Building by the Three Blues
Building by the Three Blues

By: Nader Osseiran
23 – 1 – 2003  (My Birthday)
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Bibliography
Introduction

The thesis tackles a very particular condition in place and time. The condition being a result of political, geographical natural and social issues. I have generalized the site condition as being by the three blues. The site is the coast of the village Naqoura in South Lebanon. The three blues are the blue Mediterranean sea which according to the ministry of environment is the cleanest sea in Lebanon, the second blue representing the UN peace keeping forces camp with all its political and social implications, and last the third blue representing the past and present presence of Israel.

The methodology of the thesis required the excavation of the site on various levels taking samples of the excavations to an analysis phase and using the results as a guide for further and more site-specific excavations. The analysis reports were used to further analyze the site spatially and socially, extract further qualities, and most important, I am looking forward to establish architecture of, or for the site. When I mention the word architecture of or for the site, I don’t mean a building style or program, but a social – spatial – natural relationship specific to and immerging from the site itself.

As a starting point and as a result of a site observation I designed a very simple facility that caters for an activity which redundantly occurs on the site. The design addresses a family spending a day on the beach. The user represented by the man, woman, children and the car, which plays a very important role in that activity. This exercise drove me to study the initiative behind such activities meaning why do they happen? Why do people leave their places temporarily to perform certain activities? In addition to analyzing and processing the local activities to deduce the culture behind them. It was also essential to study the act of temporary translation on a larger scale or in other words the non-smoke industry of tourism.

A next level was to find the set of systems, patterns, structures or the frame within which the event of the picnic by the sea in Naqoura takes shape, is spatialized and even seen as an architectural case study to be analyzed rather than an arbitrary incident in space and time. The thesis does so by studying the inter relation between space, time, territory, activity, body, gender and economy. Bourdieu’s “Structure, Habitus, Practices” & “Classes and Classifications” and Le Febvre’s “ the Production of Social Space”, were used in that phase of study as analytical and reading tools. In addition to Michel de Certeau’s “the Practice of everyday Life “ As a result I tried to find if there is any conventional system of relations which govern any picnic activity or in other words is there any invisible typology for the picnic event?

In parallel to all the previous analysis of the social space of the picnic the thesis studies the site as a complex system of social - economical, and political boundaries/edges. The thesis studies their inter relation and their effect on the physical form. Due to the rich history of the site functioning as a border, a gate, a station and a port, physical borders and edges have developed with time which have grew to be by themselves as "classifying agents" gaining their meaning with time and practice. As an example; the

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A space to spend the day by the beach

Program:
- shaded parking space for the car
- shaded open space for family
- balcony with an overview of children
- swimming pool space
- wooden deck for fishing and walking
- swimming pool for children under observation

Design exercise: November - 2002
main street has become with time a major classificatory agent, in the
dynamics of real estate, the concrete wall of the United Nations becomes an
edge of a "fortified enclave" loaded with social and economical meanings. An
image of an expensive villa becomes a symbol of a South Lebanese army
owner. The thin border line on the map becomes a series of scenarios and
experiences manifested differently on ground. Capital becomes a major
player in shaping the physical state, various Israeli actions which some were
of bad intentions become ecologically and environmentally beneficial on the
long term etc... However, my aim is not to see the reasons or justifications for
things but rather contextualize them and deduce how these elements affect
the physical state of the site and thus deduce or understand the complex
system of relationships of that social/physical space.

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2 Teresa P.R Caldeira, Fortified Enclaves, The New Urban Segregation
Chapter 1

Description of Site

This chapter will describe the site from various points of view, which are mainly; physical, natural, historical, social, statistical, political etc...
The purpose of this section is to notify the reader with some basic and general knowledge about the site with the aim of creating a general conception of it before moving into the detailed, and analysis phase of the thesis.

Naqoura is the last village in South Lebanon before the borderline with Israel or Occupied Palestine. It is about 95km away from Beirut. From the West and South west lies Israel, from the East and South East lies the village of Alma el Sha3eb, from the North and North East lie the villages of Kleih and Mansoori, and from the West and North West lies the Mediterranean sea. The nearest city from North is Tyre which lies around 25 km away and the nearest city from east is Bint Jbeil around 35 km away.

In the Ottoman era the economy of Naqoura depended on very strong relations with neighboring Palestinian cities, most important of which was al Bassa. People from Naqoura worked there largely in construction sites and agricultural lands. In addition to that labor force, Naqoura used to export vegetables, fish and coal. These were exported mainly to the Palestinian market. After the occupation of Palestine in the year 1948, relations to the South were cut, thus major transformations took place whether in the social or economical status of the village. People had to search for markets North such as in Tyre, Saida Beirut and Syria. This transformation in economy led many people to immigrate out of the village, and even out of the country especially to Central Africa. That was the case till the year 1978. In that year Naqoura was the gate for the first Israeli invasion to Lebanon. That date was a major shift in the history of the village. The United Nations established their base camp on a private land adjacent to the sea, and stretching around 900m along the main street. In addition the village became under what was known as " al shareef a hodoodi " under the authority of the South Lebanese Army which was later known by " Jeish La7ed al Jonoubi ". The introduction of the UN camp flourished the area economically. A complete new urban development was established made up of around 100 shops, restaurants, cafes, nightclubs and small casinos. Naqoura became the commercial centre for the Southern region of the occupied part of Lebanon, which included villages such as 3alma, 3ein 2ibil, Rmesh, maroo7een, Bint Jbeil, 3aita el Sha3eb, 7aneen, and several others. The United Nations camp at its time of establishment catered for around 10,000 members other than the people who would enter on a daily bases for work.

That situation lasted until the date of liberation of South Lebanon on May 25, 2000. After which the SLA was dismantled and the Israelis withdrew to the borderline. From that date until now, there was not any official presence of the Lebanese army, instead there is the presence of various authorities which some represent the Lebanese government and others represent the political powers and parties. However militarily speaking there has not been any
physical presence in terms of checkpoints or armed militiamen. Generally speaking there is “Mokhabarat il Jeish” or members of the intelligence system of the Lebanese army, “II Darak” or the internal Lebanese security, in addition to representatives of major political parties such as Amal and Hezbollah. Today after the reduction of the UN members in the camp and the particular political circumstances of the area, Naqoura is witnessing a state of extreme stagnation; the whole urban strip which was so flourishing became a site of ruins, and empty spaces.

Technically speaking the shore covers a distance of around 3-4 km, approximately 1km of which lies within the UN camp and is not accessible by the public. Most of the shore is rocky and alternates between a slope of around 3 – 20% in some places and 7 – 50 % in other places.

There is a point in which the mountain intersects the sea and is known as “Ras il Bayyada” where a bridge is constructed with infrastructure still from the French period of occupation.
The main agricultural products in the area are wheat, bananas and vegetables.

- The only construction on the seashore is the UN camp built in phases starting from 1978.
The land occupied by the United Nations camp since 1978
A 3D site model of the area, with the Lebanese Douanne in red color as a reference.
TRANSVERSAL SECTIONS
Facts about the site:

- The water bed is around 250 meters deep.
- The population of the village is 1314 people.
- The annual average humidity is 85%.
- The average range of temperature is between 10 c – 35 c.
- The annual average of rain is 750 mm.
- The wind direction is South West for most times of the year with an average speed.
- The village has a municipality and belongs to Tyre Caza in South Lebanon.
- The area of Naqoura is 9.54 km² = 954 Hectars.
- The area of privately owned land is 8.23 km² = 823 Hectars divided into 293 lots.
- The area of land owned by the municipality is 0.307 km² = 30.7 Hectars divided into 17 lots.
- The area of the United Nations camp is 0.036 km² = 36 Hectars.
- There are two historical sites in Naqoura, the site of Umm il 3amed (Phoenician ruins) and the tower of Naqoura (Phoenician ruins) lying within the UN camp.

Distribution of land area in Naqoura

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Old village</th>
<th>Medium density residence</th>
<th>Extension of the village</th>
<th>Commercial</th>
<th>Agricultural land</th>
<th>Half forest</th>
<th>UN parcelized</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0.02 km²</td>
<td>0.3 km²</td>
<td>0.32 km²</td>
<td>0.11 km²</td>
<td>1.27 km²</td>
<td>7 km²</td>
<td>0.42 km²</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Major facilities in Naqoura

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Municipality</th>
<th>School</th>
<th>Sports club</th>
<th>Mosque</th>
<th>Hussein iyya</th>
<th>Mustaw saf</th>
<th>Center for a political party</th>
<th>Fishing port</th>
<th>Gas station</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Gender distribution of occupants

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>males</td>
<td>614</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>females</td>
<td>700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1314</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Age distribution of occupants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Below 3 years</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 – 6 years</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 – 15 years</td>
<td>258</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 – 29 years</td>
<td>338</td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 – 64 years</td>
<td>474</td>
<td>268</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Above 64 years</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Expected population growth

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>2001</th>
<th>2006</th>
<th>2011</th>
<th>2016</th>
<th>2021</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>1314</td>
<td>1333</td>
<td>1350</td>
<td>1365</td>
<td>1378</td>
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### Distribution according to working status

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Status</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Studying</td>
<td>185</td>
<td>211</td>
<td>396</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>302</td>
<td>393</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Searching for work</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not searching for work</td>
<td>336</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>358</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>651</td>
<td>568</td>
<td>1219</td>
</tr>
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</table>

### Type of work for individuals/ number of people

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industry</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commerce</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Services</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>332</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inside village</td>
<td>304</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outside village</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Number of children / family

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of children / family</th>
<th>Number of families</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>total</strong></td>
<td><strong>321 families</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Ratio of construction

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of built lots</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of constructions</td>
<td>417</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of residential flats</td>
<td>432</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total built area m²</td>
<td>78000 m²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average built area / lot</td>
<td>619 m²</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Number of floors/ building

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of floors</th>
<th>Number of buildings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 floor</td>
<td>279 buildings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 floors</td>
<td>115 buildings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 floors</td>
<td>18 buildings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 floors</td>
<td>5 buildings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>417 buildings</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Distribution of buildings according to age

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Range</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Below 5 years</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 – 10 years</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 – 20 years</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Above 20 years</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>417</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Construction material used

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Material</th>
<th>Number of Buildings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stone cladding</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tiled roof</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temporary roof</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Distribution of residential houses according to area

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area Range</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Below 50 m²</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50 – 100 m²</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>101 – 200 m²</td>
<td>208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Above 200 m²</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>432</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type of ownership</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private</td>
<td>288</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rented</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Empty</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under construction</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>432</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income / number of families</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Below 300,000 LL</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>300 – 600,000 LL</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>600,000 – 1,200,000 LL</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1,200,000 – 1,500,000 LL</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1,500,000 – 2,000,000 LL</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2,000,000 LL and above</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- The prices of land in Naqoura:
  - 25 $/m² in the internal part
  - 50 $/m² along the main street
  - 70 $/m² on the entrance of the village (commercial area)
  - 100 $/m² on the coast.

