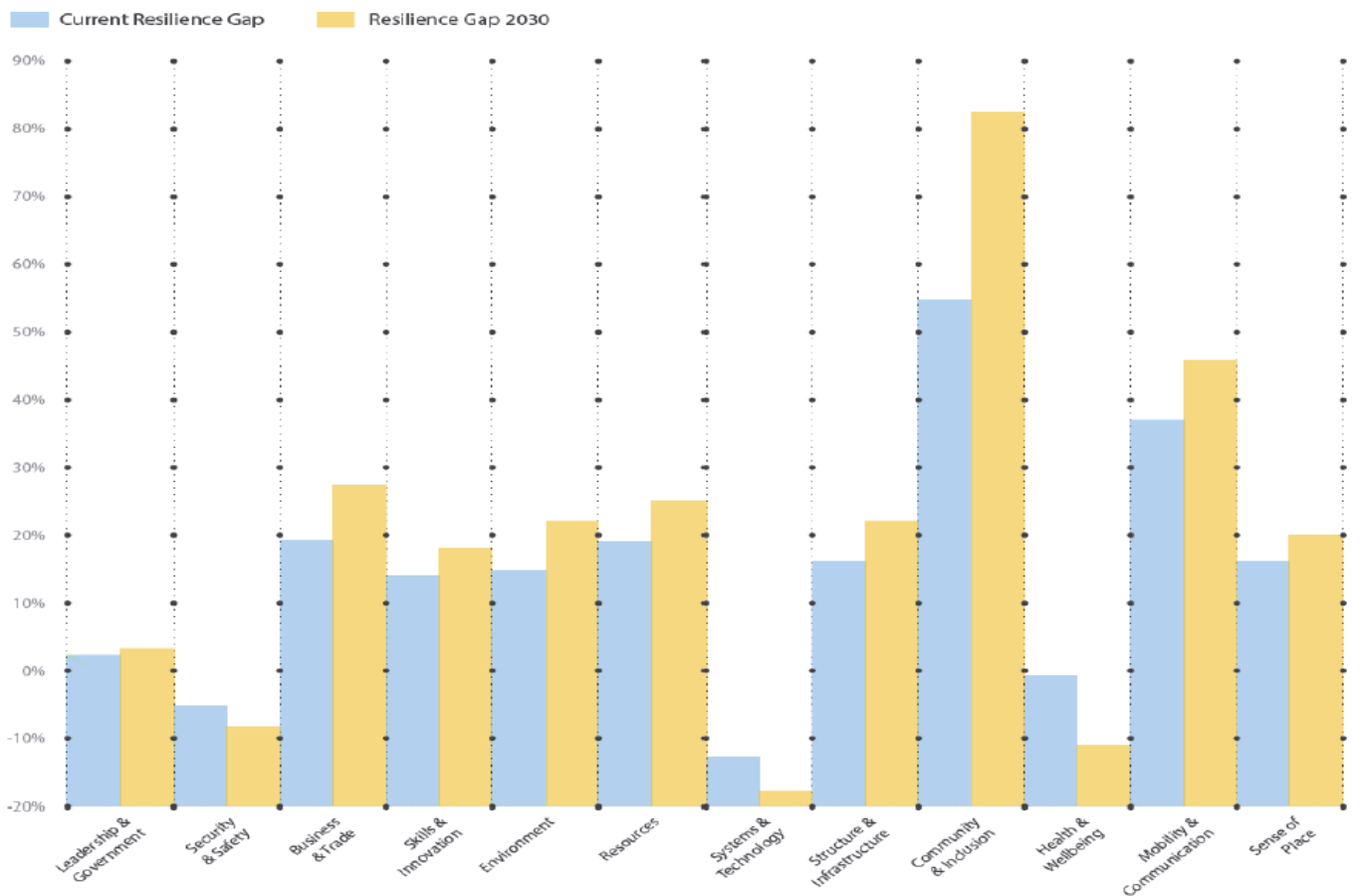


Chart 1.2: Beirut Resilience Gap in 2016 and expected resilience gap in 2030 (Burohappold Engineering, 2016)

However, these interventions in most cases fail but sometimes succeed. In the case of Beirut, the creative actors seem rather powerless against strong disturbances found in a context with a weak collective and cultural identity, strong political conflict crises, and strong power plays between various actors. On the other hand, one cannot be pessimistic about the role of creative actors in bringing change, because in some cases one can see that some creative interventions had an impact and brought change. Then, one questions the nature of support that can help creative actors in achieving certain goals, when governmental support is absent. Despite that it remains questionable whether the creative actors' interventions are always leading to a positive social impact in Beirut. Therefore, there is a lack in understanding the role of creative actors in terms of promoting urban resilience from a social and cultural perspective, especially in Beirut, which is still suffering from unhealed wounds after the 1975 civil war.

Furthermore, from an academic and international policy perspective, one would question the meaning of such urban dynamics in the City Resilience Framework. Knowing that, "The conceptual limitation of resilience is that it does not necessarily account for the power dynamics that are inherent in the way cities function and cope with disruptions" (ARUP, 2014). This can explain the implicit interpretation of the role of artists or creative actors and creativity in the City Resilience Framework (Figure in Annex 1). Creative actors can be related to 'Practices' of one 'Goal' out of twelve, called 'Collective Identity and Community Support' part of the 'Economy and Society' category. Practices are such as: artistic expression, social networks, community organisations, and preservation of cultural heritage. These social and cultural practices are conveyed by spatial interventions that shape places in which communities connect and develop. The 'collective identity and community support' goal can be achieved by having a community with an appropriate support by the government, active, and well connected to one another; which lead to the creation of a strong bottom-up identity and culture (ARUP, 2014), which does not seem to be the case in Beirut. In the city resilience framework, culture and identity are seen in terms of social benefit, but the role of creative actors in the process is not mentioned nor elaborated. Therefore, there is a need in defining the role of the creative actors within the resilience framework, knowing that creative actors called by Webb (2014) "creative placemakers" or by Florida (2002) "creative class" or by Buser (2013) "creative activists" have been a wide subject of study and debate in the past decade. Debra Webb's study on creative placemaking and social equity complements the "collective identity" goal of the City Resilience Framework, since it looks into the social benefit of the creative actors interventions, such as creative placemaking; rather creative actors are perceived as economic boosters for cities with their entrepreneurial activities and creation of creative industries, coined by Florida (2002) as the "creative class" of cities. Webb's argue that "artists develop arts-based initiatives that fully engage and empower a community's capacity to self-express their distinct cultural identity through place", she states that artists with collaboration and entrepreneurial skills can be "change agents in their communities" (Webb, 2014). Since creative actors are considered to be actors that play an essential role in manifesting cultural identity, they are identified as key actors in culture-led regeneration, which sees culture as a "catalyst and engine for regeneration"; and it studies the interrelation of urban policy, cultural policy, arts policy, and social policy. This culture-led regeneration research puts its weight on facilitating bottom-up art-led community development (Vickey, 2007); yet, the long-term social impact of culture-led regeneration that assumes to enhance the wider community quality of life, remains a mystery (Bailey, Miles, Stark, 2004). So, these authors put a lot of hope and weight on creative actors in regenerating, recovering, or saving cities after shocks. However, there is limited evidence that creative actors can really live up to those expectations. Hence, the role of creative actors is often romanticized which might be unrealistic. We see for example that actions of creative actors in 'their' districts - such as the one of Mar Mikhael in Beirut - seem sometimes meaningful, but also rather limited in terms of long-lasting social impact.

1.3 Research Objectives

The objectives of this research mainly consist of developing an understanding of the impact of Beirut's creative actors actions on the city's social benefit; through understanding the stimulus, inputs, outputs, and interactions of the creative actors in the cultural sector, within a complex context of strong power dynamics. This will help in building knowledge on how top-down and bottom-up forces interact in the case of Beirut. In other terms, looking for the facilitators and barriers for urban processes in the social and cultural sector that should advocate the city's robustness in encountering shocks. Which could be of good use to policy makers in building Beirut's socio-cultural resilience framework. This can be done by identifying factors, conditions, or actors that are slowing down or speeding the recreation of balance between Beirut's various nodes after subsequent stresses.

1.4 Provisional Research Question(s)

How do creative actors influence socio-cultural resilience in urban areas that are being transformed and regenerated in Beirut?

- How can socio-cultural resilience be understood?
- Who are the creative actors in Beirut, and which role are they playing?
- How and why do creative actors intervene in the city and with whom do they engage?
- What are the outcomes and impacts of their interventions, considering the influencing critical contextual conditions?
- To which degree of socio-cultural resilience did this lead to in the urban transformation process?

1.5 Significance of the Study

This study has an academic and practical relevance. The academic relevance relies on connecting concepts studied differently in different theories; such as the role of creative actors in creative cities, in culture-led regeneration, and the role of culture and identity in the City Resilience Framework by developing an understanding of the role of creativity of cities in the City Resilience Framework. Then, defining socio-cultural resilience. The practical relevance would consist on adding an understanding for complex problems origins, in context of conflict crisis and political instability that makes very strong disturbance in a Beirut's governing structure. In order to develop policies that can act as solutions for certain problems, and thus try to keep a certain balance of a city's system. Furthermore, this study can provide an example of a case with low quality of governance, and contribute to the findings of the Creative City Monitor conceptual framework, developed by the European Commission. Hence, looking for other variables that can contribute to the making of a creative city, even though its system operates with a low quality of governance.

1.6 Scope and Limitations

The main study's contextual limitation would be the access and availability of all the needed secondary data for the pre-war period of the chosen case studies (see chapter 3 for details). For this, some data might have to be collected through recall data which may affect the validity of some information thus affecting results, specifically that objectivity is hard to maintain in some concepts that still rely on a certain subjectivity in the operationalization measurements (eg. Cultural identity, sense of belonging). The time limitation for data collection might affect the amount of indicators that can be mapped, thus with less collected

data, less causal relationships can be established in the research. Furthermore, due to the country's political instability, the local authorities imposed a system of permits to allow students in their research studies to take photos and interview people on the streets. These permits are given for 15 days only, making the period for collecting some primary data very limited. Additionally, on the academic level, understanding power-dynamics is very complex in cities, thus isolating few variables would be impossible due the complex connective web of factors, actors, and conditions that are influencing the variables subject to the study. Plus, generalizing findings would remain very limited since the study is conducted in only one context, through a case study methodology.

Chapter 2: Literature Review / Theory

2.1 State of the Art of the Theories/Concepts of the Study

The goal of this chapter is to define and understand the relationships between the research variables (cultural place, socio-cultural resilience, creative actors) in the theoretical and academic discussion. This will be explained by answering the following questions.

2.1.1 what is socio-cultural cultural resilience, and why is it relevant for understanding urban transformation processes?

Tom Borup (2016) defines culture as the DNA of a community, and its operating system. Then, a community would not work properly if its culture is dysfunctional. Culture-led urban development is a concept in urban planning that started to appear in the late 1980s. This concept was adopted to revitalize the declining inner cities, by using culture as a policy mechanism for urban regeneration. Some authors highlight the importance of heritage in cultural places and argue, “Heritage and culture are considered to be necessary components of sustainability. Historic cities, towns and urban areas should preserve their authenticity, highlight and promote their particular cultural identity and cultural heritage.” (ACTA, 2012, p10.). Therefore, integrated conservation is suggested to promote an active preservation that includes people by creating local jobs, and respecting the natural environment by using energy saving methods of preservation. Moreover, the importance of creativity in cultural quarters was highlighted, explaining that a culture city is a creative city, because creativity opens a better set of options for the community. Then, culture should shape all urban policies, including development, tourism, planning, housing, and environment (ACTA, 2012). Furthermore, the concept of cultural landscapes can fall under the culture city concept, and it is explained in the following statement: “Culture is to society what memory is to individuals... Cultural landscapes can be interpreted as complex systems that through their capacity of self-organization, rise their identity and maintain it over the time” (Lombardini, 2016, p.635).

However, some critics saw cultural quarters as a trigger to gentrification; which results in increasing property value, displacing lower income groups, decreasing the neighbourhoods’ social diversity, and shifting the cultural identity of urban areas (Ozcan, 2015). But it is worth saying that the use of cultural quarters as revitalisers anticipated by a decade the “urban renaissance” (advocating for higher density, mixed use, etc.). Here culture-led regeneration is not the main subject of discussion, since it addresses policy levels, rather cultural regeneration is elaborated in terms of the process of remaking the cultural place, which is a necessity for communities, and includes various actors and factors (Montgomery, J., 2003). But one of the main questions in previous studies on cultural quarters was whether successful cultural regeneration is grown out of spontaneous self-organization or requires public policy support (Montgomery, J., 2003). Culture seems an important subject in the urban transformation and urban regeneration discussions, especially when culture-led regeneration is associated with gentrification. This concerns whether gentrification is a result of bottom-up urban dynamics, or a result of a top-down ‘global urban strategy’ that serves neoliberal agendas, meaning when gentrification has been used as a tool in public urban policy to direct market forces and restructure urban landscapes. Its impact will still create urban social inequalities (Lees, Slater, Wyly, 2008). This creates challenges for social and cultural resilience of cities. Hence, further investigation on the positioning of culture in the City Resilience framework needs to be elaborated.

By defining resilience of a system by the capacity of a system to bounce-back, by returning to a steady state of equilibrium, or even bounce-forward by returning to a better state after receiving shocks, stresses, or disturbances (Romero-Lankao, Gnatz, et al., 2016), one can

compare the resilience of a system to the immunity systems ability to recover after shock. Therefore, the twelve goals of the City Resilience Framework (Annex 1) are interconnected and are seen as the elements of a city's immune system. Thus, a weakness in one goal can influence the other goals. To build resilience, the goals have to be fulfilled (ARUP, 2014). The different interconnected goals in the ARUP City Resilience Framework, apply the perspective of Jabareen (2012) to the concept of urban resilience, for which he advocates "we need to build the goal of a resilient city in a multidisciplinary manner". This means that resilience should not be restricted to narrow disciplines, for it to be more effective and robust (Little, 2004). Thus, the urban resilience goal should favour different urban dimensions such as: social, cultural, environmental, spatial, and economic. A lot of attention has been given to environmental and economic resilience, but not much has been elaborated on social and cultural resilience.

Within the City Resilience Framework by ARUP (2014), culture is mentioned within the "collective identity and community support" goal. The latter states that "reinforcing local identity and culture contributes to positive relationships between individuals while reinforcing their collective ability to improve the environment where they live, work, create and play". This can be achieved by supporting a community to fully engage in communal actions. Hence the provision of communal infrastructure (public spaces, physical accessibility) enhances the creation of cohesion in communities. Also communities have to be supported by the city government in order to facilitate the creation of a strong bottom-up culture and identity. This is the scenario where communities and government bodies build a mutual trust and support (ARUP, 2014). Community support is also explained as community empowerment by Perkins and Zimmerman (1995, p.569), which is the "link of individual well-being with the larger social and political environment", and this is achieved by the construction of "mental health to mutual help and the struggle to create responsive community". One can add that to create community engagement, "citizens should believe that in order to build a vibrant community, they would have to develop a 'sense of community', preserve their cultural integrity and consider how to best meet the needs of a local workforce" (Frantzeskaki, 2016). Hence, one can understand that cultural resilience would be the ability of a city's system to rebuild its cultural identity and structure after encountering stresses. But it is only recently that culture started to be further studied in the context of urban resilience, which led to the definition of cultural resilience as the "continuity of a co-constituted set of long-term relationships between the cultural identity of a people and the set of social-ecological relationships within which this identity was found" (Rotarangi, Stephenson, 2014) or in other words, the maintenance of cultural identity of a group over time. The social level seems very important to define cultural resilience thus, a social resilience can nurture cultural resilience and then it can be defined as "the capacity of people to self-organize and mobilise their skills and abilities to source new opportunities and to create new forms of innovation as well as their capacity to act with solidarity in aftermath of a disturbances" (Frantzeskaki, 2016). This implies that it is important to building social capital among communities to empower them to self-organise. Putman (2000) argues that fragmented communities have been increased; hence a decline of social capital became problematic. Therefore, creating trust, social cohesion, high social capital, collective feeling to achieve sustainable communities becomes harder with the growing globalization and rising cultural and ethnic diversity. Then, conditions to reach social resilience would be: building community ties, creating a sense of community, and creating a collective self-esteem explained by a manner of pride of the community living place (Frantzeskaki, 2016). This living place can be interpreted as the community cultural place that represents a community's collective and cultural identity.

2.1.2 What is the cultural place?

Cultural quarters, culture city, cultural landscapes are terminologies used to refer to the city's

cultural place. Montgomery (2003), states that “all successful urban places are comprised of three sets of elements: (1) *activity*: economic, cultural, social; (2) *space (built form)*: the relationship between buildings and spaces; (3) *meaning*: sense of place, historical (heritage) and cultural identity”. Then this explains how a successful urban regeneration would be the process of remaking the urban place. In that term, and by using these indicators of place, what would be the definition of a cultural place? Table 2.1 summarizes Montgomery’s findings on the needed elements for achieving a successful cultural quarter, thus a successful cultural place: have a good diverse cultural activity; an urban form for cultural ‘fit’, and meaning that defines a cultural and a place identity.

1- *Activity*:

Montgomery (2003) highlights the importance of diversity in cultural quarters, which comprises: primary and secondary land uses, social mixity, strong small scale economic activity, strong evening economy, balanced patterns of daytime and nighttime uses, cultural production of goods and services, and cultural infrastructure. Hence, a “cultural quarter cannot exist without cultural activity”. A good portion of the “fine grain city economy” (Jacobs, 1969 in Montgomery 2003) in cultural quarters is businesses within the cultural and creative industries. The creative industries include: commercial photography, publishing, music, graphic design, pop videos, fashion, television and film. “Creativity generates new ideas, new ways of working and new products... thus, creative industries are widely seen as quintessential knowledge-age industries (Handy, 1989 in Montgomery 2003): involved in creation and communication of meaning and entertainment, hi-tech, and require a high skills base. They generate a large turnover worldwide, they create and sustain popular cultural icons and they are shaped by and help to shape fashion, identity and sub-cultures” (Montgomery, 2003). These creative producers have a particular lifestyle, they like to create ideas and work in bars, clubs, restaurants, venues, galleries, coffee houses, restaurants, and other semi-public places. Furthermore, the clustering of creative industries shows certain competitiveness between firms, which constantly leads to innovation. Therefore, a successful creative industries cluster’s activity, would involved large flows of cultural production and consumption (Montgomery, 1994)

2- *Space (built form)*:

Montgomery (2003) adopts the concept of a good ‘fit’ of Lynch (1981) to be an attribute for cultural quarters. By this he means that a good ‘fit’ would be providing the required networks and spaces for residents to circulate and fulfill their needs. He also adopts Jane Jacobs’ (1961) concept of diversity to be relevant for a cultural place. Through this he discusses the concepts of scales, story heights, relationship of buildings to street scale. He concludes that a cultural quarter tends to have a 400 meters radius, with building of 5-8 floors, with mostly streets under 10 meters width, with a permeable ground-floor level. He also interprets the public realm of Gehl (1996), thus stating that public realm defines spaces in cities for gatherings and events leading to residing a collective memory and social life. The public realm should be more abundant in cultural quarters then in other urban environments. Montgomery (2003) also explains that the adaptability is a key function for buildings in a cultural quarter, thus the life of buildings is longer then their original function. This can be traced by having adaptive re-use projects in cultural quarters, changing a building function following a certain new need. He also explains that the permeability of the streets is an important factor for a high street life that is found at least in few urban nodes of the quarter where it is also easy to travel in between. “Good cultural quarters are judged by their street life. Good streets need to be active, to accommodate and generate diversity, and they must be

permeable... successful quarter will tend to have several such streets, or at least a number of activity nodes between which it is easy to travel between” Montgomery (2003). Also eclecticism in the architectural environment stimulates creative industries. The main two attributes discussed in the *space* of cultural places are connectivity and scale. The Fractal city theory (Annex 2) also elaborates on explaining connectivity and scales in urban areas. Fractals are “objects showing the same kind of irregularity at many scales” (Batty, Longley, 1994, p.59), this implies a certain order in the fractal structure that is explained in three principles. First, *self-similarity* is an attribute of a fractal in some general sense. Whenever you examine a fractal on any scale, it appears to have the same degree of irregularity. Second, fractals are a set of *ordered hierarchies* on many scales, where the tree is a classical example of the fundamental structure of a fractal. Third, a fractal shows a form of *irregularity*. This makes a fractal an irregular form, showing self-similarity on different scales ordered in a hierarchy, thus fractals forms are characterized by fractional dimension or scale (Batty, Longley, 1994). Salingaros (2003) in his article “Connecting the Fractal City” explain the organizational structure through the interpretation of the concepts of connectivity and the urban web. By this he explains how nodes connect in an abstract way via paths, and how a physical geometry can influence the different types of connections, thus strengthening or weakening it. Arguing, in reference to Dupuy (1991), that “a city life comes from its connectivity” (Salingaros, 2003). Then, geometry influences the human interaction in the connective web, exchanging information between different nodes. Plus, Salingaros (2003) continues by saying that “historical cities are fractal, whereas the twentieth-century city is not. The city of the future has to become fractal again”. Therefore one can assume that contemporary cities with preserved historical centres are livelier than modernist’s cities, which can be interpreted by saying that historical areas are better locations for cultural quarters due to their fractal property that stimulates activity.

3- *Meaning:*

“An individual’s knowledge of a city is a function of the *imageability* of the urban environment: that is, the extent to which the components of the environment make a strong impression on the individual” (Montgomery, 2003). Then a city’s legibility influence imageability. Legibility can be defined by Kevin Lynch (1960) as the organization coherency of the different city elements (paths, edges, nodes, districts, and landmarks). Thus gathering information through direct personal experience of the space through the identification of the space elements help defining a frame of references for the individual. This process happens through time and combines space and events together, which develops a place identity. Heritage and historic areas in a city adds to the gathered information through a longer timeframe, which strengthen the place identity. Roberto Bedoya (2012), explains that the civil society is operated by the politics of belonging and dis-belonging. A person should have a belonging before having a place of belonging. His explanation can be interpreted in the cultural identity of a group as a stimulus for creative placemaking that expresses identity in space. “Places are physical spaces of collective memory: are the entrance points to transmit, communicate and celebrate collective identity in the increasing anonymous urbanization processes, characterized by standardization, anonymity, homogenization. It is necessary to conserve those specific spaces not only because they offer a richer sense, but also because they represent a comparative advantage in the globalized worlds: they are able to attract people, investment, activities, becoming source of creative production” (ACTA, 2012, p.19). Culture is meaning, and a good cultural place would be authentic, changing and innovative (Montgomery, J., 2003). Therefore, one can say that cultural identity when reflected in space creates the place identity, which is

a need for people. A cultural place would have a high place identity, since culture is expressed in space through art form. This requires a high identity capital to occur. The identity capital concept is defined as being a collection of personal assets over time. It is developed in the late modern period from previously the concept of cultural capital (Cote,1996).

The successful cultural quarter (place) indicators identified by Montgomery (2003) are presented in the table below

Successful cultural quarter	
Activity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Diversity of primary and secondary land uses • Extent and variety of cultural venues • Presence of an evening economy, including café culture • Strength of small-firm economy, including creative businesses • Access to education providers • Presence of festivals and events • Availability of workspaces for artists and low cost cultural producers • Small-firm economic development in the cultural sectors • Managed workspace for office and studio users • Location of arts development agencies and companies • Arts and media training and education • Complementary daytime and evening uses • Stable arts funding • Community arts development initiatives • Art in the environment (street art)
Built Form	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fine-grain urban morphology • Variety and adaptability of building stock • Permeability of streetscapes • Legibility • Amount and quality of public space • Active street frontage • People attractors • Pedestrian friendly space allowing easy movement
Meaning	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Important meeting and gathering spaces sense of history and progress • Area identity and imagery • Knowledgeability • Environmental signifiers

Table 2.1: Successful cultural quarter (place) characteristics (Montgomery, J., 2003).

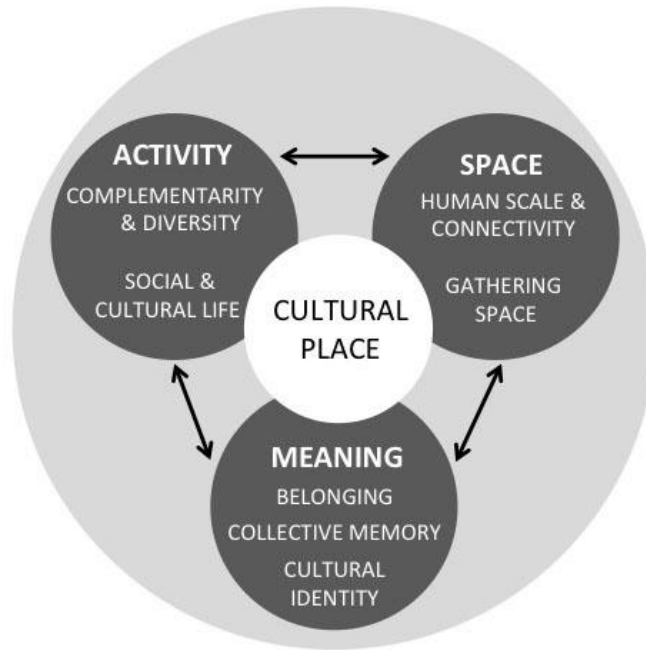


Figure 2.1: Cultural Place Components (By author 2017)

2.1.3 How does the regeneration of the cultural place enhance the socio-cultural resilience of cities?

The former sections demonstrated the social benefit of the city being a cultural place, and this shows the importance of the cultural place for building successful urban areas. It also showed that the cultural place can be threatened by divided communities and this raises a question. How can cultural places be supported to recover from disturbances? This results in the following explanation: After a city's cultural place is submitted to shocks, a recovery process starts. It can be initiated by top-down forces (i.e.: government policies and planning), bottom-up forces (i.e.: community based initiatives), or by a collaboration of both (i.e: community support by the government). Ideally, Jabareen (2012) suggests that planning for resilience should involve a considerable amount of stakeholders, such as: local and national government, the civil society, community urban professionals, the private sector, and other possible city planning actors. These stakeholders should put their efforts to re-establish strong bounds between the *Activity*, *Space*, and *Meaning*, (Figure 2.1) reconstructing the city's cultural place. In the process, social benefit can rise (eg. social impact of creative placemaking, that develops community ties), or social decay can occur (eg. the social impact of gentrification, that damages the social diversity of neighborhoods). And by defining resilience as "as an intrinsic property of a system that transforms itself passing from one equilibrium state to another without losing its internal fundamental structure, otherwise precisely definable in term of identity... Resilience is the ability of the system to maintain its identity in the face of internal change, external shocks and disturbances" (Lombardini, 2016, p.637-638). One can conclude that a city's socio-cultural resilience can be defined as:

The capacity of a city to regenerate its cultural place's structure and identity after receiving shocks, by ensuring a social benefit out of the recovery process; thus, fostering the maintenance of collective identity. (Figure 2.2)

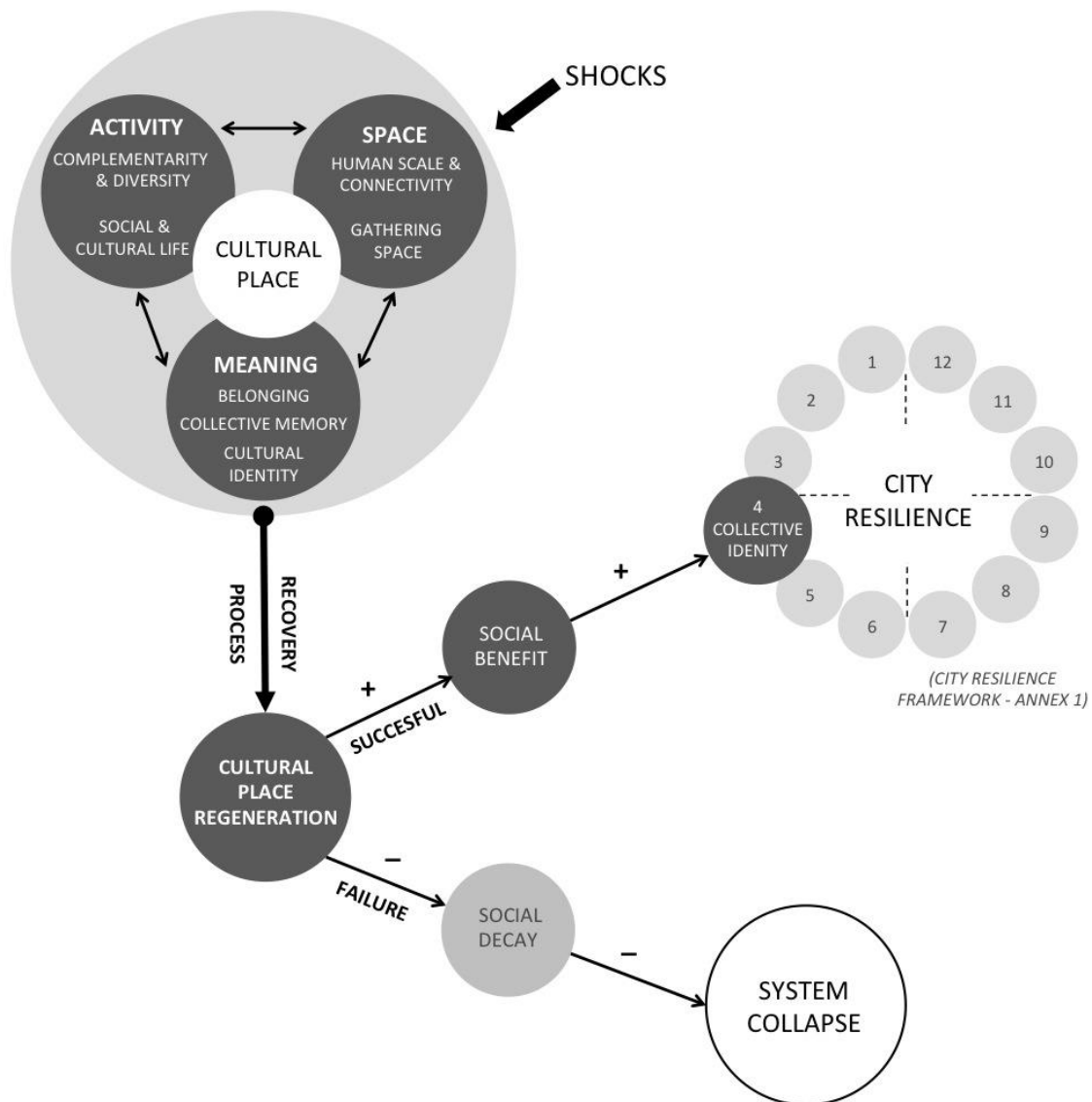


Figure 2.2: Cultural Place Regeneration Trajectory Leading to Socio-cultural Resilience (By author, 2017)

2.1.4 Who are the creative actors in the ‘creative city’ discussion? How do they influence and shape the cultural place?

Cities are always subjected to change, crisis, problems, and opportunities. Hence, challenges are always present in cities due to their dynamism, and often challenges are encountered by innovative and creative ideas. This is because creative thinking opens up for complex phenomena by rejecting all rigid logical preconceptions, in order to find out new options (Landry, Bianchini, 1995). Thus, “Genuine creativity involves thinking a problem afresh and from first principles; experimentation; originality; the capacity to rewrite rules; to be unconventional; to discover common threads amid the seemingly disparate; to look at situations laterally and with flexibility... creativity is a ‘modernist’ concept because it emphasises the new, progress and continual change” (Landry, Bianchini, 1995. P.18). Hence, one can “frame a creative city as a problem-solving city, based upon novel forms of governance” (Landry, 2000 in Pratt, 2011). But by adding that ‘creativity is context driven’, then one expects that creativity would appear differently in different contexts, making it an uncontained element manoeuvring interdisciplinary solutions. However, creativity faces

obstacles. For example, the rising creative ideas by the city citizens to their governments can be directly shutdown due to fear of politicians of incapability to meet the public expectations, thus threatening their positions suitability. Furthermore, legal frameworks such as building permits, laws, regulations, censorship can all be limits to creative expressions. Thus, in cities, it is recommended to have channels for creativity to make cities more flexible and adaptable to change (Landry, Bianchini, 1995). This interest in creativity in cities gave rise to the creative city policy (1990's-2000's), which has been going for two decades, using culture policy (1980's) as a base and tool for urban development (Grodach, 2017).

The culture policy started in the 1980's and it was mainly based on neoliberal governance that encouraged the approach of arts and culture from an urban development perspective. Because first, arts amenities increase consumption and enhance a city image, thus attract tourism, which boosts property development. Second, 'culture' was seen in terms of industries that replace the manufacturing industries, thus fuelling the 'post-industrial economy', this encouraged branding urban areas as 'creative districts' to attract the creative class to move to decaying industrial areas and revitalize them. Third, an urban policy that promotes gentrification for boosting the urban economy would advocates for arts activities that change land use patterns, thus acting as catalysis for investment, hence leading to arts-gentrification strategies. This made from arts and cultures, a tool for place banding and consumption (Grodach, 2017).

Grodach (2017) synthesises four modes of urban cultural policy that started in the 1980's and that are still working until the present, and he summarizes them in table 2.2.

Policy mode	Objectives	Approach	Primary Actors
Public patronage	Support artistic excellence Enhance access to the arts Promote national identity	Art grants Cultural facilities Heritage preservation	Arts organizations Federal, state, and local governments
Economic impact of cultural amenities	Increase arts funding Arts in growth coalition Attract city center investment	Cultural facilities, events, and urban design in redevelopment Economic impact studies	Arts organizations Local governments Various development interests
Cultural planning	Community development and participation Support local cultural expression Neighborhood economic development	Community cultural engagement Integrate arts in urban planning process Support neighborhood cultural projects	Arts organizations Community organizations and residents Local governments
Cultural industries	Engage marginalized communities Recognition of cultural industries beyond "the arts" Urban economic development	Cultural industries in redevelopment Rehab industrial districts Study cultural production and agglomerations	Cultural firms and intermediaries Local government Redevelopment interests

Table 2.2: Four modes of urban policy, 1980's-present (Grodach, 2017)

Moreover, the notion of creative cities (1990's-2000's) that rose from the previous culture policy (1980's) had three different variations: *the creative city strategy*, *the creative class*, and *the creative industries* (Grodach, 2017).

The *creative city strategy* was developed by Landry (1995; 2008). It elaborated on the cultural amenities, and cultural planning approaches. He saw 'culture' as a central element for urban development. Plus, Landry (2008) considered "cultural resources as raw materials to cities. Where creativity is the method of exploiting these resources and help them grow" (Grodach, 2017). But this strategy doesn't focus on the community; it focuses on the highly skilled labour that is a need in a Creative City (Landry, 2008 in Grodach, 2017).

The *creative industries* idea came from developing culture industries into high-tech, knowledge-based, and innovative industries; highlighting on the economic benefit that comes from these sectors. Therefore, emphasising on commercial cultural activities and job creation from culture related businesses (Grodach, 2017). UNCTAD (2005, in UN 2008) defines the creative industries as "the cycles of creation, production, and distribution of goods and services that use creativity and intellectual capital as primary inputs. They constitute a set of knowledge-based activities, focused on but not limited to arts, potentially generating revenues from trade and intellectual property rights. They comprise tangible products and intangible intellectual or artistic services with creative content, economic value, and market objectives. They are at the cross-road among the artisan, services and industrial sectors; and they constitute a new dynamic sector in world trade". The creative industries are divided into four groups: *heritage*, *arts*, *media*, and *functional creation* (Figure: 2.3). *Heritage* is seen as the soul of creative industries and a starting point for the classification. It comprises the cultural expression and traditional knowledge that is expressed in arts and crafts, in both tangible and intangible way, and in cultural sites. *Arts* comprises the performing arts and visual arts and act as an expression of heritage and cultural identity. *Media* comprises audio-visuals, and printed media, with the main function of communicating to a bigger audience. *Functional creation* includes design fields, new media, and creative services. These creative industries are the constituting centre of the 'creative economy' concept (UN, 2008). They can grow in the same area if the environment provides some conditions. Hence, a creative cluster, district, or network will form in some areas.

This proximity of creative industries allows a certain cultural, social or economic interaction, making this cluster dependent on its parts to survive and grow (UN, 2008). Scott (2005, in UN, 2008) argues that "by clustering together, firms are able to economize on their spatial inter-linkages, to reap the multiple advantages of spatially concentrated labor markets, to tap into the abundant information flows and innovative potentials that are present wherever many different specialized but complementary producers are congregated, and so on". Other than the economic benefit that arises from creative industries, a social benefit is evident through the creation of jobs and employment opportunities. This can be very beneficial in developing low-income groups neighborhoods. Moreover, engaging in creative activities is important for psychological wellbeing, since one is working in cultural production of its own society. These industries will be also improving the diversity of cultural expression by developing the cultural production into more innovative products through the use of technology and later communicate it with a large audience (UN, 2008). The presence of creative industries can be explained in the presence of creative entrepreneurial activities that influence the cultural place regeneration.

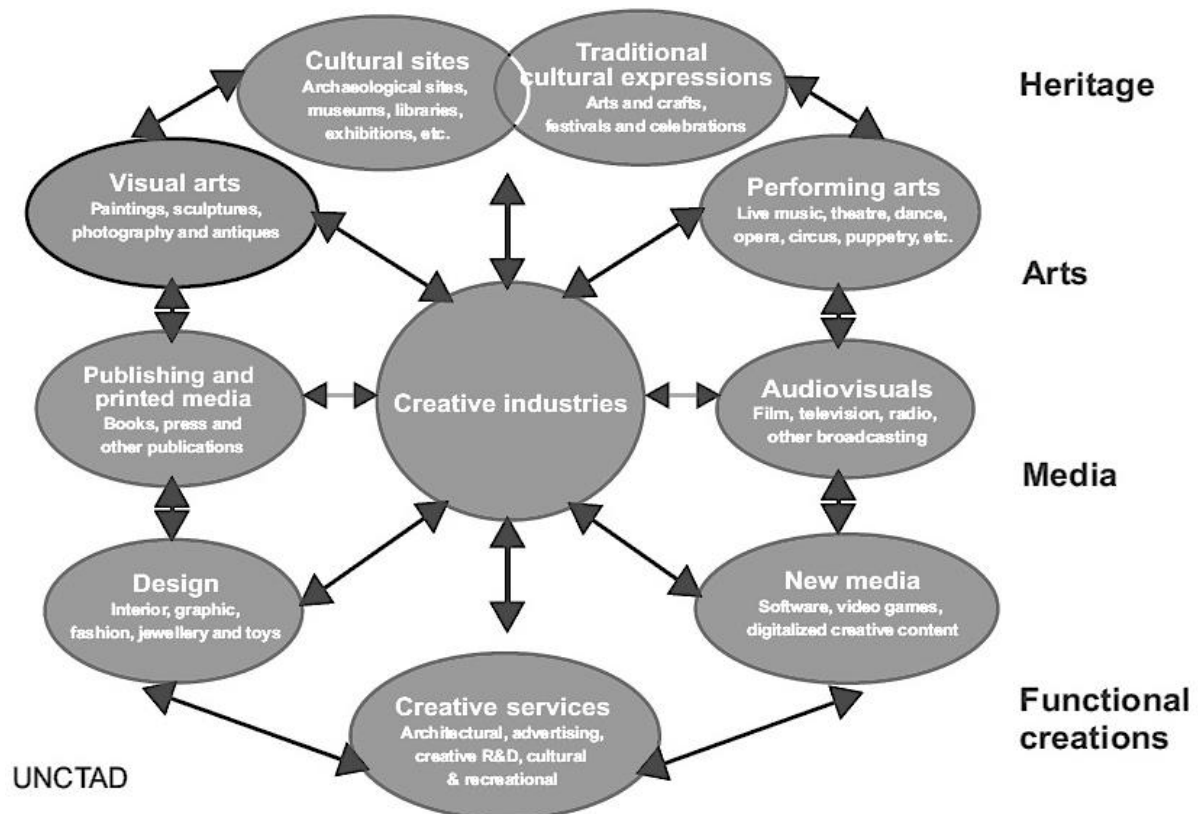


Figure 2.3: Creative Industries Classification by UNCTAD (UN, 2008)

The *creative class* was introduced by Florida (2002) after his work in the late 1990's about "knowledge workers" (Grodach, 2017). This creative class has a super-creative core that includes: university professors, scientists, artists, designers, actors, architects, poets, novelists, and 'thought leadership' of modern society such as cultural figures, opinion makers, editors, and analysts. Furthermore, part of the creative class is the 'creative professionals' whose actions are involved in creative problem solving by using complex knowledge (Florida, 2002). Thus, this creative class is made of "highly educated individuals" that "were drawn to places that were inclusive and diverse...Creative people power regional economic growth and these people prefer places that are innovative, diverse, and tolerant" (Florida, 2002). So the creative class of Florida can be highly associated with the operating actors of the creative industries because it comprises the same fields and focuses on empowering the creative economy and innovation through the integration of technology and sciences. Hence this creative class has an elevated level of human capital, and operates in areas that possess "the 3Ts of economic development: *Technology*, *Talent*, and *Tolerance*". *Technology* mainly focuses on the level of innovation in certain areas, *Talent* mainly resides in the groups with higher education, and *Tolerance* refers to diversity, inclusivity, and openness to various background groups and social habits (Florida, 2002). Florida emphasises on the role of the creative class in being the economic drivers of inner cities by viewing this class as producers and industries, and his social perspective addresses 'inequality' that can be solved by a growing economy. He believes that the traditional notion of having a cohesive community and closed society acts as a barrier for innovation and economic growth. Hence, he disagrees with Putnam on the fact that prosperity comes from healthy and civic-minded and strong-tied community, because modern sociology came to a conclusion that current societies prefer to live in environments with weaker community ties to have a 'quasi-anonymity', thus these modern societies are more inclusive since they are keen to embrace openness and diversity which advocates for

innovation and economic wealth (Florida, 2002). So one can say that Florida sees communities with high social capital as being somehow resistant to change, so resistant to innovation and development. Hence, some critics like Pratty (2011) note that the creative class of Florida is highly associated with being the inner cities' "gentrifiers". This is because when the creative class moves into the inner city, the existing residents would logically be economically priced out, thus displacement happens due to the prioritization of cultural consumption activities. It became very interesting after the release of Florida's latest work "The New Urban Crisis" where he critically reflects on his own work, and concludes that the rise of the creative class made the rich richer, and displaced the working class and poor class to the suburbs (Florida 2017, in Wetherell, 2017). He argues that the "creative classes have grabbed hold of many of the world's great cities and choked them to death. As a result, the fifty largest metropolitan areas house just 7 percent of the world's population but generate 40 percent of its growth. These 'superstar' cities are becoming gated communities, their vibrancy replaced with deracinated streets full of Airbnbs and empty summer homes" (Florida 2017, in Wetherell, 2017). Hence, he proposes solutions such as "empower communities and enable local leaders to strengthen their own economies" (Florida 2017, in Wetherell, 2017).