- Number of cars in Naqoura = 175 cars

- Average number of cars entering and leaving Naqoura area = 170 cars in daytime and 114 cars at night.

- Drinking water reaches Naqoura from the village of 3alma il Sha3eb through a very old system which needs maintenance.
- There is no sewage system in the current time to serve Naqoura. Instead, septic tanks are being used.

- The electricity of the village is from Tyre Electricity factory.

- There are not any direct telephone connections to the village except through a central distributor in the neighboring village of 3alma. A new telephone system is being implemented and will be in use very soon.\(^3\)

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The technical and statistical information is from "Plan Directeur de la Cote Sud Caza de Tyr 2002" prepared by ETEK Urban Planning Office in collaboration with the Lebanese Urban Planning Office.
Chapter 2

The inter-relation between various key factors in the site.

Upper vs. Lower Naqoura

While describing the site or the village of Naqoura several key terms come into focus such as ; history, nature, politics, society, United Nations, Occupation, Economics etc... Each of the stated terms is a field by itself to be observed and analyzed. However, what I find more interesting and important in the process of excavating and dissecting the site, is reading all these layers in relation to each other and understanding the system or systems under which all these factors function in relation to each other. A social space rich with all the variable elements of history, politics, economy and nature is never stable. Such a space is in continuous transformation, for example, a social element within the site might affect the physical state, by which in itself might be affecting the economics of the site, and that element itself might re adjust the physical state, and so on. There is never a rule, which dictates the order in which things happen. However, through a deeper understanding of the set of relations between various elements of the site, one would be at least able to foresee the position of any future intervention on the site, within that complex system of relations.

If we observe the village of Naqoura in section, we realize a variation of around 100 meters between the lower point of the village which lies on sea level, and the highest point.

![An average transversal section through the site showing the variation in topography](image)

For mere technical reasons such as defense, view, and wind people started to inhabit the high part of the village. In parallel the lower part started to develop as a busy area for its technical qualities. For topographical reasons the Lebanese coast accommodates for the major road network which links Lebanon to the major countries of East Mediterranean. The Coast of Naqoura being part of the network, in addition to being at the border further enforced the busy part of the site relative to the quiet area lying on the hill. Probably the first actions taken such as passing the road network on the shore and inhabiting the hilly part are thought of, and done consciously. I believe with time such actions become less and less conscious. Nonetheless, if previous actions have not proven to be viable they would not have survived with time.
we realize the passage of the train railway in the ottoman era within the lower busy area, and the higher part still developing as a residential area. Such an intervention within the site, which is a result of that informal classification of busy vs. quiet, further imposes or stamps this segregational quality. The divider no longer becomes natural, however imposed by man's intervention (the train rail road).

The relative positions of the railway, in black and white, and Main Street in red and white.

With time, such transformations affect the social structure of people. The train passing in the area was for transportation of goods and cargo rather than people, therefore having a very high influence on the economical activities of the area. People in Naqoura would trade their wheat and agricultural products with steel and other products imported through Haifa port. However, the economics of the area and its development with time had its word in planning the area. A port was required for easier transportation and exchange of Goods rather than depending on Haifa port and the train network.

The old Port occupied the same site of the existing fishing port today.
Now we have a clear distinction between what is called upper Naqoura, and lower Naqoura. However, such a distinction was never natural as it seems today, especially with the introduction of the United Nations peacekeeping forces camp. The camp naturally lied within the busy lower Naqoura area, probably by chance or satisfying the flow of events and classifications of the site. Such a clear distinction between upper and lower Naqoura plays a very important role in the dynamics of real estate within the area. With time such classifications have become as if embedded within the geography or nature of the site. While dividing the area into zones by the Lebanese government in year 1973 the lower part eventually became touristic, recreational / busy in contradiction to the upper part, which is classified as residential/quiet.

The Commercial Development

In the previous paragraph, the United Nations camp was described as a physical entity, placed in a certain position, in space and time. However, it is more interesting to look at the social implication of such an intervention within the site. All during the occupation phase, the members of the UN camp were allowed to leave the camp on foot. These members were usually from countries of high income such as France, Norway, Sweden, Finland etc... their wages were higher than normal soldiers serving military service within their countries, since South Lebanon was still considered as an area of conflict and risk. Economically speaking these members seemed to be potentials of high consumption. Although the camp was self-sufficient in terms of basic needs such as food. However, there will always be a need for complementary needs such as alcoholic drinks, restaurants, pubs etc... Therefore, we realize the development of a strip of commercial shops directly parallel to the UN wall. The strip started at points of access to the camp, where members would directly get out of them camp, get their needs have a little walk and back in.
What is interesting to observe is the quickness in which such a development took place. Most of the constructions made were in other people's land, and at the same time constructed out of very cheap, temporary material such as wood, and corrugated tin sheets. Therefore, the only actions, which should have been taken, were deciding which land to appropriate, buying the materials and constructing the space. The whole process was very low in cost and time. Later the whole development with time, started to have a culture of its own, responding to the various needs of the users. It started to expand the limits of the UN members to cater for people from neighboring villages. Such an urban development further emphasized the idea of upper and lower Naqoura, in the absence of the train railway which does not function any more and the road network which has a dead end in the direction of Israel. The busy road network and the train railway have been transformed conceptually into the UN camp and the urban development of shops and restaurants. A simple urban development, which was born out of a very simple need took various dimensions and meanings with time.

The relative positions of the UN camp and the Commercial Urban Development

One of the most important issues to be examined especially in the 21st century is Capital. I believe it was the Israeli method for urban planning in Naqoura region. Politically, and militarily speaking one of the main reasons behind the Israeli's occupation for South Lebanon as they claim, was to maintain the security of North Israel. The tool or method adopted was creating a buffer zone or a thick edge between the two countries. However, that zone was intentionally kept as Lebanese inhibited to form another layer of security to protect their lands. If they had mobilized Israeli people and inhibited South Lebanon, it would have defeated their purpose of protecting their citizens. To be able to maintain the zone as Lebanese inhibited the Israelis used the game of Capital Naqoura and specifically the urban strip along the UN wall was informally announced as a duty free area. There weren't any governmental taxes on goods imported into the Naqoura port or coming from Israel. Therefore, prices of various goods were very low. In addition to minimum taxation, most of the shops were illegal settlements having no rental or land
purchase expenses. Revenue on any good sold resulted in pure profit. Such an Israeli strategy would allow money and economy to make people forget their occupation life and in a way kill their resistive attitude. Therefore, understanding such political strategies, we could understand the transformation of such spaces with time. The flourishing of the area was like a fire. As long as fuel was poured, it lit. After liberation, the political driving forces were removed and thus the light diminished. What remains are few shops between ruins of what used to be a very vibrant and flourishing duty free area.

This observation follows David Harvey’s concept of surplus circulation in the world of a capitalistic mode of production. There is a continuous transformation of spaces. New market places are born where as old places eventually die, especially if the atmosphere for the capitalistic mode of production to maintain the survival of such a market has been removed or destroyed. However, this proves the very soft grounds on which the foundations of such a mode of production were set on. Going back to our analysis about that particular urban strip, we realize the change in functions and facilities catered for by these shops. The area developed into pubs, discos, informal casinos for gambling, prostitution houses, nightclubs, shops for selling expensive electronic equipment, sports wear in addition to other facilities as barber shops, laundries, mini-markets, etc... The area takes a new dimension, and the urban development does no more cater for local activities but becomes a center for commercial activities for a large zone within the occupied territory. Users of that place reach the village of Bint Jbeil which is around 35 km east of Naqoura.

In parallel to studying such a development, it is also remarkable to examine the legal medium in which it took place.

Upon asking the Vice president of the municipality about the legality of the shops constructed he answered that:

* it is true that they built in somebody else’s land however the Lebanese law was implemented maybe more than in other parts of Lebanon, there was an agreement that all the shops were prohibited from constructing a concrete roof. and if any roof was constructed the darak would intervene to remove it*4

However such a fact poses a lot of questions; Why would Israel be very certain about implementing the Lebanese building law? Why would Israel and the South Lebanese army keep the “darak” to be sure the law was implemented correctly? Why would Israel work by the Lebanese law?
I have not reached any certain answer yet, although I am more interested in the aftermath of such facts and actions rather than finding the exact reasons behind them. A possible interpretation might probably be that Israel always wanted to appear in front of the world as a peaceful country just trying to protect its country from Lebanese terrorists. So, such actions would show its peaceful attitude, by keeping South Lebanon as part of Lebanon. That reminds us of the concept behind the establishment of the South Lebanese army, which still carried its name as Lebanese for the last minutes of occupation.

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* Interview with Vice President of the Municipality of Naqoura, Mr Hussein A’uwada – 2002.
As I stated before, studying the impact interests me much more than the reasons, for example a further look at the various impacts of the law implementation showed the following:

Two major elements differentiate between constructions built on legal land and others on Illegal. Those built on legal lands or in other words taking the permission of the owners were able to construct concrete roofs and were easily able to go beyond the limit of a ground floor construction. The fact of having a concrete roof solved many problems faced by other illegal settlers. Constructions with concrete roofs had no problems of excess heat in summer, and cold in winter, no problems of water leakage, in addition to sound transfer problems. Therefore, legal constructions were much more pleasant and comfortable. Consequently, most of the illegal settlements would cater for outdoor activities such as cafes, and restaurants or indoor activities in which the user would not spend a lot of time such as shops and mini-markets. However, in cases of a long stay, expensive insulation and construction labor was required. Yet, from an ecological point of view, the illegal constructions were less harmful to nature. Constructions can be easily dismantled or demolished at any time, without any deep concrete foundations and permanent structures.

Looking at the issue from a third point of view, the urban development created a new classificatory agent within the market of real estate in Naqoura. Long time ago the prices of Land in lower Naqoura were relatively very similar. However, with time new meanings for territories have been acquired. All commercial developments have taken place “above the street” opposite to the UN wall, and thus the idea of “above the street” classified as commercial is internalized within the minds of people, especially commissioners which use the street extensively in describing the position of lands relative to the street. Below the street becomes classified as touristic catering for see activities, although there has hardly been any development by the sea other than the UN camp. The street becomes embedded within the topographical natural landmarks of Naqoura in which directions are given relative to. Here there is a sense of zoning similar to that which has been performed by the Lebanese government in year 1973; however, the zoning rules are internalized within the people and not as a well defined regulations to follow.

Now that the lower part of Naqoura has acquired new functions and meanings, we could become conscious of a further distinction between upper and lower Naqoura. The upper part is continuously being permanent whereas the lower part is in a process of continuous transformation and temporality all starting from the difference in site topography.
DEVELOPMENT

TIME

OTTOMAN

The village of Naqora consisted of a few houses on the hill overlooking the sea. Villagers worked in commerce. The small port offered wheat in addition to agriculture. The tram functioned to transport cargo.

COLONIAL

The barracks of the Délanne was built in the priestly part of Naqora. The streets were asphalted. The coast of the village became a station for those going to Palestine. Barriers, breakwaters, and an infrastructure for a port was built. In addition, several farm houses built in agricultural land.

AFTER INDEPENDENCE

The population of the village became 400 people. It expanded very little along the main street. Some temporary structures were built next to the Délanne as a station for people to eat and rest. It was considered as a military area by the Lebanese army. Access to the village after 6 PM was not allowed without special permission.

2002

During the Israeli occupation the village developed on three levels: the US base to the northern part of the site, the village developed in all directions, as well as the street marks the former site of the Délanne, a commercial area.

POSSIBLE PASSAGE

OF AUTOCHTONE

A sketch suggests the possible positioning of the new autochthonous house is positioned near a chimney on the coastal side of the site. Debris was the only thing remaining of a house called Délanne. It served as a small bar in a neighborhood.
The wall of the United Nations Camp:

An important landmark or feature in the present physical condition of the site is a concrete wall of a height around 2.5m lying on the edge of the UN camp stretching parallel to the street for a distance of about 1 km.

The wall of the United Nations

The interior of the camp

General schematic map of the area

The area occupied by the UN camp in blue, the yellow = Lebanese Douanne.

When I asked about the history of that wall, I was answered by an old man living in Naqoura from his childhood that:

"the original camp did not have any concrete wall, maybe because they thought it would be a temporary situation and would not last long. Even the construction within the camp was all temporary and could be dismantled at any time to be moved into any other site of conflict in the world. However the situation seemed to last longer than expected and the wall was built and permanent constructions instead of the temporary ones started to be built." 

5 Interview with an old man living in Naqoura from his childhood.
The United Nations camp in its early phases before the construction of the exterior wall

The wall surrounding the United Nations' forces is no longer a fortification to protect the military camp from the outside. With time, it has gained several layers with various meanings and interpretations. The UN forces are neutral with all the conflicting parts on ground, accordingly there is no need for such a huge fortification wall. There has not been any single physical attack, on the camp during their presence, which would prove its validity. The camp with time, can no longer be seen as a pure military base. On the other hand, it has become an urban social space populated by a large number of people of various groups. I see the space transforming with time into what Teresa P.R Caldeira in her writing "Fortified Enclaves", The New Urban Segregation " calls a fortified enclave although the nature of the examples she discusses are different. However, in concept I can see the similarity.

"All types of fortified enclaves share some basic characteristics. They are private property for collective use; they are physically isolated, either by walls or empty spaces or other design devices; they are turned inward and not to the street; and they are controlled by armed guards and security systems that enforce rules of inclusion and seclusion. Moreover, these enclaves are very flexible arrangements. As a result of their size, the new technologies of communication, the new organization of work, and security systems they possess all that is needed within a private and autonomous space and can be situated almost anywhere, independent of the surroundings."  

I am aware of the fact that the UN camp is directly related to its surrounding, without the context it lies within the camp has no meaning and function.

b p 87, Teresa P.R Caldeira, Fortified Enclaves, The New Urban Segregation,
However, "can be situated almost anywhere, independent of its surroundings" in terms of survival. The UN camp when dismantled can be re-assembled in any other place of the world and function very well, since it does not have to respond to any direct physical context, it always lies within the walls and acts as an independent organism which can feed its own.

The purpose of Caldeir’s writing is to describe fortified enclaves created by middle and high-income groups. The case might be different from a fortified military camp. However as previously mentioned with time the camp has become a social urban space rather than a military camp. The community has its own hospital, airport, telecommunication tools, food supplies, sport facilities, recreational spaces, restaurants and most of the needs required to be independent as a community. Hence, the wall dividing the community from the outside is strengthening the segregation between the people living within the walls and outside it. Especially after the implementation of the laws which prohibit UN members to wander freely outside the camp as before, during the occupation. As if during occupation, people outside the camp were of the same class, had the same understandings, and were safe to intermingle with. Nevertheless, with the change of circumstances, and the change of people outside the walls (new groups have appeared such as Islamic political parties with probable presence of armed men etc... and disappearance of other groups such as the SLA members, Israeli soldiers and people who used to run the commercial strip of pubs, nightclubs and restaurants). Intermingling has become in their point of view dangerous, just as people of middle and high classes, living in fortified enclaves, view people of low-income classes outside their walls. Yet, the only difference in that case is that the land of the enclave is not private. Therefore, that fortifying wall becomes an obstacle in front of the real owners of the land. Landowners can never enter the fortified gates to exploit, use or even see their lands. In other words it’s not only a fortified enclave but an occupied fortified enclave. Who would buy an occupied land??? Owners of the land just have to stand by that huge fortifying wall and wait until the occupation ends. That fact returns us to view the issue within the complex dynamics of real estate. Prices of the lands lying within the walls of the UN camp vary tremendously from other free lands. A peace of land might differ in the percentage of 100–200% between inside and outside.
fortified enclave

1- The UN - Functioning Rail Way
2- The UN Camp Wall
3- The Main Road
4- The Development of Shops

view into the UN Camp

view parallel to the UN
However, I can see some changes happening to that pricing system. In a recent visit to Naqoura, a very minimal intervention has been made along the side of the street, however with a very large impact on the area. New signs of "be aware" and "mine field" have been placed on the two sides of the streets.

A sign with "danger mines" December 2002

That issue was documented in Al – Safir newspaper, under the title of 5 minefields were discovered between Tyr and Naqoura and which turn out to cover a very large part of my site. Linking the issue back to the dynamics of real estate, such a very small intervention in addition to a small article in a newspaper would reassemble the whole pricing system. Buying a land with the risk of having mines within is a very bad choice to invest especially if the intentional use is touristic. In addition to the psychological part there are some economical facts which have to be taken into consideration. Each mine to be extracted, costs between 300 – 1200$ depending on the type. Therefore, cleaning an area would cost much more than the revenue, which would be expected to be earned whether from a private or a public viewpoint. Some aids have been donated from countries such as Ukraine and the United Arab Emirates for the mission of removing the mines but the question is how efficient and accurate will the works be fulfilled. However, the big question which poses itself is, Where have all these mines been before? The seashore has been used by thousands of people and not one single incident has been marked. The same area marked as very dangerous now, was the place I was wandering in weeks before to take some pictures. Chance may serve people once or twice, but it can never act in
Article in Al-Sair Newspaper December 19 - 2002

stepping back from the site and reading the event within the context of a thousands of cases, especially if the site is that dangerous as indicated in the newspaper. Which warns people to get off the asphalt of the street. While
From a personal point of view, I believe the subject of mine fields is all a rumor or at least very exaggerated serving some people's interests. Possible explanations could be:

1- A person of high power influence was able to mobilize the mine excavation team in order to assign the site as contaminated with mines. Thus, the whole prices of lands drop tremendously. Moreover, that person or corporation with power would be capable of buying large amounts of land for minimal prices, and revenues would be extra ordinary having not paid the actual high price of land.

2- The government may have a concern in mind, which requires the appropriation of a large area, such as passing the Highway, or maintaining the area as military. However, usually the practice done by the government is changing the building regulations or the zoning as required; probably that mine idea would be a new strategy, which will result in less opposition from the landowners.

If we read that subject in relation to the previous we would recognize that the only people who would benefit are the landowners of the UN camp. The presence of the UN since 1978 assures the clearness of the land from any mines and thus the segregational wall previously described becomes segregating between mined vs non-mined land, which turns in the opposite direction in terms of land price. One would rather buy a piece of land with UN, which are subject to leaving at any moment, than to have mines. Nevertheless, the question of, when would the United Nations leave Naqoura, Will always accompany the landowners of the camp. In 1978, the United Nations established their camp upon request from the Lebanese government at that time, without the permission of the owners. As an international protocol, the United Nations are considered as guests within the country and their accommodation is the responsibility of the hosting country. However, in Lebanon for some economical reasons rental fees or compensations for the landowners are hardly given. Even when given are minimal in relation to the losses. The last time the Lebanese government paid the landowners was in 1995. Looking at the issue from another point of view, the United Nations' camp becomes a form of an "illegal settlement". The only distinction between the UN camp and the illegal urban development is that the latter has an international and a political cover, which if does not make that action legal, at least makes it explainable. Here we should step back and ask the question of what is legal and what is not. Is there a universal description for what is legal and what is not. I think the issue of legality is very relative. What seems or is legal according to certain beliefs or documents might be the opposite in another system. The same action of the United Nations appropriating private land in Naqoura, which is legal in the eyes of the Lebanese government, is completely illegal in the eyes of landowners. Probably, in certain circumstances such as emergency cases of war and such disasters new rules are formulated out of need. Nevertheless, the problem is, until when will this state of emergency last? The issue is not in the hands of any particular player. Instead, it is a result of a composite system of relations between local and international politics, economics and certain circumstances. The Lebanese
government cannot take the decision to remove the camp if the general political situation allows it to do so. At the same time, the United Nations' decision to leave depends on many other international affairs and so on. Nonetheless, there are many indicators which show the starting of the death process of the camp. The whole political atmosphere of the region does not encourage that presence anymore. From the UN part, the number of occupants in the camp, are being reduced in great percentages. In the early phases of the camp the occupants were around 10,000 members, this number decreased dramatically after liberation to around 4 - 5000 members; however in the present time the number does not exceed 2500 members. Such a small number for a very large complex means a lot of waste of money, which is one of the main reasons carrying the UN to ask for leaving Lebanon. At the same time the Lebanese government has not paid any compensation or rental fees for around 8 years, which is also another reason which is carrying the landowners continuously to demonstrate and ask for their rights in newspapers and formal visits to politicians. (figure – newspaper article)

Such circumstances in addition to reasons previously stated such as the disappearance of the Israelis which declared the area as duty free, have resulted in the death of the urban development along the street parallel to the UN camp. The street which was once very busy with night clubs, restaurants and shops has become a site for ruins of CMU walls with some remains of broken windows and removed roofs. The death of that development had two major implications. Definitely, there was a lot of outward immigration from Naqoura, for the loss of jobs. However, on the other hand the original landowners of the lands took action. They are either making use of the remains of the existing structures and renting them if possible or demolishing the ruins and surveying their lands in preparation for any possible future projects.
بكيت ناثو على الحالة بعد قيام الأحداث في مارس 2000، حيث تعرضت النقطة المحادية في الأراضي المشغولة للقوات الدولية للقصف والقمع.