Lately, the Creative City discussion witnessed a turnover. The concept of 'making' was introduced moving the creative city policy towards "Creative placemaking that focuses on art-led and place-based community development through multisector partnerships" (Markusen, Gadwa, 2010 in Grodach, 2017). Thus, creative placemaking is in line with the cultural planning approach and it aims to have multidimensional results, combining economic growth and bringing people together for communal actions, emphasising on creative collaboration (Markusen, Gadwa, 2010 in Grodach, 2017). But this also does not make it in line with public patronage approach. Creative placemaking contradicts the cultural amenities approach that is more entrepreneurial and sees culture as an investment to brand the city and make it more attractive to visitors, thus excluding art-based organizations involved in creative placemaking. There is a lot of hope that "creative city making" has the potential to shift the urban culture policy from consumption and economic approach, to a more social approach that focuses on community development and cultural creation enhancing context-specific values. But, there is a risk that the "making" idea would "appropriate to serve a neoliberal creative city agenda" (Grodach, 2017).

- Borrup (2016) explains that *creative placemakers* (anyone who is actively involved in creative placemaking) understand how culture can drive places, by transforming the places of culture to a new innovative culture but that still preserves its identity, by respecting the place and the people who have been, are, and will be in the place. Creative placemaking is defined as "partnerships with the public, private, non-profit, and community sectors to strategically shape the economic, physical and social characteristics of a place around arts and cultural activities. Creative placemaking animates public and private spaces, rejuvenates structures and streetscapes, improves local business viability and public safety, and brings diverse people together to celebrate, inspire, and be inspired." (Markusen, Gadwa, 2010. P3. In Webb, 2014). Also, Debra Webb's work (2014) on "placemaking and Social Equity" comprehends 'creative placemakers' as "art-initiatives who fully engage and empower a community capacity to self-express their distinct cultural identity through place" she continues that "artists are change agents in their communities. They are storytellers, preservers of cultural identity, and critics to the injustices that stagnate humanity". By using creativity as raw material Tom Borrup (2016) explains the role of the creative placemakers that resides mainly in the process and not in the product. Since artists often have skills that allow more civic engagement for the individuals that are less skilled in verbal debates. Art is often more inclusive and accessible than town meetings. Therefore, in the placemaking process, the social capital of a community increases, by

creating relationships among people in places, and not only relationships of people to places. The creative placemakers are boundary crossers, they foster the exchange of ideas within and across communities, which is explained in the concepts of bridging and bounding of Putnam (Bounding as bringing together people who are like one another in important respects - ethnicity, age, gender, social class, etc.- and bridging as bringing together people who are unlike one another in important respects). Creative placemaking role is to build stronger and healthy communities through artistic initiatives, therefore advancing humanity (Webb, 2014); but the main challenge is in conveying this message to policy makers and business leaders who are looking for results and they always have the tendency to shortcut the process to get to the final product faster, knowing that they prefer economic development that has bigger immediate impact than art initiatives. The tendency of policy makers of using creative placemaking for branding cities leads to failed regeneration strategies, which threatens the culture-lead regeneration by creating risks of gentrification, displacement, cultural conflicts, and income inequalities. This results in the following Creative placemakers characteristics: (Borrup, T.,2016) (Annex 2)

- Collaborative
- Creative and compassionate creators
- Culturally competent
- Intend to guide but not control market activity
- Recognize that shaping awareness and beliefs is as critical as shaping the built environment
- Value and promote the value of creative processes and creators.

The concept of *Creative Activism* (or cultural activism) is not yet explored in the ‘creative city’ debate, but so far it has been used as an instrument to challenge neo-liberal approaches (Romeiro, 2016). Creative activism is defined as “a type of organising where arts, activism, performance, and politics meet, mingle and interact” it includes “ creative practices such as culture jamming, public art, performance and rebel clowning as means of motivating social and political change within anti-capitalist and anti-globalisation movement” (Buser, Bonura, et al., 2013). Hence, creative activism opens towards a progressive political approach and constructs meaning of the urban space and transforms it. So it is involved in social and political activism, and has a certain overlap with urban placemaking, because it creates certain socio-spatial relationships in neighbourhoods. It is a collective practice to the urban space in which art claims or appropriates the public space or public streets. It is a space for urban resistance; hence, creative activism can be referred to as creative resistance or also cultural activism (Buser, Bonura, et al., 2013). Furthermore, “Cultural activism was deployed not only as a means of sustaining aboriginal culture, but also as a way to make particular claims to self-representation, governance, cultural autonomy and land; claims which take on vital significance in the construction of indigenous identity” (Ginsburg, 1997. p.121. in Buser, Bonura, et al., 2013). Therefore, the creative activists are the actors involved in such mobilizations and actions. They are the ones who use culture and arts as a method to resist and contest about matters that are transforming the urban environment in undesired directions, leading to social injustice (Luger, 2017). These kind of interventions can also be associated with ‘autonomous’ social movements, as Lopes de Souza (2007) explains, “Etymologically, *autonomy* means ‘living according to one’s own laws’, while heteronomy means the opposite: external law, a law imposed from outside or above... Graeco-French philosopher Cornelius Castoriadis (1922–1997) understood much better than the liberals the interdependence of the two aspects which autonomy embraces: *individual autonomy*, that is the capacity of a particular individual to make choices in freedom (which clearly depends both on strictly individual and psychological circumstances and on material and political factors) and *collective autonomy*, that is conscious and explicitly free self-rule of a particular society, as based on concrete institutional and material guarantees of equal chances of participation in socially relevant decision-making processes. An autonomous society ‘institutes’ itself on the basis of freedom

both from metaphysical constraints (e.g. religious or mythical foundations of laws and norms) and from political oppression”.

The creative actors play different roles in upgrading or regenerating neighbourhoods and urban areas in cities, sometimes their interventions are successful and with a positive social impact, and sometimes their interventions stimulate gentrification. Hence, creative actors operate in a dynamic urban context that consists of conditions, factors and other possible actors’ interventions, which can act as facilitators or barriers to their actions to achieve their intended goals. Most of these actors are cultural producers; meaning that these creative actors’ actions, are directly involved in influencing a cultural place’s activity, space, and meaning. Yet the role of each creative actor category is not clearly identified: *creative entrepreneurs*, *creative placemakers*, and *creative activists* (Figure 2.3).

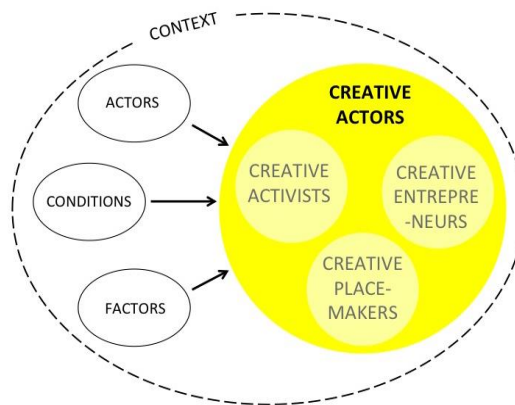


Figure 2.4: Creative Actors Categories (By author, 2017)

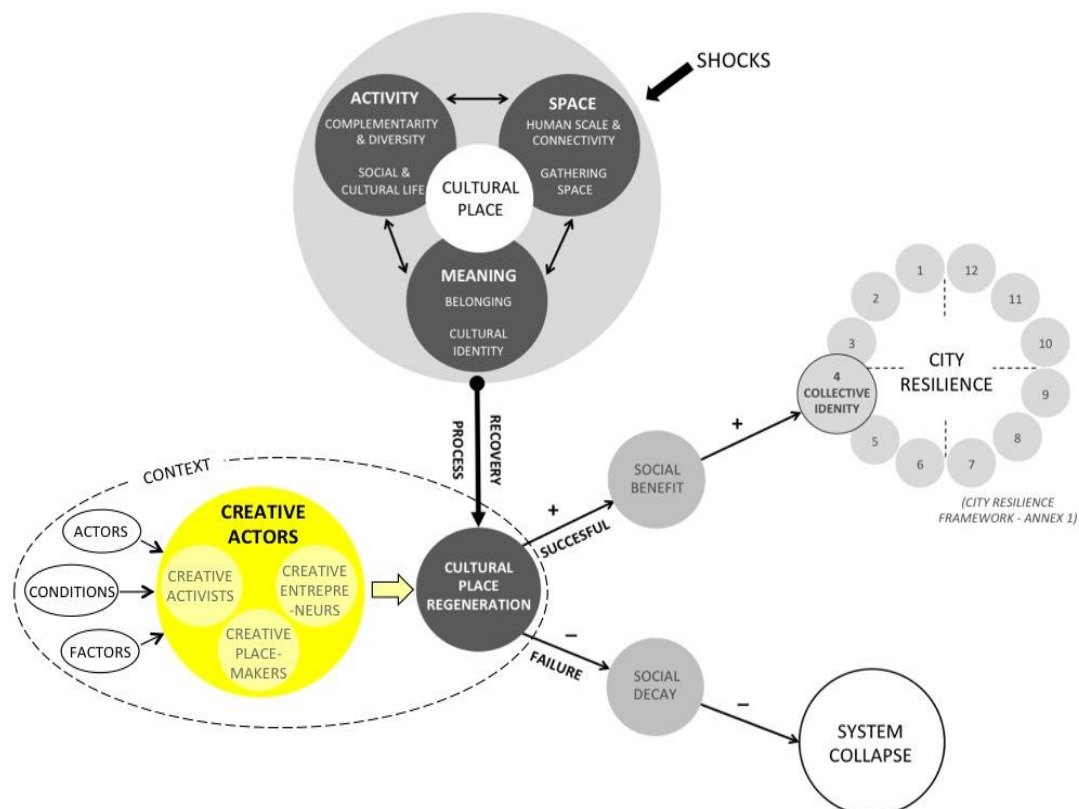


Figure 2.5: Creative actors influence on the cultural place regeneration, which can go in two directions: successful, leading to the city’s socio-cultural resilience; or failure, leading to the system collapse (By author, 2017).

2.2 Conceptual Framework

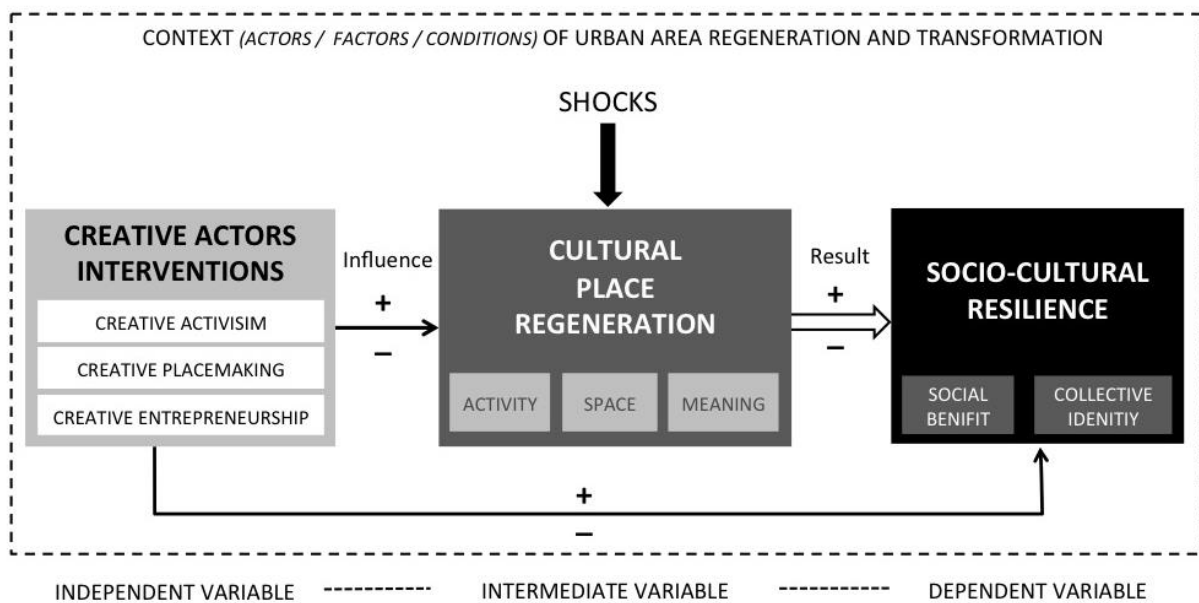


Figure 2.6: Conceptual Framework (By Author, 2017)

Defining the concepts:

Actors engaged in Creative activism, defined as: “a type of organising where arts, activism, performance, and politics meet, mingle and interact” it includes “ creative practices such as culture jamming, public art, performance and rebel clowning as means of motivating social and political change within anti-capitalist and anti-globalisation movement” (Buser, Bonura, et al., 2013).

Actors engaged in Creative placemaking, defined as: “partnerships with the public, private, non-profit, and community sectors to strategically shape the economic, physical and social characteristics of a place around arts and cultural activities. Creative placemaking animates public and private spaces, rejuvenates structures and streetscapes, improves local business viability and public safety, and brings diverse people together to celebrate, inspire, and be inspired.” (Markusen, Gadwa, 2010. P3. In Webb, 2014).

Actors engaged in creative entrepreneurship, defined as: entrepreneurial activities that rise from the presence of creative industries in urban areas.

Cultural place regeneration, defined as: the regeneration of all three elements of a successful cultural place; (1) a cultural *activity* that has complementarity and diversity characteristics, (2) a *space* of connectivity, human scale, and with abundant gathering spaces, (3) a *meaning* that rises from the presence of a sense of belonging through the presence of a cultural identity.

Socio-cultural resilience: The capacity of a city to regenerate its cultural place’s structure and identity after receiving shocks, by ensuring a social benefit out of the recovery process; thus, fostering the maintenance of collective identity.

Chapter 3: Research Design and Methods

3.1 Revised Research Question(s)

How do creative actors influence the regeneration of Beirut's cultural place to achieve socio-cultural resilience in urban areas that are being transformed?

- How can socio-cultural resilience be understood?
- Who are the creative actors in Beirut, and which role are they playing?
- How and why do creative actors intervene in the city and with whom do they engage?
- What are the outcomes and impacts of their interventions, particularly in terms of cultural place regeneration and socio-cultural resilience, after considering the influencing critical contextual conditions?
- To which degree of socio-cultural resilience did this lead to in the urban transformation process?

3.2 Research Strategy

3.2.1 Comparative Case Study

Examining the case of a subject or study in everyday life is a case study research strategy. It consists of gathering qualitative data about everything regarding the case, forming a holistic approach. It looks for a richly detailed description of the phenomena under study, therefore looking for depth instead of breadth. The case study research can be used for both inductive and deductive research, but the reliability and validity need attention since statistical testing of hypothesis is limited. In order to better answer the question, multiple case studies (two case studies) will be selected, to reduce the risk of failing from making a clear distinction between the case study itself. When several case studies are included, it would be possible to select a set of heterogeneous cases, which are contrasting; or a set of homogenous cases, which are concentrated. In this research a heterogeneous design is chosen, to try to understand the effect of the variation of variables, and try to identify variables by testing the variations between cases or over time (Pre-war and post-war periods). By creating variations in the independent variables (three creative actors categories), a proof of causality between variables can be established, and the theoretical framework provides this variation in this case (Thiel, 2014).

A case study strategy would be valid for this study since it examines a small number of units (Beirut's cultural place regeneration) with assumed independent variables (creative actors) affecting a specified intermediate variable (cultural place regeneration); that is influencing the dependent variable (Socio-cultural resilience) at two time periods, since resilience has to be studied in a pre-shock and post-shock period. Therefore, for this question, a co-variation would be the most suitable type of case studies. For this type, it would be necessary to be able to phrase a hypothesis and to have control of other variables. This can be done on theoretical grounds in order to establish and test possible causal relationships between the variables (Blatter, Blume, 2008).

Hypothesis:

- 1- *The cultural place of Beirut did not regenerate the same previous rich structure and characteristics of the golden age period, after the 1975 civil war.*
- 2- *The creative activism and creative placemaking interventions push towards socio-cultural resilience in Beirut, unlike the creative entrepreneurial activities that tend to bring a social decay to the social fabric of neighborhoods.*

3.2.2 Area Sampling

The cases sampling for the comparative case study is as follows: Mar Mikhael neighborhood in comparison with Beirut's city center (Solidere area) in the post-war period (1999 – 2017), and reflect on the pre-war period golden age (1950's-1960's)

Non-probability sampling is more adequate for the cases selection, in order to have a greater possibility of finding answers to the research question. Moreover, quota sampling is used for the selection of case studies to make sure that a sufficient number of samples are to be studied in order to answer the research question. This minimum required sample for the research is also chosen upon purposive sampling. Knowing the background of that research, the cases were chosen according to an assumption that in one case, it is expected to find Socio-cultural resilience (Mar Mikhael Neighborhood, as a lively and creative district that operates under the outdated bureaucratic zoning planning system), and the other case is contrasting (the ghostly city center after the regeneration plan, that operates under the corporate planning system). Hence the cultural place in the city center in pre-war and post-war periods will be evaluated and later compared to the new appearance of cultural activity in Mar Mikhael.

Considering Beirut's rapid urbanization and the city expansion, a reflection on the cultural place of the pre-war period would be made, by comparing the city center in the pre-war period to the city center and Mar Mikhael neighborhood in the post-war period.

	Case 1 Mar Mikhael Neighborhood	Case 2 Beirut City Center
Time A Pre-war 1950's - 1975	/	Rich Cultural Place
Time B Post-war 1999 - 2017	Poor Cultural Place? Socio-cultural resilience?	Rich Cultural Place? Socio-cultural resilience?

Table 3.1: Cases studies selection (heterogeneous set)

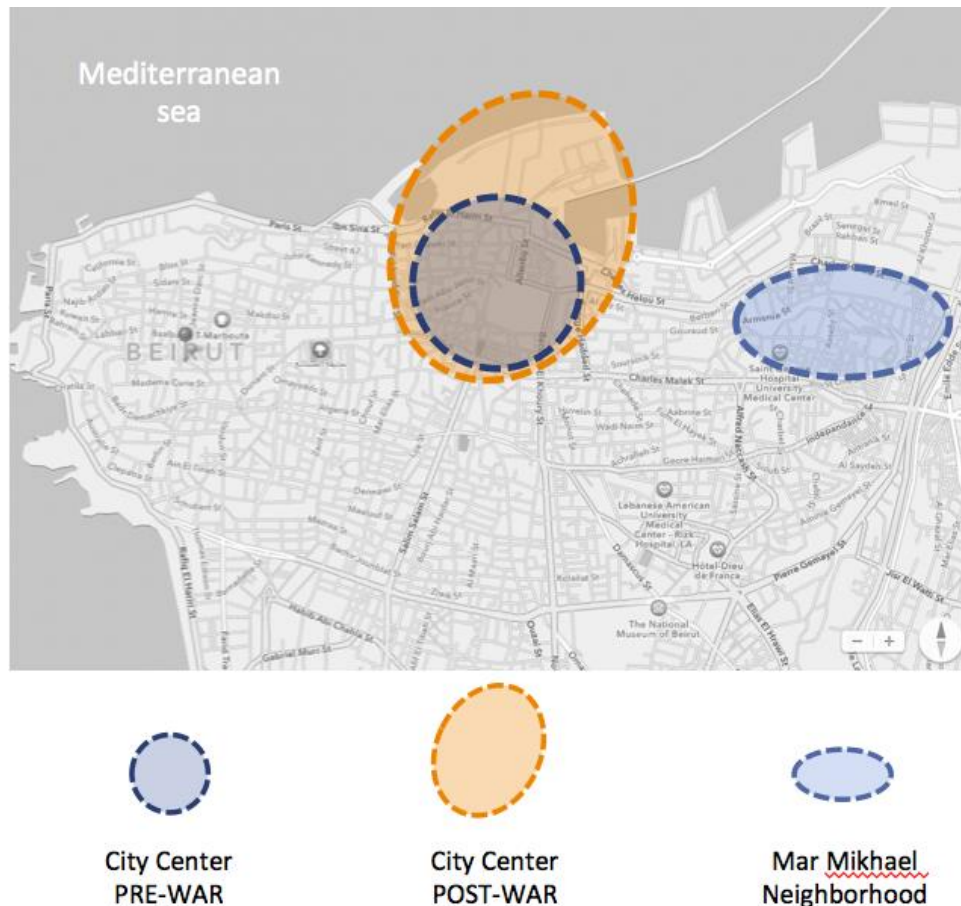


Figure 3.1.1: Case studies location on Beirut map

3.2.3 Validity and Reliability

The main challenges of this strategy are in attaining validity and reliability. Knowing that it is uneasy to establish a relation between theory and case study findings, and then it would not be possible to generalize the findings to other situations. This affects the external validity of a case study that remains too limited, in contrast with the internal validity that is high in case studies due to a large amount of information that was collected and analyzed on that specific case. The issue of improving the validity of the research can be addressed by triangulating the data, meaning collecting data through different operationalization methods. The mixed method design consists of combining methods such as primary qualitative data (observations, and conducted interviews), with qualitative and quantitative secondary data (content analysis of documents, and previous interviews). Moreover, presenting the findings to experts for reviewing is an extra form of control that enhances internal validity.

Furthermore, the open design of a case study affects the reliability of the research, this matter can be addressed by being very transparent and reporting every step of the research, thus creating a database. This means that a systematic manner of data collection will be used creating a case study protocol for both cases. Plus, the reliability of the research can be improved also by the amount of selected units for the study, and their comparative relevance (Thiel, 2014).

Internal validity is threatened by the existence of other factors such as political instability that might affect the relationship between variables. But this can be overcome by applying an adequate and consistent operationalization between different periods of time. As for the external validity, culture is very context specific and might be hard to generalize the findings, plus culture changes over time within the same context, which might make it hard to develop a sound set of measurement instruments between different periods of time to trace resilience.

3.3 Operationalization: Variables, Indicators

Each variable is operationalized according to its theoretical definition. Thus mapping the cultural place (intermediate variable) of both case studies is a part from the operationalization of socio-cultural resilience (dependent variable). Hence, after mapping the cultural place indicators in the case studies, its analysis would verify with the indicators' of socio-cultural resilience, that are also mapped through primary qualitative data.

3.3.1 Creative Actors Interventions Indicators (Independent Variable)

Definition: Actors involved in creative fields like arts, crafts, and design; who intervene in the city individually or within groups (community initiatives, community organizations, collectives). These actors interventions can be classified into three groups: Creative Entrepreneurs, creative placemaking, and creative activism as defined in section 2.2.

Table 3.3.1 Creative actors interventions operationalization

Concept	Definition	Indicators	Value
Creative actors interventions' categories	Creative activism	Resistance to Neoliberal and capitalists interventions	Expressed in an intervention
		Activities showing objection or certain resistance to social, cultural or political urban issues.	Successful/ perceived by audience / engagement
		Public art installations, street art, and public performances with awareness messages.	Successful / perceived by audience
		Art activism events (protests / cultural jamming), related to cultural heritage and arts	Successful / Participation of the civil society
		Talks and conferences tackling urban matters	Successful / Attendance
		Awareness campaigns	Successful / Attendance
	Creative placemaking	Public events	Successful / Attendance
		Workshops (professional and public)	Successful / Attendance
		Placemaking in a physical intervention, involving community members	Successful / Attendance / Collaboration of actors
	Creative entrepreneurship	Cultural consumption and production in the: heritage layer / arts layer / media layer / functional creation (Figure 2.3)	Presence

3.3.2 Cultural Place Indicators (Intermediate Variables)

Definition: A successful cultural place would consist of having: (1) a complementary and diverse cultural and social **activity**, (2) a human scale **space** with strong connectivity and abundant public gathering spaces, (3) a **meaning** translated in cultural identity and sense of community belonging.

Concept	Definition	Indicators	Value
Cultural place regeneration	Meaning	Public collective gathering	Presence/usage
		Types of activity in public spaces	Cultural / political / economic / Social
		Architectural built heritage	Value to residents Cultural identity
		Environmental signifiers	Landmarks / reference points in space
		Sense of belonging	Presence of collective memory elements
	Activity	Land use	Diverse
		Social mixity and diversity	Affordable housing / different social classes
		Firm size	Small scale economy
		Cultural infrastructure and amenities (Exhibition spaces / theatres / cinemas, art shops, and cultural production)	Presence/ Users
		Evening economy	Presence
		Patterns of Day-time and night-time use	Complementarity in usage
		Festivals and events	Scale / type
		Artists gathering spaces	Type (public spaces / indoor / outdoors/ private spaces / consumption spaces like cafes and bars)
		Public/ private activities	Complementarity
	Space	Accessibility and permeability of streetscapes and public spaces	Good connectivity / Hierarchy of scales

		Buildings adaptive re-use	Presence
		Architectural heritage	Condition / preservation
		Eclectic architecture	Presence
		Ground-floor level use	Contribute to street activity
		Amount, type and quality of public spaces (nodes)	Maintained/ very used/ shaded areas/ users residency location
		Density and block size	Human scale
		Competing paths over the same space	Overlap of car, pedestrian, bike circulation
		Clustering of activities	Mushrooming, condensed, spread

Table 3.3.2: Cultural place regeneration operationalization

3.3.3 Socio-cultural Resilience Indicators (Dependent Variable)

Definition: *The capacity of a city to regenerate its cultural place's structure and identity after receiving shocks, by ensuring a social benefit out of the recovery process; thus, fostering the maintenance of collective identity.*

Concept	Definition	Indicators	Value
Socio-cultural resilience	Collective Identity	Cultural place structure in pre-shock and post-shock period	Similarity in forms, content, characteristics
		Place identity	Maintenance of memory
		Diversity	Tolerance
		Collective meaning among groups	Presence / engagement
	Social benefit	Social mixity	Gentrification impact
		Preserved social fabric	Social consciousness
		Trust between civil society and government	Presence
		Social cohesion, community ties, and engagement	Presence

Table 3.3.3: Socio-cultural resilience operationalization

NB: Socio-cultural resilience indicators are analytical. Meaning that they are the analysis outcomes of the cultural place indicators. To validate the analysis findings, professionals and academics will be asked questions concerning these indicators.

3.4 Data Collection Methods

The data will be collected through different methods. However, the mainly the research will rely on primary qualitative data collection, that will be done mainly through interviews. The interviews actors sampling can be found in Annex 3. Plus, sources of secondary data that were used in addition to the primary data collected are mentioned in the same table in Annex 3.

3.4.1 Secondary quantitative data collection:

- **Statistical data from 2007 until 2014:** creative cluster of Mar Mikhael
 - o Amount of creative activities in comparison with recreational activities
 - o New openings of creative activities in comparison with new opening of recreational activities per year
 - o Housing price / m2 from 2007 to 2014
 - o Classification and division (%) of the Design, Crafts, and supporting industries of Mar Mikhael
 - o Housing type and categories

3.4.2 Secondary qualitative data collection: (specified per actor in Annex 3)

- **Content analysis:** to time save on mapping
- **Secondary data analysis:** Maps, books, records, journal articles, social media

3.4.3 Primary qualitative data collection:

- **Mapping:** location of cultural manifestation patterns in space, and cultural infrastructure
- **Observations:** forms of cultural manifestation in space
- **Interviews:** semi-structured interviews (Actors sampling can be found in Annex 3)
 - o Creative Actors (CBO's & NGO's involved in arts and cultural activities, independent activists, artists & designers, street artists, owners of workshops and art galleries)
 - o Academics / Professionals
 - o Governmental body (Expert at the Ministry of Culture)
 - o Investors (bars and café owners)
 - o Residents / tenants / users

3.4.4 Triangulation: to enhance reliability and validity.

For each case study, triangulation is made on the level of gathering different data sources for the same data, and with different research methods (further details are explained in the diagrams below). As for the socio-cultural resilience concept, triangulation is made also on the operationalization phase, where Socio-cultural resilience will be measure through its developed indicators with a comparison to the analysis outcomes of the cultural place measurements taken for each case study at different time periods.

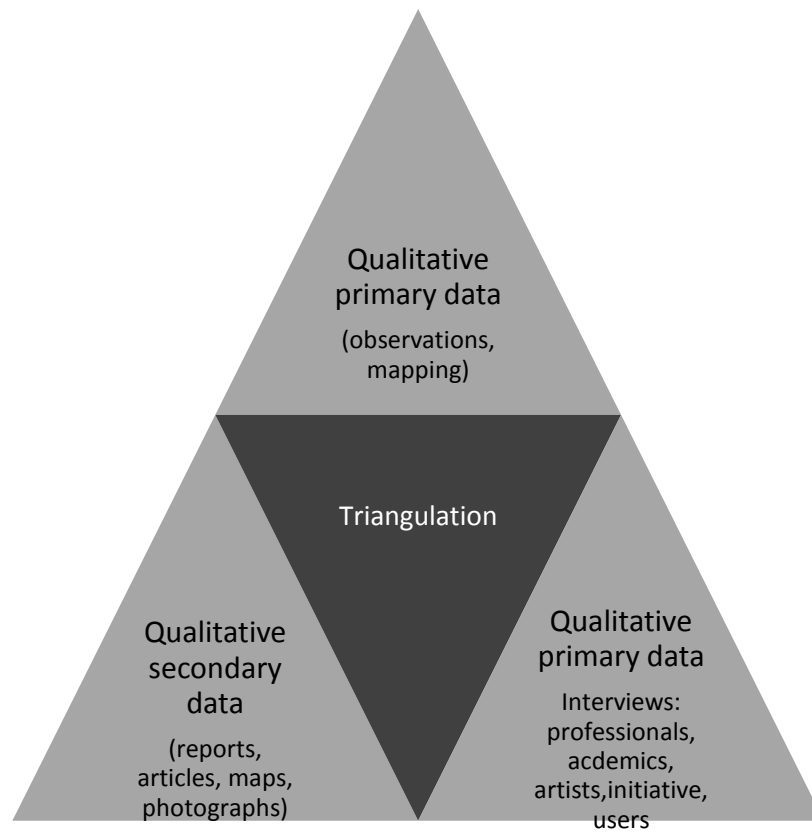


Figure 3.4.1: **Case 1** Mar Mikhael

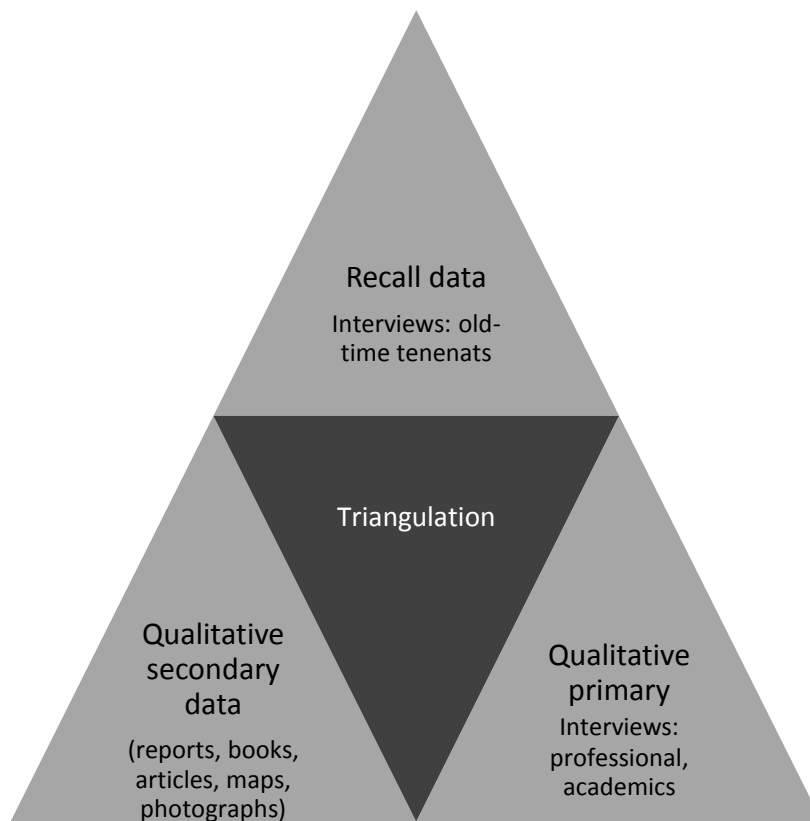


Figure 3.4.2: **Case 2** Pre-war period of City Centre

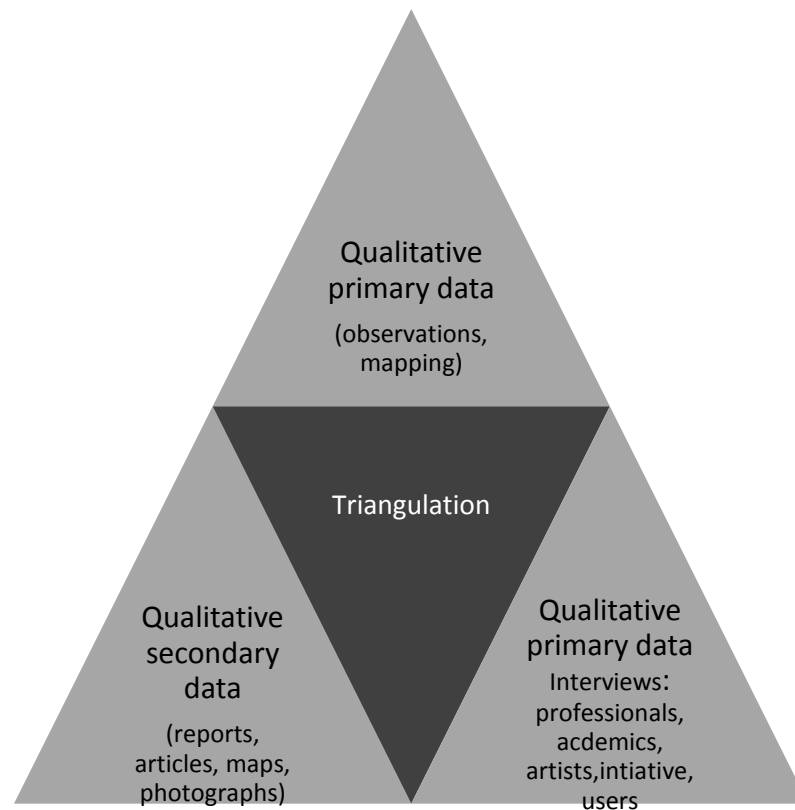


Figure 3.4.3: **Case 2 Post-war** period of City Centre

3.5 Data Analysis Methods

Atlas Ti will be used for the data analysis phase are for processing qualitative primary and secondary data.

The indicators of the creative actors will be used to classify their interventions into the three categories (creative activism / creative placemaking / creative Entrepreneurs). The interventions impacts on the cultural place regeneration will be done by the use of the cultural place indicators. Hence, the result will be later evaluated according to the socio-cultural resilience indicators. Thus, identifying the role of the creative actors in the creation of the post-war cultural place, and their influence on socio-cultural resilience. Furthermore, to identify the strength and weaknesses of the creative actors that are influencing their role in the recreation of the socio-cultural place, will help identifying other possible variables that can influence socio-cultural resilience.

This process of analysis will be conducted in the steps below:

Step 1: After transcribing all the conducted interviews, the interviews of the creative actors were analysed following the table below. Sometimes secondary data has been used to complete some parts in the table that was not covered in the interviews.

Motivations	Objectives / goals	Interventions	Collaboration network	Impacts	Challenges (weaknesses) /Support (strength)
Stimulus factors that mobilized the creative actors	Response strategy to the Stimulus factor	Use the ‘creative actors’ <i>indicators</i> to classify the interventions into the 3 categories: Creative activism (CA) Creative placemaking (CP) Creative Industries (CI)	Network of interaction with other actors and communication means with the targeted community	Impacts are divided into: Social Cultural Economic Environmental Governmental To identify the interventions impacts that lead to Socio-cultural resilience	Factors, conditions, other actors behaviours that can support or challenge the creative actors in achieving their goals by completing their interventions

Table 3.5.1: Creative actors analysis table

Step 2: The creative actors’ analytical tables were coded on Atlas Ti, with the ‘cultural place’ indicators and ‘socio-cultural resilience’ indicators (as operationalized in section 3.3.3 and 3.3.4), for both case studies in the post-war period. This will allow seeing what kinds of interventions have resulted in what kind of cultural place and socio-cultural resilience outcomes (Annex 5: codes list per codes groups report).

Step 3: The codes were analysed to establish relationships between Independent Variable (IV) → Intermediate Variable (Inter V) (Step a: Creative actors interventions → Cultural place regeneration), then with Intermediate Variable (Inter V) → Dependent Variable (DV) (Step b: Cultural place regeneration → Socio-cultural resilience). Therefore establishing the relationship of Independent Variable (IV) → Dependent Variable (DV) (Creative actors intervention → Socio-cultural resilience). This was conducted on both case studies in the post-war period per interventions. Plus the interventions were divided into the three creative actors categories resulting in the table 3.5.2 below.

		Case 1 Mar Mikhael Neighbourhood		Case 2 Beirut City Centre	
A	Creative activists	A1-a	A1-b	A2-a	A2-b
		IV → Inter V	Inter V → DV	IV → Inter V	Inter V → DV
B	Creative placemakers	B1-a	B1-b	B2-a	B2-b
		IV → Inter V	Inter V → DV	IV → Inter V	Inter V → DV
C	Creative industries	C1-a	C1-b	C2-a	C2-b
		IV → Inter V	Inter V → DV	IV → Inter V	Inter V → DV

Table 3.5.2: Step 3 of the data analysis method

Step 4: The established relationships between IV → Inter V → DV were triangulated, by coding the transcribed conducted interviews with the professionals, academic, residents, and space users along with observations, mapping, and content analysis.

Step 5: The influence of every chosen intervention on socio-cultural resilience was quantified, by scoring (++) (+) (0) (-) (- -) in the summary tables (further details about the method of this step are provided in chapter 4)

Note: The scores meaning and use are further explained in chapter 4 (box 4.3.2)

Step 6: The identified factors, actors and conditions that influence the creative actors interventions to achieve socio-cultural resilience were also quantified; this was done also done by scoring (++) (+) (0) (-) (- -) per intervention in the summary tables. (further details about the method of this step are provided in chapter 4)

Step 7: The scores are summed-up in a scoring table to conclude on Beirut's socio-cultural resilience degree by drawing scales: scales per creative actors categories (CA, CP, CE), scales per case study (Case 1, Case 2), and a conclusion scale.

Note: Further details about the calculations are provided in chapter 4, to explain the scoring of table 4.6.

Step 8: The scores were interpreted in relation to the qualitative analysis findings to conclude on the analysis findings.

Fieldwork update

The collected data during the fieldwork showed some relevant interventions on Beirut's city scale, which are not only limited to the context of the selected cases: case 1 and case 2. Therefore, to enhance the validity of findings on the scale of Beirut, some other relevant interventions in Beirut were selected in addition to the selected interventions for both case studies. The additional selected interventions were analysed and integrated into the findings of chapter 4 under section 4.5.

Box 3.5.1: Fieldwork update on interventions selection

Chapter 4: Research Findings

4.1 Case studies introduction

The 1975 civil war mostly destroyed the city center of Beirut that was considered the unifying element of the diverse multi-faith community of Beirut (Interview Sino, 2017). After the civil war, no body took the initiative to start building the best for the society that was fragmented. A single visionary implemented a regeneration plan to the city center, in the hope of reviving the entire city economy through the revitalization of the city centers economy. This neoliberal approach to urban revitalization and adoption of tabularaza processes was the reason behind the aggressive gentrification of the city center, which resulted in a second destruction to the city center first destruction by the war (Interview Maskini, 2017).

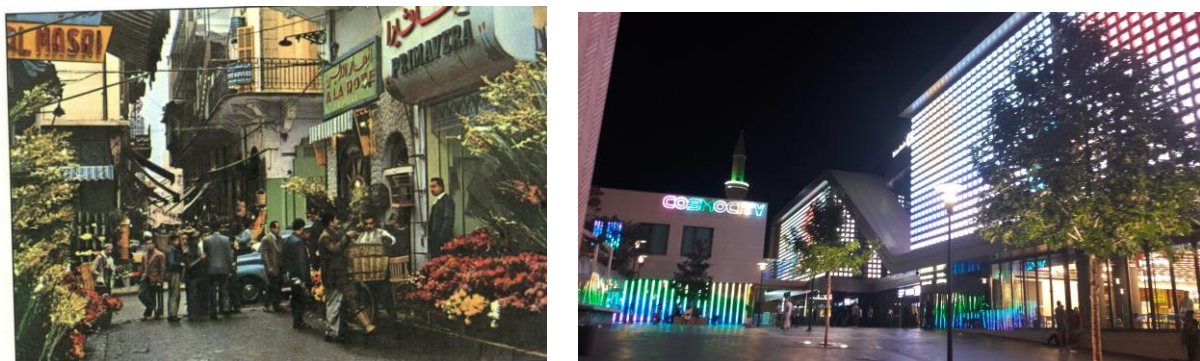
The golden age the city center and Hamra, were a reflection of economical hubs built by the society itself. The difference today is that the society is not participating in the economy. In the city center Solidere is managed by Solidere, everything that a citizen wants to do he has to refer to Solidere. This was not the case in the golden age of Beirut. Back then everyone was contributing to the economy of the city center, and this what made the economy in line with the social and cultural layer, because it was integrated. This is observed today in Mar Mikhael that is growing by points, like mushrooms. “Now we have the hay days of Mar Mikhael but not on a national scale, but still it can be considered as one of the alternatives for the city center” (Interview Maskini, 2017).

The perception of many Beiruties to the Solidere plan is similar to the Saint George Hotel owner perception, the only owner in the city centre that refused to give-up his ownership to be demolished and replaced by one of that series of towers that invaded the Saint George bay to become Zeytounay Bay. Once a public space and witness to Beirut glorious age, privatized today by the development firm, and transformed into an upper class consumerist place. The Saint George Hotel, a masterpiece of the French colonial architecture built in 1932, is part of Beirut heritage, not only for its architectural value but also for it being a witness to the glorious and drastic events in Beirut’s history. The hotel is “named after the legendary hero who slew the dragon terrorizing its shores”, and now ‘The Saint George’ is facing a ‘David and Goliath’ battle against the attack by “the corporate monster Solidere”, as described by the owner (Saint George Vs The Dragon, 2015). Furthermore, Nadia Bdeir, an independent activist that started “Save the EGG” online campaign, explains the importance of preserving the city memory by saying, “it is like a person who has a photo album, and every year he takes a new photo of himself, and instead of putting it next to his previous year photo, he puts it on top of it. At the end of his life, he opens that album and he only see one photo of what he looks like now. So what would be the purpose of the photo album then, if it doesn’t recall his memories of his own past? Forgetting your memories, means forgetting who you are. Thus, you loose your identity” (Merheb, 2009). Solidere is accused by the Beiruties by erasing the memory of the historic center of Beirut. However, Robert Saliba argue, that the medieval core of Beirut was raised during the late ottoman and French mandate period, and that the city modernization was superimposed before the independence period modernization started, leaving only colonial and modern above ground, and the medieval centre remained underground to be later found in archaeological ruins. Therefore, Saliba considers Beirut as French colonial creation with No dual identity of coexistence between a historic core and modern centre (Santitni, 2014). But still this does not justify the design strategies that Solidere implemented in terms of ruins preservation (Photograph 4.1.1 & 4.1.2). Furthermore, Sino (interview, 2017) confirms that a large amount of the buildings in the city centre were recoverable after the war, specially the souks (Public markets) that used to nurture the social and cultural life of the city centre, and

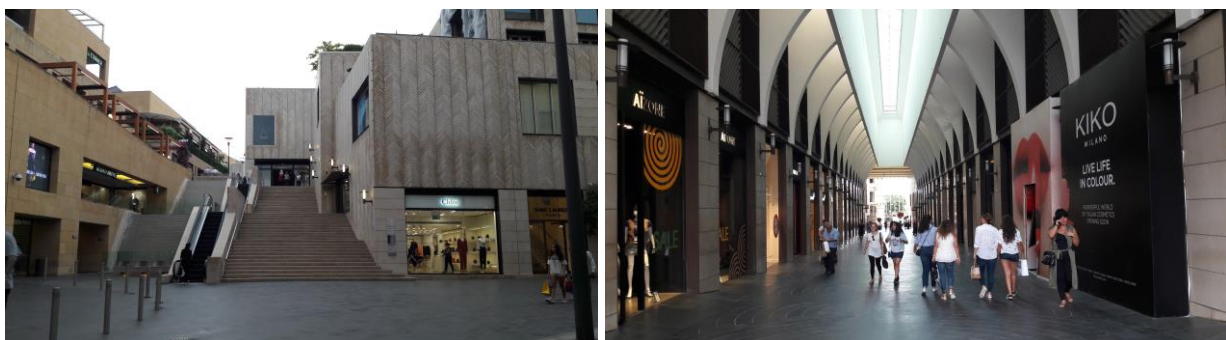
that were completely erased and replaced by a completely new typology and identity; that seams introverted limiting the activity to the souks plot limits, and targeting only upper social class (Photograph 4.1.3 & 4.1.4 & 4.1.5). Similarly, the mushrooming cinemas around the city centre especially in martyr's square area in the golden age, were replaced by one complex of cinemas (Photograph 4.1.6) contained in one building inside Beirut souks project, which also adds up to the 'sucking of activity effect' from the city centre's deserted commercial streets.



Photograph 4.1.1 & 4.1.2: Fence blocking the visual and physical accessibility to ruins under Beirut Souks.



Photograph 4.1.3: Beirut souks in the 1950's | Photograph 4.3.6: Current Beirut souks cinemas



Photograph 4.1.4: Present Beirut Souks project | Photograph 4.1.5: Present Beirut Souks project

The failing implementation of the Solidere plan, strengthened the division of the self-sufficient neighbourhoods that were created during the war. Some of these neighbourhoods like Mar Mikhael are witnessing a booming activity. Making these neighbourhoods survive and grow needless of the presence of a nurturing city centre.

Mar Mikhael started to transform enormously in the past few years. It witnessed a mushrooming of creative industries due to the cheap rents and strategic central location of the neighbourhoods. Which resulted in a naturally grown ‘creative cluster’ that was classified by Gaia Heritage in 2006 as a ‘creative District’. This new colourful neighbourhood with its traditional character attracted investors, that are looking for neighbourhoods with opportunities of economic growth, and in turn the mushrooming of bars and food and beverages industries boomed in few years, making Mar Mikhael the most hip place of the city. This is shown in the study that was conducted by Gaia Heritage (2012) on Mar Mikhael, by mapping all creative activities, that was backed up by another research mapping for showing the mushrooming of the food and beverages industries. This study also showed that this growth of activity in the neighbourhood is escalating very quickly, by mapping the opening of commercial activities in the neighbourhood over the past few years, which increased enormously (Gaia Heritage, 2012) (Gerbal, Hrycaj, et al., 2016) (mapping reference in Annex 6). This attracted the real estate developers to the neighbourhoods, which started to demolish the built heritage to pave way for towers to rise. This creates threats of eviction to the old-time tenants which 55% is under the old rent contracts. However, with the lack of regulations and laws increased the problem, making from Mar Mikhael an initiator for creative activism activities in the city (Gerbal, Hrycaj, et al., 2016). This makes the dynamics of Mar Mikhael very particular and interesting to investigate for further clarification of the situation complexity in terms of the cultural place regeneration and influence on socio-cultural resilience. Specialty that Mar Mikhael living environment contrasts strongly the living environment of the city. This is clear in the photographs below that shows the nightlife activity, the chaotic and unplanned urban morphology, the intricacy and compactness of the environment, etc. (Photographs 4.1.6 / 4.1.7 / 4.1.8 / 4.1.9 / 4.1.10 / 4.1.11 / 4.1.12)



Photograph 4.1.6: Mar Mikhael colourful stairs activity | Photograph 4.1.7: bars street facade



Photograph 4.1.8: Mar Mikhael Street art | Photograph 4.1.9: Real estate development in MM



Photograph 4.1.10: café courtyards in MM



Photograph 4.1.11: Nightlife in MM



Photograph 4.1.12: The urban morphology of Mar Mikhael

4.2. Creative actors identification and classification

In this section the following sub-question will be answered:

Who are the creative actors in Beirut, and which role they are playing?

Following the literature review, where the concepts ‘creative activism’, ‘creative placemaking’ and ‘creative industries’ were defined, a part of Beirut creative actors was mapped through a web research. Hence, after conducting interviews with a sample of these creative actors, each actor’s interventions were analysed and categorized in Table 4.2 following the indicators in Table 3.3.1. (A detailed analysis of each actor’s interventions is found in Annex 4). As for the actors that were not part of the sample of interviews, secondary data that provided sufficient information about the interventions of these actors was used in order to designate the actor’s category. The types of the interventions of each actor indicated under which category this actor falls. Hence, different types of interventions per actor may result in actors fitting one, two or the three categories.

A pattern can be identified from the creative actors interventions analysis:

- **CA, CP & CE:** Individual artists with a main inspiration related to the war and the city are considered CA, CP, and CE. Interventions such as public art installations and street art with social, cultural and political messages classify them as CA. Their involvement in collective street art activities with the community, and inhabitation of spaces classify them as CP. Their commissioned work that is mainly conducted on a canvas and is exhibited and sold in galleries or art shops, classify them as CE. For example, Jad El Khoury known with Potato Nose is a street artist who creates murals in the city under the title of ‘war peace’, to highlighting the remains of wars on

buildings. Hence, preserving the memory of the war as an awareness act to help the city heal by making the society face its division problems through remembering the impact of the civil war (El Khoury, 2017). This intervention is considered as CA, because it can be interpreted as ‘Street art with objection or certain resistance to social, cultural or political matters’ indicator. At the same time, Jad El Khoury is involved in creative placemaking activities, like the project of AptART, which involves marginalized kids along with street passengers in making colourful murals in the city (El Khoury, 2017). Hence, this intervention can be coded as ‘Placemaking in physical interventions, involving community members’ indicator and classifies him as CP. Also Jad El Khoury, is not only on the streets and around the city, he always worked on canvases and was involved in exhibitions in Lebanon and abroad. This helps him to network and create arts enthusiasts for his pieces in order to sell his work (El Khoury, 2017). This makes him involved in cultural production and consumption in the ‘Arts layer’ indicator and classifies him as a CE.

- **CA & CP:** NGOs and CBOs with interventions that relates to the improvement, or preservation of different layers of the urban environment, are mainly considered CA and CP.

For example, Achrafieh 2020 is an NGO that focus on improving the quality of life of the citizens by improving the urban environment. Hence, their interventions such as the Car Free Sundays, fits several indicators (Achrafieh 2020, 2017). They fulfil the ‘awareness campaign’ indicator, which classify them as CA. Plus fitting several indicators like: ‘Public events’, ‘Collaboration between actors’, and ‘Placemaking in physical interventions, involving community members’ makes them CP. They do collaborate with CI to get sponsorship through win-win deals, but they are not actively involved in cultural production and consumption because their events are public and for free, and they do not get financial benefit from their activities. Hence, their interventions are not to be considered part of the CE.

- **CA & CE:** NGOs or social enterprises with direct objectives related to the social consciousness of art and design is mainly considered CA and CE. Because, their activism remain within exhibition spaces and art shops, reaching a very specific class in the community, and they get funds from their own design and art products which makes them involved in cultural production and consumption.

For example, Sarah’s Bag is a “Lebanese fashion house and social enterprise that creates one-of-a-kind luxury hand crafted bags and accessories that empower both the women who make them and the women who wear them” (Sarah’s Bag, 2017). Underprivileged women, such as prisoners, are trained to take their traditional craftsmanship skills to a more innovative and fashionable level and produce luxury bags that are worn by upper class and elite women in the society (Sarah’s Bag, 2017). The intended social impact of bridging the gap between both women social classes, makes this actor fit in the CA category. Plus, the fact that the social intervention happens through cultural production and consumption, this actor is considered as a CE.

- **CA only:** NGOs that do mobilizations advocating change on governance and policy level, affecting urban processes, along with organizations that are platforms of networking and mediation to other creative actors are only considered CA.

For example, Save Beirut Heritage interventions fit for ‘Art activism events (protests / cultural jamming), related to cultural heritage and arts’ and ‘awareness campaign’ indicators, which classify this actor as CA. Their interventions are mobilizations of the

civil society aiming to advocate for change on policy and governance level (Save Beirut Heritage, 2017). Beirut Madinati is special in this case, because it is a group of creative activists on individual level like Nada Nehnaoui, who moved to a form of political activism. Hence, after the elections, they created three different working groups, two are considered as political activism (Alternative municipality working group & Elections working group), and one is considered as CA (Neighbourhood working groups).

- **CP only:** Community initiatives that only aim to beautify the deteriorated or left over spaces in Beirut with no objection or resistance are classified as CP.

For example, the group Paint up, aims to beautify dead spaces in Beirut by adding colours in space, they do painting activities with the community (Paint up, 2017), which fit for 'Placemaking in a physical intervention, involving community members' indicators. Hence, it can be classified as CP. There is no resistance behind these actions; the aim is more aesthetic which cannot be considered at CA.

- **CE only:** Art, crafts, and design shops with commercial purposes, that deals with cultural production and consumption are classified as CE.

Only individual artists interventions showed the possibility of an actor to be classified in the three categories. No NGOs, CBOs or initiatives did fit in the three categories at the same time. This can be due to sponsorship and financial support through grants and private donors that the latter actors receive, hence entrepreneurship is not part of their agenda, and they would rather focus on achieving their goals related to urban processes that affects the community and the space. But when creative activism is done through art, other interventions appear to be as CI, this can be explained by the artist's individual motivation to be active on the city scale reaching a big crowd, and gallery scale reaching arts enthusiasts. Furthermore, these artists need to sustain themselves financially, which can be done by taking activism in an art piece to the gallery.

No actors showed to be CP and CE only. This may be due to different motivations and goals for actors that are not creative activists. Although some CA are also CE but not CP, because engaging with community activities has no added value for their objectives. Hence, they are not classified as CP, but they need to be a CE in order to sustain their financial status to achieve their CA goals.

Identified Creative Actors	Categories		
	Creative activists (CA)	Creative Placemakers (CP)	Creative Entrepreneurs (CE)
1. Achrafieh 2020	X	X	
2. Save Beirut Heritage	X		
3. Public Works Studio	X	X	
4. The Chain Effect	X	X	
5. Nahnoo	X		
6. Creative Space Beirut	X		X
7. Haven For Artists	X		X
8. Architects for change	X	X	

9.	Beirut Madinati	X	X	
10.	Nada Sehnaoui (Artist)	X	X	X
11.	Jad El Khoury: Potato Nose (Artist)	X	X	X
12.	Ashekman (Arists)	X	X	X
13.	Yazan Halwani	X	X	X
14.	Sarah's Bag	X		X
15.	Starch Foundation in CC			X
16.	Yasmine Hamdan (Singer)	X		X
17.	Paint up: Dihzahyners		X	
18.	Beirut Digital District			X
19.	Dispatch Beirut	X	X	
20.	Achrafieh Stairs	X		
21.	APSAD	X		
22.	Arts, crafts and design related shops in MM (#71)			X (*71)
23.	Arts, crafts and design related shops in CC (#12)			X (*12)

Table 4.2.1: Creative Actors Classification (based on: web research, mapping, interviews)

4.3 Findings of Case 1: Mar Mikhael Neighbourhood (MM)

In the sections 4.3, 4.4 and 4.5 the following sub-questions will be answered, by following the guidelines of table 4.3.1

How and why creative actors intervene in the city and with whom do they engage?

What are the outcomes and impacts of their interventions, particularly in terms of cultural place regeneration and socio-cultural resilience, after considering the influencing critical contextual conditions?

		Case 1 or case 2	
A	Creative activists	A1-a Interventions (IV) → Cultural Place regeneration (Inter V)	A1-b Cultural Place regeneration (Inter V) → Socio-cultural resilience (DV)
B	Creative placemakers	B1-a Interventions (IV) → Cultural Place regeneration (Inter V)	B1-b Cultural Place regeneration (Inter V) → Socio-cultural resilience (DV)
C	Creative Entrepreneurs	C1-a Interventions (IV) → Cultural Place regeneration (Inter V)	C1-b Cultural Place regeneration (Inter V) → Socio-cultural resilience (DV)

Table 4.3.1: Method of analysis that examines the relation between (IV)→ (Inter V) → (DV) in Case 1, divided on two steps (step a, step b)

Reading guide

Italic words refers to the identified indicators of the defining concepts of the variables

Italic bold words refers to the defining concepts of the variables

Bold refers to the research variables

(Variables operationalization tables in chapter 3)

NB: for better readability, all the figures and photographs references are mentioned in a list following the bibliography

Box 4.3.1: reading guide

4.3.1 A1: A1-a / A1-b | Creative activism interventions in Mar Mikhael

This section presents, describes and analyses the creative activism interventions in Mar Mikhael. Sometimes activist interventions overlap with the other two categories, however the interventions presented here are primarily activist in nature.

- Heritage preservation mobilizations and monitoring platform by Save Beirut Heritage (Table A5 – Annex 4)

Today only 250 traditional structures are still standing out of 1600 structures, which were counted in the 90's. Last year the ministry of culture was able to stop 150 demolition permits, which would have made Beirut lose quarter of its remaining architectural heritage. However, this would have not happened without the activist who exerted pressure on the government in order to take action (Karam, 2016). Naji Raji was evicted from his house, a traditional Artdeco building on Lebanon street (Gemmayze area), which moved him to fight for preserving his house and so far he has been successful. Hence, he started the Facebook group 'Save Beirut Heritage' that was transformed into an official NGO in 2013. Naji started tackling buildings one by one and collaborated with APSAD (NGO). So many people joined the Facebook campaign (3454 Facebook followers in 2017), and then decided to do a mobilization in Gemmayze and Mar Mikhael in 2011, that came to be of a big success (Photograph 4.3.1 & 4.3.2). Plus, an online platform for 24/7 monitoring was created where residents can report a demolition (Interview Save Beirut Heritage, 2017). A member mentioned: "It was a cry to stop heritage demolition from happening, because otherwise we are going to end up with a faceless city, where we do not feel we belong to. And it is important to feel a belonging to your city, because you feel good in your city, you feel like you own your city, and thus you respect it, so you value and you cherish what you have. The importance of heritage goes back to the question of identity; it is who we were, who we are, and where we are going. So this NGO was kind of an emergency that was triggered after the concentration of events in Gemmayze and Mar Mikhael, but this is happening everywhere in the city" (Interview Save Beirut Heritage, 2017). Therefore, the community's value of *architectural heritage* is what mobilized them to *collectively gather* in order to protect their city's *collective memory*, which reinforces their *sense of belonging*. Hence, they *identify* with their city. The **meaning** of the **cultural place** triggered this intervention, and it was successful in preserving the **meaning** by preserving the cultural place's *space*.

This intervention is considered as **creative activism**, because it resists neoliberal interventions, in this case the real estate developers. Nonetheless, these creative

activists are struggling in achieving their goals due to the weak law, and lack of regulations that preserves architectural heritage. Hence, their actions' impacts remain limited sometimes to only being able to preserve a historical building façade (AYA tower example (Figure 4.3.1)), where a huge tower rises behind it. This keeps the aesthetic value of heritage, but it affects the neighbourhood *space*, by deteriorating the neighbourhood *human scale*. A feature that proved to favour human interaction is abolished with loss of the spatial qualities of vernacular traditional structures. This moved them to take the role of an advocacy NGO and become creative urban activists. Therefore, they worked on a new law, which is being still in the process to get its application decree, but was approved by the Ministry of Culture. This law provides the house owner to sell the development rights of his plot to an investor, who can use it in a non-heritage neighbourhood. This should provide incentives for the owners to keep their heritage houses, and it provides them with financial support to preserve the houses (Figure 4.3.2). And if the owner still insists on selling, the NGO tries to find an investor who is willing to preserve the house in his project (Save Beirut Heritage, 2017). Arguments such as “these old buildings are not only pretty, they are financially viable, tourists want to come and see our old city, they don’t want to see towers. They can see towers anywhere” (Tarraf in Karam, 2016) are used. This creates a dialogue between the two parties, to get a win-win situation. But usually the activists are not happy by compromising a building for its façade only. They think that preserving heritage it is a public right that is challenged because the heritage houses are private properties. This is because “there is this sacred notion of the private, private is understood as having something that is completely mine, as if I am living by myself. Well NO! Private is yours, but does not mean you can do whatever you want. So this is absolutely not in the mentality here, and the laws are reflecting less and less the situation” (Interview Save Beirut Heritage, 2017).

Corruption and the economic crisis with the greedy real estate developers are the main challenges of the activists. Because, people want to live and they need to upgrade their economic statues, so the option of selling the old house that mostly are rented under the old rent law and are not providing any financial benefit to the owner; and that are too expensive to maintain seems very convenient to most owners (Save Beirut Heritage, 2017). Although a lot of challenges limit the actions of this group, but still this movement have a positive social impact, because by “preserving the sense of history of an entire area, you preserve the area’s *social fabric*”; and a positive cultural impact because it raises awareness about the importance of heritage (Save Beirut Heritage, 2017). The recent support by ‘Nahnoo’ (Bigger and stronger advocacy NGO) that was made through collaboration hopefully will help Save Beirut Heritage in achieving fully their goals. Plus, the bigger *social benefit* comes with the *collective gatherings* that build *community ties* and strengthen a community’s *collective identity*. Therefore, such interventions that arise from the community social consciousness have a *social benefit*, which reinforces **socio-cultural resilience** to a certain extent.



Photograph 4.3.1: Mobilization



Photograph 4.3.2: AYA tower mobilization

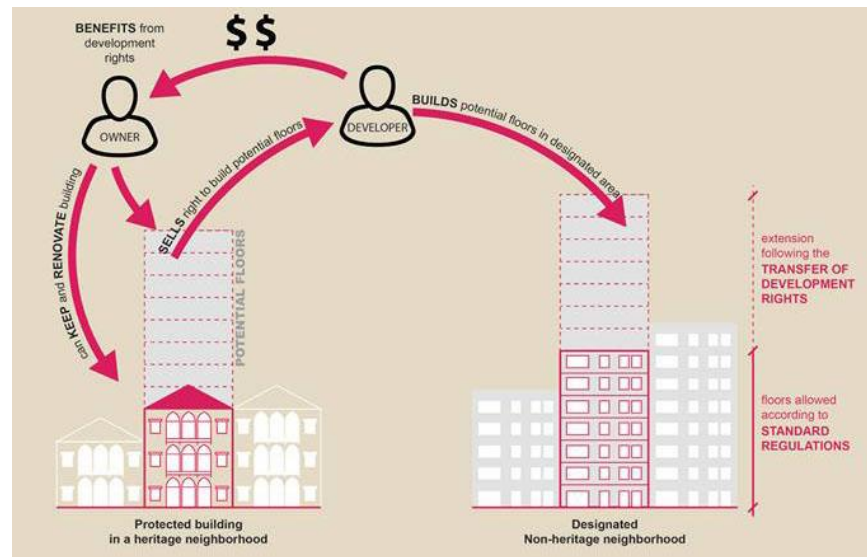


Figure 4.3.1: AYA tower | Figure 4.3.2: Transfer of development rights (Save Beirut Heritage)

- Mar Mikhael neighbourhood committee by Public Works Studio members
(Table A1- Annex 4)

The main objective of Public Works Studio is to start a conversation about urban issues between various actors in the city. Thus, rethinking policy making in Lebanon, by “putting participation of the affected stakeholders as a core value in policy making” (Interview Public Works Studio, 2017). They operate on policy level and on neighbourhood level by creating a bridge between these two. After they conducted a housing research in MM, an open meeting was held. The residents of MM (relatively old, in their 60’s) were invited by some activists (relatively young, in their 30’s) to come and talk about the neighbourhood issues. So many topics came out; people had a lot to say. Topics such as, housing issues, high rents, loud bars, valet parking industry, the stairs and their lack of maintenance. But apparently the main problem that was identified is the unregulated appearance of the *nightlife industry* and the *evening economy*. This is happening because the land prices doubled in a span of 20 years (2000 USD/m² to 4200USD/m²), especially after the arrival of the food and beverage industries, which also increased the rents. Hence, landowners are evicting the old time tenants, either to rent for a bar with a higher price or to sell to a developer that will tear down the building to put up a tower in its place. This is observed in the land transfer map (Figure 4.3.3), showing that whenever a land transfer happens, a plots joining happens, consequently a development project is happening. This makes a classical gentrification cycle, where the existing population is displaced, and the existing businesses are shutdown to be replaced by other industries. Hence, the neighbourhood

social fabric is being torn apart. Plus, knowing that all neighbourhoods that exited this cycle of bar industries in the past like Monot and Gemmayze has been chattered in one way or another. Many residents argue that this puts MM at risk (Interview Public Works Studio Member, 2017).

This initiative from Beirut Madinaty and members of Public Works Studio aims to create a neighbourhood committee, which can self-regulate. Hence, making it bottom up to counter balance the absence of people centred top-down policy. So the absence of the top down forces is allowing the self-organization of real estate development, so they are not regulated. "laissez faire" is a dominant culture in the environment (Interview Mneinmeh, 2017). Therefore, the creation of a neighbourhood committee, and a bars committee aims to create a regulatory element to stop and prevent the negative social impacts of the bars industry (Political power) on the neighbourhood. Because the bar owners are aware of their disturbance, which made them show a certain level of collaboration. The idea is to create a system with a legal framework, where the neighbourhood can self-regulate, by empowering the residents (who currently have no political power) to self-organise and resist the social inequalities happening in their neighbourhood. Because so far "the residents have been doing a lot of actions on individual level like calling the police but never on a community level. So a lot of them are neighbours but they do not know each other's. So they know about the law but they just feel so disempowered to take any actions. So the aim of what we are doing is to bring them together and talk about what can we do collectively" (Interview Public Works Studio, 2017). Therefore, a banner campaign was done, targeting the people who frequently visit the bars. Statements such as "we want to sleep" were hanged in the streets. This somehow aimed to trigger the *social consciousness* of the nightlife consumers, to reduce the *consumerist culture*. The resident's address that the hard outreach to the ministry of tourism, under which the bars industry operate, is also not helping. They argue that there is no interest in listening to "a bunch of old folks" who does not vote in Beirut.

Regarding the housing issue, an activist mentions "we don't think that we should save old buildings only because of their aesthetic value, no we should preserve old buildings because of the people who live in them, so if you remove the people you will lose a giant part of what the building is... like the building in Mar Mikhael street where they preserved the facade and tore down the building behind it. What are you trying to preserve here? This is the epidemic of neo-liberalism infecting our brains" (Interview Public Works Studio, 2017).

The main challenges of this intervention are the lack of regulations to control the bars that is empowered by the corruption of the state, and the low social capital in the neighbourhood, along with the age gap between the residents and activists, making the communication hard. Thus, this action is trying to build *community ties*, but due to the slow level of escalation and change the residence do not see the cumulative effect of the actions. Hence, the engagement level dropped from 30 people to 5-10 people who now regularly attend the meetings. Therefore by enhancing the *social cohesion* between the community members, collective actions are stimulated to happen and affect the *activity* of the place. This enhances a community's *sense of belonging* and creates a *collective meaning*, which in turn fosters *collective identity* and strengthens **socio-cultural resilience**.

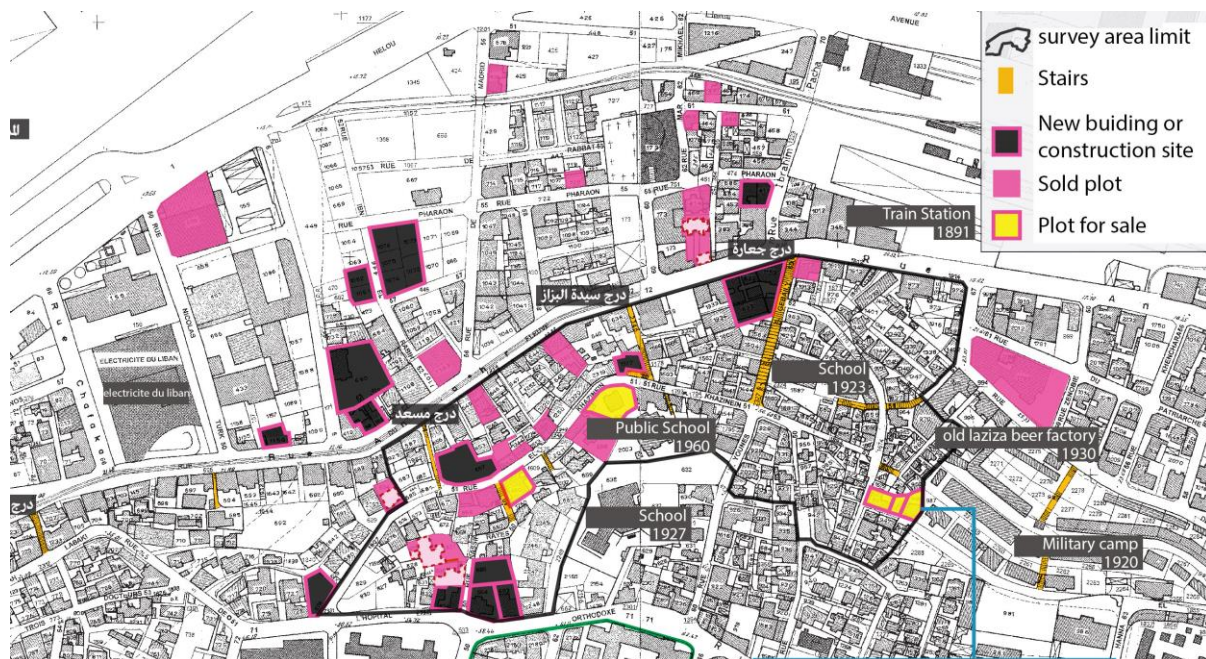


Figure 4.3.3: Mar Mikhael land transfer and development map for the past 10 years (Public Works Studio, 2017)

- Car free days by Achrafieh 2020
(Table A2 - Annex 4)

‘Achrafieh 2020’ is an environmentally driven initiative expanding on 8 years, initiated by the Member of Parliament Nadim Gemayel, which aims to make people’s life easier and happier in Achrafieh, by improving the living environment around them. Hence, a group of activists was put in charge of that mission. This group is mostly known from its car free days that are organized 4 to 5 times a year, around Achrafieh area, which includes MM. This day is a public gathering of masses of people from Achrafieh and from outside of Achrafieh. Families, youth, elderly, business owners, along with organizations, artists, and entertainers come to meet in the designated street and celebrate the area’s speciality. The activists mentioned “we are always amazed by a 120% level of response from people to this event” (interview Achrafieh 2020, 2017) (photograph 2.3.3). The key strength of this group is the platform they were able to build on social media, which helps them to reach big crowds (29535 followers on Facebook in 2017) (Interview Achrafieh 2020, 2017). This intervention is a form of creative placemaking and activism, that mostly affects the *activity* (photograph 2.3.4) of the area, because all shops are encouraged to extend on the street, stimulating their economic activity, and creating a complementarity between public and private activities (photograph 2.3.5). It is placemaking since it is about improving the place by making people act: dancing, singing, playing, and interacting, it is a festive day. Plus, it is part of creative urban activism because the main aim of this day is to raise awareness about different topics related the living environment and to the behaviour of the citizens in their city. For example, the ‘dog poo awareness campaign’ that aims to create more walk-able streets, in order to encourage pedestrian circulation and interaction. Another example is the ‘greening rooftops campaign’, which make citizens aware about the importance of greening in the city, which is main sacristy in Beirut.

Furthermore, this event makes people discover their areas, and create an appreciation towards it, because when you are driving in the car you do not create this

relationship with the environment; this relationship with *space* is further formed by encouraging people to participate in cleaning and upgrading activities (Interview Achrafieh 2020, 2017). The group's president (2017) said: "we try to always leave a good trace in the area where we go. Because it is not only a hit and run thing. When we reach an area with really dirty, and full of ripped off posters, we bring people to clean and paint it again, and sometimes we even bring artists to put tags or graffiti's". Therefore, the initiated **activity** creates a *collective meaning* through the creation of *sense of belonging* to the urban environment through the spread of a *caring culture and behaviour*. This is reinforced with the *cultural performances* that also occur on that day, creating *memories* (Photograph 4.3.6) and a *place's identity*. Further more the municipality was collaborative in many activities and interventions, this also creates a certain *trust* between the civil society and governmental body, but does not completely overcome the financial challenges so the group has to always find sponsorships for the events and campaigns. All this brings a *social benefit* and strengthens the *collective identity*, consequently reinforcing **socio-cultural resilience** specially when change on municipal level happen. For example, with the dog poo campaign the municipality was encourage to put up signs asking from the citizen to clean after their dogs. Plus, the municipality found the group platform, network, and know-how as an opportunity to create public events. Hence, they asked Achrafieh 2020 to organize a Christmas market in Achrafieh. This is a *pilot project* that started to be organized by other groups in other areas of Beirut, and this brings a big benefit for **socio-cultural resilience**.



Photograph 4.3.3: Car Free day in MM 2015



Photograph 4.3.4: Collective activities



Photograph 4.3.5: Shops extension on the streets



Photograph 4.3.6: Wall of remembrance

- Pro-Cycling murals by The Chain Effect
(Analytical Tables examples in Annex 4)

The excessive car use and traffic congestions were the main inspiration for the Chain Effect activist to start a campaign promoting cycling in the very compact Beirut to facilitate mobility. MM has already a growing cycling scene, and the area is very cyclable. A mural was done on the highway side, which is very exposed to car users (Photograph 4.3.8), and another mural was done in MM Main Street (Photograph 4.3.7). So far the activists have completed 14 murals in Beirut from which three are in MM. During a car free day in MM, the group did a mural with the community and visitors, a good interaction was happening between them especially with the building owners. Like in the making of all murals, the community is always engaged in the work (Interview The Chain Effect, 2017). This spatial intervention is to create a *meaning* about the *space's connectivity*. Mobility with a *human scale* medium favour *social interaction* in the streets, since everything happens on a different speed and different perception scale. Hence, they have been a noticeable increase in of cyclists in the area, and the murals have been quite popular but the impact remains moderate. Because, the main challenge is in shifting mentalities towards the perception of cycling as a viable mean of transportation, in addition to the lack of interest and prioritization of the topic of cycling on municipal level (Interview The Chain Effect, 2017). Therefore, in this case the *collective meaning* is being built but on a very micro scale, which influence moderately **socio-cultural resilience**.



Photograph 4.3.7: Chain effect mural in MM highway side



Photograph 4.3.8

- The haven house by Haven for Artists
(Analytical Tables examples in Annex 4)

Haven was founded in 2001, and was registered this year as an apolitical and non-religious NGO. It is self-founded, and the return investment is paying back by the emotional satisfaction and not on financial level. Most facilities in the house are for free, if anything has to be rented it is for the reason that the house has to sustain it-self and pay its rent too (Interview Haven for Artists, 2017). One of the founders said: "When we opened the house, the premise was to open a place, so that we can talk about Sartre and not be viewed as pretentious. In a bar it will be "why are you arguing?" So we wanted to create a safe enough space for people to question. To be able to have a freedom of expression, and not be stigmatized or judged on the basis of having a different opinion. The premise of the house is to create in a sense of a community platform, were they can come share ideas, share projects" (Interview Haven for Artists, 2017). The idea was to remove the anxiety that is created when an artist, designer or

thinker, is sitting and working in a place (Café, bar) for hours, and where he feel that he has to leave at some point or order something from the waiter who is walking around the table every now and then. “We wanted to remove the concept of ‘struggling artists’ from that sentence... it is not what defines us” (Interview Haven for Artists, 2017). Plus, they wanted to remove the competition between artists, and make art very accessible. They capitalize on artists in terms of pushing artists to realise their capacities; this is being done by the provision of this comfortable space for artists to complete their projects by getting support or collaborating with other artists (Interview Haven for Artists, 2017).

The presence of the house by it self is a form of resistance to capitalism, politics and social limitations. The founder mentioned this resistance very directly when she said, “We don't believe in politics, we believe that they exist, we are not stupid. A friend of mine was saying yesterday, "yea you might not be political, but actually you are the most political in the city", and I asked her why? And she said "because you are the only ones that resist, by stepping outside of the political realm". We avoid politics because we don't believe it is a dominant thing. Because in the end who am I talking to and dealing with? No, I would rather change my generation. I'd rather install in the younger generation power and strength, in their capacities and capabilities as artists, as thinkers, as doers, as architects, as whatever. I see in them positive change, rather than try to conform a change in the older ones. I will not go to this old politician and tell him you are wrong, it is pointless. And frankly we are a minority, and artists against religion or politics are even a bigger minority”. This explains why The Daily Start called Haven for Artists as ‘anti-institutional’ (Interview Haven for Artists, 2017). Hence, they are the opposite of everything that is a commercial entity. This makes them creative activists, even if they do not intervene directly in the urban space, but they do intervene through the stimulation of creativity in the city, by being open for any kind of controversial art. And this has a social benefit of bridging communities. Their main actions consists on changing *meanings* on the social level and not physical level.

They moved to this old house in MM, because of the comforting spatial quality of the traditional architecture typology. Plus, because MM neighbourhood seems to be very *tolerant* and *diverse*, and this is due to the strong presence of Europeans in the area, and the presence of elderly who do not intervene. MM people are used to see these alternative looks, outside MM people fit more to norms, and this makes these alternative artists comfortable in MM (Interview Haven for Artists, 2017). Hence, the founder mentions, “the premise is for anyone that does not feel that they belong, and it is mainly because you do not and because non of us do...Art gives you the tools in which you prove that you exist, to yourself not to others. So Haven premise is to remind us all that we do exist, and not only exist, but exist as a family, even though we are not tied by blood, we are tied by our belief in art” (Interview Haven for Artists, 2017). Consequently this house is creating a community, where most of its members live in MM because they cannot live in their area of origin. It is a community that share and respect differences. This community of artists and thinkers can change perceptions while doing it in a non-confrontation way (Interview Haven for Artists, 2017). “I think this is our generation job and the artists job, is to give a reason to exist, but not in a way that makes you feel that you need to pull a gun. We can build guitars instead of bombs. We can lift paintbrushes instead of machine guns. We can write poetry instead of preaching speeches” (Haven for Artists, 2017). This can be explained as “being

political by resisting the politics”. Haven community is involved in creative activism, on the political, social and cultural level, but not on the urban level especially in MM. But the *space* in MM stimulates them to resist, and the rising anxiety from the space stimulate their creativity. Meaning, they are connected and at the same time disconnected from the space. The social benefit that rises from these activists is on a bigger scale than MM neighbourhood. And they do reinforce the citizen’s *collective identity*, by creating an environment of *tolerance to differences and diversity*, which actually also materializes in their community space and that strengthen **the socio-cultural resilience** of Beirut.