الписыва:

الأراضي المشغولة من القوات الدولية:

خسائرنا بعمليات الدوائر والتعويضات بالدول.

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الأراضي المشغول...
A schematic drawing showing an approximate variation in land prices in Naqoura according to various discussed issues.
Personal expectation of variation in land prices after implementation of the new urban plan.
Dramatic changes are taking place in the Naqoura area, people leaving the area, others coming, urban developments are dying; the UN camp is diminishing etc... All these facts carried the Lebanese government to take action, and study the area in its various dimensions, with the purpose of preparing a new set of building regulation documents, and a general land use plan to organize the existing, and any future developments. Through certain political, economical and social circumstances which most of which have been previously mentioned. Naqoura has been planned in a certain way. However, as I have realized from the proposal of the new urban planning scheme, done by the Lebanese Urban Planning office, in collaboration with a private office, the scheme takes the physical state of the area as a fact. And accordingly divides the zones of the area; a large part of the commercial strip is zoned as a commercial area, all the narrow coast line on the beach which is empty from any construction is declared as a no building zone, the land of the UN camp which has already been constructed becomes one of the only areas zoned as touristic, all the forests and shrub areas which became so because of political reasons became zoned as protected areas and the village becomes the residential zoned area. And last but not least the Israeli and SLA surveillance points on top of the hills which are known for their military panoramic views, became zoned for private villa constructions. As if the planning just drew colors around the existing physical state of the area without taking into consideration the process under which such a physical state has been formed with layers and layers of systems, which acted in relation to each other for a long period of time. I will not be judging such an action now. I am interested in the results of such actions on ground, what will such actions and decisions which, are just drawings and lines on paper, mean physically on ground.
In the first place, a dramatic decrease in price will occur to lands declared with in the no building zone. All landowners, which were waiting to exploit their lands in the future for small touristic interventions, have lost that opportunity. Other lands, which are at some points just adjacent to the no building area are declared as touristic become very high in price. For example, there are two sisters which have two pieces of land with the same characteristics and which were previously one land. According to the new zoning, one lot lies within the no building area, and the other lot lies within the touristic area. Consequently, the difference in land price between both could reach to 1000% in the current circumstances. Other areas which were declared as protected environmental areas for eco-tourism will become in my point of view a no man’s land between Lebanon and Israel, since the land is packed with land mines which are extremely costly to extract and dismantle.

A similar situation to the edge between the touristic and no building zone will take place between the commercial zone and the agricultural. Thus, the new zoning plans just legalize or in other words formulate the social space, which has been constructed with time into certain codes and regulations. After implementing the law the expansion, and development of the area will not be according to the socio-economic-political sets of relations but according to the constraints set by rules on paper and implemented by agents who would no longer see the formulation of such regulations but holy instructions to abide with blindly.

The "borderline" or "al shareet il hodooodi"

During liberation, geographic borderlines have increased. In addition to the known borderline between Lebanon and Israel or Occupied Palestine, Israel established a new line which was called "al shareet al hodooodi" or the border line. That line was given the qualities of a barrier between two countries. Any person wanting to cross that line required previous permission from Israeli and South Lebanese authorities to pass. He/she is given a "tasree7" or permission, which resembled a VISA to pass. The passport was never stamped, but always checked by the Lebanese checkpoint while returning from the occupied zone. It was checked to make sure it was not stamped by Israelis on the Israeli border, which meant passing the national borders to Israel, an illegal act according to Lebanese authorities. Passing to the occupied zone was legal in the Lebanese government’s point of view, however it was very questionable. A person returning will be asked of the
reason of his/her visit and similar questions. Therefore, the whole system of checkpoints whether on the SLA or the Lebanese side resembled an airport with all the security and surveillance points. There are rooms for checking the baggage, other rooms for fetching men, and rooms for checking females. In addition to all that system one had to walk for a distance of about 500m to ensure that no vehicles approach the SLA checkpoints fearing any attacks.

However, what is most important in the whole issue is that the SLA found them selves legalized to take taxes on goods and merchandise passing their borderline. Any construction materials and goods sold in mini-markets bought from Lebanon had to be taxed. Goods bought from Israel were not taxed since the SLA considered themselves as a part of Israel and thus goods bought from Israel were much cheaper. That was a strategy implemented by Israelis to make people get used to buying their merchandise, let them feel voluntarily or involuntarily as if the occupied zone belongs to Israel, and last but not least let people forget their original country. Such a taxation system affected the social - economic - physical state. People who were not willing to deal with Israeli materials and goods had to pay much more and thus sell for higher prices in contrary to other sellers, which sold the same materials for less price. That is not to mention the tremendous amounts of money, which was collected by members of Hi status within the SLA. The purpose of the money was supposed to be for maintenance of streets, infrastructure, and similar stuff. Such an in balance in economical status of people created several boundaries and edges within the social and urban fabric. One of the most obvious observations, which can still be seen until now, are some houses standing out of the Naqoura landscape of low cost CMU houses.
The above image is a redundant scene within the landscape of the previously occupied area, and in particular the village of Naqoura. Some houses have the following qualities; constructed with relatively expensive building materials and finishes, such as stone cladding, roller shutters, roof tiles, painted walls etc... Another observation shows that these houses show no signs of inhabitance. In addition, the land on which most of these houses stand on is a property of the municipality or in other words "il masha3". All these observations might classify the users of these houses into a certain economical class group, which can afford such expensive building costs in such an area, within very particular political situations. However, with further investigation most of these houses turned out to be owned by members of a high rank in the South Lebanese Army.

During occupation and as previously mentioned the economy was local and accumulation of capital was very difficult, unless a person had some illegal authority for capital accumulation, such as the previously mentioned tax collection, or receiving rewards for illegal actions. These factors differentiated the SLA members at least economically speaking, from the people in the area. Another source of capital was through people sending money to their parents or relatives within Naqoura. However, investing such an amount of money in an area of no legality. (Building a luxurious house), was a risk by itself. Houses may be demolished, ruined and people within them may be fired out of their village at any time. A basic minimum of a construction was sufficient for people contrary to other members of the SLA, who considered themselves as secure and safe, and searched for a certain political and social image. In addition to the availability of the money, we cannot but consider the fact that the cost of construction of a house for an SLA member who got most of the building material without taxes from Israel, was much less than other houses whose materials had to be taxed twice. Mentioning the issue of construction material, it is important to state some technical differences between materials imported from Israel and others imported from Lebanon. The main differences lie in the cement used and the stone cladding used. The cement does not usually affect the appearance but rather the structure. Whereas the main difference between Israeli and Lebanese stone cladding is the fact that the first is much lighter in color and softer in strength, whereas the latter is more yellowish and stronger, a difference which can easily be pointed out while observing various houses. Finally, the SLA members who had ultimate authority during the occupation phase had the ability to choose
the best piece of land, occupy and build on it. In contradiction with the not part of the SLA who built with in their own lands, most of the time within the village community and rarely located in the outskirts. Thus, such an image of single remote houses with a relatively expensive finishing is considered as a classifying agent for classifying a certain group of people within a certain category. As we know, exceptions are always valid, however the observation discusses the majority. An exception to such a logic will be an observation of villas, expensive houses etc... and not owned by SLA members. The practice to keep such constructions safe and away from any intended harm, was that owners had to pay what was known as an "ikramiyye" for protecting the houses. People who had some accumulated money for construction were, and some are still waiting for the suitable moment to implement their dreams.

As soon as the occupation ended, the area witnessed the construction of a new restaurant over viewing the sea. Such an intervention I consider was a test for the region. People did not know what to expect. Will the restaurant survive in such an isolated place? Can people drink alcoholics in the presence of all the political parties in the area? Who will the users of that restaurant be? What type of food will be most asked for? However, the restaurant turned out to be a total success economically speaking; it even exceeded the expectations of the owners, who had to stop working for a while to readjust their working plan. The customers turned out to be divided between UN members coming for certain tasks, such as Polish, Chinese, French, Ukrainian etc... and the other group is of people coming from Tyre and Beirut. The restaurant is usually a destination for people rather than a station point where people just pass by. The owners of the restaurant, who have hired a Chinese cook, state that she is one of the main attraction elements of the restaurant. People and especially the UN members come to try the strange type of foods she cooks. Upon asking the owners about the issue of selling alcoholics in an area with various Islamic political parties they answered that

"Even though we sell alcoholic drinks in our restaurant, Hezbollah members never disturbed or commented on the issue. But they might have done so if they were the only figures on ground".

However, the main complain which the owners claimed to have heard while constructing their restaurant, was the use of the blue color for the railings and

* interview with the owners of a newly constructed restaurant overlooking the sea in Naqoura.
steel elements. They considered that color as Mediterranean especially after they have looked at several examples of Tunisian and Greek architecture in magazines. The complaint was on their use of the blue color related to Israel and the Israeli occupation. Thus they had to replace it with green in order not to fall in any problem.