Photograph 4.3.9: The Haven House exterior



Photograph 4.3.10: The Haven House interior

- The Laziza beer factory media mobilization against its demolition by Beirut Report media platform

Earlier this year activists were able to put the demolition of the oldest beer brewery in the Middle east (1930) on hold (Photograph 4.3.12), which architectural structure proved to be very innovative at the time. Activists were advocating for its transformation to a community space in MM, instead of the designed luxury apartments building by the Lebanese architect Bernard Khoury (Photograph 4.3.13) (Beirut Report, 2017). Today the demolition started regardless all the activists’ efforts to preserve this historical place (Photograph 4.3.11), which have held a *meaning* and have been part of MM resident’s *collective memory*. Mona Fawaz (2017), mentions on Al Jadeed media interview, that “not only buildings are preserved for their aesthetical value, but also because they have been part of the countries identity”, she also adds that the gentrification in MM is mostly concentrated around the Bars main street, with this project it will even move further into the residential areas of the neighbourhood. She further explains that the municipality has set a red carpet welcoming all the developers without questioning the impact of such transformations on the public good, and by prioritizing the private sector benefits. Many different organizations are collaborating, including Beirut Madinati group, and campaigning against the demolition that was permitted by the governor. However, this battle was won by the real estate development sector, like most of the times in Beirut. Hence, in such events one can see that the built civic **socio-cultural resilience** by the creative activists remain too weak to confront the strong shocks and resistance like corruption and powerful actors in the real estate development sector



Photograph 4.3.11: Demolition Of Laziza Brewery in MM



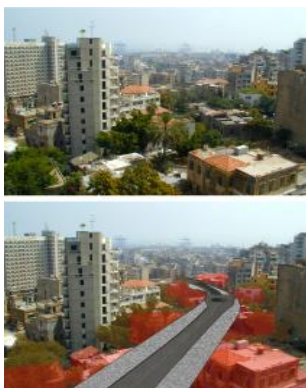
Photograph 4.3.12: Laziza Brewery



Photograph 4.3.13: proposed development

- Fouad Boutrous highway into Fouad Botrous Park civil coalition

In the very compact physical environment of MM, Hekme and Achrafieh, the lobbying for the implementation of Fouad Boutrous highway out-dated plan from the 1950's started. Hence, academicians and professionals from the civil society, including urban planners, architects and engineers got united and started the Fouad Boutros Park mobilization, a coalition of 20 organizations. It formed as part of the Beirut Madinati municipal campaign group and it proposed a staircase park (Figure 4.3.4) that connects the three neighbourhoods instead of dividing them, to the municipality in a petition form. A complete study was proposed, and the petition was signed by the community and involved activists through a social media platform. The negative impact of the highway on the neighbourhood is very big. 30 heritage houses would demolish, 10000sqm of green space will be removed, and the pedestrian friendly scale of the neighbourhood will be fragmented; chattering the entire neighbourhood activity (Photograph 4.3.14 & 4.3.15). The activists were able to delay the project and pause it for the current moment (Stop the Highway, 2014). Hence, if the park project is approved it will improve the quality of the place's *space*. The *human scale connectivity* between the neighbourhoods and the parks makes it very *accessible*. Plus, the park will act as a *node* for the local residents in that the environment is lacking. This affects the *activity* of the area, by providing a cultural infrastructure in the traditional preserved structure along with breathing and public gathering space. From which *meaning* will rise, because in *public cultural gatherings* people create a relationship to the space, and creates a *sense of belonging*. Therefore the opportunity to have the park in the neighbourhood will definitely strengthen the *place's identity* and *collective meaning* among groups through the *collective mobilization and engagement*, so this all reinforces the potential of stronger **socio-cultural resilience**.



Photograph 4.3.14 & 4.3.15: Highway impact in MM



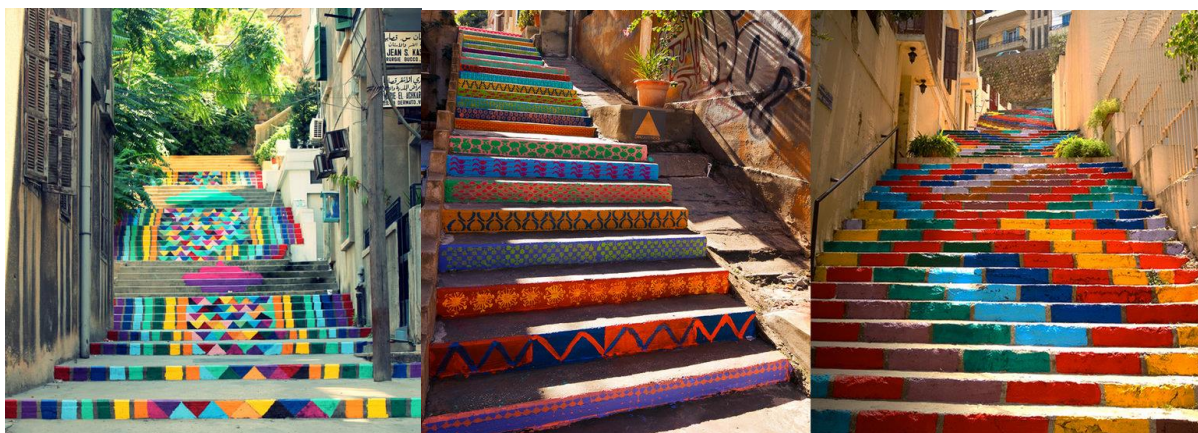
Figure 4.3.4: Park proposal

4.3.2 B1: B1-a / B1-b: Creative placemaking interventions in Mar Mikhael

This section presents, describes and analyses the creative placemaking interventions in Mar Mikhael. Sometimes placemaking interventions overlaps with creative activism, but the selection of interventions presented in this section are mostly considered as creative placemaking.

- Paint up initiative: Public stairs painting by Dihzahyners

The Paint up initiative started by 12 graphic designers in 2012 and today it is a group of 25 active designers that are painting the unmaintained pedestrian staircases in Beirut. The aim was to beautify and change the only shared thing among people, the rare public spaces (Media interview, Dihzahyners, 2012). “The idea is to bring people together, through the common build up, protecting the common space that they feel proud of” as Chukri (2017). Co-founder, explains at TedxCibeles in Madrid. This group ideas relate to “re-design to re-start”, “revive through colours”, and “colouring to bring happiness to people”. On their Facebook page, the team posts a painting day event on a certain stair; this made the community always very engaged in their interventions. For example, around 40 people joined during the painting intervention of one of the stairs in MM (photographs 4.3.16, 4.3.17 & 4.3.18). The people whose houses are along the stairs were always very involved, and very happy with the end result. This group of designers’ *sense of belonging* to the city is what motivates them, and this is clear when Chukri said “everyone who feels connected to the city, just want to leave their mark in the city”. People at night hangout, drink and laugh on these stairs (Photograph 4.3.20). Tourist would visit MM to take photos on the stairs (photograph 2.3.19). A nightlife consumer mentioned that she really like the coloured stairs and said (2017): “If they (the municipality) do not want to add trees, then we add colours”. This action built *community ties* through *collective engagement* activities, and adds *meaning* to the *space*. Thus, *social benefit* is brought in the process, which strengthen **socio-cultural resilience**. But since, this action contributed in making MM a very attractive and a hip area, which later attracted investors of the bars industry affecting the place’s *activity* and a gentrification cycle started; one can say that the unintended impact lead to a much bigger *social decay* then the brought *social benefit* during the action. Hence, MM **socio-cultural resilience** is threatened.



Photograph 4.3.16: MM stairs Photograph 4.3.17: MM stairs Photograph: 4.3.18: MM stairs



Photograph 4.3.19: Tourists Attraction| Photograph 4.3.20: Stairs as community gathering space

- Graffiti murals during car free days by Achrafieh 2020
(Table2 Annex 4)

During the very big Car free days events, some street artists are brought up to clean up and decorate some walls in the area, to leave a good trace after that day. Cleaning the environment is very important to make the life of the people who live in it happier. But in MM it is always challenging to find a wall to paint due to the density of shops on the ground floor level (Interview Achrafieh 2020, 2017). Hence, the *space* acts as a limitation to these kinds of interventions. The people who are participating in this event, from MM or from outside MM, are engaged with the graffiti artists to decorate and paint the wall. This collective work brings a *social benefit*, by creating community ties. People are building memories together, this strengthen the *sense of belonging* to the space and reinforce the *collective meaning*, consequently the *collective identity* that strengthen the **socio-cultural resilience**. But one has to note the very small group who would participate in this action, making the positive social impact very limited.

- Quantista Café wall graffiti by Potato Nose
(Table A4 Annex 4)

The scribbles that used to exist on the wall of that café seemed unpleasant to the artists Jad el Khoury when he used to pass by in the street. Hence, this element in the *space* triggered him to paint the wall of the café after taking the permission of the owner that was very happy with the idea. This action makes the living environment cleaner, which makes the life of the people in it nicer. The artists mention that for him, if people would only smile while passing by this work, this is rewarding enough. This intervention definitely influences the small-scale *activity* of the café, and makes it more attractive. This café constantly exhibit artwork for new artists. Making it involved in the cultural amenities production and consumption. Hence, a social impact is too small to be perceived, because the intervention has an aesthetic *meaning*, and was not done collectively. This does not bring any *social decay* or *benefit* because the artists contribution only involved two people (the owner and the artists). Therefore, in such a case **socio-cultural resilience** is not affected.

- Forum bridge mural by Ashekman
(Analytical Tables examples in Annex 4)

In 2016 the brothers known as Ashekman (Slang word for ‘echappement’, French for car exhaust pipe. They operate as such by cleaning the city from the toxic elements), created another mural in Beirut. It is not one of their creative activism interventions,

which usually have resistance in the imbedded political messages. But rather this mural is to spread positivity, and eliminate the stress in the environment. Ashekman (2017) mentions that Beirut “is like a presto cooking pot, that need to deflate to cook a good dish or it explodes, and we are trying to do a good dish”. It is made on the edge of MM and quarantine area under a bridge, where in the morning most people whom are heading to Beirut to work, and are stuck in the traffic jam pass by it. This graffiti has the message “wish for the best (or good) and you will find it”, an Arabic expression forming the shape of a smiling face, which radiates happiness in space (photograph 4.3.21). The artists mention on their Facebook page that this is a message for people to “always see the cup half full”. Even if the work was not conducted with a community, the message in this work, can be considered as creative placemaking, the intervention in the environment is meant to change social behaviours. Hence, anxious people from the traffic pass by it and this message make them smile for a moment and bring positivity to a very negative start of the day. The impact of this work is mostly on the working class that is coming to MM in the morning and not so much on the residents. This work improves the quality of the living environment in the city, but does not bring a big *social benefit or decay*. Hence, it does not affect **socio-cultural resilience**.



Photograph 4.3.21: Ashekman mural on the Forum bridge, at the eastern entrance to Beirut

4.3.3 C1: C1-a / C1-b: Creative Entrepreneurship activity in Mar Mikhael:

This section presents, describes and analyses the creative entrepreneurship activity in Mar Mikhael. That is due to the presence of the cluster of creative industries in the area.

- Artists Nada Sehnaoui's atelier
(Table A3 Annex 4)

The entrepreneurial interventions of the artists include a studio for her artwork that mostly is exposed in galleries like paintings. Sehnaoui mention: “I came to Mar Mikhael because the prices were still good when I came here. All artists rent here, it is affordable and you are in a central location. Ashrafieh, Hamra, Ras Beirut, Verdun, Gemmayze are too expensive. MM is getting more expensive, but still more affordable than other areas. And of course we (Artists) are responsible for this, because the prices

went up when we came. But at the same time, the flows increased; more money is being generated in the area. The house owners also rented their spaces, so it is an income for them”(interview Sehnaoui, 2017).

The affordability of MM attracted artists, which boosted the *small-scale economic activity* of the area. Hence, prices started to increase. This attracted investors of the bars and nightlife industries to the neighbourhood, and started the gentrification cycle. Therefore, the creative industries are the trigger that later lead to MM gentrification, but they do not seem to be the actual ‘gentrifiers’. These artists also started to be priced out from MM, for example the designer Ghassan Saleme, is one of Public Works Studio organizers and he had to leave MM because he could not afford the rent anymore. Hence, he moved his studio to Baabda (Interview Public Works Studio, 2017). Therefore, the *negative social impact* of gentrification triggered by the creative industries does not reinforce **socio-cultural resilience**. Furthermore, the produced art work goes to galleries outside of MM, and if it is in MM it is not affordable for the class that live in the neighbourhood, meaning the clientele of these galleries are from a higher economic background than the residents. This does not create any *meaning*, which can affect the residents positively. This does not create any *meaning*, which can affect the residents positively. It is simply another *disconnected layer* in the neighbourhood. Although the artist has a *willingness to participate* in public gatherings but never initiated ones in MM as an expert from Gaia Heritage argued it during the conducted interview (2017).

- Event planning office in MM

(Analytical Tables examples in Annex 4)

An event planning office based in MM, is engaged in the creative entrepreneurial activities of the area. Their activities are limited to private events (weddings, openings, corporate events, etc.) in Lebanon and abroad, but sometimes they are commissioned by the municipality events execution, for example the ‘Beast’ event. The cheap rent and strategic location in Beirut attracted this office to open in MM in 2005. First they settled in an old house, since because they got used to location, when they wanted to move to a modern building, they moved to the building next to the old house in 2013. The employees do not interact with the street-life during the day, only in case they want to go downstairs buy lunch and then go back eat it at the office. Plus, the minimum budget per event is 100 000 USD, this is not affordable for any kind of events, or by any resident in MM. (Based on the conducted interview with one of the office employees, 2017). This creative industry that is part of the daytime activity in MM is totally *disconnected* from the social life of the neighbourhood it operates on *another layer*. This does not contribute in building any *collective identity* in the neighbourhood, because it is not involved in *activity* that creates a *meaning* in the neighbourhood. The employee mentioned (2017), “during the day the area is very alive, so much pedestrians pass by, not so much cars are passing. The street is completely another life than the office”. Although this office is also affected by the lack of parking space in the neighbourhood, but it does not act upon it, and it does *not engage* with other groups who are working on this issue. Facilities such as print shops in the street are quite profiting and practical to the business flow. Hence, the *clustering* of creative industries has a common good among them, because they *complement* each other’s making the *space* adequate for them. This office has very high profits, thus it will not be priced out

of the neighbourhood any time soon. Plus, it became sort of a “prestige” to have your business in MM. Meaning that the office will keep renting even if the prices go higher, and consequently they would be actively involved in gentrifying MM. This leads to a *social decay*. Hence, the entrepreneurial activities of this office are not contributing in building **socio-cultural resilience**.

- Zawya workshop

The Zawya workshop is a small leather bag design workshop space that opened in may 2017 in MM. It was set up as partnership with a shop-owner, where the designer sells her bags and that is located in MM. It affects the *space* by increasing the *clustering* activities. The designers have a good connection with the residents around the shop, the butcher, the hairdresser, and the mini-market owner. The shop-owner likes the living environment of the neighbourhood and she is willing to participate in collective activities, because she sees it beneficiary for everybody. She also mentions (2017) “I do care about these old houses, I do not like destroying heritage to make new buildings that will stay empty for ages. I do not think it is smart. I see a lot of buildings empty because people cannot afford it”. This designer has a *social consciousness* about the neighbourhood’s living environment. She does *interact and bond* with different actors in the neighbourhood, but still does not initiate any interventions to rest social inequalities. She would participate in action that brings a *collective good* that includes her business (Interview Zawya Workshop, 2017). Knowing the very small scale of her business, one cannot say that her shop is actively triggering the neighbourhood’s gentrification, but also its presence in MM is not contributing to building **socio-cultural resilience**

- Creative Space Beirut fashion clothing line

(Table A9 – Annex 4)

Creative space Beirut is a free school for fashion design, registered as an NGO, with a main objective to provide an entirely free three years higher education in fashion design to students who are really talented and passionate, but do not have the financial means to study in private universities. They started in 2011. They would like to register in the future in the ministry of education to be able to provide diplomas, but this is not an obstacle now in the fashion design field. They currently have in total around 12 students, separated between first, second and third year students, meaning 3 to 5 students per year. Through networking they have established a reputation that their students have really strong skills. Hence, no student had a trouble in finding a job or an internship (Interview Creative Space Beirut, 2017). “We see design as the process we use to structure our world, but if you have higher education that is so expensive, it means that the majority of the world is prevented from designing the world around them” (Interview Creative Space Beirut, 2017). Hence, this intervention reduces *social inequalities*, by improving the socio economic statues of lower income groups through investing in their *human capital*. They took part in an event in 2013, which was led by Gaia Heritage to study the gentrification process of MM, and to look at the role of the creative sector in the process of gentrification. “What the study said, is that the movement of the creative sector into a neighborhood, is not necessarily negative, it is really quite nice because you can have collaboration with local tailors and artisans, and it does not displace, but it is the trigger for gentrification and displacement. So the

ecosystem that exist in areas is not replaced by a different ecosystem. Everybody is taking part in the process. Even local people are actively involved in gentrification. For example, when an owner decides to rent the space for a restaurant for 6000\$ per month. These long time tenants are part of the ecosystem, but this ecosystem is not making their ability to live in the neighborhood so survivable” (Interview Creative Space Beirut, 2017). They do work with local tailors, and carpenters. Therefore, this group is not disconnected from the neighbourhood residents and business layer. One of their former students is from MM, but this is only 10% of their students, which is considerably low to be considered as a free school for the residents of MM (Interview Creative Space Beirut, 2017). But “if you think about the price range of our clothing, is outside of the budget of most people who are form MM. But this tends to be the issue with design often” (Interview Creative Space Beirut, 2017). They do sell online and in their clothing line boutiques in Gemmayze and Downtown area. They are clearly targeting higher income groups. However, one has to mention that the main financial income to this school comes from the brand profits along with fundraising events and private donations. They also explained “even though we are in the creative sector, even though our clothing price tag is so high, at the same time the beneficiaries of our program are different. We are a bit of a unique element in that sense” (Interview Creative Space Beirut, 2017). Hence, this unique element that combines CE with a form of CA, cannot be taken as any CE in MM. It is a CE that is trying to reduce *social inequalities*, and that is not actively involved in MM gentrification, since they do collaborate with so many local shops, which is *economically beneficial* for the existing craftsman industries in the area. Hence, activating their business make them resist gentrification. They do bring a *social benefit* on the neighbourhood scale and population scale, but this impact remains too limited due to the very small amount of students who are benefiting from the program. Therefore, this intervention strengthens the **socio-cultural resilience** to a very limited extent.

4.3.4 Conclusion A1, B1 and C1:

The *meaning* is mostly what mobilizes the **creative activism** interventions in the city. The intervention can be a creation of an *activity* (ex: street mobilizations, public event) that advocate for a certain change on the *space* level. It can also be an intervention that aims to regulate the *activity* of the place, by creating a collective *meaning* among groups. The differences in *meanings* among groups (activists, residents, investors, governmental body), is making these groups clash. Hence, a tension and form of resistance is created between various actors, leading to have winners and losers in the end. Compromise can happen (ex: preserving a façade building a tower behind it) but the creative activist does not understand why they should compromise, because their demand is a public right. These interventions bring people together, precisely people who *feel a belonging* to the city place, because MM is one of the very few remaining historical areas in Beirut. Their platforms on Social Media have a big role in reaching people and mobilizing them. Hence, their strength in achieving their action comes from the people, but it remains sometimes very weak in front of powerful stakeholders like investors with political support. The state corruption was mentioned as a strongly limiting factor to their actions. And this is supported by the lack of regulations and laws that can stop it to a certain extent. Interventions done by NGOs that receive grants, thus have more power and resources to advocate for urban problems. Those NGOs are who are engaged in creative

activism interventions, are most likely the ones that are able to bringing change on governance level, hence making a stronger impact on resilience.

The *space* is what stimulated creative placemaking intervention in the city. The collective gathering that is created during the intervention is what creates a *meaning*, and builds relations between people and the *space*, and people together by creating community ties. This impact depends on who is engaging (people from the neighbourhood) and how many members engaged. In MM one can say that engagement is on the high level. But the interventions that did not include a group in of the community in the making process, remains aesthetical and only improve the quality of the *space*, that attracts more *activity* to it, but does not create any *meaning*. This group creates an identity for the space.

The creative entrepreneurs whose activities are base in MM are not contributing in community gatherings; they operate on another layer in the neighbourhood. Most of them are disconnected from day-time *activity* in MM. They do influence increase the economic *activity* by renting space and opening new business, but also are replacing the existing economic of the neighbourhood (Craftsman's, mechanics). They do not contribute to the cultural activity in the neighbourhood. Some exceptions can be made, like Creative Space Beirut that works and collaborate with local tailors for example. Their clustering and mushrooming in the *space* makes them a strong entity in the neighbourhood. But these people only work in MM and leave at the end of the day, they do not create a *meaning* for the space like that.

There are three layers in MM that coexist but do not interact much: the Creative industries, the bars and their youngster's consumers, and the local residents (often the elderly). The creative industries and bars are completely disconnected one works during the day the other at night, hence no competition over spaces or tension is created between them. The residents and the creative industries have some clashes when it comes to replacement of the existing daytime economy, but so far they do coexist with no direct conflict. The problem is with the unregulated nightlife industry and the residents mostly, that are clashing due to the different types of living patterns, and not with the presence of creative entrepreneurship activity. This is seen by the residents banner campaign or the small-scale intervention like calling the police for some loud bars. An expert from Gaia Heritage (2017) mentions "if the actors do not interact and connect, and don't contribute to the life of the place, sooner or later the place will die, an they will be out. And we have worked very hard with the youth here, the young creatives. We have given them courses and worked with them to explain to them, that this is your safeguard, this is your lifejacket, you would better take care of that. The problem is that they do not care". As for the nightlife industry, it has a very strong political power and operates in a very unregulated manner. The aim of most bars is to attract tourists, so they do compete a lot with each other's on the bar theme and design to distinguish themselves as the interviewed pub owners mentioned (2017). This has lead to aggressive interventions in space. Some bars are using the heritage preservation as strategy to attract people. It is clear that this influence the cultural place by creating an evening economy and activity. But the cultural value of that *activity* remains very consumerist based, and does not go beyond the entertainment in term of *meaning*.

Conclusion tables scoring value

The tables use symbols (-, 0, +) that are used as scales and those symbols have the following meaning (Conclusion Tables: 4.3.2/ 4.4.1 /4.5.1)

Scoring for Socio-cultural resilience (SCR):

(++) Intervention that brings a *social benefit* **and** reinforce *collective identity* **with** a positive impact on *governance* level

(+) Intervention that brings a *social benefit* **or** reinforce *collective identity* **with** failing or no impact on *governance* level.

(0) Intervention that does not have a *social benefit or decay* **and** does not influence the *collective identity*

(-) Intervention that brings a *social decay* **or** does not reinforce the *collective identity*

(- -) Intervention that brings a *social decay* **and** does not reinforce the *collective identity*

Scoring for factors, conditions and actors (FCA):

(++) Factors, conditions and actors that **empower** the creative actor's intervention to bring a *social benefit* **and/or** reinforce *collective identity* **with** a positive impact on *governance* level

(+) Factors, conditions and actors that **empower** the creative actor's intervention to bring a *social benefit* **or** reinforce *collective identity* **with** failing or no impact on *governance* level.

(0) Factors, conditions and actors that does **not influence** the creative actor's intervention to achieve a *social benefit or decay* **and** influence the *collective identity*

(-) Factors, conditions and actors that **disempower** the creative actor's intervention to bring a *social benefit* **or** reinforce the *collective identity*

(- -) Factors, conditions and actors that **disempower** the creative actor's intervention to bring a *social benefit* **and** reinforce the *collective identity*

Box 4.3.2: Scoring value and meaning

Case 1				
Mar Michael Neighbourhood (CC)				
A: creative activists	A1-a		A1-b	
	Interventions	→ Cultural place regeneration	→ Socio-cultural resilience	Factors, conditions and actors influencing the interventions
	a- Saving and promoting architectural heritage mobilization	Preserves the <i>meaning</i> by preserving the <i>space</i>	(++) The <i>social benefit</i> of collective gatherings reinforces the <i>collective identity</i> , by creating a <i>collective meaning</i> .	(- -) Lack of heritage protection regulation (0) New heritage law in 2008, not applied yet (- -) Corruption / Politically powerful private owners (- -) Lack of transparency and monitoring from ministry of culture (hard collaboration between NGO and gov.) (- -) Lack of funds, volunteer based NGO (-) Inheriting family internal conflict (-) Economic crisis pressure to sell houses to developers (-) Owners' lack of awareness about the collective good. (-) Old rent law (+) Collaboration with Nahnoo and APSAD

			(+) Social media platform
b- Neighbourhood committee	<p>Increase the meaning by creating a <i>sense of belonging</i> of the residents to their neighbourhood, in order to regulate the activity that is deteriorating the social fabric.</p> <p>Preserving the space, through protecting the people living in it.</p>	(++) Preservation of the <i>social fabric</i> , and building <i>community ties</i> through <i>engagement</i> brings a social benefit and reinforces the collective identity .	<p>(- -) Corruption of the state (-) Age difference (- -) Slow escalation level, makes residents participation drop (-) Lack of regulations for the bar industry (+) Low expenses, volunteer based (-) Low residents participation (-) Residents with no political power / bars with political power (-) Ministry of tourism lack of interest (+) Collaborative bars owners</p>
c- Car Free days	<p>Creation of a one-day activity that creates a collective meaning, which is preserved through the traces left in space.</p>	(++) Creation of a <i>sense of belonging</i> , fostering collective identity . Brings a social benefit through public gatherings.	<p>(- -) Lack of funds (++) Small decision making group (+) Trust between municipality and NGO (+) Civil society participation and support (-) No legal power on municipal governance levels (-) No governmental support (+) Private partnerships and sponsorships (+) Good reputation in events, no security troubles (-) Long municipal procedure for reaching decisions (+) Existing street activity (+) Strong network of collaborations (+) Social media platform (- -) Temporary event (-) Culture challenge to change behaviours</p>
d- Cycling murals	<p>Intervention in space that influences the meaning, and change in behaviour towards the space.</p>	(+) Very moderate influence on the collective identity .	<p>(+) Exposed mural locations (+) Traffic jams as motivation for people to adopt cycling (+) Good target of people (- -) Lack of funds (+) Car free days (- -) Lack of human resource (-) Car culture, hard to shift behaviours (-) No helpful mobility policies (+) Funding support from private sponsors</p>
e- The Haven House	<p>The presence of the house is a resistance that creates a meaning of collaboration rather than competition.</p>	(+) Strengthen <i>tolerance to differences</i> in society, which strengthen the collective identity . Creation of platform of equality.	<p>(+) International surrounding (++) Tolerance and freedom in the area (-) Social stigma (+) Collaboration between artists replacing competition (+) Social media platform (- -) Minority within minority (+) European support (- -) No interaction with neighbourhood communities (-) No governmental support</p>

B: creative placemakers				(-) Risk of eviction from the house if owner decides to sell
	f- The Laziza beer factory media demolition mobilization	It is <i>landmark</i> and <i>environmental signifier</i> . Hence, it is part of the city <i>collective memory</i> , which strengthens the <i>sense of belonging</i> , and <i>meaning</i> to the <i>space</i> .	(+) The preservation of the factory maintains the <i>place's identity</i> . Strengthening the <i>collective identity</i> .	(- -) The developer is strongly engaged in politics (- -) Demolition was paused, to keep the activists quiet (- -) Lack of protecting regulation (- -) No objective characteristics for heritage classification (+) Media mobilization (- -) Corruption (+) Community self-organization
	g- Fouad Boutrous highway into Fouad Botrous Park civil coalition	The <i>space</i> provided the opportunity to create an <i>activity</i> of <i>public collective gatherings</i> . Which will created a <i>meaning</i>	(+) Creation of <i>collective meaning</i> , through the <i>collective engagement</i> in the mobilization.	(++) Big group of organizations that collaborate (+) Social media network of petition support (+) Public ownership of the land (+) Other possibilities for traffic solutions (- -) Projects only put on hold and not cancelled to shutdown the noise of activists (-) Corruption (-) Lack of political interest
	B1-a		B1-b	Factors, conditions and actors influencing the interventions
	Interventions	→ Cultural place regeneration	→ Socio-cultural resilience	
	a- Paint up initiative intervention on MM pedestrian stairs	An intervention in <i>space</i> , that provided <i>meaning</i> by the creation of a <i>sense of belonging</i> , through <i>collective work</i> . The new attractive <i>space</i> enhances the <i>activity</i> of the area.	(+) The intended impact of building <i>community ties</i> brings a <i>social benefit</i> . (-) The unintended impact, of gentrifying the neighbourhood due to its attractiveness brings a <i>social decay</i> .	(+) Community engagement (-) Lack of funds (-) No governmental support (+) Big group of volunteers
	b- Graffiti murals during car free days	Intervention in <i>space</i> , created a <i>sense of belonging</i> and influenced the <i>meaning</i> of the space.	(+) <i>Collective engagement</i> build <i>community ties</i> . Thus, strengthened the <i>Collective identity</i> . But with a limited influence.	(0) Community participation from other areas (+) Big crowds in event give a bigger outreach to impacts (-) only aesthetic that lacks a collective meaning
	c- Quantista Café wall graffiti	Influence the <i>space</i> quality. But does not provide a <i>meaning</i> since it is not done with a group of the community member.	(0) No, or very limited influence	(0) No influence identified

	d- Forum bridge mural	Influence the <i>space</i> quality by making the living environment less stressful. But does not provide a strong social <i>meaning</i> .	(0) No, or very limited influence	(0) No influence identified
C: Creative Entrepreneurs	C1-a		C1-b	Factors, conditions and actors influencing the interventions
	Interventions	→ Cultural place regeneration	→ Socio-cultural resilience	
	a- Artists Nada Sehnaoui Atelieh	Boost the <i>small-scale economic activity</i> . CE as a <i>disconnected layer</i> in MM, that does not create a <i>meaning</i>	(- -) Trigger to gentrification, which has a <i>negative social impact</i> leading to a <i>social decay</i> . No creation for a <i>collective identity</i>	(-) Low prices as a motivation to move into the neighbourhood (-) Vacant spaces (-) Creative cluster
	b- Event Planning office	CE as a <i>disconnected layer</i> in MM. No engagement in the daytime activities, thus there is no creation of <i>meaning</i> .	(- -) Actively evolved in gentrification, bringing a <i>social decay</i> . No creation of <i>collective identity</i>	(-) Low prices as a motivation to move into the neighbourhood (-) Vacant spaces
	c- Zawya workshop	This very <i>small scale</i> CE, <i>bond</i> with the neighbourhood actors on personal level. But is not initiating any interventions that create a <i>meaning</i> . Hence the CE clustering, due to her collaboration influences the <i>activity</i> .	(-) Actively evolved in gentrification, bringing a <i>social decay</i> . But no influence on the collective identity do to the CE activity small scale	(-) Low prices as a motivation to move into the neighbourhood (-) Vacant spaces (+) Possible collaborations in creative cluster (+) Economic crisis, slowdown the cluster growth
	d- Creative Space Beirut Brand	Influence positively the <i>activity</i> of MM.	(+ / 0) bring a <i>social benefit</i> but for a very small group.	(-) Low prices as a motivation to move into the neighbourhood (-) Vacant spaces (+) Possible collaborations in creative cluster (+) Compassionate renter (+) Economic crisis, slowdown the cluster growth

Table 4.3.2: Case 1 conclusion table

4.4 Findings of Case 2: Beirut City Centre (CC)

The same analysis conducted for Case 1 will be repeated for case 2.

4.4.1 A2: A2-a / A2-b: Creative activism interventions in the city center

This section presents, describes and analyses the creative activism interventions in the city centre. Sometimes activist interventions overlap with the other two categories, however the interventions presented here are primarily activist in nature.

- ‘Save the Egg’ mobilization
(Table A5 Annex 4)

The Egg is very cherished by Beiruties. It was build in the city center during the pre-war period, it represents the cinemas of Beirut Golden Age (Photograph 4.4.1), it is a wreckage of the war (Photograph 4.4.2) that is standing on the front line (green line / demarcation line) between East and West Beirut. Today there are not so many things that are still there from the pre war period. The Egg an element of the city’s *collective memory*, as it is a witness to history, which holds *meaning* to Beiruties. Because of its weird shape, it became a *reference point* in *space*; it is a landmark in the city center, and a very iconic building in Beirut. It was supposed to be part of a big center that was never completed; only one of the buildings was completed, and later was demolished by Solidere (Save Beirut Heritage, 2017). The activist explains, “what we did, is that every time we heard a rumor that it will be demolished, we did mobilizations, specially online, on the news, on the ground, and other groups came in. On this case, people really mobilize themselves, which is why it has been efficient. So when not only NGOs are acting, then you have more credibility, and more legitimacy to the action” (Interview Save Beirut Heritage, 2017). Solidere used to own this plot. The lack of transparency by the company was the cause of the problem, because it created rumors. But in the end a clause was added in the contract saying that the buyer (Saudi Arabian investor) had to keep the structure of the Egg in the development. Nonetheless, it is not clear what it will become. Will it be public or private? Will it be a theater or a gym for example? The Latest project proposal completely overwhelms the Egg structure, and does not expose it fairly (Photograph 4.4.3). Moreover ‘La Fete de la Music’ happened in the Egg to raise awareness about its value and importance to the Beiruties. It is clear that the *meaning* of the Egg is what mobilized the people to act on preserving it. Street artists also hold meaning to the Egg; they see it as part of the war museum of the city that should be preserved. Architects consider it as the masterpiece of the Brutalism movement in Beirut. But, some people, who are from the older generation, think that the Egg was not the most important cinema in the golden Age. Hence, it is not so worthy to preserve. The problem comes from the fact that there are no objective criteria that classify what is historic heritage or what is contemporary heritage on governmental level. Therefore, the presence of different *meanings* upon different groups is creating this fight between them.



Photograph 4.4.1: Initial Project In the 1970's



Photograph 4.4.2: the present Egg wreckage



Photograph 4.4.3: future Development

- ‘War Peace’ series by Jad El khoury
(Table A4 Annex 4)

Jad El Khoury known as ‘Potato Nose’, did his first ‘War Peace’ work on a building right across the city centre ring. Due to the hard possibility to get permits for such work, he completed his work by going down on ropes. The idea is to highlight the memory of the war for the city to heal by facing its problems. He chose that building because it is located on a highway, hence it is very exposed, and so many people pass by it. He tried to spread his message to everyone who is passing by. But soon the harsh reality was covered by a gigantic phone advertisement, which has been interpreted as a plaster that covers the wound, which makes the healing process slower (Photograph 4.4.4 & 4.4.5 & 4.4.6). This did not make the artist stop. Hence, he dared to do a bigger act of vandalism and go down on ropes to highlight the war scares on the Holiday Inn hotel in Solidere area. This created a big problem and the company quickly erased the characters painted on the building. He mentions: “I had problems when I did the Holiday Inn hotel, they considered it as an iconic building with heritage value. So many people were against, while others were with me. It created a debate, and in the end they painted on top of the characters to hide them. I knew the issues of that building that it is passing through. I knew that there is no chance that it will be preserved as part of the war museum of the city; it will be or renovated completely or demolished to ground. So I went up to highlight the war remains. I am not covering them” (Interview El Khoury, 2017) (Photograph 4.4.7). For the artist keeping the memory of the war that he never knew since he was born after its ending, is very important. He has been always curious about knowing this never documented history. Therefore, the *environmental signifiers* that the city centre still has with few building wreckage from the war, is the only *preserved war memory* in the city. Thus, the *meaning in space* is what stimulated the intervention, which fosters the *collective identity* of the city by preserving its *collective memory* and this leads to **socio-cultural resilience**. But the fact that the interventions were erased or covered, then only the memory of the interventions is communicated with the society through social media. This limits the impact and limits building **socio-cultural resilience**.

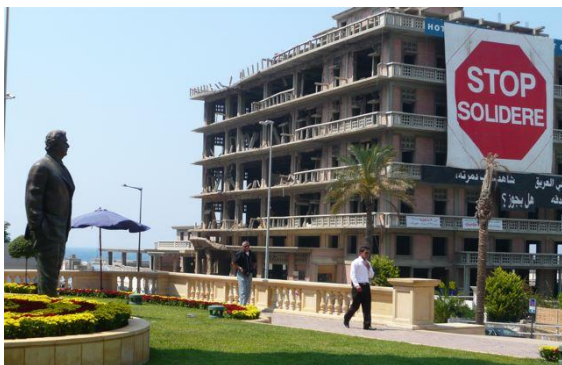


Photograph 4.4.4 & 4.4.5 & 4.4.6: ‘War Peace’ first mural

Photograph 4.4.7: Holiday Inn ‘War Peace’ mural

- St George Hotel ‘Stop Solidere’ banner

Once a public beach, the saint George bay was transformed to Zaytounay Bay, a private development targeting clientele the upper social class after its transformation to transformed into an upper class consumerist place. But on that small plot that has been surrounded by landfill from all sides, the hotel owner refused to give-up his ownership to be demolished and replaced by one of that series of towers that invaded the Saint George bay. The st. George Hotel is a witness to Beirut glorious modern age, it is a masterpiece of the French colonial architecture built in 1932, and is part of Beirut contemporary heritage. The hotel is “named after the legendary hero who slew the dragon terrorizing its shores”, and now ‘The Saint George’ is facing a ‘David and Goliath’ battle against the attack by “the corporate monster Solidere”, as described by the owner (Saint George Vs The Dragon website, 2015). The owner has no permission to renovate, leaving the structure in suspension. This battle is manifested in *space*, by the ‘Stop Solider’ sign (Photograph 4.4.9) that rises from the Bay side. Along with the screens showing the history of the bay, that the owner installed on the edge of the public promenade of the bay. The idea is to raise cultural awareness about the public space rights for the users who frequent that space. Another symbolic element of this fight in *space* is the statue of Prime Minister Rafic el Hariri who was assassinated in 2005 right in front of the Hotel (Photograph 4.4.8), and which also happens to be the main investor in Solidere. And still the small hotel is able to stand-alone against the powerful corporate company that is in charge for the city centre renovation. However, many academics and professional support the intervention by the hotel owner, and they argue that this hotel is the first modern building of Beirut which combines the colonial and modernist architectural style; hence it should be preserved as part of the contemporary heritage of the city (Interview Maskini, 2017) This action preserves the *meaning* of the space by preserving its cultural and collective identity. Hence, this action strengthens **socio-cultural resilience**, but remain too limited in front of the powerful neo-liberal forces.



Photograph 4.4.8: PM statue



Photograph 4.4.9: ‘Stop Solidere’ banner

- Nada Sehnaoui public art installations

The artist intervenes in the city centre due to the opportunity, provided by the vacant *spaces*. A *space* that she can inhabit to spread a context based message through an installation. The artist tries to restore the *memory* of the place, to recreate the lost *sense of belonging*. Through the large-scale installations that people can inhabit, she recreates a relationship between the people and *space*, thus creating *meaning* to the space. She sees public installations, as “It is like a huge canvas that people can redraw all the time” she adds that “you can reach a huge part of the society, specially the one that is not comfortable to open the door of a gallery and going in. So instead of them going to the gallery where I used and still do exhibit my work. I went to the public

space, and then they bump into me. They don't have to decide to go into an art event; the art event is in the street. So that is why public art is interesting, because you go where people are, you don't ask them to come to you”(Interview Sehnaoui, 2017). The vacant space of the city centre that was raised to ground during the regeneration plan is the main inspiration for the artists. Hence, the space invited her to do several installations in Beirut City Centre that are described below:

Haven't 15 Years of Hiding in the Toilets Been Enough? (2008)

The artist installed 600 toilet seats in the downtown, in the memory of the days that people had to spend sleeping in the toilets during the 15 years civil war, because they are the safest room in the house that has no external walls and that cannot be bombed. This installation was a response to the political crisis at the time. The aim was to remind people about the horrors of the war, as an act of awareness to prevent it from happening again. It reached a lot of people because so many people gathered around it. She adds, “What was absolutely surprising in a good way, was that people wanted to sit on the toilet seat. So the expectation while construction was that no one will sit on them, and people sat. You know that we have the concept of clean and dirty, and toilets are considered to be private and dirty and you frequent indoors, not outdoors, you do not put them in a public space like that” (Interview Sehnaoui, 2017). This means that the people really grasped the message behind this installation and they really inhabited it. In the photos one can see that very diverse people joined, and together they contributed to the events by telling their diverse stories from the war. This definitely creates a *meaning* to the *space*, which in turn strengthen the *collective identity*. Plus, the *public gathering* build *community ties* which brings a *social benefit*. Therefore, such interventions reinforce **socio-cultural resilience**. The only limitation of such installations is the challenge to execute them. Hence, it is hard to maintain a constant momentum with events. And if there is not a constant inhabitation to public space, the impact of the installations on the *activity* and *meaning* remains moderate (Photograph 4.4.10 & 4.4.11 & 4.4.12 & 4.4.13).



Photograph 4.4.10: Installation construction



Photograph 4.4.11: Installation



Photograph 4.4.12: Installation inhabited



Photograph 4.4.13: Installation Inhabited

Light at the end of the tunnel (2012)

In this installation the artist communicate an indirect political message (indirect: to be able to pass the censorship and get the permit for execution) about the right of the people in shaping their cities. She inhabits a very well designed and finished public space in the city centre, that is underused and deserted most of the time. And she installs big wooden parallelepipeds, that people can move for rehabilitating the space, hence inhabiting it. For her this is “an affirmation of our collective will to see light at the end of the tunnel” (Interview Sehnaoui, 2017), meaning that collectively we can do a change. This creates a *collective meaning* to the space, which strengthen **socio-cultural resilience** (Photograph 4.4.14 & 4.4.15).



Photograph 4.4.14 & 4.4.15: Installation in the public space

Fractions of Memory (2003)

“The location was what used to be Martyrs’ Square in downtown Beirut. Martyrs’ Square was destroyed twice, first by the war, then by the reconstruction project” (Interview Sehnaoui, 2003). Hence the *space* is the inspiration for this installation. It started with her personal interest of doing geographic mapping of what is what, and who is who in downtown Beirut. Because she thinks that keeping the memory is very important in order to get to know ones-self better. She adds, “History is like art making, a society look at it self in a mirror while it looks at its artists in art, and this creates identity. So memory creates ones identity, and people with no memory, even on individual basis, are people with no identity because they don’t know who they are”. Therefore one day she invited people to write on a piece of paper their memories for downtown Beirut in the pre-war period. The response level was quite high, and some people wrote ‘No memory’, which is accurate for the young generations, but what is dangerous is that if the older generations do not transfer the image and identity of Beirut in the Pre-war period to the younger ones. Some papers where left white, representing the lost memories. In this installation the artists is preserving the *collective memory* and *cultural identity* of the people, creating a *meaning* and reinforcing the *collective identity* and strengthen **socio-cultural resilience**. (Photograph 4.4.16 & 4.4.17)



Photograph 4.4.16 & 4.4.17: Fraction of Memory Installation

- NO interventions by street artists:

The city centre space seems very appealing for some street artists to intervene in it, but each has not found a way yet to do so, without going for vandalism actions. Getting a permit in the downtown area to do murals seems like dream. Ashekman mentions their desire in drawing on the Egg building because it reminds them of the war and their childhood. As for The Chain Effect (interview, 2017) team said, “Solidere is largely inaccessible and we would never get permission to paint on a wall there. It is also generally not the right audience to promote cycling to”. Hence, the strong control on the freedom of expression in the CC is a big limitation for the creative activists to make a change in a *space* that is desperate for it. This limits the creation of *activity* and *meaning* in the space. Thus, it weakens **socio-cultural resilience**.

4.4.2 B2: B2-a / B2-b: Creative placemaking interventions in the city center:

This section presents, describes and analyses the creative placemaking interventions in the city centre. Sometimes the lack of placemaking interventions is replaced by other forms activism (political).

- NO community bottom-up placemaking, replaced by public space vandalism

The lack of the city centre’s bottom up initiatives for placemaking actions is replaced with the vandalism (Photograph 4.4.18). People do not respect the newly renovated public space and this is due to the lack of a *sense of belonging* and *meaning* to the *space*. Plus, the murals have political statement and with no artistic value (Photograph 4.4.19). They are direct resistance, which is not an attribute to creative activism. This probably best explains the lack of the sense of community in the CC. If there are no initiatives to bring people together, then no *community ties* are being built, which weakens the **socio-cultural resilience** of the CC.



Photograph 4.4.18: Vandalism in a renovated public space | Photograph 4.4.19: Political activism

- Big events like ‘Beasts’ (2017)

‘Beasts’ is an event that is prepared through the collaboration of the municipality of Beirut, Solidere and other stakeholders. The event objective clearly states the idea of “reinventing Lebanon’s face... to reinstate Lebanon on the regional map of tourism and entertainment”(Beasts website, 2017). The event is happening on Beirut waterfront, in the plot that is assigned to become one day a park. It is the replacement event to Beirut Festivals that spans on 12 days (Photograph 4.4.20 & 4.4.21). The cultural aspect is integrated in the event, but most shows are international and do not promote the local cultures. It is more of an entertainment culture, and the process of giving *meaning* in this kind of *collective gatherings* is not very inclusive. Most of the shows are inaccessible by the public since tickets have to be purchased. High-end bars like Iris in Beirut are opening a space in the event targeting the upper class nightlife consumers. This promotes the culture of consumerism that overshadows the position of the civil

society to use arts as an expression for critical thinking, and it erases the notion of the right to the public space completely. If people are not aware about their public rights, then they will not be mobilized to reclaim it. This does not help in building a *collective identity* and then weakens **socio-cultural resilience**. Furthermore, VIP areas are created in the project, which are accessible only by the upper class population, this does not allow *mixity* to happen, and hence no *social benefit* is brought.



Photograph 4.4.20 & 4.4.21: Beasts event

- Solidere 'Sea n Art' public Exhibition in 2013

50 artists are called to create pieces that were then exhibited in Beirut Souks. Each artist was asked to create an interpretation of the traditional Lebanese fish (EECOY, 2013) (Photograph 4.4.22 & 4.4.23). Armanazi (2013) said, "Beirut Souks have always been a hub for trade businesses and have once again become a space for art and social activities. Seeking to make art available for everyone and encouraging innovation and creativity have always been part of Solidere's policy as it hopes to maintain Beirut's image as a highly active capital and a leader in bringing cultural initiatives". This is a top-down intervention where only artists are engaged in completing it. The audience of this exhibition are Beirut Souks clientele that will bump into the designed fishes. This creates a sort of *activity* in the Souks, but does not create much *meaning*. Hence, it does not affect *socio-cultural resilience*.



Photograph 4.4.22 & 4.4.23: Sea n' Art public exhibition at Beirut Souks

- 'I love Beirut' sculpture

This is a form of top-down placemaking, which primarily aims to attract tourists, and to stimulate certain *activity* in the place. The signage in the public space that bans certain activities is a proof that the users behaviour in the space is restricted. Hence, the meaning of public spaces in the city, and the type of users that frequent these places is at question. (Photograph 4.4.24 & 4.4.25). The *meaning* remain esthetical and does not create *sense of belonging* to the locals and this might have been strengthened by the fact that there was no participation in the making. Hence, no *collective gathering* happened

to build this piece. This does not bring any *social benefit*, and does not influence the *collective identity*. In turn the intervention does not strengthen or affect **socio-cultural resilience**.



Photograph 4.4.24 & 4.4.25: Beirut Souks public space

4.4.3 C2: C2-a / C2-b: Creative entrepreneurship activity in the city centre

This section presents, describes and analyses the creative entrepreneurship activity in the city centre. That is due to the moderate presence of creative industries in the area.

- Starch foundation (Saifi village CI)

A non-profit organization founded in collaboration with Solidere. Its aim is to help emerging Lebanese designers in launching their career. They do select 6 designers every year and guide them through their collections while also promoting them. The designed products are presented at the Strach boutique for one year, which is located in Saifi Village in the CC. This adds to the *activity* of the almost deserted Saifi village. But does not create a *meaning* or change to *space*, hence it has no impact on **socio-cultural resilience**. The area is already gentrified and very expensive. Hence, the addition of these 12 creative industries in it will not make it worse.

- Ayam art gallery

“Founded in 2006, Ayyam Gallery is a leading arts organization that manages the careers of diverse established and emerging artists. Blue-chip art spaces in Beirut and Dubai, a series of collaborative projects in the United States, Europe, and Asia, and a multinational non-profit arts program have furthered the gallery’s mandate of expanding the parameters of international art. With its widely respected multilingual publishing division and a custodianship program that manages the estates of pioneering artists” (Ayyam art gallery website, 2017). The *meaning* provided by an elite art gallery remains within a very specific group: the upper class arts enthusiast. Which makes the area more exclusive to this category of people. This is clear because the art pieces are way not affordable for the majority of the Lebanese population. Plus, only people who are interested in arts would go into a gallery and understand art. Hence, this does not influence **socio-cultural resilience** due to the very moderate impact limits.

4.4.4 Conclusion A2, B2, and C2

An expert in the ministry of culture (interview, 2017) explains that people refer to environmental signifiers to orient themselves in space, not to street names; they use the location as a reference point. And he confirms, “In the city centre, the point of reference for the old Lebanese society was eliminated today. So people lost their place attachment”. Hence, creative activists are trying to recover what remains of the city centre space from the pre-war period. They are trying to preserve the few remaining reference points that are being scheduled

to demolition like so many other buildings. Thus, they are trying to preserve the *meaning* in *space*. These mobilizations do not add a permanent *activity* to the deserted city centre on the long term, people are on the ground only during the mobilization and later they leave. The lack of transparency of Solidere, made a big problem because rumours were created and then one-day people are mobilized the other not. This creates confusion for mobilization, and makes them weak. But for example, so many people gathered around the Egg, not only NGOs and this what made the mobilization successful to a certain extent. In front of one big and powerful force, many activists' interventions were turned down and never listened. This gives a political identity for the gatherings that happen in the city centre.

Very few art installations were created targeting directly the people by raising awareness about issues of the now, with a hidden political message. They have been successful on the civic level, but no impact on governance levels. One of the activists at Nahnoo (interview, 2017), an advocacy NGO, mentioned that they have to choose their battles, Martyr's Square can be a future plan for Nahnoo, but currently with the lack of resources it is meaningless to act upon it. The city centre is highly controlled to the point that sometimes activists are demotivated to intervene in it; they lost hope in it.

Creative placemaking in the CC is done through a top-down way, because first there is no middle class community living there, and the upper class that own houses in the city centre live abroad, hence they are not always present (Interview Maskini, 2017). Second the targeted activity to be created is the tourist's *activity*. Thus, Solidere have been trying to create touristic attractions in Beirut Souks. But this does not really brings permanent *activity* to the area and revive it, because touristic activity is very vulnerable to political instability, which is a main attribute of the CC.

Creative entrepreneurship activity in the CC is not based on a big cluster of creative industries like in MM. Hence, this activity is enough to revive the economic *activity* in the CC. Plus the clientele of these creative industries is only the upper class that is a very small sample in the Lebanese population, making this category exclusive to most Lebanese.

Case 2				
Beirut City Centre (CC)				
A: creative activists	A2-a		A2-b	Factors, conditions and actors influencing the interventions
	Interventions	→ Cultural place regeneration	→ Socio-cultural resilience	
	a- 'Save the Egg' mobilization	The <i>meaning</i> of the Egg mobilized people to save. The difference of <i>meanings</i> upon groups created this conflict.	(+) Preserving the <i>collective memory</i> . Hence, preserving the <i>collective identity</i> . (0) Very limited social impact on the City Centre's social fabric.	(- -) Lack of transparency from Solidere (++) Many groups joined (- -) No objective heritage characteristics for classification (-) High value of land (-) No community in the city centre
	b- 'War Peace' murals	The hidden <i>meaning</i> in the <i>space</i> stimulates the intervention highlighting the <i>memory</i>	(+) The <i>maintenance of the memory</i> strengthen the <i>collective identity</i>	(-) Vandalism action (- -) Politically powerful building owners within Solidere, erased the mural instantly. (+) Social media platform, keep the erased action
	c- St George	An act of resistance to	(+) The <i>maintenance of</i>	(- -) Very strong political power

	Hotel ‘Stop Solidere’ banner	<i>heritage</i> demolition, and erasing <i>memory</i> . Preserve the meaning by preserving the space	<i>the memory</i> strengthens the collective identity . Raising awareness about the importance of <i>memory</i> to build an <i>identity</i> .	of Solidere, stopping the renovation (- -) Corruption (-) Lack of funds to renovate (- -) Privatization of the public beach (- -) The only remaining owner in Solidere is with its original ownership rights. (+) Preserved ownership right (+) Freedom of expression (+) Campaign awareness targets the upper class users of the Zaytounay bay
	d- Public art installations	<i>Social awareness</i> and creation of meaning to the space . Recreate the lost <i>sense of belonging</i> to the CC	(+) <i>The maintenance of the memory</i> strengthen the collective identity	(-) Temporary with long time spans (-) Hard permit procedure (+) Community engagement (-) Specific community category engages (+) Online preservation of the work memory
	e- No street-art interventions	Permits limitations, stop the creation of meaning in space	(0) No action to have an impact	(- -) No permits in CC (- -) Not the right audience in CC
B: creative placemakers	B2-a		B2-b	Factors, conditions and actors influencing the interventions
	Interventions	→ Cultural place regeneration	→ Socio-cultural resilience	
	a- No community placemaking, replaced by public space vandalism	No <i>sense of belonging</i> and meaning to the space . The only meaning is political	(-) No creation of a collective identity	(- -) Public surveillance (- -) Deserted areas
	b- ‘Beasts’ event	Encourage consumerist culture, which does not create a <i>sense of belonging</i> to the space .	(-) No creation of a collective identity	(- -) Social class segregation (- -) Consumerist culture (-) Temporary (-) Tourists as targets not local community
	c- ‘I Love Beirut’ Sculpture	Top-down placemaking to attract tourists. The meaning remain esthetical and does not create <i>sense of belonging</i> to the locals.	(- -) No creation of the collective identity . And no public participation in the making, which does not bring a social benefit	(-) Tourists as targets not local community (-) Top-down, no community ‘making’
	d- Sea and Art public exhibition	Aesthetic value in place does not create a meaning .	(0) No influence	(+) Based on involving a section of the community (-) Tourists as targets not local

				community
C: creative entrepreneurs	C2-a		C2-b	
	Interventions	→ Cultural place regeneration	→ Socio-cultural resilience	Factors, conditions and actors influencing the interventions
	a- Starch Foundation	Adds <i>activity</i> , but does not create a <i>meaning</i> for the <i>space</i> .	(- -) No creation of a <i>collective identity</i>	(- -) Elite art
	b- Ayyam Gallery	Creation of <i>meaning</i> for a very small group.	(- -) No creation of a <i>collective identity</i>	(- -) Elite art

Table 4.4.1: Case 2 conclusion table

4.5 Findings of other relevant interventions in Beirut

While studying the cases it became apparent that there are also other relevant interventions that are not concentrated in Mar Mikhael or the City Centre but rather at a city scale level, which are important to address. Understanding those interventions helps understanding the role of the creative actors in socio-cultural resilience in Beirut. This section introduces and analyses those creative interventions that are also classified in Activism, Placemaking and Entrepreneurship.

4.5.1 A3: A3-a / A3-b: other Creative activism interventions:

- ‘Beirut Madinati’ municipal campaign followed by the ‘alternative municipality’ working group (Analytical Tables examples in Annex 4)

In the municipal elections of 2016, a group of individual creative activists, affiliated with academic researchers on creative fields in Beirut, decided to start a municipal campaign called “Beirut Madinati” (Arabic for Beirut my city) and run for the 2016 municipal elections. This civil society group is running independently against the authority, an unprecedented political action in Beirut. It is a political intervention that falls under creative urban activism. Mneinmeh (2017), the head of the list, mentions “five people gathered and they wanted to do something after the Garbage crisis (‘you stink’ campaign), and the municipal election was coming soon. So they started this campaign and called it ‘Beirut Madinaty’, and people started to gather around it. It was never perceived to have this kind of momentum, it happened. So we grew organically and we are learning along the way. There was not a particular model that we were trying to follow; we kept on restructuring... No one ever expected that we would reach this point because we are going against the authorities. Also it is not something that was tried before, so no one had an experience in entering elections against the authorities... There was an opportunity that is why we worked in Beirut in particular, because of the political setting and discourse of making a breakthrough. So why Beirut? Because we can shoot on the municipality without shooting directly on a political figure”. Their motivation came from the political *activity* that is happening in the city. The action was meant to give “power to the people” and to make Beirut a liveable city (figure 4.5.1). Furthermore, the trigger was the cry of the citizens for not having a basic public infrastructure in the city. Harb, 2017 said that “if there is a war in Syria, this does not mean the municipality cannot build a proper sidewalk, or install benches, or plant trees”. Hence, the motivation was very action oriented, and rose from the believe that ‘collectively we can do better’. Hence, making Beirut ‘*inclusive*’ through *collective*

work (figure 4.5.2), means that people from various backgrounds are always invited to contribute to the city mosaic. In a mosaic of differences, participation in collective work will increase when cultural diversity is accepted (Interview Mneinmeh, 2017). He continues by saying, "When you are accepted and your voice is heard, no matter if you are a small or big group, you feel that you are valued so you will contribute to the city in collective actions. The counter example is when you have a cultural dominance by one group, so the others would say, "why would I contribute?" the element of identity in the program is talking about the city's identity, as an inclusive, tolerant and cosmopolitan city; a city that maintains its openness and yet preserve the specificities of its communities (Interview Mneinmeh, 2017). Therefore, this intervention tries to create a *collective meaning* among groups to create a *collective identity*. And this is achieved by *community engagement* that brings a *social benefit*. Consequently, strengthening **socio-cultural resilience**.

After the end of the municipal elections, and the loss of Beirut Madinity (around 40% - 60%) three working groups were created: the Elections working group, the neighbourhood working group, and the alternative municipality working group (a kind of a shadow municipality). Each group has its responsibilities. For example, the elections group did Nakabati, the neighborhood group is working on Mar Mikhael and Zoukak el blat, and the alternative municipality is following up on what the municipality is doing, it is like a watch to monitor what is happening (the garbage issue, the privatization of Ramle el Bayda issue, heritage preservation, and public spaces) (Mneinmeh, 2017). On these matters Beirut Madinati can act as an umbrella for other collaborating NGO's and activists groups, and create coalitions. But Beirut Madinati after the elections as an entity has many limitations and challenges. They do not want to register as an NGO, nor as a political party, not to be labelled as 'political party', a notion only affiliated with sectarianism for Lebanese. And this reinforces Beirut Madinati's positioning outside of the two Lebanese political blocks, and insisting that it is not a third block. Beirut Madinati was able to catch swing voters that are people who are fed-up with their sectarian leaders and want to change camps. This shows that people want to belong to non-sectarian movements, but this came indirectly after people craved a good quality of life in the city, which sectarian groups are not providing (Harb, 2017). This way Beirut Madinati gained a big amount of the civil society trust. But they can be easily corrupted which threatens this trust. For example, some political groups tried to ally with them for the national elections. Some saw it as an opportunity to get in the politics, but a very dangerous one too, because Beirut Madinati would be identified with enemies, so it was not taken (interview Harb, 2017). And this is creating this dilemma of institutionalizing Beirut Madinati today after the municipal elections, because it does not fit in appropriate institutional frameworks. Hence, Harb (2017) rises the question, "How do you become a broader social movement without losing what you started with? And this is still being figured out". At the moment, Beirut Madinati is currently trying to build a database through academic research and institutionalize it by making it publicly accessible. In other terms, they are doing the municipality's job. Hence, this provides tools for activists to work against the 'Oligarchs' strategy that is creating this lack of information for the civil society (Interview Harb, 2017).



Figure 4.5.1: Beirut Madinati Facebook post

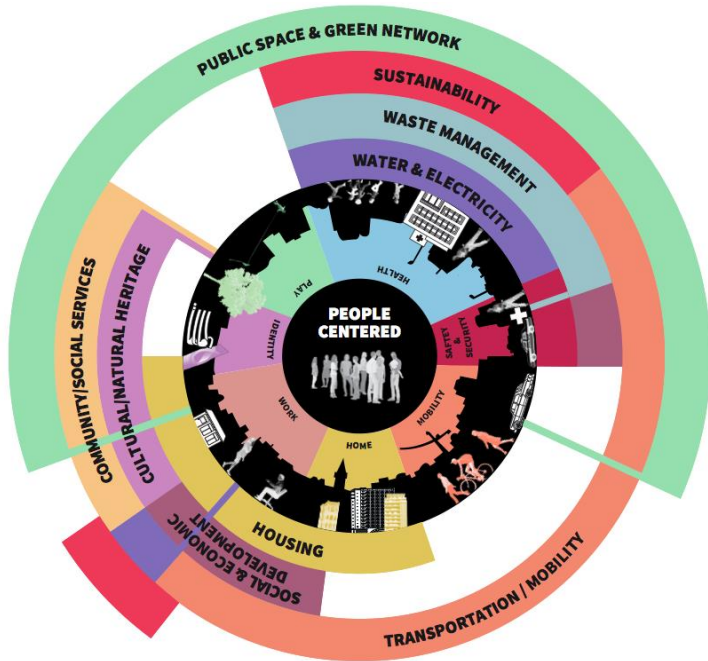


Figure 4.5.2: municipal campaign program

- ‘Horsh Beirut’ mobilization to reclaim the biggest public space in Beirut by Nahnoo

Nahnoo (Arabic for Us), have been working on preserving and increasing the public spaces because in Beirut they are lacking or they are not safe . In summer 2017, after excessive pressure exertion and lobbying with the municipality, Nahnoo succeeded in opening the biggest green public space in Beirut ‘Horsh Beirut’ to the public after 22 years of its closure. They raised awareness about the public right to mobilize people to join the campaign and to reclaim the Horsh (Interview Nahnoo, 2017). Their main tool was social media. Awareness, questions, and informative posts were shared intensively during the summer on Nahnoo facebook page. Around 300 people joined the Horsh protest in June 2017, and around 800 people were interested (Nahnoo Facebook Page). In this case the neighbours of the Horsh became very active and engaged with Nahnoo that started the campaign. The activist mentions, “first it was us and then they (Horsh Neighbours) came to us to work together. So the cohesion thing is happening bit by bit” (Interview Nahnoo, 2017). Nahnoo initiated few coalitions for the mobilization of Horsh Beirut like, ‘LPHU’, ‘green line’, and they worked with ‘Save Beirut Heritage’ since the Horsh was on the heritage classification list. And for transparency they created a coalition with, ‘municipality under spotlight’, and ‘Beirut Madinati’. On governmental level the ministry of health did support the mobilization in terms of stopping the hospital construction in Horsh Beirut. But the municipality of Beirut is constantly changing, and the activist described the relationship with the municipality as a roller coaster (Interview Nahnoo, 2017). Nahnoo believes that the public spaces in the city are very important because they are spaces of dialogues in which everyone is equal. They consider that the lack of public spaces in Beirut represents the fragmentation of the society, and to create community cohesion they need to build bridges through the provision of meeting spaces. Hence, they compare the city’s public spaces to the Lebanese houses ‘Salon’ (the public part of the house) (Interview on Tele Lumiere, Nahnoo, 2017). This definitely reinforces **socio-cultural resilience**, because the provision of the public *space* creates an *activity* (mobilization and events), which provides a *collective meaning* to the *space* through *collective gatherings* and *community engagement*. Hence, this brings a *social benefit* and builds a *collective*

identity. Today after the opening of the Horsh, still a lot of challenges are still there. For example, the municipality started excavation works in the Horsh in October 2017, violating all laws (Nahnoo Facebook Page, post of 20 October 2017). The activist mentioned, “The corruption is a big challenge, because there could be many things that could be unblocked easily. If the politicians do not see their interest in it, there is no money in it so they do not do it. And the root of this is the lack of transparency” (Interview Nahnoo, 2017). Hence, one questions the extent to which socio-cultural resilience is achieved in such a challenging environment.

- ‘Beirut bi ouyoun chababiha’ study (Arabic for ‘Beirut in the eyes of its youth): ‘Dreams to action’ by Nahnoo, in collaboration with other organizations in Beirut

In 23 October 2017 a talk and exhibition took place to discuss the findings of the ‘dreams to action’ study. Members from the municipality, cultural sector, urban expert, organization and youth participated in that discussion. It is a project that tries to understand why the Lebanese youth (27% of the population) immigrate or protest. Hence, why the youth have no opportunities to engage in the city decision-making process? In 2012 a youth policy in Lebanon was created, but it was never applied due to the lack of collaboration between the ministries, and lack of resources. This project aims to start the dialogue about the youth engagement in the city vision and decision making process. The 2014 youth engagement index of URBEGO⁴ was the basis of the study. One of the project findings is that there is no common youth vision in Beirut, two main youth groups exist: the youth that are in the sectarian system, and the ones that are outside the sectarian system. The youth that are engaged in sectarianism have a responsibility to take their visions to their leaders who are the decision makers, but this is not happening due to the different priorities. Hence, how can the municipality create a platform in which the different youth visions and priorities are unified? So for the municipality to play the role of that unifying key, ‘trust’ should be built, and this can be done through ‘transparency’ that encourages engagement. One of the findings was that the main reasons that the youth do not engage in the city comes from the lack of trust that comes from the lack of transparency of the public institutions. Plus the inexistence of a participatory approach does not help. The youth complains that the projects are implemented suddenly without informing the public. And the study showed that this could be solved by the creation of a sense of belonging of the youth to their city to engage. Which in turn can be done through the prioritization of public spaces that acts as platforms for diverse opinions. Another mentioned issue in the study is the cultural scene accessibility to a certain category of people. Therefore, the request was the creation of a global vision to Beirut that acknowledges the city youth as a main resource for urban development. Thus, they concluded that there is an urgency to create bridges between the youth and the decision makers (Beirut bi ouyoun chabiha discussion, film posted on Nahnoo Facebook page, 2017).

This intervention is trying to create a *collective meaning* among the youth and mobilize them to engage in *communal activities* in their city. And this can be encouraged by the provision of public *spaces* and the creation of a youth *platform* with the municipality. This action reinforces **socio-cultural resilience**, because it creates a *collective identity* among the youth, and brings a *social benefit* through youth *engagement*. But currently it is still a pending project, which limits its impacts.

⁴ Youth engagement index, developed by URBEGO (organization), which highlights the importance of the youth engagement in the urban decision making process.

- Street art creative activism: example murals of Yazan Halwani and Ashekman

Activism in street art can be more cultural like the murals of Yazan (Lebanese street artist) depicting the Lebanese cultural icons (Example: the mural of the iconic Lebanese singer Sabah in Hamra (photograph 4.5.1)), to preserve the cultural identity. Yazan (in Lepeska, 2015) said, “Our urban landscape has always been dominated by the posters and banners of politicians and political parties... It is the colonization of our streets by political figures hoping to install their authority, and it works ... I decided to remove the posters of politicians and replace them with an alternative — a cultural figure. I want people to identify much more with the walls, the streets, the city itself”. Yazan’s latest mural on the demarcation line (green line) (photograph 4.5.2) questions the society divisions through the preservation of cultural memory. Thus he depicts “Tarek Noueiri (Muslim boy) and May (Christian girl, whose family took refuge in West Beirut) sharing cotton candy; from Ziad Doueiri 's classic West Beirut movie. 27 years after the end of the Civil War, with the absence of civil marriage Tarek and May would not be able to get married if their story had continued” (Yazan Helwani Facebook post, 2017). Through cultural activism Yazan is able to highlight on the problems of sectarianism in the post war settlement.

Furthermore, Ashekman, have been involved in creative political activism, which fires indirectly on politicians. Hence, they claim the streets by saying “the street is ours”, answering all political parties stains and sectarianism symbols in space. They do so by painting the only hero ‘Grendihzer’ that can save the city according to their beliefs. A fictional character that gave them hope as kids during the civil war, and while they are taking refuge in an underground shelter. Ashekman, are also rappers and in one of their song they say “The walls are talking to me, they are telling me the city history, and saying ‘I can't take it anymore’ ...’come and protect me, I want to be in safe hands”” (interview Ashekman, 2017). A main strength of these street artists is their international networking; they have been called all around the world to commissioned murals, in which they express Beirut’s contemporary social and cultural dilemmas, and raising their voice to an international scale. For example, Yazan’s work in Germany, Potato Nose’s work in Paris and Kuwait, and Ashekman’s work in Dubai. This does not eliminate the threat of neoliberal forces adoption to this concept and transformation to top-down place making in the aim of gentrifying neighbourhoods which serves their political agendas (example: “ouzville project”).

The *meaning* of the *space* is what mainly stimulates the street artists to invade *spaces* and transforms them to *cultural awareness* boards. This show that some groups are resisting social divisions and sectarianism, and this resistance helps building a *collective identity* in the city, and in turn reinforce **socio-cultural resilience**, and it also remains hard to assess how much impact these murals is.

The street art scene in Beirut is supported by the municipality through the creation of a graffiti committee that releases permits for artists to create murals in the city. But this creates a sort of censorship on the mural content, and this stimulates the creativity of those artists to overcome this censorship by projecting their cultural or political messages in a peaceful way and not aggressively, which makes them involved in creative activism. From the cultural experts side they think that street art makes the place alive, different and joyfull (Interview Gaia Heirtage, 2017). As for the ministry of culture (2017) they see street art very important in the city and mention, “Ashekman”, they are musicians and street artists that we supported. The most important thing they are doing, it is that they are making the walls pretty. Instead of having photographs of political figures, and torn papers, first you see a beautiful art work on the wall regardless the content or message. So this art gestures on the roads and under the bridges, are transforming the ugly dirty walls into pretty ones. Second, yes! This is a

message, maybe it can influence 1% or 100%, but yet it is an essential message. And this way of projecting culture, is like the social media culture today”. It is worth highlighting, creative activism actions that run on these artists social media platforms, reaching bigger crowds.



Phot. 4.5.1: Iconic Sabah | phot. 4.5.2 green line mural | phot 4.5.3:Grendihzer mural

- Saving ‘Beit Beirut’ to become the war museum of the city

The successful fight of Mona Hallak (member of APSAD) in preserving Villa Barakat, the snipers nest on the demarcation line, to become ‘Beit Beirut’ (Arabic for: House of Beirut) the war museum of the city and the first commemoration site, along with an urban observatory; holds a very important *collective meaning*, since it preserves the *collective memory* of the war, which creates a *sense of belonging* to the city by its inhabitants. This building before the war used to house different families from various religious backgrounds, Orthodox, Maronite and Palestinians (Lepeska, 2015). Hence, during the reconstruction of Beirut after the war Hallak (in Lepeska, 2015) while looking at the building mentioned “I stood in the middle and thought, ‘Oh my god, this building is as divided as we are. But at the same time it is united by these features (the corner element)... It is a great metaphor, a great place to begin the discussion” she continues, “Many people live in Beirut and do not know the city... All these facts, these stories about the city might get people more attached to their city, more involved, more inclined to preserve its features and treat it with respect. That is what Beirut needs — people who belong to the city”. So, she fought for it until it was bought by the municipality for 2.8 million dollars, that commissioned architect Youssef Haidar to restore it with a budget of 20 million dollars. The renovation is finished, but soon it will be open to the public after the municipality finalizes its legal framework as a museum (Lepeska, 2015). Hence, currently workshops and exhibitions related to ‘healing’ concepts are conducted there an example is the exhibition of Artist Zena El Khalil part of the platform ‘Healing Lebanon’.

The artists (in TED Fellows, 2017) mentioned, “I think that most people are ready to confront the war trauma. We have had close to 2,000 visitors walk through since our opening a week ago, and taboos are being broken. Difficult emotions have been coming up, but the point of the project is to create a space for healing and encounter... With the reconciliation, it is also important that we speak openly about what happened. Rather than hide things under the rug as we have done in the past... We have a new generation now that did not live the war and it is important that they know our history so that history doesn’t repeat itself” She continues saying “This entire project first started with a question: Is it possible to create an object that, if you placed it anywhere, could generate peace? ... I found my answer: You are that object. You must work on a personal level to become that instrument of peace. Peace starts within. If we can tune ourselves back to the source, back to love, then everything else will fall into place. We

are the objects”. This concept of healing that is brought in this intervention, helps the city to remember its *collective identity* through healing the *collective trauma* and thus recreate *social ties* between its various communities that used to be united, which brings a *social benefit*. Hence, reinforces **socio-cultural resilience**.



Photograph 4.5.4. Beit Beirut exterior



Photograph 4.5.5 Beit Beirut Interior

- Failing mobilization by Nahnoo against the privatization of Beirut public beaches

Nahnoo has been resisting the construction of another beach resort, which privatizes illegally another segment of Beirut public beaches. Many facebook posts were shared against the construction; the group went on the media and tried to lobby with various actors in the city including the governor and the head of the order of engineers exposing the illegal aspect of the project. Hence, their actions only went to failure and the resort has been built. In reaction to this Nahnoo, launched a bigger campaign and published a research in a map form (Figure 4.5.4) form showing the privatization happening on Beirut seashores. One of the outcomes was that 80% of the public beach has been privatized, and the remaining 20% is hardly accessible by the public due to the sewage pollution (Study by Nahnoo, 2017). Hence, the Carnival for Our Sea took place on 4 November 2017, to raise awareness about this topic. One of the Carnival fliers showed the resort that the group was not able to stop its construction saying: “My name is Aden Bay Resort, and I feel ashamed because I am violating the last public beach in Beirut” (Figure 4.5.3). The message that is being projected in the carnival is that the sea privatization is representing the city’s stolen identity, a waterfront Mediterranean city that is losing its heritage. More than 150 people joined in the carnival, which went viral on social media. This action influences the *activity* to preserve the *space*, and creates a *collective meaning*. This reinforces the *collective identity* and brings a *social benefit*, which strengthen **socio-cultural resilience**. But the strong resisting forces to this action make the impact very limited.



Figure 4.5.3 Carnival flier



photograph 4.5.6 Carnival for our sea



Figure 4.5.4 Coastal violation map of Beirut

4.5.2 B3: B3-a / B3-b: other Creative placemaking interventions:

- Staircases colouring

The Paint up initiative is also active in so many areas in Beirut, where they are paintings unmaintained pedestrian staircases. This action built *community ties* through *collective engagement activities*, and adds *meaning* to the *space*. Thus, *social benefit* is strong in this process, which strengthen **socio-cultural resilience**.

- Decorative murals (example Ouz-vile)

Other creative placemaking interventions that are happening around Beirut are making decorative murals. One of such interventions that is worth being mentioned is that of Ayad Nasser. Today he is a successful businessman and owner of 'Loft Investment', he decided to donate around 100 000 \$ for a painting initiative in his neighbourhood Ouzai. Artists were commissioned to draw murals in the neighbourhood, and the community was engaged in completing the artists work, and painted a large amount of wall. The project titled Ouzville, aims to rediscover the poor neighbourhood of Ouzai as a friendly and colourful neighbourhood, rejecting the entire negative connotation that this area has. One of Beirut most poor slums became known as a festival of colours instead of a criminal's zone. Another goal of the project is to show a different image to visitors while they are landing in Beirut airport. Hence, when they look from the airplane window they see colours, a reflection of life in Beirut, instead of an informal settlement with decaying concrete buildings (Interview Nasser, posted on Ouzville Facebook Page, 2017). One of the Ouzville page Facebook photos statement was "We turned an abandoned area into an artistic and touristic village. We gave life we gave you soul and gave hope. This is the real change, giving with nothing in return! God gave us Lebanon as a paradise let us return it into paradise. Stop taking but start giving". This shows an intention in improving the area with the possibility to attract tourists, and hence encourage investments. Hence, the question that rose was, if the initiator of that initiative had a hidden agenda in upgrading the value of the land, to later invest in the area through real estate development, which puts the area under a risk of gentrification. This was argued by one of the artists who were commissioned to paint a mural in Ouzville, and he mentioned, "In this mural we target the locals of the

neighbourhood. We are making a better liveable space for them; seeing colours is better than seeing concrete with war traces and dirt. So indirectly the person will like to walk on the street and he will be proud of having many known artists that came to his neighbourhood and painted many walls. But now the dilemma is in the hidden motive of this action. It is being said that the idea is to improve the neighbourhood aesthetically. But also maybe to increase the land value indirectly! But for me I see the positive side, and the goal of improving the life of the people. That is why I was involved in this project. And if this will boost the economy of the area, then it is a positive thing for the poor people living there. So why not? Especially that this area is mostly inhabited by owners and not renters, which does not risk their displacement” (Interview anonymous artist, 2017). This action brings a *social benefit* by creating *community ties* through *community engagement* in the *activity* happening in the *space*. This reinforces **socio-cultural resilience**, but the social benefit that rise from the making process is some how temporary to the action timeframe.



phot. 4.5.7 & 4.5.8 Ouz-ville intervention

phot 4.5.9 Part of the engaged community

4.5.3 C3: C3-a / C3-b: other Creative entrepreneurs’ interventions:

- Beirut Digital District (BDD)

The BDD project aims to build a hub of creative and digital industries, thus creating a cluster of creativity and innovation in Beirut. This cluster is provided by state-of-the-art infrastructure that helps the start-ups and creative enterprises to grow their productivity. BDD is a kind of a top-down version of the bottom-up creative cluster of Mar Mikhael. The BDD creates creative communities of experts that can collaborate in a business cluster in which technology is highly integrated. BDD is located in Bachoura in central Beirut, just on the edge of the downtown (CC area), a very strategic location that works in favour of that cluster. The BDD building complex is growing into phases (Figure 4.5.5), and is respecting the existing fabric around it, which makes the neighbourhood *space* adaptation easier because the transformation is not sudden. Heritage buildings are being preserved and re-used, as part of the complex, which helps preserving the city’s *cultural identity* (Photograph 4.5.10). Some start-ups work on improving urban issues through technology and example is the Loop Scooters (Photograph 4.5.11) introduction to facilitate urban mobility. Hence, improving connectivity in the city. Conferences about entrepreneurship and innovations involving the educated youth are taking place (Photograph 4.5.12), it is important for them to develop their business skills and increase their chances of employment. Knowing that in Lebanon access for free higher education is provided, consequently the educated youth are from various socio-economic backgrounds (Beirut Digital District, 2016). Hence, the BDD community is diverse and brings a *social benefit* within a certain network, and create a *collective identity* of innovation and creativity, which helps replacing sectarian identities since it provides an economic benefit for the youth. In turn, belonging to the BDD community

helps in reducing the need to belong to a sectarian community. This reinforces **socio-cultural resilience** to a certain extent



Figure 4.5.5: Project phases



photograph 4.5.10: Heritage preservation



Photograph 4.5.11: Loop Scooters



photograph 4.5.12: Conference at BDD

4.5.4 A3: Conclusion A3, B3, and C3

Other Areas in Beirut (city scale)					
(OA)					
A: creative activists	A3-a		A3-b		Factors, conditions and actors influencing the interventions
	Interventions	→ Cultural place regeneration	→ Socio-cultural resilience		
	a- ‘Beirut Madinati’ municipal campaign followed by the ‘alternative municipality’ working group	Political activity as a trigger to intervene and change the meaning .	(++) <i>People centred approach</i> , create <i>engagement</i> that brings a social benefit , and create a <i>collective meaning</i> to strengthen the collective identity .		
(-) No appropriate institutional framework after the elections (- -) Lack of resources (+) Large margin of experimentation (-) Hard to mobilize the youth working class, they are busy cannot volunteer, they are part of the sectarian system (-) Volunteer based, no capacity for full time work (++) Urban activism based on academic research (- -) Opposing political power (Always					

			<p>proceeded resisted projects)</p> <p>(- -) Lack of political will in the public good</p> <p>(++) Media attention, to make noise.</p>
b- 'Horsh Beirut' mobilization	<p>Provide a <i>space</i> as a public living room for people to meet. A <i>space</i> for public <i>activity</i>, that creates a <i>meaning</i> to the <i>space</i>.</p>	<p>(++) Gatherings space creates <i>community cohesion</i> and brings a <i>social benefit</i>. The space users <i>diversity</i>, and the <i>community engagement</i> strengthen the <i>collective identity</i></p>	<p>(++) Advocacy NGO network, and coalitions</p> <p>(++) Funds through international grants, capacity to employ</p> <p>(++) Social media platform</p> <p>(- -) Political power & corruption</p> <p>(-) Lack of transparency</p> <p>(-) Access to information</p> <p>(+) Own research</p> <p>(-) Funding to non-grant activities</p> <p>(++) Big number of volunteers</p> <p>(+) Interactive online platforms</p> <p>(+) Ministry of health support</p> <p>(-) Rollercoaster collaboration with the municipality</p> <p>(+) Youth contribution, and mobilization on personal level</p> <p>(++) Surrounding neighbourhoods support</p>
c- 'Beirut bi ouyoun chababiha' project 'Dreams to action'	<p>Creation of collective <i>meaning</i>, that stimulates the <i>activity</i> and engagement of youth, that occur due to the presence of public <i>spaces</i></p>	<p>(++) Create a <i>collective identity</i> among the youth, and brings a <i>social benefit</i> through engagement.</p>	<p>(- -) Different visions among youth</p> <p>(++) Municipality key to unify the youth diverse visions</p> <p>(- -) Lack of Municipality infrastructure for implementation</p> <p>(+) Youth engagement in the project</p>
d- Street art as creative activism	<p>The <i>meaning</i> in the <i>space</i> stimulates the intervention highlighting the <i>memory</i> of the war, or <i>objecting</i> to political views indirectly, or preserving the <i>cultural identity</i>. Reinforcing the collective <i>meaning</i></p>	<p>(+) The <i>maintenance of the memory</i> strengthen the <i>place identity</i> and reinforces the <i>collective identity</i></p>	<p>(-) Lack of funds</p> <p>(+) Sponsorships</p> <p>(-) Permit procedure</p> <p>(+) Creativity in depiction to overcome censorship</p> <p>(-) Permit procedure</p> <p>(++) Social media platform</p> <p>(+) International networking</p>
e- Saving 'Beit Beirut'	<p><i>Meaning</i> preserved in <i>space</i>, to keep the war memory. Affect the <i>activity</i> by the creation of a public cultural amenity.</p>	<p>(++) The <i>maintenance of the war memory</i> strengthens the <i>healing process</i> and reinforces the <i>collective identity</i>, by <i>public gatherings</i>.</p>	<p>(++) Public amenity bought by the municipality</p> <p>(+) House heritage value</p> <p>(+) House Location</p> <p>(-) Internal management conflict delaying the opening</p>
f- Failing mobilization against the privatization of public beaches	<p><i>Activity</i> to preserve the <i>space</i>, and create a <i>meaning</i></p>	<p>(++) Creation of a <i>collective identity</i>, and builds <i>community ties</i> through <i>collective</i></p>	<p>(+) Violation as motivation</p> <p>(- -) Corruption</p> <p>(- -) No governmental support</p>

	of Beirut		<i>engagement, which brings a social benefit.</i>	
B: creative placemakers	B3-a		B3-b	Factors, conditions and actors influencing the interventions
	Interventions	→ Cultural place regeneration	→ Socio-cultural resilience	
	a- Staircases colouring	An intervention in <i>space</i> , that provide <i>meaning</i> by the creation of a <i>sense of belonging</i> , through <i>collective work</i> . The new attractive <i>space</i> enhances the <i>activity</i> of the area.	(+) Building <i>community ties</i> through engagement brings a <i>social benefit</i> .	(++) Community engagement (-) Lack of funds (-) No governmental support (+) Big group of volunteers
	b- Decorative murals (ex: Ouzville project)	Influence the <i>space</i> quality. And create a communal <i>activity</i> .	(+) <i>Social benefit</i> rising from the temporary making process, in which the community is <i>engaged</i> .	(+) Sponsorship (+) Artists collaboration
C: creative entrepreneurs	C3-a		C3-b	Factors, conditions and actors influencing the interventions
	Interventions	→ Cultural place regeneration	→ Socio-cultural resilience	
	a- Beirut Digital District (BDD)	Improve the <i>space</i> and preserve it by preserving heritage, which keeps the <i>space meaning</i> .	(++) Social benefit and build Collective identity among the educated youth (-) Benefit for a specific community	(+) Possible collaborations in the cluster (-) Specific fields

Table 4.5.1: relevant interventions in other areas (OA) conclusion table

4.6 Beirut socio-cultural resilience level

In this section the following sub-question will be answered:

To what degree of social-cultural resilience did this lead in the urban transformation process?