After similar landowners have witnessed the success of such a project, there were various attempts trying to establish restaurants or similar projects, however in the current phase the area is frozen. No constructions are allowed before implementing the new urban plan, which claims to preserve the area naturally and ecologically as much as possible.

**Sources of Capital**

We have mentioned several ways of capital income, however there were several others, which are worth looking at.

**Before Liberation:**

People earned money in several ways; working inside Israel in civil works and mostly in construction, the wages were fixed and the workers had medical insurance in Israeli hospitals. Another category of people, were those who worked as militia men in the SLA. Their wages were from the Israeli government. A third type of income was through people working inside the United Nations camp, and that seems to be the most financially rewarding, since the wages were according to international standards and people could use the facilities inside the camp, of which most important is the hospital still existing until now. A fourth type of income was for people who ran the strip of shops and restaurants, their main customers were UN members who mostly paid in dollars, Israeli armies usually paid in Israeli Shekel, and Lebanese people either paid in dollar or Lebanese pounds. Therefore, three types of currency were majorly used in addition to others such as the French franc and the Italian Leer depending on the nationality of the UN members.

The circulation of capital was mainly within the village and at some instances between Naqoura and Israel. However the source was usually from outside the borders whether from Israel or other countries according to the nationality of the UN members. That is not to mention the village's connections with other parts of the world, through immigrants, who sent their money to their parents and relatives in the village.

The border line on the map manifested on ground

One of the defects of a map, being a representational tool, is that it never gives the truth. What I mean by truth is the exact physical presence on ground. Having acknowledged that deficiency in any representational tool, it is interesting to look at the case of the borderline, represented by a very thin line on the map. What is more interesting to observe, is the edge of two neighboring enemy countries. That simple peaceful line on the map is manifested on various levels, and layers physically on ground. A first layer to look at is the barbwire, which lines the entire perimeter of the borderline or at
At least the line, which the Israelis consider as the borderline. Parallel to the barbwire is a military street for Israeli vehicles monitoring the Border. Within the village of Naqoura that barbwire can not be seen unless one heads to a relatively remote area called Labbouna, from which one can have a panoramic view over The Palestinian valley or the Palestinian village, al Bassa. It is interesting to see how that barbwire, was transformed into reinforced concrete blocks at some sensitive points, especially where visual and verbal communication with the Israelis was possible. The reinforced concrete walls are placed on the Lebanese side, rather than on the Israeli, negating the practice usually done by the Israelis to protect themselves. A possible reading for such an act is a trial from the Lebanese side to keep the borderline as calm as possible. Such concrete blocks will close all the weak points, which would have allowed access through the borderline. Another layer on the bordering, is all the mine fields covering huge areas. The minefields are not only a result of the Israeli occupation but also residues from the French presence, in addition to the Lebanese army. Some minefields are labeled, others are not. Thus, any un-inhabited area near the border is suspected to be mined. That fact determines the variability of that borderline which becomes a result of a personal decision of whether there is a minefield or not. Accordingly, the borderline to some people might be the edge of the street they are on, and to others may be much farther depending on their knowledge of the place, and their bravery. At other points, the border becomes manifested in surveillance towers built by Israelis to monitor the activities in the area.

An Israeli Surveillance point on the border

The barbwire and the military road - 2001
However, in contradiction to all these instances the border becomes open on the sea level where UNIFIL cars can access to and from Israel passing through a checkpoint for the Lebanese Internal Security. That checkpoint is like a permeable membrane, which allows the passage of some elements and prevents others.

Another borderline, which a lot tend to take for granted is the physical edge between land and sea. According to John Fisk in his book "Reading the popular ", he talks about the difference between culture and nature, and between what is cultural and what is natural. According to his analysis, the physical edge between the land and the sea, is the edge between cultural and natural. He describes nature as untouched by human being, and the culture as being a mere product of humans. When people interfere in nature, it becomes natural and the vice versa produces the cultural. Thus, the physical edge between the land and the sea is the vague space between culture and nature. The seashore becomes a combination of what is natural and cultural at the same time. The more one goes physically deeper into the sea, the more he/she is near to nature and the more one goes far from the sea the more he/she is attached to the culture. I tried to apply such an analysis or hypothesis, on the users of the sea shore in Naqoura, to see if the behavior of people of various genders, ages, and social backgrounds differ according to his analysis.

A general observation of the site shows the following:
- Children occupy the direct edge between the land and the sea, meaning either in the very shallow area of the sea or on the part of the shore directly by the sea.
- Youth and usually males try to go deeper into the sea whether swimming, diving or using tools to allow them to do so.
- Older people tend to occupy the part of the shore, which is nearer to the street rather than the sea.

According to my reading, I would explain the following observation through describing the physical capabilities of the groups. The inexperience and weak
physical body of the child will not allow him/her to take the risk and get away from the seashore. The body does not have the strength for long distance swimming, and the capability to fight any water currents, in addition to the psychological fear from the sea. On the other hand, the youth group has gained the experience, physical strength, psychological confidence and the curiosity to explore and exploit the physical and natural potentials available within and around. Moving to the last group, the elderly, no more have the physical capabilities even to reach the shore due to the rough terrain at some points, by which at some instances they are even satisfied only by a view of the sea. The element of curiosity and exploration is much less than the youth group if not hardly available.

However after reading John Fisk's analysis, I would interpret the observation differently. The children are in a state of confusion between nature and culture. A child is born pure away from any human influence and thus in nature. Then he/she is subjected to the whole complexity of human life or the culture. Therefore, the child occupies the space in which he/she finds him/her self secure between the cultural and the natural or the direct edge of the sea. On the other hand, the youth group tends to, since having the capability, explore nature or his/her origin. Not to forget that, the ultimate space where a person can be in touch with nature, is within the sea.

So, those simple borderlines on the map are represented physically be a series of cultural, political and social scenarios on the ground. As if the map becomes a fake representation of the physical, or in return the physical becomes a very richer reading or representation of the map.
A schematic map showing the physical state of the Borderline
Mentioning the difference between the representation of the physical through a map, I would like to talk about the opposite case. Where the physical becomes a representation of the map. Probably one of the strategies being played by the Lebanese authorities resembles the classificatory idea of the street. While observing the preliminary designs of the new Highway and at the same time hearing about classifications of the area as a touristic zone, one could not but question the position of the Highway cutting the village in between. The cut further emphasizes the conceived distinction between upper and lower Naqoura. The upper part being the village style community with all its complexity and the lower part preserved as the touristic zone adjacent to the beach.

A schematic drawing, showing the proposal site for the new Highway.

This introduces Le Febvre's theory of social space being a dialectic relation between the perceived and lived (in spatial terms: spatial practice, representations of space, representational spaces)\(^8\). The spatial practice or the perceived space of the Naqoura village has internalized the idea of lower and upper, touristic, commercial vs. residential, conservative vs. way-out. All these distinctions are just mere reactions and results of experience and development with time; however, with the interference of the Lebanese planning authorities, I would see another approach. The act of passing the highway within the village seems to me using the power of the authority to intervene within the lived space, by implementing their own representations of the space or in Lefebvre's words the conceived space. When the perceived space is transformed into the lived space by executing the plans, the distinction becomes no longer natural but physically demarcated and imposed on ground. When this space is physically implemented and people interact with it whether accepting or refusing it, that space becomes part of the perceived or social space. At that time the distinction between upper and lower with all the charged meanings these adjectives carry, becomes a fact depicted physically on ground and part of the natural.

\(^8\) p 40, Henri Lefebvre, The production of space, Blackwell publishers, Cambridge Massachusetts, USA 1994
However while having a look on the new urban plan of the area prepared for the office of urban planning, the whole direction of the highway is proposed to be changed. The planners claim that passing the highway in the middle of the village will have very cruel effects on the ecology, nature, urban structure, and future tourism of the site. Some of the problems, which may occur as stated by their research:

- The foundations of the highway will prevent proper sewage of agricultural land lying above it.
- Air pollution in a very clean area which may destroy all the agricultural or forest lands.
- Social segregation between upper and lower Naqoura.
- Leaving at some instances very narrow places for people wanting to swim in the beach.
- Sound pollution in a very calm area.
Chapter 3

Reading and Writing the event of the Picinic by the sea in Naqoura.

The purpose of the following chapter, will be finding the set of systems, patterns, structures or the frame within which the event of the picnic by the sea in Naqoura takes shape, is spatialized and even seen as an architectural case study, to be analyzed, rather than an arbitrary incident in space and time. I will study the inter relation between space, time, territory, activity, body, gender and economy. Bourdieu’s “Structure, Habitus, Practices” & “Classes and Classifications”, Le Febvre’s “the Production of Social Space”, and John Fiske’s “Reading the Popular” will be used as analytical and reading tools. In addition, I will be trying to find if there is any conventional system of relations which govern any picnic activity or in other words is there any invisible typology for the picnic event?

The program of a picnic:

Through observation and analysis of the whole activity of a picnic there appeared to be a sequence of events, which had to be followed usually in a linear manner, that constitute the event. Any other sequence or missing in parts of the chain is not considered as an exception, but rather a modified or a customized version of the Picnic event. The following is a brief representation of the program which will be discussed in detail further on:

- Preliminary design of the picnic, which includes the whole process of choosing the place to go to or at least the region, preparing the food if there is any to be taken, studying the logistics such as arrangement of participants in whatever mode of transportation available, and technical requirements from chairs, tables, mats, tents etc...
- Transportation to the site of the picnic whether in private cars, or rented vans or buses / The journey to the picnic.
- Appropriation of space.
- Implementing the spatial program.
- Spending the picnic time.
- Dismantling the previously implemented spatial program/ Packing and preparation for return.
- Transportation, in the way back / The journey back home.
- The Aftermath of a picnic whether physical, technical, moral, social, etc... (memories, pictures, shower, social relationships, hunted fish, tire)

3-49
PICNIC: Apropiation of a certain space for a certain time applying a certain program.

Divison of space according to activity

bubble diagram of a picnic

FOOD PREPARING SPACE CLEAN-Shaded.
This space can be excluded if the food is ready prepared and requires no on site care such as heating - grilling

COOKING SPACE: away from wind - clean

CENTRAL SPACE: Socializing talking - chatting playing cards or backgammon - argiee

RESTING SPACE Quiet - away from noisy playing spaces - relatively old in age.