4.6.1. Beirut's socio-cultural resilience scores

The table below (table 4.6) sums-up the quantified qualitative data in the conclusion table 4.3.2, 4.4.2, and 4.5.1. After the calculation, the averages have been extracted and put on a scale. This scale is based on the (++) (+) (0) (-) (- -) indication in section 4.3.. The table first discusses the three different categories of creative actors (CA, CP, CE) . Second, it discusses the neighbourhood scales: the socio-cultural of Mar Mikhael neighbourhood scale, the socio-cultural resilience of the City Centre scale, and the socio-cultural resilience of Beirut scale (summing up the interventions in Mar Mikhael (MM), in the City Centre (CC), and in other areas (OA)/ Beirut City Wide). Including the other areas interventions to Beirut socio-cultural

resilience, has been done to add validity to the results knowing that MM and CC are small samples in the city and it created a more complete understanding of what happens in Beirut since it make clear that mean creative actors make city wide interventions, going beyond the case study areas.

In total 35 interventions were analysed and scored, to conclude on Beirut socio-cultural resilience scale: 18 interventions for CA, 10 interventions for CP, and 7 interventions for CE. These 35 interventions are also distributed on the different cases: 15 interventions in MM (7 CA, 4 CP, 4 CE), 11 interventions in CC (5 CA, 4 CP, 2 CE), and 9 interventions in OA (6 CA, 2 CP, 1 CE). The selected interventions number was a result of the possible amount of data collected during the fieldwork. However, some mapped interventions were not mentioned due to irrelevance to the case studies. And the selected interventions in other areas were picked according to their broad level and their large out-reach in Beirut. The number of interventions was not equally distributed between creative actors, but they are comparable since averages were conducted per-group and case. The weight in the final result was equally distributed among the three actors, along with the factors conditions and other influencing actors FCA ($\frac{1}{4}$ for CA, $\frac{1}{4}$ for CP, $\frac{1}{4}$ for CE, and $\frac{1}{4}$ for FCA). When the number of interventions per group is higher, the validity and reliability of the results increases. The calculation is verified, since both horizontal and vertical totals lead to the same final result of Beirut socio cultural resilience. Which can be calculated by summing up the scores per actors, or by summing up the scores per case studies.

Table 4.6 methods of calculation (formulas) and abbreviations:

I = Interventions **#I** = Number of interventions **T#I** = Total number of intervention

OA= Other Areas in Beirut

R-CA score = Socio-cultural resilience created by CA

= Sum of interventions SCR level / number of interventions

Total R-CA score = Sum of R-CA scores / 3

R-CP score = Socio-cultural resilience created by CP

= Sum of interventions SCR level / number of interventions

Total R-CP score = Sum of R-CP scores / 3

R-CE score = Socio-cultural resilience created by CE

= Sum of interventions SCR level / number of interventions

Total R-CE score = Sum of R-CE scores / 3

FCA score = Factors, conditions and other actors influence

= Sum of FCA score per intervention / number of FCA per intervention

Total C-SCR score = Socio-cultural resilience created by creative actors

= (Total R-CA + Total R-CP + Total R-CE) / 3

Total SCR score in MM = (Total C-SCR in MM x 0.75) + (total FCA score in MMx 0.25)

Total SCR score in CC = (Total C-SCR in CC x 0.75) + (total FCA score in CCx 0.25)

Total SCR score in Beirut = (Total SCR score in CC + Total SCR score in MM + Total SCR score in OA) / 3

4 forces in total (each 25%) = 75% for three creative actors forces + 25% for one FCA force

Box 4.6: Table 4.6 methods of calculation (formulas) and abbreviations

Note: This quantitative analysis is based on quantifying qualitative data. Therefore, the results are not exact science, but rather a way to visualise the qualitative analysis findings.

	Interventions in MM			Intervention in CC			Other relevant interventions in OA			Total for Beirut	
Creative Activists (CA)	I	R-CA	FCA	I	R-CA	FCA	I	R-CA	FCA	Total SCR score	
	a	+2	- 1.22	a	+1	- 0.8	a	+2	- 0.44	0.45	
	b	+2	- 0.9	b	+1	- 0.67	b	+2	0.57		
	c	+2	0.07	c	+1	- 0.75	c	+2	- 0.25		
	d	+1	- 0.11	d	+1	- 0.2	d	+1	0.29		
	e	+1	- 0.1	e	+1	- 2	e	+2	0.75		
	f	+1	- 1.14		—	—	f	+2	- 1		
	g	+1	0.14		—	—		—	—		
	I#	R-CA score	FCA score	I#	R-CA score	FCA score	I#	R-CA score	FCA score	Total R-CA score	Total FCA score
	7	1.43	- 0.47	5	0.8	- 0.88	6	1.8	-0.01	1.34	- 0.45
Creative Placemakers (CP)	I	R-CP	FCA	I	R-CP	FCA	I	R-CP	FCA	Total SCR score	
	a	0	0	a	-1	- 2	a	+1	0.25	- 0.05	
	b	+1	0	b	-1	- 1.5					
	c	0	0	c	-2	- 1	b	+1	1		
	d	0	0	d	0	0					
	I#	R-CP score	FCA score	I#	R-CP score	FCA score	I#	R-CP score	FCA score	Total R-CP score	Total FCA score
	4	0.25	0	4	-1	- 1.13	2	1	0.6	0.08	- 0.17
Entrepreneur	I	R-CE	FCA	I	R-CE	FCA	I	R-CE	FCA	Total SCR score	
	a	-2	-1	a	+2	- 0.5	a	+1	0		

	b	-2	-1							- 0.74	
	c	-2	0								
	d	+1	0.2	b	+2	- 0.5					
	I#	R-CE score	FCA score	I#	R-CE score	FCA score	I#	R-CE score	FCA score	Total R-CE score	Total FCA score
	4	-1	- 0.45	2	-2	- 2	1	1	0	- 0.66	- 0.82
Total per case study	TI #	Total C-SCR score in MM (75%)	Total FCA score in MM (25%)	TI #	Total C-SCR score in CC (75%)	Total FCA score in CC (25%)	TI #	Total C-SCR score in OA (75%)	Total FCA score in OA (25%)	Grand Total C-SCR score (75%)	Grand Total FCA score (25%)
	15	0.23	- 0.3	11	- 0.73	- 1.34	9	1.27	0.2	0.25	- 0.48
	Total SCR score in MM			Total SCR score in CC			Total SCR score in OA			Total SCR score in Beirut	
	0.1			- 0.89			1			0.07	

Table 4.6: Socio-cultural resilience scoring table

4.6.2 Socio-cultural resilience scoring table (4.6) outcome analysis

The analysis is divided into three main sections. The first is an analysis of the Beirut's socio-cultural resilience scales per creative actor category: CA, CP, and CE and it includes data from MM, CC and OA. The second is an analysis of Beirut's socio-cultural resilience scale per areas: MM and CC. The third is the conclusion on the degree of Beirut's socio-cultural resilience based on all creative actors interventions in all the selected areas (MM, CC and OA) combined on one scale.

Scale analysis per creative actors categories: CA, CP, and CE

The CA interventions are pushing strongly towards socio-cultural resilience (yellow arrow), by scoring a positive value of +1.34. Since the value is above +1, it means that in most of the cases the interventions score for both socio-cultural resilience indicators. Meaning that most interventions bring a *social benefit* and build a *collective identity*. However, the CA interventions can never reach fully socio-cultural resilience and score a +2. Predominantly due to the factors and conditions force (green arrow) that works mostly against reaching resilience with a negative value of -0.45, subsequently against the CA interventions positive influence. The contextual conditions makes the FCA value lower than -0.45, but due to empowerment factors that the CA interventions receive this negative value was moderated and increased to -0.45. This shows the struggle that CA interventions go through to reach resilience, by reaching fully or partially their goals. This struggle is mainly to lack of funds, state corruption, lack of political interest in the public good, inaccessible public data, and lack of rules and regulations. And they do overcome these challenging factors and conditions mainly by making

things public through social media to gather big crowds concerning that matter, because it had been noticed that when more groups and people join the CA, more impact is achieved specially on governance level. This makes coalitions and external funding the two main empowering forces for the CA interventions.

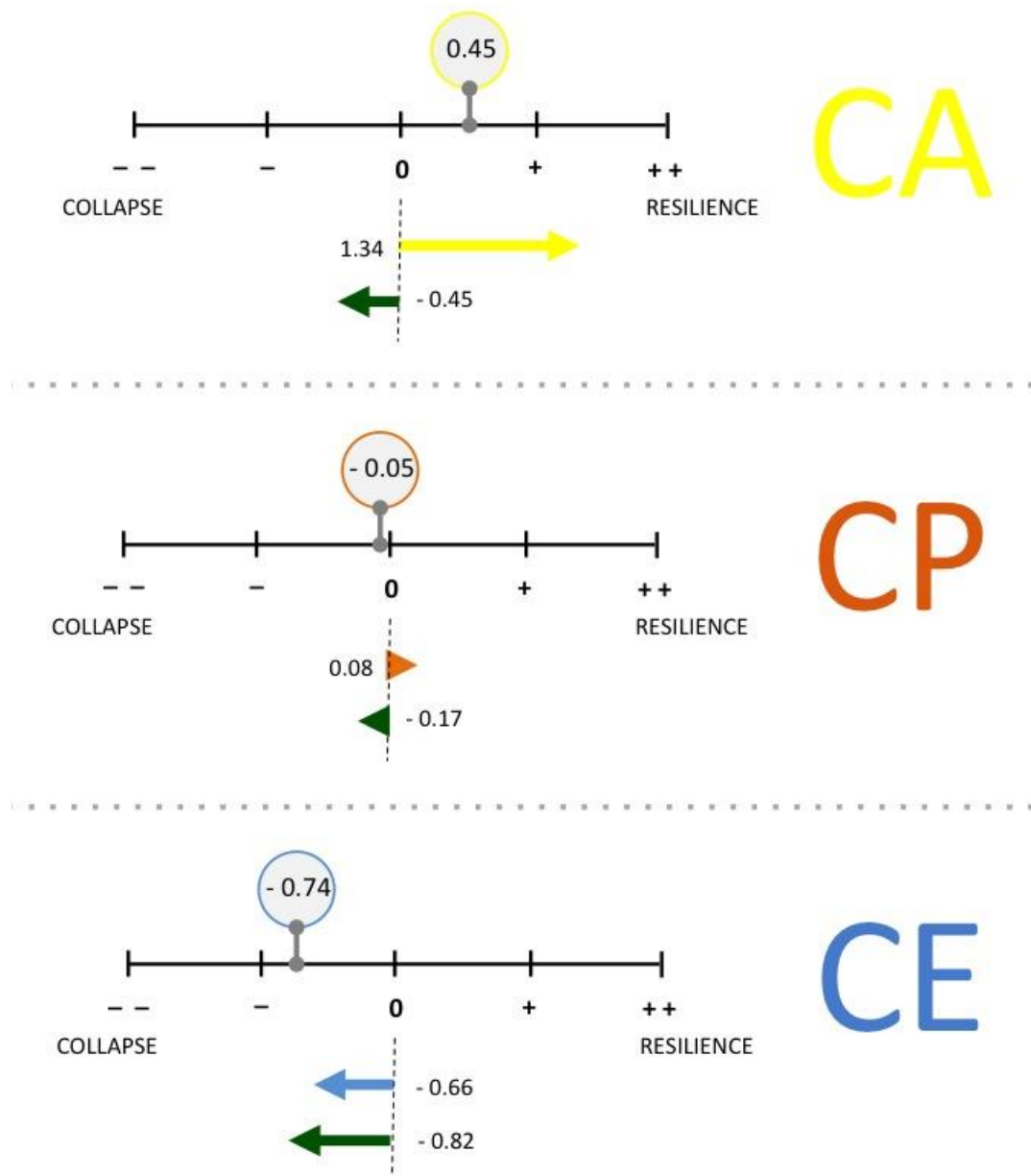


Figure 4.6.1: Beirut Socio-cultural resilience scale per creative actors categories (by author)
The scales presented in figure 4.6.1 show:

The CP interventions have no great positive or negative influence on socio-cultural resilience. They score a very low positive value of +0.08 toward resilience, which can be explained by scoring positively for one or none of the two indicators of socio-cultural resilience. And in most cases the *social benefit* of small collective gatherings is providing the positive score, but rarely CP interventions score for the *collective identity* indicator. The factors and conditions negative influence is greater than the CP interventions positive influence.

Making the CP resilience score slightly negative with a value of -0.05, which can be explained by the negative unintended impact of CP interventions, like triggering gentrification in some areas, or by the adoption of top-down CP interventions by actors to fit neoliberal agendas, and this does not bring a *social benefit* in most cases.

The CE activity influence socio-cultural resilience negatively with a value of -0.66, and the favouring neoliberal environment pushes it further in the negative direction with a negative value of -0.82. The FCA score in this case works in favour of the CE activity and not against it like in the previous cases. But since CE activity scores negative for resilience, hence its favouring FCA will also score negative for resilience. Hence, the score of -0.74 means that an opposition to mostly one indicator is happening, and mainly it is the *social decay* opposing the *social benefit* indicator that is behind this value. The CE activity has no influence on building or destroying the *collective identity*; its influence is on the social level. Thus, the *social decay* comes mainly from the torn social fabric due to gentrification, an impact that happens with a concentrated and strong presence CE activity in neighbourhoods. And this impact is increased because the production of the CE is for elites, and it is inaccessible to groups with lower socio-economic backgrounds.

In all three scales and categories the values are between -1 and +1 never above or below. Hence, in all categories never a full score of -2 or +2 is achieved. This shows that things are not so black and white, things are grey due to the complexity of the situation. Hence, the full complexity of the situation cannot be fully studied, because more actors' interventions need to be integrated, this will make the isolation of variables hard, and will make the study lose its focus and in-depth analysis of the creative actors' influence on socio-cultural resilience.

Resilience scale analysis per case studies: MM and CC

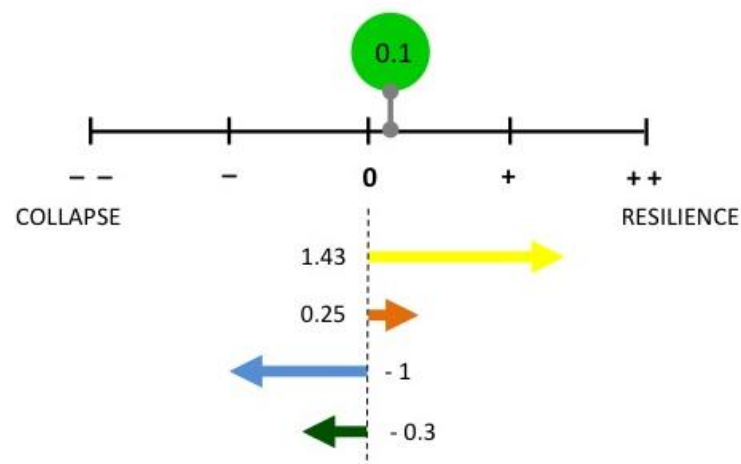


Figure 4.6.2: Socio-cultural resilience scale of Mar Mikhael - Case 1 (by author)

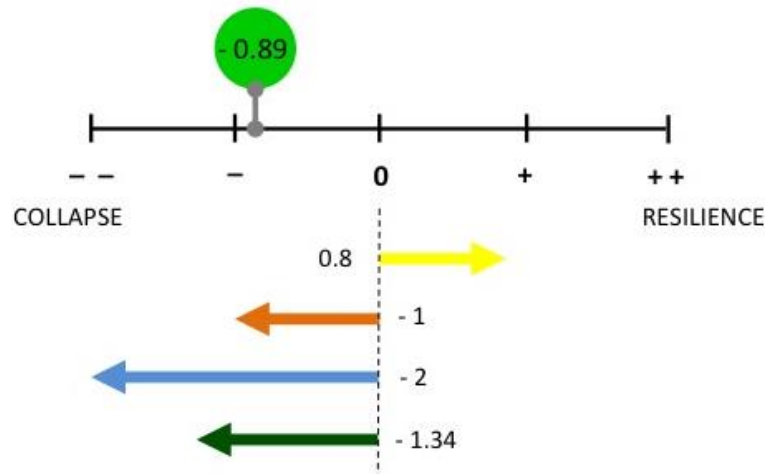


Figure 4.6.3: Socio-cultural resilience scale of the City Centre - Case 2 (by author)

In both case 1 and case 2, the CA interventions are trying to reach socio-cultural resilience. The difference is that in MM, the urban fabric is still maintained but at risk, which provides some resources in the urban space to intervene against market forces (neoliberal approach of real estate developers and investors). Plus, the loopholes in the out-dated zoning planning system under which MM fall, creates big challenges but also provide opportunities to resist undesired urban change. And this is due to the urban environment that is more dynamic with various interacting forces (various actors). Unlike case 2 that falls under the corporate planning system, where one prominent force (Solidere force) is controlling all the interactions. Hence, in Case 1 the CA interventions are able to reach a certain level of socio-cultural resilience and resist the urban change to a certain extent, making MM slightly positive on the resilience scale. In contrast to Case 2 where their interventions impacts remain too moderate and limited compared to the strong opposing factors and conditions. Thus in Case 2, the CA interventions are trying to push for socio-cultural resilience, but are hopeless to reach it, which demotivate them to intervene by knowing the opposing neoliberal agenda of the present big power controlling the system in the CC. Hence, this explains also why CAs choose their battles, and look for cases where a breakthrough can be done, and in most of the cases they do not choose to intervene in the CC. Because areas that fall under the out-dated zoning planning system require only lobbying with the public institutions, as in the CC they would need to lobby with the public institutions and with Solidere, which makes the process harder and limits the desired impacts. Consequently, the CA interventions in case 1 (value: + 1.43) and case 2 (value: + 0.8) push in the same direction towards socio-cultural resilience, however the difference is mainly in the factors and conditions that are way more restricting in case 2 (-1.34) than in case 1 (-0.3).

As for the CP interventions, in case 1 it pushes in the positive direction and score +0.25, and surprisingly in case 2 it pushes in the negative direction and score -1. This can be explained in the presence of different methods of creative placemaking. The bottom-up CP that is mostly adopted in MM and other areas of Beirut and the top-down CP that is adopted in the CC. When CP is bottom-up, meaning initiated by the community and in which community engagement occurred, a social benefit rise, and score a positive value on the resilience scale. As in top-down CP the community engagement aspect is cut from the process to get to quicker outcome, because there is a lack of an engaged community in the CC (low residential unit composed of foreigners mostly or upper class locals, along with tourists). This does not create a social benefit. Plus, since in the CC case the top-down CP interventions are serving neoliberal agendas and this actively participate in increasing the gentrification the CC, a social decay is being brought scoring a negative value on the resilience scale. This shows that the presence of a strong community engagement in bottom-up creative placemaking is very

essential for CP contribution to socio-cultural resilience. The CP interventions mostly score for the social benefit indicator and in most case they do not influence the collective identity indicator. This, keeps explains the values between -1 to +1, making the impact on resilience moderate.

Regarding the CE activity that rises from the clustering of the Creative industries. In case 1 (around 71 creative industry/ entrepreneurs) the cluster is much bigger then in case 2 (around 12 creative industries / entrepreneurs). Hence, a much stronger entrepreneurial activity is created in case 1. The creative industries does not bring any social benefit or reinforce collective identity, because operate on a level by there own. In case 1, the CE activity was the trigger for gentrification that created social inequalities in MM, which pushed the neighbourhood in the negative direction scoring -1. As in Case 2 the area is already highly gentrified, the presence of these elites CE activity insure that the users of the place would remain from an upper class, reinforcing the negative social impact of gentrification and increasing the segregation which also does not help in building a collective identity, and this explains the score of -2. As for MM the cluster naturally grown and is diverse. It includes low cost craftsmanship and cultural products for the elites that are inaccessible for the residents of MM, and this does not harm the creation of a collective identity but also does not help it. The market forces are helping the CE activity to grow and this impacts resilience more negatively.

One can conclude that in the out-dated planning system (case 1), there is a door for self-organization, which makes the urban space more flexible and allow dynamics. This gives the opportunity for the creative activist to guide the market forces in order reach socio-cultural resilience. But also this door to self-organization is open for the investors through the system of permit 'exceptions' that is easily corrupted. And this frees the greedy real estate developers from the basic regulations, such as building height, and maximum exploited areas (Fawaz, 2010). As for the corporate planning system (case 2), the urban environment is very ridged, and this makes it very hard for CA to bring change in it. Fawaz (2010), mention that "development by real estate companies has become the norm in many cities, but the delegation of an entire historic urban core of a capital city to a profit-oriented real estate company is unprecedented". This shows how one strong political power is controlling the CC, which does not leave any door for flexibility and participation of the civil society in the decision making process. Consequently, a common believe among the CA was mentioned in the conducted interviews stating that "the CC is lost and cannot be saved". Which is also confirmed by a professional and academician who said, "psychologically speaking, there is a refuse of the community to consider the city center their city center compared to what have been the city center (Pre-war)... It is too late for community to reclaim the city center, because everything is destroyed. The last action that they did was saving the EGG, and they could succeed... The city center now belongs to no body. People that live in the city center are the very rich who live abroad and that does not visit a lot Lebanon. So it is more a 'center des affaire', and tourists only from the Arab world come, and now they are not coming. The city center now is empty, because they gentrified it in a very aggressive way" (Interview Maskini, 2017). This attitude towards the CC, showed true also on the users level not only creative activists, after the conducted interviews with the young nightlife consumers who live in Beirut. They mentioned enjoying going to Hamra or Mar Mikhael, but never liked their mimic Uruguay Street of bars in the CC, considering it very commercial and fake designed for non-Beiruties where one mentioned. "It is very posh and fake, this explains why it died really quickly and did not last. This is not really pubbing in our terms, it is just people sitting around and having super expensive drinks. It feels so unnatural... People should be exposed to both Hamra and Mar Mikhael. Hamra alone is not enough, and MM alone is not enough. Hamra has these places where they mix very old Lebanese Arabic songs with new ones, and with new modern western songs, and MM is very tolerant and full with international people, plus MM has this contrast

between an old neighborhood and modern lifestyle". They would only go only to one big club (Garten) in a warehouse on the CC waterfront, because they like the level of tolerance in it and because it is closed so they do not feel that they are in the CC, one explained, "Garten has very westernized music, like techno and house but not commercial and it is very casual. So you go the way you like to go, there is no clothing code. We are very free in our clothing and appearance, no one care about this; it is more about the quality of time" (interview nightlife consumer, 2017). Maskini described these ephemeral clubs on the waterfront in the city center as "positive hole" in the space, where the atmosphere is different so people forget that they are in the city center. The objective in this case is to go to the event and not to enjoy the city, making an occasional form of cultural life in the CC not continuous like MM and Hamra (Interview Maskini, 2017).

Therefore, one can say that MM has a better socio-cultural resilience (score + 0.1) than the CC (score - 0.89), but this does not mean that MM is not at risk of collapsing to reach a fragility level that was seen in the CC. Because, MM is composed of "three layers that are keeping alive, but not necessary helping the space to survive... The conducted studies on MM has shown that there is no mixity. There is a mixed use but not a social mixity. Because on the one side there is the old former resident who live in MM and continue to live alone, they have a different type of living and different pattern. Then there are the young artists and designers who work here and have a different pattern of living. And then in the evening you have all the happy youth that wants to come and display their money, and their big cars, get drunk and come back home... Resilience would come if for example, you were creative live in a way or another, integrated in the economy and society of the place, but it does not happen. So sooner or later the existing population of origin will disappear. And then MM will reach an over gentrification level, where all the prices will go so high that the young ones will stop coming, you will have the ones who can afford to stay because they have their clientele anyway. But all the others will leave" (Interview expert from Gaia Heritage, 2017). This will make MM urban system fragile, and maybe reaching the fragility of the CC that was clearly proven with the last waves of political instability and conflict crises. Hence, the current security plan (Photograph 4.6.5 & 4.6.6), was an action that deserted so many areas like: the Etoile Square around the parliament (Photograph 4.6.4), along with Uruguay street bars (Photograph 4.6.3), most of the souks street (Photograph 4.6.2), and well finished public spaces between residential buildings (photograph 4.6.1). Both a waiter at the only opened café and the owner of the only small shop around Etoile square confirmed that this desertification happened when the square streets accessibility was controlled or closed (Interview CC users, 2017). A thing that was also confirmed by an expert at the ministry of culture in the conducted interview (2017) by saying, "what killed the city centre is the political agenda of Solidere and the current security plan specially around Etoile square... If Solidere becomes a bit more open, it is not possible that the city centre will not rise again". There has been an effort from the municipality and Solidere to reduce this fragility of the CC, with the creation of a public cultural amenity in the CC that balances the local needs and attract visitors. This was done after the consultation of Solidere to Gaia Heritage to update their cultural strategy. This amenity is supposed to be the house of art and culture that is a gift by the Omani government (donation of 20 million dollars), but since 2010 the project process started to slow down, due to problem of negotiating the value of the land with Solidere (Interview expert Gaia Heritage, 2017). This can be an intervention that creates a 'modern identity' to the city centre that is a need to make it resilient. In the conducted interview with Maskini (2017), he mentions, "The identity of the city centre is 'with NO identity', because it is not easy to replace an existing identity with another identity. When you change the morphological aspect of the city, and you empty the city from its citizens, you will lose the identity. To restore this identity you have to restore them, in a modern way".

(The below photos were taken on a Saturday afternoon, in the most busy time of the week)



Phot. 4.6.1: Public space



Phot. 4.6.2: Souks empty closed shops in CC



Phot. 4.6.3: Empty Uruguay bars street in CC



Phot. 4.6.4: Closed and empty streets of Etoile square, except one small shop, in CC



Phot. 4.6.5: Etoile square entrance gates in CC



Phot. 4.6.6: Etoile square closed access

Concluding resilience scale analysis for Beirut

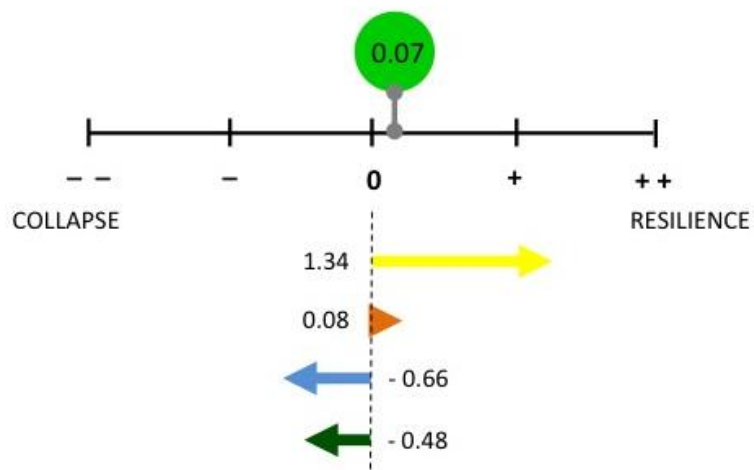


Figure 4.6.4: Socio-cultural resilience scale of Beirut (by author)

By summing up the resilience scores of MM and CC including the scores of the chosen interventions in other areas of Beirut (OA), the socio-cultural resilience scale of Beirut is calculated (Municipal Beirut) (Figure 4.6.4). The CP (orange arrow) interventions have almost no impact on the scale. The major forces are the CA interventions (score +1.34) opposed by the CE activity (score -0.66) along with the factors and conditions (-0.48). And this opposition is putting Beirut almost in the middle of the scale but leaning towards a positive value. Meaning that these forces are clashing. The CA force (yellow arrow) is resisting but mostly is only able to stop the CE (bleu arrow) and FCA forces (green arrow) from making Beirut's socio-cultural resilience go to collapse, but they are not able to reach resilience. Meaning that the CAs need support and empowerment to be able to achieve their goals fully. A thing that the CA realised and consequently tried to overcome their biggest challenges, by doing a political project and going for the municipal elections of 2016. Because, if the CAs reach the governance level, hence the decision making process is in their hands. And this position will highly reduce their challenges and is the biggest force of empowerment that they can get to help them achieve their goals that push towards socio-cultural resilience. Since, Beirut Madinati did not win the elections, then the CAs will have to continue these battles for a more extended time. This shows that "there is a large margin of experimentation in Beirut, activists push and most of the time nothing happens, they experiment and learn in contexts where municipal opposition is taking shape" (Interview Harb, 2017) and they will keep on pushing until this opposition is mitigated.

From this we understand that there are two main clusters of actors that influence Beirut's socio-cultural resilience. The first cluster is the weaker 'creative resistance' force that is mainly constituted of these CAs and sometimes CPs. The CAs can be NGOs, CBOs or individual activists, but most importantly that these groups' members are the highly educated middle class of Beirut, that represents a good component of the population and that is growing stronger and it works for the public good. This group is resisting the state corruption that is controlled by powerful investors in Beirut. Investment can be on three scales, the mega scale (example Solidere), the macro scale (example one tower investor), and the micro scale (example the creative industries, restaurants and bars investors). Hence, the second cluster is the powerful private 'Neoliberal investment' in Beirut that has access to corruption in the public sector. Maskini (interview, 2017) confirmed this actors' clustering and he mentioned that "the activists' associations are not the "Nouveau Rich" (New Rich), they belong to the middle class of the society. So this middle class society is becoming more powerful in the city, and fighting for the right of the city by fighting against corruption through their social and research activities... For them (activists part of the middle class society) this is a triumph for the private speculators through corruption, and they feel very aware and scared about the invasion of the "nouveau rich" (new rich) that are empty of any cultural background but are full of money, and consider money as the power to do anything. This is clearly seen with the high negative FCA scores in the CC. Plus, the middle society (activists) they consider Beirut as a piece of art, built in a cultural accumulation, so it is very rich in culture, and that is why their slogan was "Beirut is not Dubai!", this parallel was the slogan of the middle society. So they consider themselves part of what is happening in their city, so they are using all mechanisms and strategies to fight speculators, of course using the media as one of their first weapons". One can phrase it in a way that the 'creative resistance' has a socialist approach that is clashing against the economic growth approach of the 'Neoliberal investors'. To further explain this parallel of these two main actors' conflict, figure 4.6.12 can be seen as an analogy to the situation, in terms of the two main actors, size, impact, power, and identity. It represents a project currently under construction in MM where the investor incorporated the old house façade in the project as a

strategy to sell it, and to avoid activists noises, that can be seen as “hiding behind one’s finger”.

In most cases the lack of the operational capacity of the state is giving a great advantage to the investors. The investors gain not only through corruption but also by the advantage of the missing regulating elements for their interventions, that the state is incapable to control. Maskini (interview, 2017) explains in the interview that the public and private can work together and find a balance. And he says that, “the problem is that the state is not studying the situation and it is too slow in acting. Beirut Municipality is rich it has a budget, so they started to purchase lands and building because the municipality has no properties, they have to rent spaces all the time. This process of purchasing private lands to make them public is taking a long time, because they are not able to find a good way to work with the private. This discrepancy or fracture between the private and public is very dangerous for the city, because the city is becoming private, and the only public spaces are the streets that constitute 25% of the geographic surface of the city. But the streets are full of cars, so where do people would spend their social life?”

Maskini (interview, 2017) also mentioned that the main challenges in Beirut are corruption and fragmentation. He means social fragmentation reflected in space, and this makes Beirut a city of clusters and each cluster has part of a community living there, that fall under a sectarian group. Hence, there is a lack of communication between the representatives of these clusters, making the decision making process very slow and complicated, which makes the state weak, and this is reflected in the physical space of the city. Therefore, Beirut is divided today not into a Christian East and Muslim West, but into a rich class ‘Neoliberal investors’ and an educated middle class the ‘creative resistance’. These two groups have different approaches and visions to the city, which is confirmed by Maskini’s statement (interview, 2017) “There is a big tolerance between the different communities, the problem is not about religion the problem is in the perception of how you want to live the city”. A conclusion that also Mneinmeh (interview, 2017) confirms, and add to it the fragmentation within the ‘creative resistance’ group and says, “there is fragments of initiatives in Beirut, but they were never framed as a vision”.

Further more, from the public cultural sector point of the view, they also see this social and cultural fragmentation that puts Beirut’s culture today is on the down side. An expert in the ministry of culture (interview, 2017) explains that the collective cultural identity that was manifested through tolerance and co-living of diverse groups is lost, and was replaced by sectarian identities. Hence, reinforcing the cultural sector in Lebanon can help Beirut heal and become an open city again. This is explained by the following quote, “There was a high tolerance, and high level of accepting the other. They were all Lebanese, this one prays here, they other prays there and there was no problem in that. And this happens when you nurture the cultural state. Contrasting with what is happening now, where the cultural aspect decreased and then you see that each is hiding in his confessional group. So when you have a good cultural education, it means people are open to the other, they accept the other, and are tolerant to the other. So they can communicate between each other, creating dialogues by listening to each other’s, which creates an atmosphere of moderation. And the more this atmosphere decreases and is lost, you see the more people suffering from a national identity loss, and replacement by a sectarian identity. This creates a fear from the other, because they feel that the other threaten them. It also creates introversion and an aggression between groups...So the political situation created different cultures, like ‘culture of resistance’ (moukawame), the

‘culture of the Christians of the north’, ‘culture of the Christians in Jounieh and keserwan’, the ‘culture of the muslims in Tarik l Jdide’, and the ‘culture of the muslims in Ras Beirut’. So we became frustrated and dispersed with our cultures, and this is what Amin Maalouf name as ‘the deadly identities’” (interview Ministry of culture, 2017).

Different cultures can be interpreted by different ‘meanings’ upon community groups. And different meanings result in different fragmented visions to the city, which proved to influence negatively socio-cultural resilience, because a collective meaning would create a collective identity and collective vision. Individual meanings can exist along with the collective meaning, but should not replace it. Even though if Beirut CC did not recover in the expected direction from the war, other areas in Beirut have shown a growing activism scene in the past 5 – 7 years, which is helping Beirut to recover and resists constant shocks. Making from Beirut a city with anti-bodies, the ‘creative resistance’ groups that are pushing it to socio-cultural resilience. This means that Beirut is recovering, but the recovery is taking time due to powerful obstacles. Maskini (2017) explains, “Municipal Beirut can be seen as a bird with two wings. One wing is Hamra, the other wing is Mar Mikhael, and the city centre is the body. The body is in suspension but the two wings are still moving, maybe to save the body!” He elaborates on saying that the ‘creative resistance’ is concentrated on the wings of that bird. And that the body is empty and dead due to the double destruction from the war and then from the regeneration plan implementation. This means that Beirut is still living but in chains, and it will be completely free when its body (the CC) is freed. Hence, one have to mention that these wings are not equally moving, one is more resilient then the other. The Hamra wing is much stronger than MM, why? Because in Hamra there is social mixity and super-diversity, unlike MM where there is mixed use and diversity only. And what makes Hamra so vibrant is the fact that it is nurtured by the presence two of the biggest universities of Lebanon (AUB, and LAU) in its radius. Making these educational institutions the holding element, the stabilizer of Hamra, in addition to the fact that Hamra is saturated because it was built in the 50’s and planned, unlike MM that naturally grew mostly in the 30’s and currently has a lot of gaps in the urban fabric, that makes the urban dynamics very fast and hard to regulate. It is questionable if MM can have such a self-regulating or stabilizing element.

Chapter 5: Conclusions and recommendations

The 15 years Lebanese civil war created a quick city decentralization, and destroyed the city center that was once a bustling social, cultural and economic hub. The city center regeneration plan failed to achieve its vision in recreating the unifying element of Beirut, leaving the city chattered in all possible ways.

Life started to regenerate in the surrounding clusters around the city center, dividing the city into parts, and creating complex urban dynamics. The city center is under a corporate planning system, unlike most the other areas of Beirut that are regulated by the bureaucratic outdated zoning planning system. Therefore, this system that operates with building regulations, leaves a lot of loopholes in top-down processes. Especially with the presence of the ‘exceptions’ system, that legalizes the violations of building permit regulations if good reasons are argued by the architects, and leave a door to corruption and manipulation of the regulations by investors that aim to increase their profit regardless of all the urban impacts. All these violations stimulated the civil society to resist against a state that was incapable of controlling the urban dynamics. This chapter highlights how this has resulted in the clashing between the ‘creative resistance’ and the ‘neoliberal investors’, by addressing the following question:

How do creative actors influence the regeneration of Beirut’s cultural place to achieve socio-cultural resilience in urban areas that are being transformed?

This question is answered step by step through a number of sub-questions. Sub-questions are answered one by one, and based on the answers and findings recommendations are given.

5.1 Socio-cultural resilience definition

Sub question 1: How can socio-cultural resilience be understood?

A city’s socio-cultural resilience is the capacity of a city to regenerate its cultural place’s structure and identity after receiving shocks, by ensuring a social benefit out of the recovery process; thus, fostering the maintenance of collective identity.

Recommendation:

On a policy level and on the academic level, there is a need to elaborate on the socio-cultural aspect in the city resilience framework, since the urban transformations are highly influenced by it. Plus the fast paced urbanization is very global and increases the risk of violence and conflict in cities, rendering it at a big social and cultural risk, that needs to be taken into consideration as much as climate change risks. Furthermore, cities are people, thus, a resilient people help building a resilient city. The findings on creative activism interventions support this and hence it seems viable to enable bottom-up interventions for increasing socio-cultural resilience.

5.2 Conclusions on Beirut’s Creative actors

Sub question 2: Who are the creative actors in Beirut, and which role they are playing?

The creative actors in Beirut are divided into three main categories:

- 1- The creative activists (CA): CBOs, NGOs or individuals with creative backgrounds who are involved in creative activism interventions in the city. The ultimate goal of this category is to oppose Neoliberal forces interventions that are creating social inequalities

and destroying the city's identity.

- 2- The creative placemakers (CP): CBOs, NGOs or individuals with creative backgrounds who are involved in creative placemaking interventions in the city. The ultimate aim of this category is to beautify the space in which communities live and upgrade their quality of living.
- 3- The creative entrepreneurs (CE): actors involved in entrepreneurial activities in the creative fields like arts and design, through the creation of creative industries in the city, and that are involved in cultural production and consumption. The ultimate aim of this category is to start a business and generate an income to survive from the actor's creative backgrounds, which is a challenging field on the market in Lebanon.

The same actor can fit in all categories. Hence, one actor can have different faces. Meaning that an actor's different interventions can influence at the same time socio-cultural resilience negatively and positively.

Recommendations and reflections:

- Policy makers should support interventions and not certain groups or actors in the city. In contrast to Florida's research in *The Rise Of The Creative Class (2000)*, this research looked at creative interventions and not 'creative actors'. Florida's 'creative class' looked at creative actors and only focused on their entrepreneurial activities that highly contribute to the economic growth of cities. Hence, in his most recent work *The New Urban Crisis (2017)*, he comes to a conclusion that this creative class is killing the inner city, by displacing the poor and the working class to the suburbs and by making the rich richer (Wetherell, 2017). This research also shows that entrepreneurial interventions indeed do this, but this is not problematic in all interventions. To the contrary, in Beirut, we have seen that Florida's 'creative class' can be involved in creative entrepreneurship activities (CE), along with creative placemaking (CP) and creative activism (CA) interventions. This 'creative class' is mostly the highly educated class operating in creative fields. They are also engaged in creative activism activities that lead to building socio-cultural resilience. Therefore, this research found that the 'creative class' of Florida could be playing different roles by having different faces in different types of interventions in the city, leading to different impacts regarding socio-cultural resilience.

5.3 Conclusions on the creative actors interventions, outcomes and impacts

Sub question 3: How and why do creative actors intervene in the city and with whom do they engage?

Sub question 4: What are the outcomes and impacts of their interventions, particularly in terms of cultural place regeneration and socio-cultural resilience, after considering the influencing critical contextual conditions?

The creative actors in Beirut intervene in different manners depending on their category. And this is due to their different goals and motivations. They all engage with private actors and public institutions. Certain intervention patterns can be related to the three categories: Creative activism (CA), creative placemaking (CP) and creative entrepreneurship (CE).

Creative activism (CA) interventions are triggered when the actors observe a violation of a cultural place's *meaning*. Then, they create an *activity* to influence the *space*, and which

preserve and create a new *meaning*. They are the group that is most strongly influenced by the contextual factors and conditions. They push towards **socio-cultural resilience** by creating a *social benefit* and a *collective identity*. One of their weaknesses is that they often operate in an isolated and/or fragmented manner each following a certain goal. They get stronger when they collaborate by creating coalitions.

Creative placemaking (CP) bottom-up interventions are mostly stimulated by a condition in the *space*, followed by an intervention in *space* that creates an *activity*, and consequently creates a *meaning* through community engagement in the action. They are not so strongly influenced by the contextual conditions as the creative activism (CA) interventions. Their positive influence on **socio-cultural resilience** is limited, because they only influence one indicator by bringing a *social benefit* to a certain extent. As for the creative placemaking (CP) top-down interventions that were created to implement neoliberal agendas, they showed a negative influence on **socio-cultural resilience**.

Creative entrepreneurship (CE) activity is stimulated by the *space* conditions and only creates an *activity*, but does not create a *meaning*. The actors involved in creative entrepreneurship (CE) do not engage in social activities with the communities around them. They operate on a different level in neighbourhoods. The contextual factors and conditions work to their advantage. Consequently, they bring a social decay by triggering gentrification, which negatively influence **socio-cultural resilience**.

The intervention patterns are visually expressed in Figure 5.7 in the Concluding Remarks section following chapter 5.

Recommendations (reflections are in the Concluding Remarks section):

- The creation of a public online platform that makes collaboration between the Creative activists (CA) easier, with a shared database that is accessible by the public. This is because coalitions among creative activists in Beirut proved to provide strength to collective creative activism (CA) interventions, especially when the public gets engaged. Furthermore, since mobilising the public to engage in creative activism interventions is somehow a challenge, the public database will be a source of information to the public that explains situations and creates awareness about certain urban issues. Consequently, this will encourage them to participate in the mobilizations.
- Through this online platform, different groups can create updated objective criteria for heritage classification. This is because the heritage topic showed to be very controversially complex due to lack of these criteria and due to the different meanings among the populations, especially between the youth and the elderly. Thus, by objectifying the meaning of the built heritage, a collective meaning is created which is very important for building a collective identity, which in turn strengthens socio-cultural resilience.
- The creation of a tracking system or interactive map of interventions (an observatory) that keeps on updating and monitoring the creative activism (CA) interventions process over time, is important to keep the evolved actors on track of the long procedures. Therefore, this could help overcome the slow escalation level that is affecting the participation level. Therefore, the interventions will not be a hit and go action.

5.4 Conclusion on socio-cultural resilience degree in Beirut

Sub question 5: To which degree of social-cultural resilience did this lead to in the urban transformation process?

Beirut's socio-cultural resilience is on the edge between collapse and resilience, but leaning towards resilience. And this goes back to the efforts of creative activism (CA) interventions that try to bring a social benefit and build a collective identity, creating a 'creative resistance' to the contextual factors, conditions and other strong opposing actors. They are able to regulate to a certain extent the opposing forces of neoliberal investors, like in the case of Mar Mikhael. But in certain situations where the opposing powers are too strong, the interventions' impacts remain too moderate or fail completely, like in the case of the city centre where Solidere's power is the most prominent one. Therefore, it is observed that in areas operating under the aging bureaucratic planning system, creative activists are able to push towards resilience much more than in the corporate planning system. This also shows that the situation is complex and it can be described as grey. Thus, things are not so simple, meaning not black or white. Therefore, further research and investigation are required to unpack the complexity of the case.

Recommendations:

- Incorporate creative placemaking (CP) interventions within creative activism (CA) agendas, in order to increase socio-cultural resilience by reaching bigger crowds.
- Try to find incentive for creative entrepreneurs (CE) to engage in creative activism (CA). For example in Mar Mikhael, the creation of a permanent common public facility providing services for creative industries in the area, will increase ties between the creative entrepreneurs, and strengthen the 'creative cluster'. But most importantly this cluster will be serving the community of the neighbourhood, and this will occur due to the condition of the use of the public facility services. This condition can be for example a one-year intervention by the collaboration of creative entrepreneurs in the neighbour, which aims at upgrading the urban environment in return for the accessibility to services in the Creative public facility. This public facility can be combined with a community centre in which the residents' and bars' neighbourhood committees can meet regularly to discuss the neighbourhood's issues, because by the provision of a physical meeting space this self-regulating system will be maintained.
- The creative activists (CA) have to keep on pushing to reach governance levels (municipality), in order to create a breakthrough in the most limiting factors and conditions. This will empower them to reach their goals, which are pushing for transparency and participation. Hence, this will in turn establish a relationship of trust between the citizens and the government, which are currently lacking in Beirut, but that seems very important in the City Resilience framework by ARUP. This breakthrough of creative activists on governance level will help them push for a change in the city centre, due to the possibility of exerting pressure on Solidere to become more open to the public realm.

5.4.1 Mar Mikhael (case 1) socio-cultural resilience conclusion

Mar Mikhael's cultural place started to develop in the resilience direction, when the creative cluster of creative industries started to grow naturally in this location; thus, this started to regenerate the area. However, this positive regeneration did not last for long, and started to push in the direction of collapse when the rent prices started to inflate, and started the

gentrification cycle of Mar Mikhael. Prices later increased enormously with the arrival of the food and beverages industry that tore the social fabric of the neighbourhood apart. This stimulated some creative activism interventions that some have been successful in preventing Mar Mikhael system from collapse. Nevertheless, this does not mean that Mar Mikhael is not under threat and at risk, because one can see in figure 5.4.1 that the current state in Mar Mikhael is inclined toward resilience but that it is not too far from going into the collapse direction. This is explained by the presence of diversity in Mar Mikhael but not mixity between the creative industries, bars industries, and residents

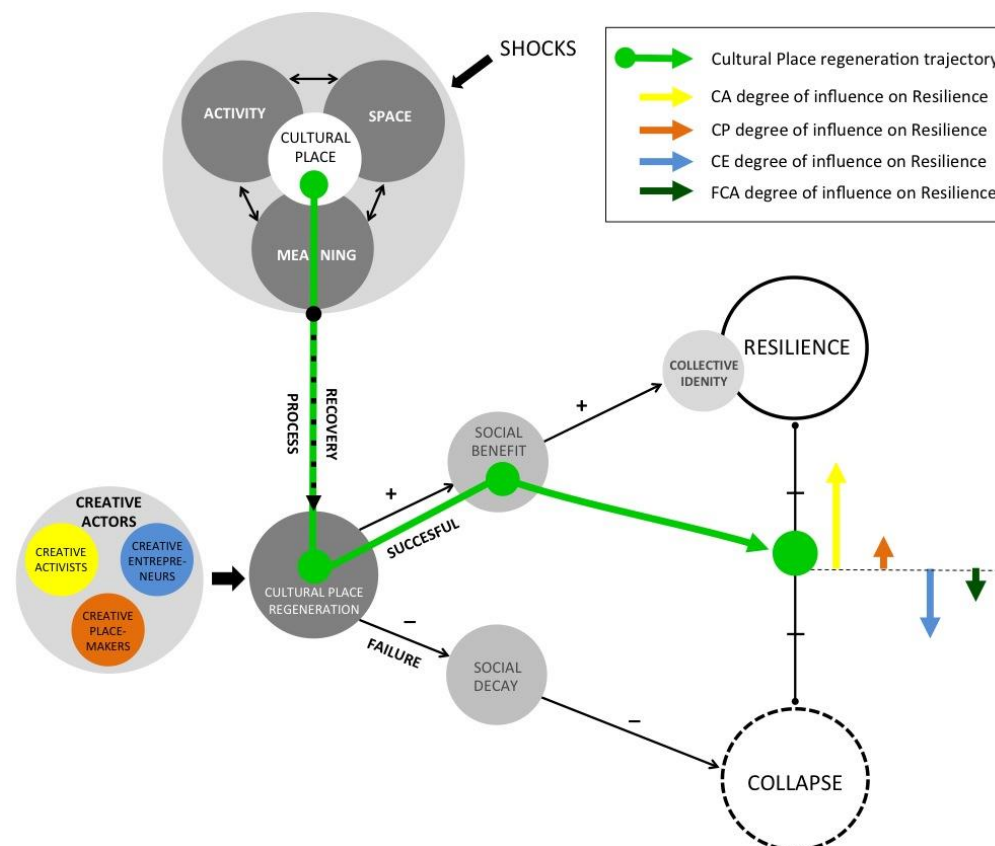


Figure 5.4.1: Cultural place regeneration trajectory reaching resilience in Mar Mikhael, with different influencing directions by the different categories of creative actors interventions (by author)

5.4.2 the city centre socio-cultural resilience conclusion

After the civil war the cultural place of the city centre was destroyed to the ground, and it was destroyed another time by the regeneration plan that adopted a tabularaza process, and prioritized the economic growth on the account of the social and cultural level. Therefore, after the war shock, the recovery process was going in the collapse direction, until the time when creative activists (CA) started to push the city centre towards resilience. Thus, they intervened through public mobilizations, advocating the preservation of the built heritage and public spaces. They have been successful but in a very moderate way, because their interventions are not abundant in numbers and are not as impactful as expected due to the strong powerful force of Solidere. However, even with the efforts of the creative activists, the city centre's socio-cultural resilience remains closer to the collapse direction (figure 5.4.2). Henceforth, in the city centre top-down strategies of Solidere have increased the fragility of the area especially due to political instability.

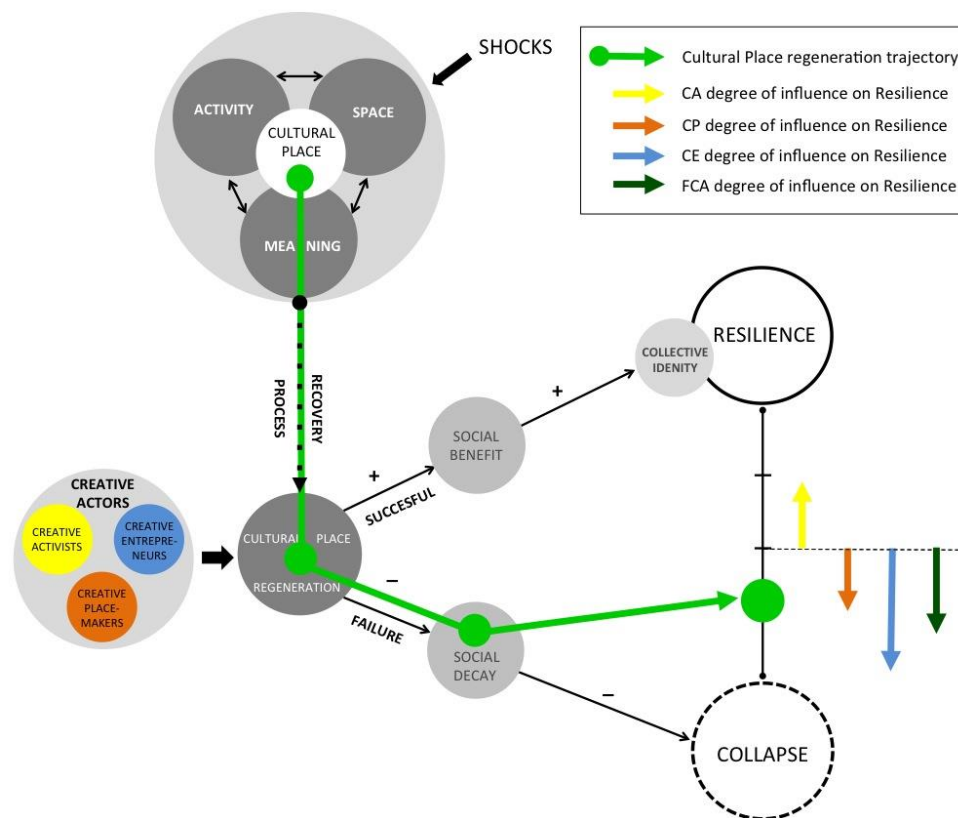


Figure 5.4.2: Cultural place regeneration trajectory reaching resilience in city centre, with different influencing directions by the different categories of creative actors interventions (by author)

5.4.3 Beirut socio-cultural resilience conclusion

After the war Beirut's cultural place was not regenerating in the resilience direction. Many academics mentioned that Beirut remains fragmented until today; and describe it as a city of clusters that does not merge or interact. This can be seen as a social decay leading to a fragmented identity and consequently to a system collapse. There was no effort from the state to bring people back together after the war, especially after the failure of the regeneration of the city centre that used to connect all Beirutis. On Beirut's level the creative entrepreneurship (CE) activity does not have much of an impact, but rather it influences the areas where it is concentrated. However, the negative social impact on Beirut's scale is mainly due to the war urbanism that created segregated self-sufficient neighbourhoods. Nevertheless, the creative activism (CA) interventions are trying to break this fragmented settlement of the communities by the creation of meeting spaces. They do so by advocating for transparency and participation in the decision making process regarding the public realm of the city. Hence, the creative activists (CA) are trying to create a collective meaning to rebuild the lost collective identity of Beirut. And this puts the socio-cultural resilience level of Beirut right on the edge but leaning towards the positive resilience direction (figure 5.4.3).

Reflections:

According to the ARUP (2014) City Resilience framework, it is emphasized that community support is essential in building a trust between the citizens and the government in order to build a collective identity in a city, which reinforces resilience. This seems to assume that government support is a given. However in the case of Beirut this is not the case. The government is often absent, or even disrupting small-scale bottom-up community initiatives by promoting large-scale top-down (real estate) development. Community support is generated

instead by the creative actors who established resisting community groups, that created shadow governance and that are monitoring the state operation and violation of their public right. Yet, in all this challenging environment the community was able to initiate its own support to oppose the government activities that do not seem right to them in most of the cases. This proves that there are other options for communities to reach resilience, even if governmental support is missing. But in the cases where municipal opposition takes place, the government acts against its people. Hence, the community perceiving the government as their enemy disrupts trust and collaboration. And therefore, the community finds an alternative support, in the case of Beirut being the advocacy NGOs working with international grants.

The hypothesis in chapter 3 was verified. However, the hypothesis can be revised.

Revised hypothesis:

- 1- *The cultural place of Beirut did not regenerate the same previous rich structure and characteristics of the golden age period, after the 1975 civil war. However the regeneration is happening but in very complex dynamics.*
- 2- *Creative activism interventions are the ones that push mostly toward socio-cultural resilience in Beirut. Bottom-up creative placemaking interventions have a very limited positive impact on socio-cultural resilience; while the top-down creative placemaking interventions slightly influence negatively socio-cultural resilience. The creative entrepreneurial activities tend to bring a social decay on neighborhoods scale, which does not built socio-cultural resilience.*

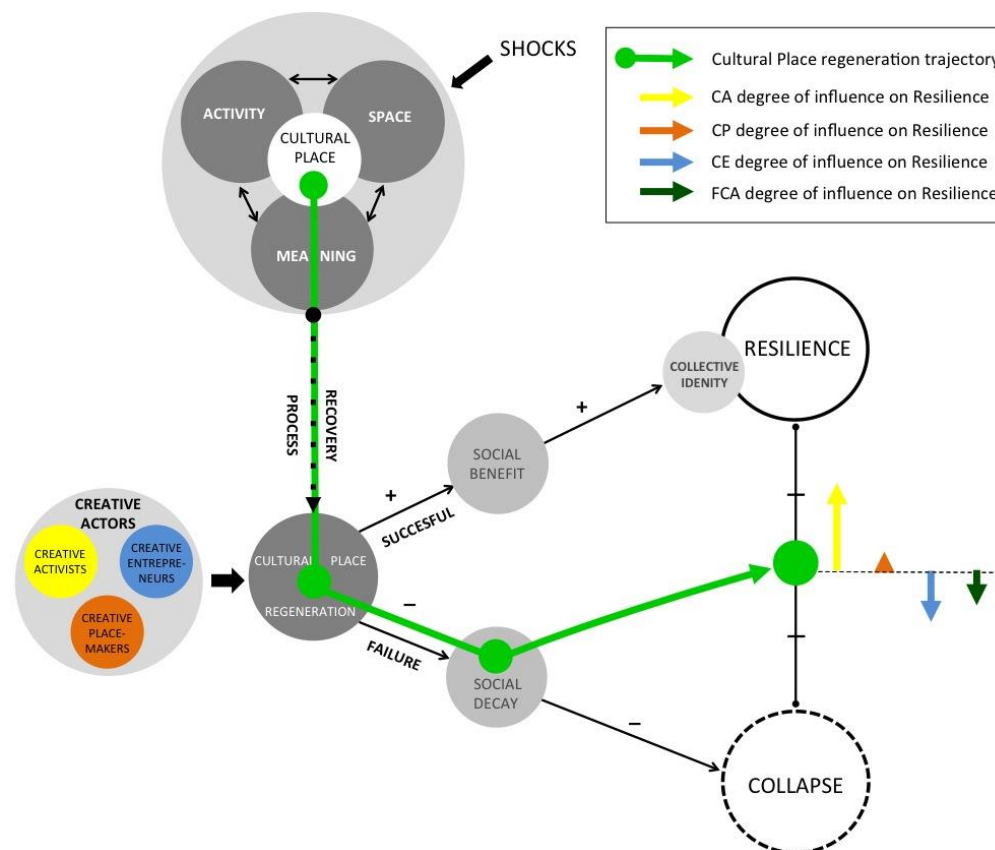


Figure 5.4.3: Cultural place regeneration trajectory reaching resilience in Beirut, with different influencing directions by the different categories of creative actors interventions (by author)

5.5 Conclusion on the international policy framework:

The Cultural and Creative Cities Monitor's conceptual framework by the European Commission (2017) (Annex 1), was created to rank creative cities in Europe. By looking at the used indicators, one can guess that Beirut would rank too low on that monitor. This is mainly because of the lack of cultural infrastructure and because of the bad quality of governance that seems important in the monitor. This monitor is developed based on a context that is very different from Beirut. While following Landry's (2000) definition of a creative city as a problem-solving city, one would say that Beirut is very creative, but trapped in a chain of outdated and mal-functioning public institutions. Plus, this monitor only considers the creative industries and creative economy along with cultural amenities in its framework, and completely disregards the presence of creative activists and creative placemaker interventions in cities that seem very important actors of creativity to build cities' socio-cultural resilience.

In addition, in the cultural policy, the implementation of cultural amenities has been used as a tool for urban regeneration. This happens when a city loses one of its main functions, then it tries to build an economy based on attracting tourism through selling an easy culture. But one can argue that this is an inefficient strategy, because in the case of Beirut city center whose economy is based on tourists, any shock that influences the tourist activity negatively, ends up in deserting an entire city center. However, a long-lasting culture needs amenities, because the exclusive presence of festivals is not enough for cultural resilience, since festivals are ephemeral. Then the trick is to adapt these cultural amenities to the population needs, to ensure that their basis of activity is balancing the local and tourists' needs; for example, museums that adopt two types of exhibitions, the permanent and temporary exhibitions. Therefore, cultural amenities that use the concept of adaptability as one of their core values help building cultural resilience. In the case of Beirut, the ministry of culture has been working on building this kind of cultural amenities, but their numerous internal challenges hinder the implementation of these plans. However, in such cases where the cultural sector is not prioritized by the central government, culture-led regeneration policies using the concept of adaptable cultural amenities, fail to take place due to the lack of funds and lack of infrastructure and capacity for the cultural sector to operate efficiently.

5.6 General recommendations:

- Policy makers have to support interventions and not groups, because the same actors can influence resilience with a – and + depending on the type of interventions. Hence, creative actors can have different faces by fitting different creative categories.
- Beirut's local governments need to create self-regulatory elements per neighbourhood. With the lack of the latter and with the very fast self-organized urban transformations that are in favour of market forces, the socio-cultural resilience of Beirut is becoming fragile.
- Beirut's local government needs to create a collective vision to the city, because the existing fractions of visions in Beirut are keeping the discrepancy in the urban dynamics. Plus, the youth have to be integrated in the creation of this vision, because the youth are the present and not only the tomorrow. This might re-create the unifying city element that was lost with the war.
- The municipality has to change its approach (to participatory and transparency), and work closely with creative activists (CA), through academic research. This will counterbalance the municipality's lack of an executive and monitoring body. Hence, the creative activists will bridge the gap between policy making and neighbourhoods' urban dynamics. This can be further supported by creating closer collaboration on projects between creative activists and urban planning students in universities.

5.7 Final Remarks and opening statements

5.7.1 Final remarks

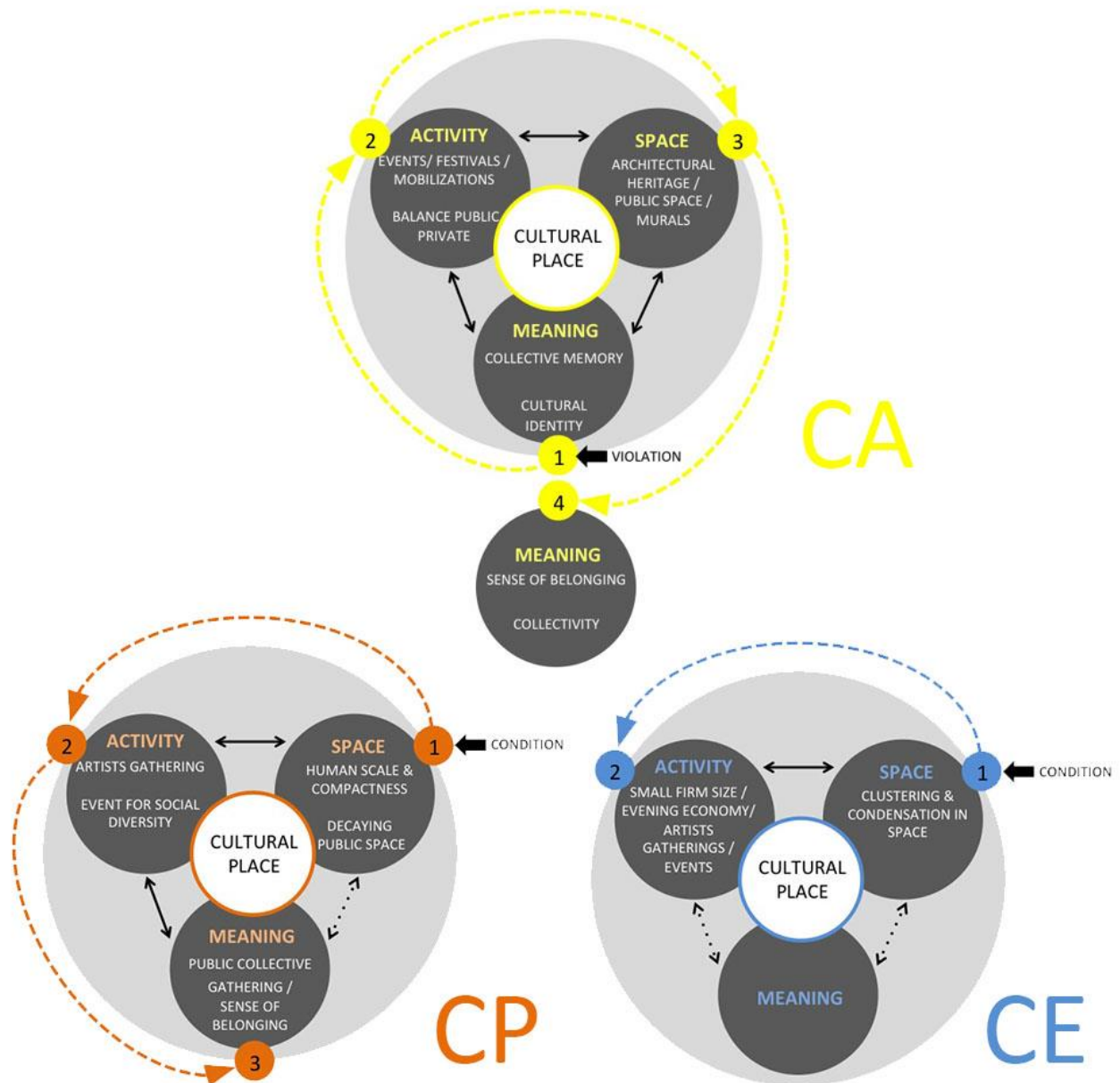


Figure 5.7.1: The steps of creative actors' interventions in terms of the cultural place components, conclusions in the case of Beirut (by author)

By analyzing figure 5.3.1 one can see that only the operational steps of Creative activism (CA) interventions close the loop, establishing all the relationships among all the cultural place components. This makes the cultural space fully recovered and preserved explaining the presence of both socio-cultural **resilience indicators**: *social benefit* and *collective identity* (positive scoring for both indicators). Another observation regarding these diagrams is that when the *meaning* component is excluded from the operation (creative entrepreneurship (CE) example) a *social decay* occurs leading to a *fragmented identity* and consequently to **collapse** (negative score for both resilience indicators). As for the Creative placemaking (CP) interventions they establish the connection with the *meaning* but from one side, which does not close the loop, but involve the three components of the cultural place, and this explains why creative placemaking (CP) interventions usually score positive for one indicator for **socio-cultural resilience**: the *social benefit*.

Therefore, the preservation or creation of *meaning* is the most important component in the **cultural place regeneration** to reach **socio-cultural resilience**.

Therefore, what threatens Beirut's socio-cultural resilience is the presence of **different meanings** in Beirut. These different meanings do exist due to the lack of a *unified city vision* for the city regeneration. Beirut Madinati vision came to unify all these small groups' individual visions, by working as a big umbrella or platform that can combine, connect and restructure individual visions into one *collective vision*. This move of the creative activists that hold the social and cultural consciousness of the city to the governance level would have empowered the people to collectively change their city. Unfortunately Beirut Madinati did not win against the other municipal list that represents all the current political parties, and with it the dream was delayed.

However, one can see that there is a thirst in Beirut to bring change to the divided city by sectarianism. But this thirst is not helping Beirut Madinati to solve their current dilemmas. There is a question in positioning Beirut Madinati in the city, because this group does not want to register as an NGO, nor as a political party (refusing to be third political block for the existing two political blocks). This limits its actions to interventions under coalitions with other NGO's. We can take as an example the coalition that is fighting the illegal privatizations on Beirut's Western coast. Furthermore, Beirut Madinati is currently only operating on volunteers and is facing a lack in the executive body that intervenes in the city. Additionally, Beirut Madinati lacks a lot of resources. Hence, the use of academic research is the only resource that Beirut Madinati has. Therefore, they are trying to bring academic research to the government level to fill the lack of data in governmental institutions. Here we see that the academia is replacing the role of the government.

One of the main critics to Beirut Madinati, was that Beirut Madinati represents only the educated middle class of Beirut. Hence after the elections, Beirut Madinati decided to adopt a new approach than the existing one to policy making in Lebanon. An approach that goes down to the most marginalized groups in the city. This is done by the initiation of neighborhoods working groups that will examine urban issues on the neighborhood scale, to build a body of knowledge that sees the residents as the initiators of policy. But yet today we fall in the debate of what stimulates self-organization and self-regulation? Does it emerge by itself out of need, or is there a need of a public institution that will create systems that help people self-organize, and push them to engage in policy making? Nonetheless, we can say with confidence that there is definitely a need of a public actor to work on community development in urban planning.

5.7.2 Opening statements

As a concluding statement, it is important to note that the findings generated by this research revolve around a single case study: Beirut. As mentioned and observed throughout the research, the research question and hypothesis it entailed operate within a set of specific contextual dynamics, that include but are not limited to the post-war setting and its multi-faith/multi-identity environment, the geopolitical position of Lebanon, and the relevance of Beirut as a capital city. Therefore, further research could test my research question and hypothesis in varying environments, in order to recognize the importance of contextual factors in the enabling and preservation of cultural identity in places and cities that have also witnessed an "identity crisis". This degree of variation can be enacted on the following three different levels:

- 1 – Studying the hypothesis within the same national context, but in a different local environment and on a smaller scale where identity is even further fragmented within the main

religions. The case of Tripoli, Lebanon can be studied in this respect, as problematic sectarian and cultural identities are to this day a source of armed conflict. Rajab (2017) explains in her research, the influence of ‘identity politics’ in Tripoli’s Tebbene district that is creating a fracture within the urban fabric of the city.

2 – Tackling a foreign post-war setting that was also the result of identity clashes, in order to compare how different national environments and identities have differing outcomes on current cultural identity and meaning. Nicosia in this case could be considered as a valid case study, as it witnessed years of civil unrest based on ethnical and religious clashes between the Muslim Turkish communities, and the Christian Greek communities. To this day Nicosia is divided in two between Cypriot and Turkish official territories that touch without ever merging (Psaltis, C., et. Al., 2014)

3 – Taking the example of a case study where cultural regeneration and meaning of place emerged successfully in spite of the presence of multiple identities could give an insight on best-practices and on the importance of a nurturing regional context. Brussels could be taken as a case study for this level of variation, since Flemish and French communities have managed to successfully instate a collective identity within the urban fabric and landscape of the city (Deprez, Vos, 2016). Further research could prove how effective these communities have been on a more social scale.

Therefore, these three levels of variation would provide a solid research regarding collective identity and cultural place regeneration, and would contribute to the realm of academic literature surrounding this topic. The results would also be able to challenge or enhance the City Resilience Framework, depending on the outcomes of the research.

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Annex 1: Chapter 1 Figures



The Cultural and Creative Cities Monitor's conceptual framework
(European Commission, 2017)



City Resilience Framework - (ARUP, 2014).

Annex 2: Concepts

1- The Fractal City

The theory of “fractal cities” view cities as complex organisms that evolves and change due to conditions and rules, manifesting a global order through time. This view is close to modern biology rather than it is to classical economy or visual arts that influenced previous studies on cities, describing urban morphology as simple, ordered structures, expressed in lines and shapes. Hence looking at situations that defy our understanding of order as being a disorder, is completely argued with the appearance of a new geometry of the irregular, called fractal geometry, founded by Mandelbort (1983). The last builds a new understanding of the urban form by first tracing the juxtaposition of organic or planned urban form, and then by studying the form, process, scale, shape, statics and dynamics of cities (Batty, M., Longley, P., 1994). Fractals are “objects showing the same kind of irregularity at many scales” (Batty, M., Longley, P., 1994, p.59), this imply a certain order in the fractal structure that is explained in three principles. First, *self-similarity* is an attribute of a fractal in some general sense. Whenever you examine a fractal on any scale, it appears to have the same degree of irregularity. Second, fractals are a set of *ordered hierarchies* on many scales, where the tree is a classical example of the fundamental structure of a fractal. Third, a fractal shows a form of *irregularity*. This makes a fractal an irregular form, showing self-similarity on different scales ordered in a hierarchy, thus fractals forms are characterized by fractional dimension (Batty, M., Longley, P., 1994). A further understanding to the fractal form can be developed by following the construction of the simplest fractal form of Mandelbort, thus starting by a first object called the *initiator*, to which we apply a *generator*, which is a motif that repeats it self on several scales (figure 2.1). By applying the generator again at the new scale, a further elaboration of the object appears on a finer scale (Batty, M., Longley, P., 1994).

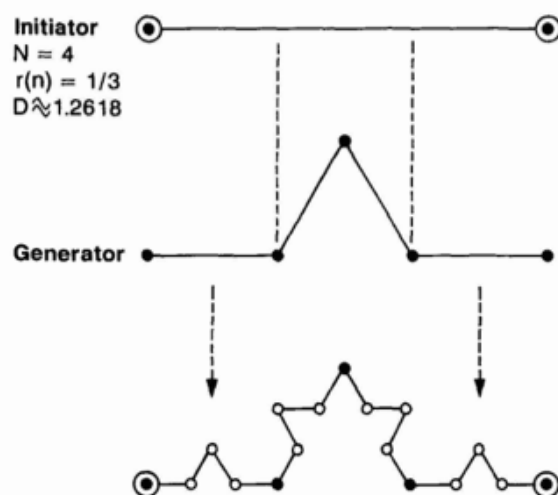


Figure 2.1: Simplest fractal form ((Batty, M., Longley, P., 1994, p.62).

2- Creative Placemakers Characteristics

Characteristics of Creative Placemakers²²

The term *creative placemakers* includes everyone who is actively involved in creative placemaking, as defined above. Individual skills and talents are not always immediately evident and yet they are probably the most important assets to bring into the process. To achieve their mission, creative placemakers:

- **are collaborative.** Just as no single person can lead and manage all aspects of a society, creative placemaking by one person or one interest group is unsustainable. Collaboration should be shared among as many groups as possible within a community.
- **are creative and compassionate creators.** Creative people can see opportunities and connections that others might not. Creators generate ideas that lead to new ways of thinking and doing. Creative placemakers are not mere facilitators or technicians; they are actively involved in creating from the beginning of the initiative. But because they are also collaborative, creative placemakers use compassion to temper any desires to make their ideas rise above others.
- **are culturally competent.** Creative placemakers recognize that artists, developers, and elected officials, as well as distinct communities, can have very diverse hierarchies of values and tolerances of risk. Effective creative placemakers understand and respect these differences, and engage in strategies that meet the diverse interests of stakeholders to build consensus for action.
- **intend to guide, but not control, market activity.** No one can accurately predict the comprehensive array of transactions that is called “the market.” But all human activity is guided by awareness, intent, action, reflection, and response. Through such activities as market analysis, thought leadership and place marketing, creative placemaking works to understand the values, interests and concerns of audiences, and to address them in ethical, sustainable ways.
- **recognize that shaping awareness and beliefs is as critical as shaping the built environment.** One of the reasons that the Municipal Art and City Beautiful movements of the late 19th and early 20th centuries could not achieve broad, sustainable results is that their members put too much emphasis on physical determinism – the theory that social behavior can be predicted and directed through changes in the built environment. A person’s willingness to risk time, energy, money, and other resources depends on his or her values, beliefs, perceptions, tolerance of risk, and experiences. The physical environment is only one of several elements that impact a person’s willingness to engage in a place.
- **value, and promote the value of, creative processes and creators.** Creative placemakers seek to produce sustainable and predictable outcomes through processes that have internal order and can be managed. Creativity is inherently disorderly and unpredictable. Creative placemakers strive to balance *idea generation* with *idea resolution*, and seek to build the capacity of others to get more comfortable with the yin and yang of creative placemaking.

(Borup, T., 2014)

Annex 3: Actors Sampling and Data Collection

`ACTORS SAMPLING		DATA COLLECTION	
Actors	Relevance	Primary data	Secondary data
Creative Actors			
Achrafieh 2020	<p>It is an apolitical long-term environmental driven initiative, aiming to transform Achrafieh to a liveable neighbourhood. (Achrafieh is the neighbouring area of Mar Mikhael. The areas are connected through the historical pedestrian public stairs)</p> <p>Achrafieh 2020 actions are mainly events such as car free days in mar-mikhael, where festivals, and public performances along with markets takes place</p>	<p>Interview on 21/7/2017</p> <p>(45 mins)</p>	<p>Online articles</p> <p>Achrafieh 2020 Facebook page</p>
Save Beirut Heritage	<p>It is an NGO that is lobbying with governmental institutions to save threatened heritage buildings in the area of Mar-Mikhael-Gemmayze-Achrafieh-city centre and other areas.</p> <p>They have been active in protests, and awareness events, highlighting heritage importance</p>	<p>Interview on 25/7/2017</p> <p>(34 mins)</p>	<p>Online articles</p> <p>Save Beirut Heritage Facebook page</p>
Public Works Studio	A collective of architects, graphic designers, and urbanists that engage critically, politically and creatively with public and urban issues	<p>Interview on 25/7/2017</p> <p>(1 hour & 10 mins)</p>	<p>MM housing research</p> <p>Public spaces research</p>
Haven For Artists	An art-based community initiative in Mar Mikhael with a mission to expose artists and support them to freely showcase their art forms, while working to inspire more artists and form an expressive community for everyone. Their activities mainly include artistic performances and exhibitions and gatherings.	<p>Interview on 26/7/2017</p> <p>(1 hour & 17 mins)</p>	--
Architects for Change	A non-profit youth organization based in Beirut, aims into developing an young active leading community of architects and	Interview on 29/7/2017	--

	planners. They operate under 3 pillars: education, social impact, and youth development; to promote sustainable development in response to urban challenges. The organization hosts various events such as, conferences, workshops, lectures with local and international designers, and collaboration with international congresses. Many of their events are conducted in Hamra, and Mar Mikhael and they also collaborate with Nahnoo.	(1 hour)	
Beirut Report	“The Beirut Report founder and editor in chief, Habib Battah, has been covering Lebanon and the Middle East for 15 years as an investigative journalist, filmmaker and media critic. Battah is also a regular contributor to Al Jazeera, BBC World, The Daily Star, Bold Magazine and others and is a two-time recipient of the Samir Kassir Press Freedom Award. Topics as culture& heritage, environment& public space, public service, etc. are discussed on this platform where people participate and comment on events posted in articles”	--	Published online articles
Nahnoo (english: “Us”)	“Nahnoo is a nonsectarian and nonpartisan youth-lead organization that aspires to provide a platform for young Lebanese to engage in activities that promote self-development and self-expression and gain the skills necessary to contribute to their communities meaningfully and peacefully. Through discussion groups, social events, and workshops on topics such as advocacy, effective communication, conflict resolution, and dialogue management, Nahnoo engages a diverse group of Lebanese youth and acts a space for free expression and the exchange of ideas”	Interview on 25/7/2017 (32 mins)	--
Creative Space Beirut	“Creative Space Beirut is a free school for fashion design providing quality creative education to talented youth who lack the resources to pursue a degree at increasingly expensive institutions. The innovative school aims to promote equal opportunity into the creative sector and make the design world accessible to those with vision to create. Creative Space Beirut was founded in June 2011 by Parsons the New School for Design graduate, Sarah Hermez, and her former professor Caroline Simonelli”	Interview on 24/7/2017 (42 mins)	--

Nada Sehnaoui	“A Beirut-based visual artists whose work, paintings, and installations deal with issues of war, personal memory, public amnesia, the writing of history, and the construction of identity”	Interview on 24/7/2017 (1hour & 10 mins)	The artist’s website
Jad el Khoury ‘Potato Nose’	Young street artist work on the ruins of the war, highlighting the war memory as awareness.	Interview on 25/7/2107 (50 mins)	The Artist’s Facebook page Online interviews
Ashekman	Street artists, proud of their heritage and language. Mission: to revive the Arabic rich culture and history though art. Marking the street as being ”OURS” in every graffiti	Interview on 27/7/2017 (50 mins)	The Artist’s Facebook page Ted talk Artists Songs lyrics
Beirut Madinaty With Ibrahim Mneinmeh	Candidate as the Head of list of “Beirut madinaty” (Arabic for ‘Beirut my city’) electoral campaign for the municipal elections A volunteer-led campaign to elect a municipal council with qualified, politically unaffiliated individuals in the 2016 municipal elections. Program with a people centered approach that prioritize livability	Interview on 29/7/2017 (53 mins)	Electoral Campaign program Group Facebook page
Yazan Halwani	Street Artists in a search of identity within a city that has difficulties defining its own cultural identity due to sectarianism, lack of cultural infrastructure and remnants of the war. He creates murals that grow with the city not against it, by using Arabic calligraphy	--	Online articles
Event Planning office	Creative industries of MM	Interview on 29/7/2017 (20 mins)	“Beast” event website
Zawya workshop	Creative industries of MM	Interview on 25/7/2017 (5 mins)	--
Starch Foundation	A non-profit organization established with the collaboration with Solidere that helps launch Lebanese designers	--	Strach website
Sarah’s Bags	Lebanese fashion house and social enterprise that creates luxury handcrafted bags that empower both women who make them and	Interview on 27/7/2017	Sarah’s bags website

	those who wear them.	(30 mins)	
Beit Beirut (APSAD)	The first war memory museum of the city	--	Online articles
Paint up NGO by Dihzahyners	A group of designers involved in placemaking. “By empowering the urban fabric of our city, through paint, through color; we are going to the walls, the stairs, and the streets”	--	Online interviews The group’s website and Facebook page
The Chain Effect	“The Chain Effect was created in November 2014, by three friends, to promote cycling for mobility in Beirut”	Interview on (14/9/2017 30 mins)	The group’s website and Facebook page
21 creative actors		15 interviews Total time: 10 hours 18 mins	
Academics and professionals			
Professor Charbel Maskini	Urban planner, architect Professor at the Lebanese University Research focus on Beirut history and development. Author of “area 21”: a set of interviews to various actors that took role in regenerating Beirut	Interview on 19/7/2017 (3 hours)	Online Articles
Architect and urban planner Chadia Sino	From a Beirut Family. Lived in beirut pre-war and post-war. Professor with a research focus on Beirut.	Interview on 27/7/2017 (20 mins)	PHD research
Gaia Heritage	MEDNETNA is one of 95 projects implemented under the ENPI CBC Mediterranean sea basin program 2007/2013. Classification of Mar Michael as a creative district (creative economy)	Interview on 27/7/2017 (24 mins)	MM creative district study
Professor Mona Harb	Urban planning professor and researcher at AUB, works closely with Beirut Madinati. “Cities and Political Change: Urban Activism in Beirut Talk at AISSR”	Talk 2/11/2017 (1 hour)	--
4 Professionals and academics		4 interviews Total time: 4 hours 44 mins	
Governmental Body			
Ministry of culture	Perspective of cultural development on governmental level	Interview on 21/7/2017	Action plan for the coming 5 years

		(2 hours)	Online Articles
1 governmental body actor		1 interview Total time: 2 hours	
Investors			
Bachir Moujaes at Solider	Senior architect and Urban planner at SOLIDERE (real estate development company that revisited the city centre)	Cancelled interview	Previously done interviews Online articles Books publication
Real estate developers	A study by professor Mona Fawaz. Analysis of collected qualitative data	--	Published research
Pub owner 1	Nightlife investor in Mar Mikhael introverted space	Interview on 23/7/2017 (5mins)	--
Pub owner 2	Nightlife investor in Mar Mikhael extroverted space on the street	Interview on 23/7/2017 (5mins)	--
Shop owner	Nejme square in CC	Interview on 21/7/2017 (5mins)	Online article
Café owner	Nejme square in CC	Interview on 21/7/2017 (5mins)	Online article
6 investors		4 interviews Total time: 20 mins	
Residents / Tenants / Users			
CC old time tenant	Cultural place evaluation in pre-war and post-war periods	Interview on 29/7/2017 (1 hour)	Books and journalistic articles
CC old time user	Cultural place evaluation in pre-war and post-war periods	Interview on 27/7/2017 (30 mins)	Books and journalistic articles
MM old time residents	Mar mikhael urban transformation	--	Public Works Studio housing research
Nightlife consumer 1	2 people in mar mikhael, that go to Hamra. From beirut	Interview on 27/7/2017 (25 mins)	--

Nightlife consumer 2	A person who frequent Hamra, mar mikhael, city center. From beirut	Interview on 29/7/2017 (7 mins)	--
Nightlife consumer 3	A person who frequent MM and the CC, but not Hamra. Not from Beirut.	Interview on 29/7/2017 (15 mins)	--
CC public space user	City center area, person from beirut but not living in city center	Interview on 22/7/2017 (2 minutes)	--
7 Residents, users and tenants		6 interviews Total time: 2 hours 20 mins	
Total number of interviews: 30 interviews Total Time: around 20 hours			

Annex 4: Creative Actors Analytical Tables

This annex provides summary tables for some of the creative actors interviews. However all the creative actors interviews were cut into parts to be organized in this table format. Hence, 15 extended tables for the 15 creative actors' interviews were created, but this section shows few short versions and summary of these tables. The extended version of these tables were coded in atlas Ti (code list in Annex 5), and later analysed to conduct the findings in chapter 4.