PLAYING SPACE: availability of space according to played game - football - pool racket - cards - backgammon swimming - tree climbing etc... (safe)

NATURE ACTIVITIES: insect collecting - hiking photography - tree climbing.

CAR SPACE: source of music & news storage space - sleeping and resting space.

THE PROGRAM OF A FAMILY CAR
The theory of practice as practice insists, contrary to positivist materialism, that the objects of knowledge are constructed, not passively recorded, and, contrary to intellectualist idealism, that the principle of this construction is the system of structured, structuring dispositions, the habitus, which is constituted in practice and is always oriented towards practical functions.

The conditionings associated with a particular class of conditions of existence produce habitus, systems of durable, transposable dispositions structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is as principles which generate and organize practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary in order to attain them. Objectively, 'regulated' and 'regular' without being in any way the product of obedience to rules, they can be collectively orchestrated without being the product of an organizing action of a conductor.

In other words, the previously stated program is nothing but a logic constituted with time. It has probably passed through major transformations or changes, however its survival and modifications with time had made it become as a structured and structuring agent. Structured in the sense that it has been taking shape through external or internal modifiers whether social, economical, political, psychological or any other and structuring in the sense that it has become a manual to be followed. Although the writer or the inventor of this manual is always unknown, since it is the product of time and circumstances rather than a person. As Bourdieu indicates, this process is never ending it is in continuous transformation. Thus what is possible is reading the present and if possible enter the system of the habitus, and be an active player within that system to propose any modification of that culture, since any future practice or practical function will be structured by that system according to Bourdieu. The previously mentioned program seemed to be a text for a play to be followed and implemented on stage which in our case is the sea shore of Naqoura. However it is most important to read the previous in the context of social space as a set of relations on the very basic level. A very complex relation between human beings which can never be reduced into a very simple and general rule. Although it is important to read the social activity in the range lying between the two scopes of vision. One which is the idealistic general view point which in the terminology used by planners is called the macro scale and at the same time dwell into the specifics and details and even exceptions of the social space or in other words the micro scale but in terms of human social space rather than maps and representations.

Now it is important to focus on the activity itself or what has been previously called "spending the day". Through observations and interviews with the people attending picnics on site and outside it. I was able to draw a general pattern or logic which every picnic follows. Probably that is also the habitus previously stated by Bourdieu, where by experience and with time the architecture of the picnic has been constituted and being used.

**Appropriation of space:**

The whole action of the picnic is an appropriation of a space for a certain time (temporary). The appropriated space might be public or private space. One

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of the main issues in a picnic is what we have mentioned previously as lying in phase one, or organizing the event and finding the stage for the action to take place. That place is chosen due to several factors: previous experience of one or more of the people going on the picnic, an information heard about a specific space, an attracting area satisfying the requirements of the people whether according to view, safety, playing spaces etc... In the case of the Naqoura shore it is mostly private land. Thus any person spending the day is appropriating someone else's land. Where as in other parts and usually where the shore is very narrow and the sea is adjacent to the street people will be appropriating public land which is less violating the rules. Most of the lands in Naqoura on the sea shore are not surrounded by any sort of boundary indicating ownership. Thus any piece of land suitable is considered as a target for appropriation.

Several factors affect the choice of land to be appropriated;

1- People interested in the activity of fishing search for places which facilitate their activity and at the same time target places which are rich with fish. At some instances the type of fish may be a factor of choice. Thus fishermen are observed to seek places which, have rock protrusions into the sea providing spaces to stand or sit with the fishing accessories, are known as deep, have ruins or previously built concrete platforms in or by the sea etc...

2- Families spending the say out search for spaces which provide: security for children to play such as shallow basins in the sea, flat platforms for playing, clean areas preferably away from wind currents if food preparation and barbecue is available, a near place to park the car for mobilizing picnic accessories.

3- In addition to the previous category families or groups may require maximum privacy especially if members of the group are women and veiled. Veiled women swim with their clothes on in the presence of members of their family, however they would not like foreigners to look at their wet clothes which show their bodies.

4- Families with elderly or physically challenged people would chose places where the car can park very near to the seating place and at the same time is accessible with an easy passage (without strong slopes, uneven or slippery ground or similar obstacle)

5- Groups of male youth whose main aim is to swim and spend some time by the sea will be searching for spaces which facilitate their activity such as; places to dive from, easy accessibility into the sea rather than having to walk on pebbles and rocks for a distance, relatively safe areas of swimming without any dangerous currents. Issues of privacy and easy accessibility become minimal relatively compared to other groups.

6- Some male groups would choose places clearly visible to the street. In order to show off, muscular built and tanned bodies.
7. Some groups choose very private and isolate places for night activities such as alcoholic drinking and drugs, noticed from the remains of beer cans and syringes.

8. Couples will search for places they could walk in, or sit and chat with each other watching the sea.

9. Divers choose deep places rich with certain types of fish according to their previous experience.

Through experience and knowledge of the place a general classification map can be drawn according to users. Specifying each area for certain types of users. Such conclusions are very general although apparent on the site. Any violation or contradiction may occur at any time. Male groups may occupy very private areas or females may be exposed to foreigners etc...

As stated by Bourdieu

"such variations, exceptions and accidents should be accounted for instead of making them simple variants, absorbed into the structure, as the structuralists do".10

It is this contradiction and complexity in the issue that provides the habitus system with the potential energy, which would transform into a change and thus act as a modifying agent in the process of the concept of structured and structuring habitus which Bourdieu talks about.

After the space has been appropriated there comes another important phase which is preparing the site for the event. This is what I call as spatializing or dividing the event into architectural spaces. Bourdieu differentiates between "representational spaces" and "representations of space".11 I would like to use these two concepts in drawing the contradiction between the architecture of a picnic and an architecture of predetermined labeled spaces. The label given to a dining room or kitchen at home determines the way those spaces are supposed to function and the activities that are supposed to take place in them. The activity of eating or cooking has long been housed in an architectural object or space and thus labeled with a name. The label kitchen or dining room has become a "representation of the space" and thus dictates the activities that should take place within the space. The question that poses

10 p 53 Pierre Bourdieu, The logic of practice, Stanford University Press, Stanford California,
11 p 119 Henri Lefebvre, The production of space, Blackwell publishers, Cambridge Massachusetts, USA 1994
itself is: Does the space house the activity? Or does the activity follow the space that labels it?
In case of a picnic, the space follows or moves in parallel with the activity taking place. There is no space labeled as cooking or eating space. The spaces where the activity of cooking and eating take place are labeled as cooking and eating spaces. However, these spaces follow a very complex structure of construction, transformation, diversion, and dismantling. Since the space follows the activity, which is by itself variable, it also becomes variable. Placing the barbecue in a place and starting to use it becomes a construction of a cooking place. However, this cooking space may extend to the territory of a person preparing a salad or cutting potatoes. Thus the space may diverge into as many people engaged in the cooking activity. In other words, the cooking space is continuously in transformation and reshaping itself, unlike the kitchen which is fixed and thus the activity becomes fixed within. In the example of the picnic the space is labeled as representational space, where the space represents the activity that it houses with all its transformations in time. Similar to the cooking and eating space, we can observe other representational spaces such as: space where members would socialize, Space where they can rest or take a nap, a space where children can perform their activities, a space where the elderly can perform their leisure activities, space used as a WC and a space used for storage. Those spaces are never strictly defined, as I have previously mentioned they are continuously transforming with time and have no strict boundaries. Since there is no boundary those spaces may easily overlap and co-exist. And since the spaces transform with the passage of time the level in which they co-exist, overlap or intersect will vary during time. A socializing space in the morning may be overwhelmed by the eating space at eating time. Afterwards that same space may diverge into a place to rest in coexistence with a place to read for example. With the change in the sun direction, what might have been a shaded space for cooking might be transformed into a children's playing space under the sun.

It is also interesting to observe how the importance of spaces within the picnic change with time? If for example, the picnic is to cover the whole day. Emphasis in the morning will be on the space of transportation. At noontime, emphasis will be on eating spaces and in the afternoon importance will be dedicated to resting and playing spaces.

**How is the space designed?**

In the previous paragraph the division of the spaces and the design seemed to be either arbitrary or taken as a given. However in social space nothing is arbitrary nor taken as a rule. Thus to understand the layout or the division of spaces it is important to look at the process in which the space is designed.
Previously we have stated the reasons behind choosing the site to appropriate. But according to the spaces of "spending the day":

1- Upon arrival first space dictated will be the parking place usually decided by the driver, taking into consideration nearness of the appropriated site, and
safety for the car during the day from any passing cars, if it is parked on the street.

2- In every picnic, there is what I call the accessories of the picnic. Such as the carpet, the barbecue, the chairs, a tent, a blanket, a portable cooling device a water gallon etc... Upon arrival, these things are moved from the storage place to the appropriated place. Then there is a division in labor where each according to his/her interest would use the accessories in forming the space. Distribution will be either according to a previous experience of a person in the group, the whole group or by experimenting the site. The group taking care of the chairs and the carpet if available would be searching for an area which could accommodate for the chairs and the carpet. People do not want to sit far from each other or on unstable grounds etc... The person responsible for the barbecue will be investigating wind currents. He/she does not want the barbecue to be in a strong wind current. At the same time out of experience he/she will know that smoke from the barbecue is not advisable to reach other areas of the picnic. The place of the barbecue is located in a relatively smooth wind area. Those responsible for preparation of food will be looking for a place that is clean and can drain water. People wanting to play will look for the suitable space according to their activity. If a ball for example is available there is a need for a flat place to perform any activity. People wanting to swim will explore the access points through which they can approach the sea. In the relaxing times people wanting to rest will be interested in finding a place of minimum disturbance whether from noise, sounds, winds, heat etc... Food storage spaces will be in places with minimum exposure to the sun. The WC is allocated a place which is relatively private at least in terms of view.

While talking about the accessories of the picnic an exciting issue to look at are some accessories which serve multi functions during the day. With time and for shortage of storage space some accessories such as the blanket or the box transform with time to serve various needs. A piece of cloth can be used as a carpet to lay things on instead of laying things directly on the ground. At other instances the carpet may become a sleeping mattress. In sunny times the blanket could be hung on holes to serve as a shading device, and last when packing the blanket may be used as a bag for carrying things back to the car.

A box usually brought to a picnic for carrying and storage purposes becomes a chair to sit on, a dining table in eating times, a table to put games on in playing times and at some instances could be used in combination with a tire to become a floating boat. So just as spaces transform with time, the accessories also follow that transformation system.

Thus, we could understand how the choice of spaces and their arrangement may follow a certain logic although very flexible and fluid. It is interesting to notice is that the previously mentioned logic governs the arrangement of most of the observations I have done on the shore. Is it because such arrangements have proven with time to be successful? Or is it because such a system has been internalized within the minds of people appropriating the site? or is it the habitus or the structured, structuring dispositions mentioned by Bourdieu which govern the practical functions. or is
it just because people on Naqoura shore have not seen any other examples of space appropriation.

* Reduction is a scientific procedure designed to deal with the complexity and chaos of brute observations. This kind of simplification is necessary at first, but it must be quickly followed by the gradual restoration of what has thus been temporarily set aside for the sake of analysis. *

In what has previously been stated general guidelines or systems of logic were drawn for the social space of a picnic by the sea in Naqoura. However to stay in the general reductive layer is dangerous and misleading. Therefore it is important to examine the issue juxtaposed to the site, or in other words reading the generalities within the specificity of the site context and its surroundings. To do so it is important to look at aspects of gender differences, economical factors, local behaviors and practices, social classes etc...

**Transportation:**

The possible means of transportation to approach the site on a picnic day is either a private car or van, or a taxi car or van. Other choices are minimal since there is no means of public transportation reaching the site.

**As a social space:**

The only space, in which a group or the members of a family are physically so near to each other without any boundaries, is the space of the car. The only physical boundary, which a car creates, is that between the users of the car and the outside world. Any member within the car is obliged to stay within that community for a certain period of time. Rare are such opportunities where a group or members of a family are that close to each other, especially if the main aim of the trip is for relaxation, recreation and escapism from the everyday life. The setting in general should open up any kind of socializing whether it is good or bad. Members of the family have an opportunity to talk freely to each other, solve their problems, talk about various issues in life etc... especially having the feeling that even their conversations are private, within the walls of the car. In case that the group is not from the same family also a smooth medium for socializing is present. Thus a car could be considered as a very important part in the recreation activity which possibly might facilitate or encourage social bonding between various users or at least encourage members to get to know each other better. That is never to forget exceptions of people, who may never interact on the way, and thus considering the whole act as a burden. As an example of two members of a group that have had a fight and obliged to be in the same space. Even though all the group or members of the family use the same means to escape with, each member according to the space he has occupied within the vehicle would have a different experience within the journey.

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12 p105 Henri Lefebvre, The production of space, Blackwell publishers. Cambridge Massachusetts, USA 1994
As an example I would study the

Arrangement of seats in side a car:

This is definitely not the only arrangement, or tool for transportation. But, I have taken the normal car as an example from which other readings for other situations could be deducted.

**space 1** - For an elderly member of the family, usually the father or the mother. Main role is driving. May be in control of the radio and tape, is legally obliged to put on the seat belt, and according to statistics is the second dangerous seat in the car, in case of an accident.

**space 2** - Right front seat: For an elderly member of the family – Requires putting on the seat belt – Person sitting in that place has physical control over the sound system & has a frontal and side view – It is relatively the most dangerous seat according to statistics.

**space 3** - Left side back seat: next to the window - in control of the left window - behind the adult driver - more comfortable than the middle seat - The view depends on the direction, (mountain view in Lebanon if going south and sea view if going north) – Is hit by direct sunlight in the morning and is shaded in the afternoon. It is usually for the children – It is relatively safer than the front and middle seats.

**space 4** - Back middle seat: Least comfortable - minimal views - No control on ventilation - frontal view - good for people who feel car sick. A short person is preferred by the driver for clear vision in the mirror.

**space 5** - Storage space for food and furniture.

The previous analysis was a small exercise to show the difference in experience between people going out to spend the day even if they were members of the same family and occupying the same transportation space.

Another important factor to look at, especially in the recent days, is the amount of fuel required to reach the site. Fuel has become a very expensive source of energy in Lebanon and thus has to be given major attention as a factor in shaping the site.

**A very simple study of the cost of fuel required to spend the day in Naqoura from various destinations will show the following:**

To take an average family car which can cover a distance in the range of 100 - 150 km / 20 liters of fuel (tank)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Departure</th>
<th>Arrival</th>
<th>Distance covered</th>
<th>Fuel consumption</th>
<th>Cost of fuel consumed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tripoli</td>
<td>Naqoura</td>
<td>180 km</td>
<td>1.2 (\times) 1.8 (\times) 2 = 2.4 (\times) 3.6</td>
<td>48000 (\longrightarrow) 72000 LL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beirut</td>
<td>Naqoura</td>
<td>100 km</td>
<td>0.7 (\times) 1 (\times) 2 = 1.4 (\times) 2</td>
<td>28000 (\longrightarrow) 40000 LL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saida</td>
<td>Naqoura</td>
<td>60 km</td>
<td>0.4 (\times) 0.6 (\times) 2 = 0.8 (\times) 1.2</td>
<td>16000 (\longrightarrow) 24000 LL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tyre</td>
<td>Naqoura</td>
<td>25 km</td>
<td>0.2 (\times) 0.25 (\times) 2 = 0.4 (\times) 0.5</td>
<td>8000 (\longrightarrow) 10000 LL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The remoteness of the site and lack of public transportation alone, have removed the opportunity of visiting the site by a large part of the community (people who do not have private cars and cannot afford renting). On the other hand such figures in the table will affect to a great extent the decision, of a low income (300,000 – 400,000 LL) or even a medium income family, on various levels. That is not to forget other requirements of a picnic such as food, beverages umbrella etc...

Logically speaking, of the low and medium income families, we will expect more users from near destinations, and fewer users as we move literally farther. That may explain the reason why the users of the site, in terms of number, is relatively very small.

If we would like to look at the issue from another dimension, even the type of car may affect the choice of appropriated site. In other words, a 4-wheel drive car can access places that an ordinary car can never reach. People owning 4-wheel drive cars may have a wider range of opportunities to choose from but the cost of fuel will be higher. On the other hand, from a mere technical point of view the car on a picnic day will be considered as a storage space and a source of music, or news. It is probably the most element in the picnic, which contradicts the issue of escapism, relaxation and recreation. The car has become a symbol of pollution noise, and disturbance. The radio in the car would be a reminder or an extension to the culture that one has left behind. The radio becomes more than a transmitter for sounds and voices but rather a way through which the complexity of life would interfere even in the times of escapism. In addition to all of the above, the car is a representation of the family. Just like every family or home is represented by a name tag on the inter-phone, every family on the beach is represented by their car on the side of the road.

"Classes and classifications"¹²:

From the previous simple exercise about transportation to and from the site a whole category of people has been excluded from using the site. On the other hand we should examine people of relatively high income. That category of people has a very wider range of choosing between destination points to spend their day. The cost of fuel may not be a burden as it was in the previous case of low-income families. Thus, we may expect people of high

income to approach the site from places as far of Beirut. However many other factors intrude in this case. The long distance covered and time spent on the road may form a burden. A high-income family has hundreds of other choices such as; going to restaurants, cinemas, mountains, and most important is private beaches. A wide range of facilities are provided in private beaches, such as; showers, toilets, cabins, changing rooms, food, shaded spaces, beach furniture, boats, jet skis and most important life guards etc... All these facilities make the activity easier, more fun and secure to a lot of people who can pay for it. In-addition to the ability of women to wear bathing suits which they can not in public beaches, for some social reasons which become internalized in the mentality of people. Especially in the relatively speaking conservative South. We could realize that the public beach in Naqoura is not an attraction point for wealthy and high income people. That does not exclude the possibility of wealthy people approaching the site to have lunch in a restaurant overlooking the sea. I have classified the users of the site according to economical status. However if we are to look at the issue from Le Febvre’s concept of classes and classification we should introduce the second dimension which is the cultural capital. According to the activities in Naqoura that are mainly fishing, swimming and their derivatives they are both located in the middle of the x-axis defining the cultural capital. Therefore, such practices of fishing and swimming are hard to be used as agents to classify their practitioners on the cultural scale, the only classificatory agent becomes the economical.

For certain technical, social and economical reasons the site classifies its users as being of a certain economical class however with a certain variation on the cultural level. According to Le Febvre, such a phenomena on the beach of Naqoura would be a proof for his hypothesis that people positioned near to each other in the constructed social space would behave, respond and practice things in similar ways, and would even have a similar taste in appreciating things. However, I would like to introduce the notion of opportunity to such a theory. In Lefebvrian thought the act of going to spend the day on Naqoura beach classifies those people within a certain social category. However if we look at the process and the way that classifying tool took shape with time, we could realize that it all depends on an opportunity. It is not because low, and lower middle-income families like the beach and spending the day there more than other economical classes, but because their opportunities are limited to that low cost recreational activity. Moreover, not because high-income classes do not like the beach of Naqoura, but they have a much wider range of opportunities which makes it one of the choices rather than the only choice.
Chapter 4

The Industry of Tourism

What do people go for?
What is the demand and supply of that industry?
What are the types of demanders?

In addition to studying the destination and the activities that take place on the coastal shore of Naqoura, I believe we should study the origins of such activities. By mentioning the origin, I mean where do such activities come from? or in other words why do they happen? Why do people leave their places and come to another place to spend a duration of time? To understand the above issues, I think it is essential to discuss the composite issue of tourism and the culture behind it.

To start with, it is important to display various definitions of tourism

"The word tour – ist first appearing in the early nineteenth century (Boorstin 1961). Boorstin draws a distinction between the arduous conditions undertaken by “travelers” (a term originating from the French word travail meaning ‘work’, trouble, torment) such as pilgrims and the ‘tourist’ for whom travel has become an organized and packaged affair.