Table A1: Creative actor ‘Public Works Studio’ (Based on the conducted interview)

Motivation	Objectives / Goals	Interventions		Collaboration Network	Impacts					Challenges (weaknesses) / Support (strength)			
					Social	Cultural	Economic	Environmental	Governmental				
“Public works started in 2012 by Abir Saksouk and Nadine Daccache, They both studied Urban planning in London, but before that Abir is trained as an architect, and Nadine as a graphic designer. They come from that background, their belief in public works is that, through combining those disciplines and with urban planning we can expand the public conversation about urban issues and topics. The main role of Public works is to start this conversation between different actors in the country.”	Start the conversation about urban issues between various actors in the city “We are creating a new way of thinking about policy in Lebanon, it is evidence based, it puts participation of the affected stakeholders as a core value in the policy making. So it is a kind of a bridge between the community level and policy level, but it is more about rethinking policy making” “Resolve urban issues on neighbourhood level, to make neighbourhoods better liveable places”	PWS members initiative with BM Mar Mikhael neighbourhood working group: - “open meeting for the residents to come and talk about the neighbourhood issues, many topics came out. Some of them are housing (heritage), high rents, Loud bars, vallet parking, Stairs and their lack of maintenance. But mainly the bars and noise problem was the main issue.” “We did a lot of things, we did a banner protest in march, we did a press conference, we had fliers, meetings with owners, we had few organized actions in coordination with the residents like calling the police to complain about specific bars that are making a lot of noise”. “We want to expand the discussion beyond the main problem of the Bars, this is the main priority. Because people are getting frustrated and irritated from a lot of things happening in the neighborhood. And we are only focusing on one of them; so to expand we need to start talking about others. The other big thing is that when it comes to the bar problem, we want to create a committee of bars that self-regulate, if one of the bars is being too loud so they can have maybe a kind of sanction against them. And then it will be the main face of interaction between the bars and the committee of the neighborhood.”	CA	Beirut Madinaty	Preserve the social fabric of the neighborhood that is at risk due to evictions and the starting gentrification process	Preserve the cultural heritage by preserving the people who live in buildings with heritage value. Because these people knows the story of these spaces	Preserve small scale industries economy of the neighbourhood that has been replaced by the bars economy	Indirect impacts	Take the neighbourhood committee and bars committee to a legal level, by creating a legislative framework for it Initiative from BM, can help the activist to win the municipal elections, which empower them in achieving their actions	- Corruption of the state a limitation to certain actions			
				Bar owners of MM	Enhance social cohesion and collective spirit in the neighborhood (Gatherings)					Change the mentality of activists who advocate for preserving the building façade and building a tower behind it, because it is Neoliberalism approaches that are playing with the people’s brains.			- Age difference between residents and activist makes the dialogue difficult
				Residents of MM trying to reach the ministry of tourism	Empower residents to self-organize and fight social inequalities					Reduction of capitalist culture, by creating a certain control over the mushrooming bars			- Residents of Mar Mikhael are renters and not owner, which is a limitation in creating the neighbourhood committee in the Legal framework
				CE	Create a dialogue between the residents and the bar owners								- Residents constant participation and engagement problem
				Mar Mikhael housing issues research: “We did a talk about housing in Mar Mikhael, based on a research that we did. We did a research in 6 neighbourhoods in Beirut, one of them was El Roum, Mar Mikhael. So we used the stories that we collected to do a talk about the issue of housing in the neighbourhood, it was really effective, people had a lot to say, and Public works as a professional entity came said that this is what we found out”.			Research findings: Gentrification Eviction of tenants	Research findings: Change in cultural activity	Research findings: unregulated bars industry economy replacing small scale industries economy	Research findings: Lack of regulations on several layers	- Slow escalation level, makes the engagement level drop		
				Beirut eviction observatory: “we have a map of evictions that happened in Mar Mikhael. And you see that either renting AirBnb units, or buildings being tore down and a tower is built in its place.”	CA							- Low community cohesion, making only individual small actions and not collective community actions	
			CP									- Lack of regulations to control the bar industries	
			CE			Social awareness				Available data for policy making	+ Funds from grants, low expenses in Mar mikhael		
				Mapping Urban unrest in Beirut Public Squares “The seminar and workshop are organised in the context of the research project “Revolt in the Square: Spatial Modelling of Urban Stability” funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council in UK (AHRC)”.	CA							+ Collaborative bars owners	
					CP							+ Taking side with the residents but at the same time understanding the dynamics of the bars to find solutions	
					CE								
				Work on policy and community level “So the Public works members are affiliated to a lot of public interest projects that are not just directly related to public works activities. As public works, we work on policy and community level.”			Prevent Mar Mikhael from entering the classic gentrification cycle that went through Monot and Gemmayze previously. Create a social consciousness for the tourism industry, which is very much prioritized in economic and social development. Advocate for the residents right to live in a conformable environment. Hence, try to influence common practices.						

Table A2: Creative actor ‘Achrafieh 2020’ (Based on the conducted interview)

Motivation	Objectives / Goals	Interventions		Collaboration Network	Impacts					Challenges (weaknesses) / Support (strength)										
					Social	Cultural	Economic	Environmental	Governmental											
<p>“Nadim Gemael idea: lived in Europe for his studies, and came back to Lebanon, and after living few years in Achrafieh he was chocked by the atmosphere pollution, and he taught of trying to do something, and he came up with the idea of gathering few active citizens living in Achrafieh, and he proposed to form a committee an propose ideas to make the area a more livable space”</p> <p>“what we believe in really is there is no use of being beautiful if you will move around in an ugly country. So if you want to beautify your self, you have to beautify your surrounding environment”</p>	<p>“To make people's live easier and happier”</p> <p>“Our main moto is a dreaming action, our ideas are like utopia. We want clean streets, we want less noise, less traffic, more people walking or biking”</p>	<p>Car free days: “To raise awareness about so many topics”</p> <p>“Main thing that people know us with. We do them 4 or 5 times per year. We close a specific street for the cars, and we do a whole car free and pollution free day. And these days have been very much looked forward, because it has been really a big success.”</p> <p>Stages for young artists to come perform in font of a big crowd. “You rarely have this opportunity anywhere. It is kind of public arts performances”</p> <p>“Have kiosk, and shops extending on the street”</p> <p>“Mar Mikhael car free day is particular”</p>	CA	Different kinds of NGO's who would like to participate	Better quality of social life	Built heritage appreciation	Boost the economy in the area where we close the street. Shops, art galleries, pubs, restaurants extend to the street	Cleaner environment after the event	Motivate the municipality to clean the environment	<p>+ Support from Nadim Gemael, but not an active member</p> <p>+ Civil Society support</p> <p>+ No security or safety trouble in any event</p> <p>+Trust and cooperation between municipality and NGO</p> <p>+ Stay a small group (7 members) for decision making process</p> <p>+ Win Win deals with no financial procedure</p> <p>+/- No legal power</p> <p>+ / - Take the permission from municipality and Mouhafez (Governor) for activities.</p> <p>- no support or collaboration with government in the cultural sector, rely on private partnerships.</p> <p>- Financial restriction</p> <p>- People laziness behavior</p> <p>- Long municipal procedures for reaching decisions and financing, because the municipality covers a very big area compared to its members number</p> <p>- Urban Fabric density, and lack of space as a limitation for creative placemaking</p> <p>- NO external funding support</p> <p>- Very warm of very cold weather, as a limitation for activities in some periods of the year.</p> <p>- Competition with other NGO's on certain topics (ex: climate change), due to funds limitation</p> <p>+ Social media</p>										
			CP	Stands /kiosks							Increased social life	Encourage the cultural activity								
			CE	Young artists / Street artists							Community engagement	Create a clean behavior culture								
			CA	Residents or/and municipality (permit to paint a wall)								Expose young talents								
		CP	Advertising sponsors																	
		CA	Municipality	Walkable sidewalks → people move more on the streets and meet	Raise the collective good culture		Cleaner streets	Motivate the municipality to put signage addressing cleaning behaviors												
		CP																		
		CE																		
		CA		Social bridging between different ethnic groups → Social tolerance	Cultural exchange (Armenian/ Lebanese)															
		CP																		
		CE																		
		CA	Schools	Student engagement in the greening activity. Creates social ties	Increase the ‘Green culture’	Sustainable and green solutions compensation on energy expenses	Students aware about greening importance	Raise awareness about importance of greening, to create a legislative framework for green buildings. No direct impact is perceived												
		CP																		
		CE																		
		CA	Ministry of education	More walkable streets hence more people interact and meet in the street	Orient behaviors towards ‘pedestrian communication’ instead of ‘car communication’		Less car use → less pollution	Raise awareness about the importance of a pedestrian city on governmental level												
		CP																		
		CE																		
		CA	Municipality	Gathering space for the community to meet and interact	An open space to motivate any kind of self-organized cultural activity.	Economic benefit for food and beverages kiosks during events	Greener environment → less polluted	Encourage the Municipality in promoting and improving the public spaces												
		CP																		
		CE																		
		<p>Response level to interventions: 120%</p> <p>Municipality ask them to intervene and do events, because they need a support body for the know-how and the platform (EX: Christmas market in Achrafieh)</p> <p>Consultants and advisors for other areas</p> <p>Platform and channel role for citizens</p>		Connect to community through: mainly social media, TV, Radio	Engage with other NGO's who have similar objectives and projects like Nahnoo	Collaborate with the municipality to implement actions	Collaborate with Nadim Gemael	Building community ties through community engagement in activities	Change of community perception to the government, from passive to active through collaborations		Better and increased social life	Change the culture of individualism to collectivity	Increased cultural activity	Small scale economic benefit for shops, art galleries, cafes, restaurants, bars in certain events	Less polluted, cleaner, safer, greener, more pedestrian friendly environment	An aware community about the importance of maintaining their surrounding environment for the common good	Motivated municipality to be more active in creating more events to the community through the services and assistance that the NGO can offer.	Make the municipality more aware about he importance of improving and creating public spaces, and about the importance of the pedestrian friendly environment	Motivate the municipality in creating signage that addresses the citizen's behavior	Motivate the municipality to clean and maintain the urban space.
Experiment that created a pilot project that can be adopted by other neighbourhoods																				
No impact on making the shop owners in one street move to the event when it happens in another street, due to the economic crisis																				
10% change in the citizens behaviour toward their surrounding environment																				

The creative actors influence on Beirut's socio-cultural resilience

Table A3: Creative actor ‘Nada Nehnaoui’ (Based on the conducted interview)

Motivation	Objectives / Goals	Interventions		Collaboration Network	Impacts					Challenges (weaknesses) / Support (strength)
					Social	Cultural	Economic	Environmental	Governmental	
Personal interest in doing geographic mapping to know more about the city center, for which the artist have little memory of it. Empty city centre space, a inspiration to inhabit spaces	“To tell the new generations of the war, so that it won't be repeated again. It is from our duty to tell them”	Public art installations	CA	Private actors involved in arts and culture activities	Reach and communicate with a bigger audience Advocate for social consciousness Social awareness through art about collective space	Preserve the society memories (war and history) to strengthen the cultural identity. Changing values and behaviors (people sitting on toilet seats in public)				- Complicated permit process for executing public art installations specially in the city center + Public participation and engagement in the installations - Challenge to mobilize the apolitical groups, to increase participation in municipal elections, in order to support the collective work against political parties to reach governance levels. + The shift from a majoritarian law to a proportional law helps increases participation + Social media
			CP							
			CE							
		Candidate in BM municipal election campaign	CA	Beirut Madinati	Raise awareness about the collective good Create a political consciousness in becoming a citizen				Adopt a participatory approach. Giving voice to the people in their city making	
			CP							
			CE							
		Ideas for spatial intervention in Mar Mikhael	CA		Intended impact: community gatherings to build social ties	Intended impact: Space to increase public cultural activity	Intended impact: Greenings to reduce pollution			
			CP							
			CE							
		Atelieh opening location in Mar Mikhael	CA		Lower income groups displacement due to gentrification	CI did an economic boost for the area				
			CP							
			CI							

Table A4: Creative actor ‘Jad El- Khoury: potato nose’ (Based on the conducted interview)

Motivation	Objectives / Goals	Interventions		Collaboration Network	Impacts					Challenges (weaknesses) / Support (strength)
					Social	Cultural	Economic	Environmental	Governmental	
Personal motivation <i>“I didn't live the civil war, I lived the remains of it. I grew up seeing poor people on the streets, and a badly managed electricity services, that keeps on turning on and off. I noticed that people pass by the war remains and don't notice their existence, or because they got used to seeing them or because it is a bad and heavy memory that they don't want to be reminded of. Like denying the fact of having the civil war. Even in our schools we don't study the civil war in the history class, because it didn't end we are still living it until today. Okay we are not killing each others, but the war is still there, still the christian is afraid from going to the shiit area and the other way around. So for me Lebanon didn't heal from the civil war”</i> Criticism as motivation <i>“I want to see critics, it helps me develop and push myself further.”</i>	Keeping the memory of the war as awareness. <i>“So for me I think we should remember that the war was there, we should look at the remains, and question what shall we do? we should say, we don't want to live the war again, but also we don't want poverty and corruption, we want to make our country better”</i>	Murals on walls with war traces <i>“I decided to go up and highlight the shells remains on that building. So trained on ropes and went up to paint it. Now they covered it with a huge advertisement poster. I was talking with someone about this, and he saw it as a plaster that is covering the wound. If you keep a wound uncovered, air helps it to heal faster and dry, but since it is annoying to see a wound you cover it with a plaster. So this building is the same. This project was considered as vandalism, I didn't take permission for it.”</i> UN world humanitarian day presentation, invitation to talk about artwork related to war. Mainly topics of refugees. Present the work in Lebanon, and proposed an intervention in Syrian (Homs), to make the space livable again for the people who still are living there	CA	No collaboration, self-funded	A healed social fabric from the war through facing the problems and highlighting on the wound by preserving the memory of the war <i>“Keeping the memory is very important because it part of the healing process. So from far you see the wall bleeding, but when you get closer you see that they are funny characters, and then you spread positivity. I hope that with making it so big I expose my message more and that people will be open to receive it. I cannot force people to see it the way I want, each see it in his own way, but in the end I highlighted this abandoned building with remains of the war. And this is the most important part, because it is an awareness that people have to face their problems and not escape and hide from them like to get rid of them”</i>	Awareness through the manifestation in space of contemporary cultural problematic such as divisions	No impact	Colours in space	Tolerance to streetart on municipal level	+ Huge scale murals, in strategic location to expose the message to a bigger audience - Older generation will to erase the memory of the war, a danger because the memory acts as awareness - / + Funding, can be self-fund or with a sponsorship or a commissioned work + Self-funded activities, supported from selling paintings to collectors who are always willing to buy. - Mar Mikhael issues, it needs governmental intervention. Art can only highlight the issues to mobilize people in pressuring the government. + Collaboration with community initiative activists
		Café wall in Mar Mikhael <i>“I was annoyed by the walls scribbles, I just felt like making this wall look better, so I asked the cafe owner if I can paint it, and he was so happy about it.”</i>	CP							
			CE							
		Murals about society problems Work in Hamra “ ‘Single man’ , represents mostly the youth in Lebanon that are tired from the society. “War piece” is more like I am facing the problems in Lebanon, but “single man” was me before when I was running away from those problems. I created a bubble around me and I was living in it. So you see single man leaving the circle and standing alone, because he decided to leave this society he have been living in”	CA	Sponsor for material and crane	Social consciousness to your duty as a citizen to behave within collective groups an be active in your society, and not be isolated in your own bubble	Promote the culture of collective behaviour	More attractive neighbourhood, for investors risk of gentrification	Colours in space	No impact	- High powers in the city center, making interventions impossible and as acts of vandalism. Hence, the work will be later erased by repainted over it. + Street level work, helps in incorporating street passengers in the work + Marketing and networking with various stakeholders in Lebanon and abroad to get commissioned murals
		Interventions in the city center on buildings with war traces EGG building: <i>“NO I don't have a project for it! I like it the way it is, no one should touch it. It has a cute shape. But I have a project for Burj el Mur. Maybe something temporary like an installation, but I need a permit for it since there is military in it. But I think it is not so complicated to get.”</i> Holiday in hotel: <i>“I had problems when I did the Holiday In hotel, they considered it as an iconic building with heritage value. So many people where against, and with. It created a debate, and in the end they painted on top of them to hide them. I knew that there is no chance that this building will be preserved as part of the war museum of the city; It will be or renovated completely or demolished to ground. So I went up to highlight the war remains”</i>	CP							
			CE							
		Works abroad <i>“Did you see the work I just did in Paris? I am working on the connection between people and nature, you can see it as an eye, or a sun, or whatever”</i>	CA	No collaborations	Initiated a community debates about heritage value Healing from the civil war impact, by highlighting on the wound	Cultural awareness about unpreserved contemporary heritage Preserve the memory of the war	No impact	Awareness by creating a contrast in space between very polished and renovated buildings and deteriorated and abandoned building	Failure to achieve intended impact of tolerance of urban mural arts in the city centre	+ Social media
			CP							
			CE							
			CE							
		Works abroad <i>“Did you see the work I just did in Paris? I am working on the connection between people and nature, you can see it as an eye, or a sun, or whatever”</i>	CA	Commissioner from Paris	No impact in lebanon	No impact in lebanon	No impact in lebanon	No impact in lebanon	No impact in lebanon	
			CP							
			CE							
			CE							

		Part of aptART initiative in Lebanon: Art work within groups and with the community <i>"It is a collaborative work between different artists and kids (specifically marginalized kids) that aims to create awareness through art. Now in Hamra I will let the kids or who ever is passing by paint what ever they want on the wall, and in the end I will add some ghosts on the wall. I prefer that the big walls to be taken by the artists that are coming from abroad so I prefer to take a street wall. And on the street level I can incorporate more people in the work. But also I might do my mural of this project in Mar Mikhael on the highway side, but I need the approval of owner."</i>	CA	Marginalized kids aptART – awareness and prevention through art Other street artists (locals and internationals)	Social awareness through art, regarding kids social inequalities Give voice to marginalized kids to express themselves Building community ties through the collective work, with kids and street passengers	Dissolve cultural boundaries between various community groups, by making them aware about the issues of the other	No impact	Colours in space	Tolerance to streetart on municipal level	
			CP	Street passengers						
			CE							
		Artwork in exhibitions (not on the streets) <i>"Yea I was never, just a street artist. I go to the street when I have a concept that fits in the street. I work on Canvases painting, photography, I studied interior architecture. I also do live performances, like the latest that I did in Kuwait, it is a veiled woman "single woman" like "single man" decided to be trapped into his own bubbles, but this one is trapped by the bubble that the society is forcing her to be in, and I left one wall open so that when people come and stand to see the performance they close on her".</i>	CA	Exhibition organizers	Awareness about society issues for a certain category (exhibitions visitors)	Questioning contemporary cultural practices	No impact	No impact	No impact	
			CP							
			CE							
		Interventions in public spaces <i>"Yesterday I was having a walk on Beirut waterfront, on the new promenade that currently is closed. So I sat on the ledge to see the sunset, then the security guy comes and ask me to leave. He said if you stay, other people will come and sit, these are the rules, they will kick me out of my job if I don't apply them. So I had to come backward and sit on the ground because there is no bench to sit on to watch the sunset. So I was thinking if I can create a sculpture in that location that looks like a character were people can climb and sit on, then it becomes higher then the concrete wall, and people can watch the sunset without caring about the security guy nor the concrete wall. And it will be cool to do it without getting the permit from Solidere, but need to check how because it is hard to access the location with a big sculpture. My friend was doing a project but she didn't continue with it due to lack of funding. Beirut has not so many places to sit in, so she was doing benches, that are at the same time music instruments, so that people can sit on them and play, creating street life. She first started with one on Raouche Area, and a second on one stair in Mar Mikhael"</i>	CA		People reclaim the right to use the public space	Promote the culture of the public realms	No impact	A better designed public space	Awareness about usage of public space rights	
			CP							
			CE							
					<i>"You can never satisfy everybody, and I didn't try to satisfy the people who weren't, because It will make me tired for nothing back"</i> <i>"I get a lot of positive feedback. I think that streetart in the city is very important, because everyday we go and comeback from work, stress all the time in the traffic and pollution, you need something that will let you dream for a second or smile, this is enough for me, because you are letting the people breath in a stressful environment. That is why streetart in a village on the country sides is meaningless because these areas are already at piece."</i>					

Table A5: Creative actor ‘Save Beirut Heritage’ (Based on the conducted interview and on the article “Saving Beirut’s Heritage” by Karen Karam, 2016)

Motivation	Objectives / Goals	Interventions		Collaboration Network	Impacts					Challenges (weaknesses) / Support (strength)
					Social	Cultural	Economic	Environ mental	Government al	
<p><i>“During the 90’s there was an acceleration of destruction of this built heritage. So this NGO was kind of an emergency”</i></p> <p><i>“It started in 2010. The founder Naji he was kicked out from his home, because the owner wanted to destroy the heritage house to built a tower in its place. It was a very interesting building, it was art deco, in Lebanon street next to Gemayze. So he fought for his house, and so far he has been successful in protecting it but he can’t live there anymore”.</i></p>	Preserve and promote the architectural heritage of Beirut. To keep a face to Beirut where its citizens have a feeling of belonging. By the creating of popular awakening.	Intervention in Mar Michael	CA	APSAD (NGO)	Building community ties in the mobilizations (community gatherings)	Preserving the heritage building street façade. No satisfaction with compromising, on only keeping the esthetical value of the space, disregarding the scale.	Heritage is attractive to tourists	Stopped 20 buildings from demolition through an official decree.	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Very weak or lack of laws and regulations that protect heritage buildings- New law draft in 2008, that did not get the application decree, so it is as if it doesn’t exist yet- Dealing with private properties (houses), not public (municipality owned like Beit Beirut).- Corruption: saving heritage can stop big investment projects for investors who are Politian- Private owners who are very powerful on political level- Lack of transparency and monitoring, from the ministry of culture- Lack of funds is the main challenge. NO grants but get funds from fund raising events, and from selling T-shirts and products in events, and through partnership with sponsors.- Limited time that can be allocated for the NGO activities from the volunteers, because they all work on the side. Volunteer based NGO.- Lack of politician interest in areas that are not their areas.- Inheriting family internal conflicts on taking a decision in preserving or demolishing the house- Economic crisis that is pushing people to sell these old houses to developers.- Old rent law, makes a problem in convincing owner on preserving the house- Building owner is also the landowner, and the value of land is very high.+ try to find investors that would preserve the house, if the owner insist on selling- Subjective perception to heritage, because the law doesn’t have objective criteria- Value and meaning of heritage is different for older and younger generations (egg example)- No participation approach in heritage classification- No employment capacity at the NGO to receive grants- Lack of collaboration between the ministry of culture and the ministry of tourism, and dysfunctional system in the ministry of culture- Lack of funds in the ministry of culture- Government perception to NGO’s as enemies, and not as partners.- No awareness about the collective good of the citizens, then owners think that they can do whatever they want in their property.+ Collaboration with Nahnoo and APSAD+/- Ministerial decree that give the power of demolition to the ministry of culture+ Social media	
		Mobilization campaigns to protest about saving heritage buildings.	CP		Intended social impact: preserving the social fabric of an area by preserving the heritage buildings and sense of history of the entire buildings of that area					
		“Naji created a Facebook group first, and people started joining, and then they said yea we should do something, so they did a big big mobilization in Gemayze and Mar Mikhael in 2011, and it was huge success, so many people joined. He got in contact with APSAD also an NGO. And then he started tackling buildings one by one. What we got in AYA tower (previous Vendom cinema), is preserving the cinema facade, which was the only architectural value in the space”	CE							
		Interventions in other areas	CA	Nahnoo APSAD	Enhance the collective spirit in the community	Couldn’t stop the heritage demolition on Ein el Mrayse seaside area.	Awareness about the importance of heritage	Some petitions were accepted concerning some heritage buildings		
		Successful work in Mar Mikhael, Gemmayze, Zoukak el Blat, Hamra	CP							
		Not successful work in Ail el Mrayse	CE							
		Do heritage watch day and Exhibitions								
		Platform for monitoring by Beirut citizens that works 24/7								
		Interventions in Beirut City Center:	CA		Community monitoring the demolition of heritage. Creates a relationship between the city and its citizens, who acts as protectors.	Preservation of modern cultural heritage, that remains from the golden age period.	Attractiveness for tourists (EGG as part of the war museum of the city)	Addition to a close in the contract with the foreign developer, which force him to preserve the egg structure as part of the project.		
		“The Egg, was the story that was very much up and down. Every summer we had a rumor. It was like a clock. We are not the only ones fighting for its preservation, you also a lot of independent groups, or individuals. Because the Egg is very cherished by Beiruties specially, probably because it was there from before the war, and in downtown there aren’t so many things that are still there from the pre war period. So because it has this weird shape. Every time we heard a rumor that it will be demolished, we did mobilizations, especially online and on the new, and on the ground, and other groups came in. On this case, people really mobilize themselves that is why it has been efficient. So when not only NGOs are doing something, then you have more credibility, more legitimacy to the action. Solidere used to own this plot, and they were not transparent, and this what made the problem, because it created rumors, so apparently in the end they said that there is a close in the contract, to keep the Egg, the structure. But we don’t know what they want to do in it. It will be public or private?”	CP							
			CE							
		Preservation of Beit Beirut by Mona Hallak (APSAD)	CA	APSAD Municipality	Community mobilization and awareness about their collective memory	Cultural heritage preservation.	Profit for the municipality (tourist industry)	Municipality bought the building and transformed it into the war museum of the city		
“No we didn’t do anything about it, it was before us. It was Mona Hallak, she was part of APSAD at the time, and she did a lot of media pressure to do that. Then the municipality bought it. But she is not necessarily happy about what is happening now in Beit Beirut, although they are preserving it. But Youssef Haydar, is not doing it the way she envisioned it. And it is not opening, and I am not sure if it is finished inside, and they need a director, it is like the national library, it is finished but with no director yet. What are they waiting for? But it is publicly owned”.	CP									
	CE									

Annex 5: Codes list per codes groups

ATLAS.ti Report

thesis

Code groups

Report created by Hala on Nov 27, 2017

⊞ Creative actors analytical tables division

Members:

- Collaboration network
- Contextual challenges
- Contextual opportunities
- Impacts
- Motivations
- Objectives and goals

⊞ Creative actors interventions

Members:

- CA interventions in CC
- CP interventions in CC
- CE activity in CC
- CA interventions in MM
- CP interventions in MM
- CE activity in MM
- CA interventions in other areas
- CP interventions in other areas
- CE activity in other areas

⊞ Cultural place

Members:

- Activity in CC
- Activity in MM
- Activity other area
- Meaning in CC
- Meaning in MM
- Meaning other area
- Space in CC
- Space In MM
- Space other area

⊞ Socio-cultural resilience

Members:

- Collective identity CC
- Collective identity MM
- Collective Identity other areas
- Social benefit / decay CC
- Social benefit / decay MM
- Social benefit / decay other areas

Note: To analyse CA (creative activism) interventions in Mar Mikhael for example, a report was extracted with coinciding (and/or) quotations for the following codes for a specific document groups (groups of Annex 3 table):

CA interventions in MM + Activity in MM + Space in MM + Meaning in MM + Collective Identity in MM + Social benefit / decay in MM

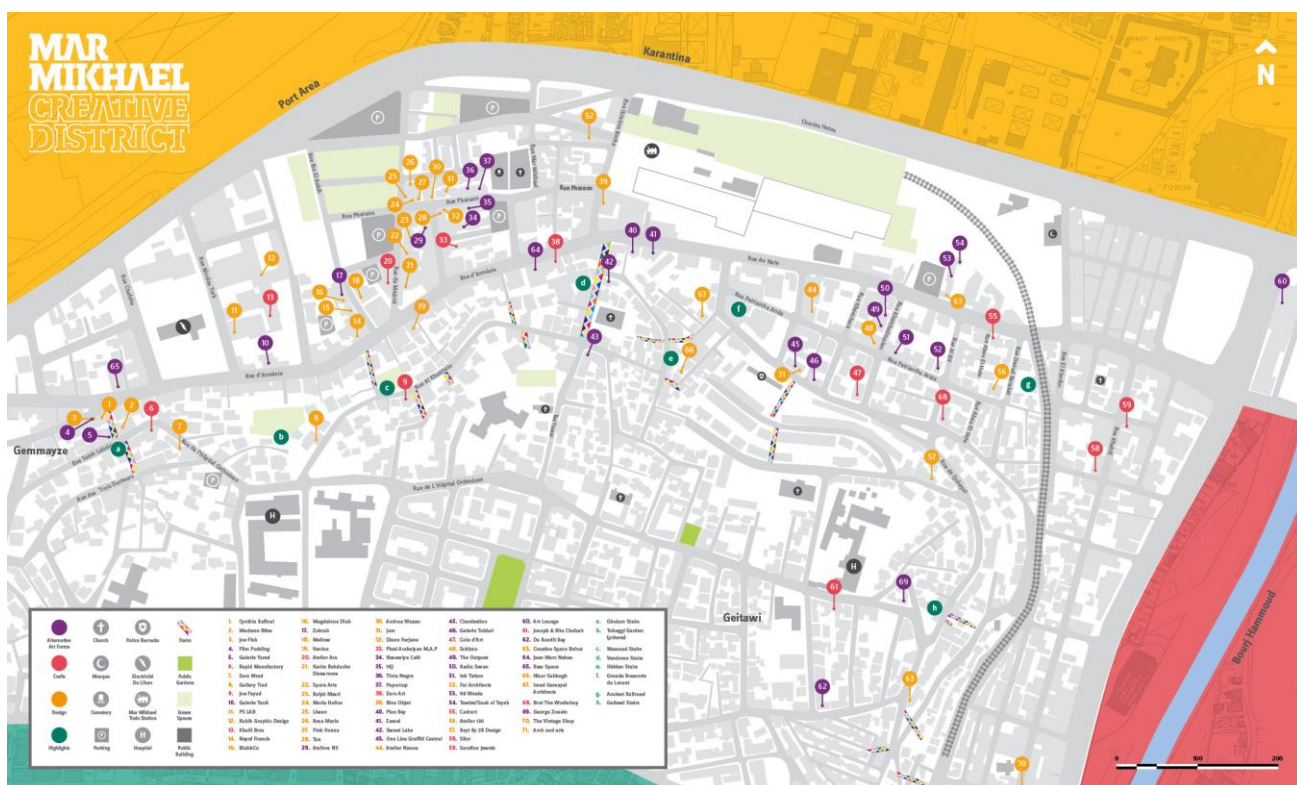
This helps creating the relationships between variables for specific interventions that are divided in the analytical tables. Following to this some of the cultural place and socio-cultural resilience are rechecked with the codes of the creative actors analytical tables division

Annex 6: Case studies mapping from secondary data

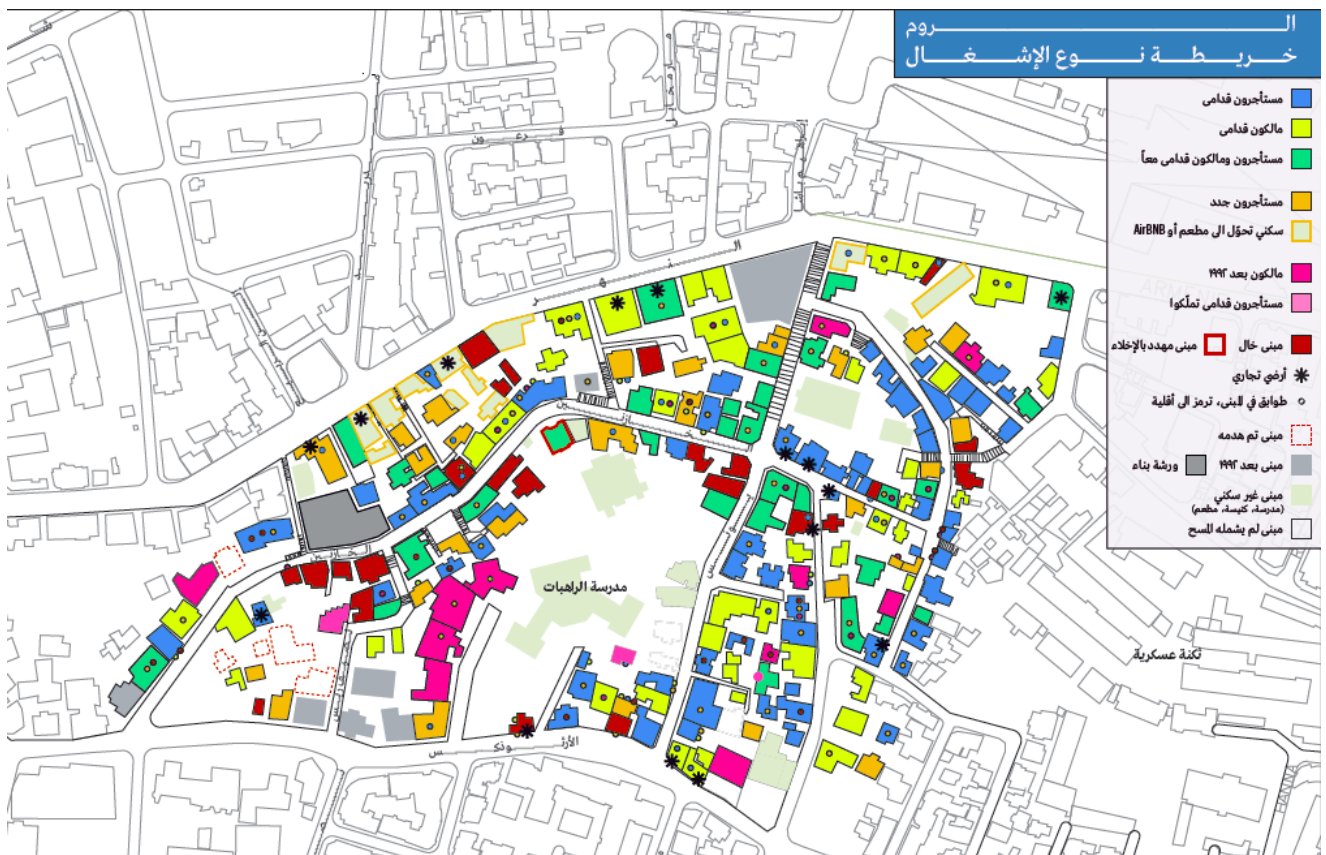
1- Mar Mikhael secondary data Mapping



Mar Mikhael creative cluster mapping along with the food and beverages industries mapping (Gerbal, Hrycaj, Lavoipierre, Potasiak, 2016)



Mar Mikhael creative cluster mapping (Gaia Heritage, 2012).



Mar Mikhael housing type mapping (Public Works Studio, 2016)

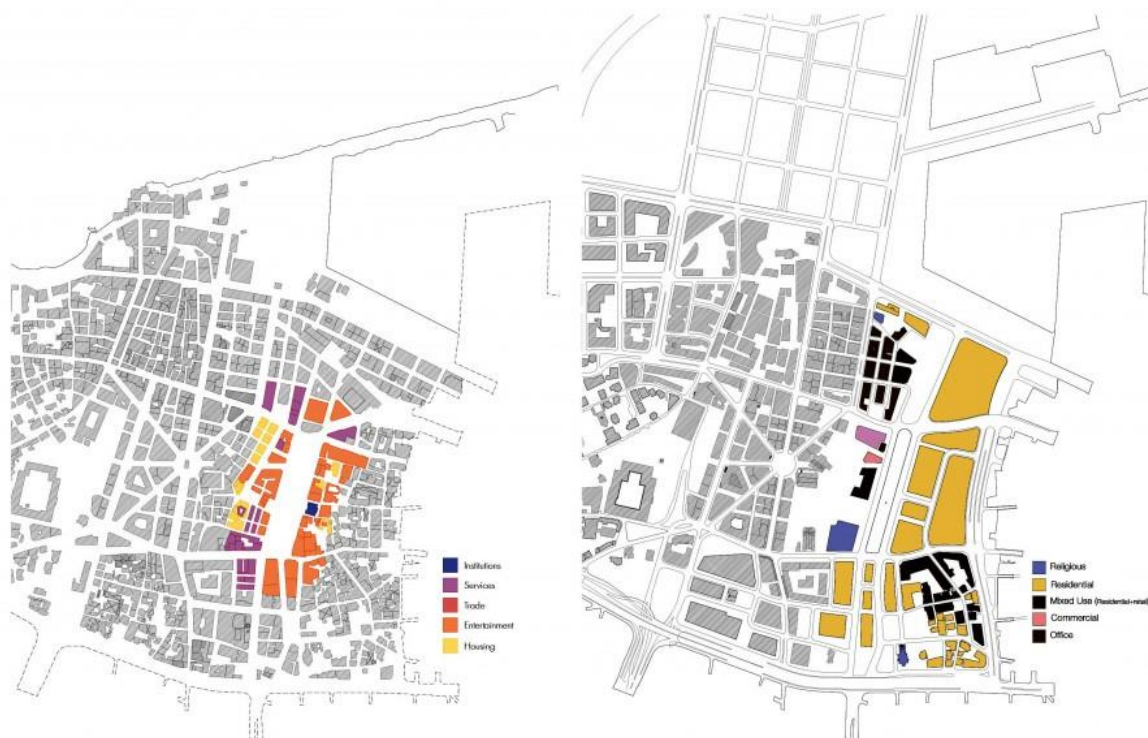
2- City Centre secondary data Mapping:



Beirut city centre (Solidere limit) comparative maps between the pre-war (first row), and post-war (second row) period. Showing: plot size, circulation networks, block size. (El Chami, 2013)



Post war martyr square mapping of activities (El Rayes, 2011)



The city centre comparative map for the martyr's square area, showing the difference in the void. Left: pre-war | right: post-war. (El Chami, 2013)



Figure 4.4
The BCD Master Plan including
proposed modifications to Sectors A
and D (see page 188).

- | | |
|--|---|
| — BCD boundary | Major utilities |
| — Traditional BCD boundary (old seashore line) | Green open space |
| — Traditional neighborhoods boundary | Construction allowed under Corniche level |
| — Conservation Area boundary | Archeological sites |
| Low density
(up to 24 meters height) | Pedestrian streets and links |
| Medium density
(24 to 40 meters height) | Streets and sidewalks |
| High density
(40 to 160 meters height) | Breakwater |
| Public and religious buildings | Underground parking |
| Retained buildings | Public and civic facilities |
| | Churches |
| | Mosques |
| | Synagogue |

City centre regeneration plan by Solidere (Saliba, 2004)

Annex 7: IHS copyright form

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