The idea of travel for pleasure, for example to visit beautiful landscapes as opposed to travel for necessity or to demonstrate religious piousness, is therefore within the context of human activity a relatively recent phenomenon." 14

"Tourism comprises the activities of persons traveling to and staying in places outside their usual environment for not more than one consecutive year for leisure, business or other purposes “(proposed by the World Tourism Organization 1991) 15

The previous definition displays two keywords, which I would like to point out which are “traveling” and “environment”. So those two words pose a question which I consider important in my research and which is “why should some one want to (under his own free will) move from one place to another and change his environment for a certain period of time? “

To answer that question I believe we have to look first at the psychology of man and second at the modern life style in which we live in (as mentioned before tourism has emerged very recently)


From the psychological and biological point of view, I think relatively speaking every person needs some rest whether physically, mentally, or emotionally. The stress accumulated during the day is released during the night while sleeping, and that is by itself a form of tourism if I may say. Maybe God has created the phenomenon of dreaming for the purpose of, relieving our stress. However, I believe the rest one gets during the night might be physically pleasing however not psychologically. For one to relieve that accumulated stress a person has to change the routine of stress, work, monotony and pressure in ones life. That brings us back to the definition of tourism and the key points “traveling” and “different environment”. For one to relieve that stress he/she has to move from the source of stress and change the environment for a certain period of time. That reminds me of a basic rule while learning first aids, which is “always try to move the injured person from the place of the accident ”and that is to help the person heal on the psychological level. One starts to ask then why has recently tourism started to appear even though people have suffered stress for ages. That is probably due to the change in life style, culture and mode of production. Most of the cities in the world have become over urbanized, polluted, and populated which increase the rate of stress. In addition to the modern requirements of work (sitting hours in closed rooms, in front of computer screens, obeying orders and even moving from place to another by machine). Fortunately, and in contradiction to all these negative points the modern way of work has introduced vacations, limitations on number of working hours and wages which workers can use to spend freely on their relaxation.

**Box 2.4**

**Psychological determinants of demand**

- escape from a mundane environment, akin to Boorstin’s (1961) theme of escapism
- relaxation, including mental and physical recuperation
- play, a chance to regress to a childhood state which is not available to adults within the constructs of everyday society
- strengthening family bonds
- prestige - akin to Dann’s (1977) idea of ego-enhancement
- social interaction
- sexual opportunity
- educational opportunity
- self-fulfilment - akin to MacCannell’s (1976) idea of self-discovery

Source: After Ryan (1991)
Whenever there is an industry it is important to point out the types of this industry and which is usually to responding to particular demands. Or in other words what do tourists search for? Or what are various types of tourists?
**Box 2.5**

**A phenomenology of tourist experiences**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mode</th>
<th>Behaviour</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Recreational</td>
<td>Emphasis is placed on tourism as a form of entertainment, restoring physical and mental powers, and endowing a sense of well-being. The tourist is thereby refreshed to return to their society where their centre lies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diversionary</td>
<td>The tourist finds in tourism a diversion or escape from the boredom and meaninglessness of everyday life. This type of person has no centre but neither are they looking for one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Experiential</td>
<td>The tourist looks for meaning of life in the culture of the ‘other’, as the tourist has lost their own centre in their home society. Whilst the tourist observes and interacts with other cultures, she/he remains aware of their ‘otherness’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Experimental</td>
<td>This surpasses the experiential mode in the degree of experience of foreign culture. The tourist experiments in different way of living – for example, on a kibbutz, in search of a spiritual centre. However, they remain unsatisfied by the authenticity of any of the cultures they have visited</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Existential</td>
<td>The individual’s spiritual centre is now located in another place away from the home environment. For practical reasons, such as work or the family, the person may not be able to relocate physically but will visit whenever possible</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: After Cohen (1979)

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Now that we have generally illustrated the issue of tourism and its types, it is essential to relate the generalities to the specifics of the site which is the coastal shore of Naqoura.

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Who would want to come to Naqoura?

The main resources of Naqoura are natural, ecological and political. The first two points might be advantages. However, the third point turns out to be a very sharp and critical edge. Who would want to relax on the border with an enemy country? Who would want to stay in an insecure area? However I believe the previous statement is charged with unthought-of preconceptions. "Enemy" Whose enemy? I think that is the key to see the advantages of the political issue. If I see the border with the enemy, others might just see it as an ordinary border or maybe a border with a friend. That reminds me of an incident while visiting the divided city of Nicosia in Cyprus. The border is meant to separate between two enemies; however, I being a foreign tourist did not have any problem crossing the border socializing with the people on both sides without any further thoughts, unlike any local from both sides. Therefore, I find it very similar in the case of Naqoura. For example, An American or European tourist will supposedly not have any problem spending his/her vacation near the border, with Israel, or even cross if he/she has the opportunity to do so. That also reminds me of another incident in the past specifically after the Israeli invasion in 1982, where many Lebanese people crossed the boarder to Israel through Naqoura. That was a flourishing time in the history of Naqoura where many of the people used to make it as their station point on the way.

Taking into consideration the above, and in addition to the beautiful setting of Naqoura on the blue “still un polluted” sea and relatively speaking away from dense urban developments we may have a general idea of the people who may want to come to Naqoura? People wanting to come to Naqoura I assume would be of the Recreational / Diversionary and to some extent the Experiential / Experimental type of tourist. However as a common ground most of the tourists must have a reason to feel in security and safety. However according to Cohen’s (1972) typology of tourists I can view tourists coming to Naqoura in descending order
1- The organized mass tourists
2- The individual mass tourists
3- The explorer
4 – The drifter

Although, I believe the third and fourth are very minimal. That is not to exclude the type of business tourism such as attending conferences – international meetings - peace talks maybe etc...

If we go back to the concept of industry – demand and supply, we realize that we have talked thoroughly about the demand and type of demand required thus we have to specify the suppliers or the stakeholders who would satisfy the requirements of the demanders. If we examine the type of users under light we realize that the industry to perform properly we need an organized institution to be able to manage the complexity of the user types and their demands. The users might be from different places of the world, different cultural backgrounds, with a complex system of demands other than the natural source which is the sea. The supplier must be aware of the complex
industry of tourism in the capitalistic mode of production at least to be able to survive in the contemporary competition.

Or let’s put it in other words very simply speaking if a place very beautiful on the sea but very deep in the south and away from the capital does not have any advertisement on the internet?? How would a tourist or international travel agency ever hear about that place?

As we have seen whatever the type of tourist is he/she is coming to Naqoura for one main reason which is the clean and rich blue sea more than any other reason. Thus one of the main aims of any development should be preserving the superb qualities of the beach and not to fall into the trap losing the whole source in favor of mismanagement, bad planning and love for money.

The palm trees have been removed to make room for hotel construction. This results in destabilization of the beach making it more prone to erosion.

The coral dies from being covered in algae. Not only does this result in the loss of an attractive resource for tourism but also causes accelerated beach erosion and threatens the whole ecosystem.

Increased erosional power of the sea leading to the disappearance of the beach.

Untreated sewage is pumped into the sea which leads to the proliferation of algae.

Figure 3.3 Post-tourism development: the disaster

Preserving the environment does not only mean keeping the sea clean it also means respecting the local inhabitants with their social life, cultural background, religious beliefs, economical classes etc...

Chapter 5:

Conclusion - Design Intervention

In the previous observations, analysis and discussion I was able to see Naqoura or its shore from two points of view, which are at some points separate and at other points inter related;

1- The activities that take place on the sea shore (sea activities such as swimming, fishing, picnicing etc…)
2- The set of complex relations between the various factors of site, which have accumulated and developed with time into the current situation.

In the following I will talk about each case separately, my proposal in addition to my future expectations accordingly.

1- In the previous chapters, I have talked extensively about the social space of the picnic and its derivatives. I believe the richness of such an activity is in the way it takes place right now. Any intervention would be an imposed element rather than emerging out of the context. So, I believe leaving the sea shore in its current situation is the best solution. The shore of Naqoura is one of the very few in Lebanon that has not been disturbed by any means of human intervention. In addition, I think that is a success that has been achieved by the new proposed urban plan. Most of the seashore is zoned as none building area to preserve the view over the sea, ecology of the shore and most important respect the social activity of local people approaching the sea.

However, through the thesis it has been evident that very few people use the site in relation to its potentials. People of a very certain economical class and geographical location, are able to use and exploit the site properly. From a personal point of view, I consider such a natural resource as public, which means for everyone, and not for a particular group of people. Another main problem is that most of the lots by the sea are private. From the statistics previously mentioned in chapter 1, the 17 lots owned by the municipality lie within the upper part of the village, which leaves no space for public beaches. Last, but not least there is the new problem of mines all along the seashore, which may form an obstacle in front of potential swimmers and people.

All these I consider as small problems that may be solved by the municipality. Private lands, can be rented for public use, signs for safety would be positioned appropriately, lifeguards should be hired for major swimming areas, and some small facilities should be added such as showers, changing rooms, small fast food kiosks etc. Nevertheless, not to forget that most of the people approach the site for its virginity, and such minimal interventions might affect that culture. However, what is most important is the implementation of the new proposed building-zoning plan which prohibits abusing the seashore with any construction, and at the same time proposes changing the position of the highway. Once such a law has been implemented and the municipality has taken proper actions, all the previous analysis of the
picnic will not be defeated, but would take new dimensions and layers. As I have once mentioned, we have to enter that complex system of development in order to perform any change in future practices. My intervention in such a case will be taking the role of a designer for the municipality and providing suitable facilities for swimmers and "picnicking" people, with the aim of respecting the culture of the activities taking place right now. At the same time allowing a larger number of people of various groups to make use of the seashore efficiently. I do not have to mention again that such an intervention will not cover the whole seashore and thus people who just like the shore as it is, will still have the opportunity. The intervention will be a system of architectural spaces gaining their qualities from the spirit of the picnic event. Spaces will not have a definite program but rather go continuous transformation with time according to the occupying people, and their activities.

2- While trying to find the system of relations between the various factors of the site, several main issues appeared:

- For various reasons discussed previously, the lower part of Naqoura has proven with time to be an area of continuous transformation; the train, the port, the Douanne, the United Nations camp, and the commercial urban strip, each lasting for no more than 30 – 50 years.

- All through history, the Naqoura area has depended on economy. It has proven itself to be the Center of commerce for the region (surrounding villages and towns). In the Ottoman era, the economy depended on trade either through the train railway or the port, passing through several phases until the main source for the economy lately was the United Nations camp and the urban development which grew accordingly.

- The flourishing and economy of the site is very sensitive to politics. The rise and death of any economy is directly related to the political circumstances of the entire region and even the world at some points.

- For several factors, the money in the site has its origin coming from outside the site. Origins such as immigrants in foreign countries sending money to their children, costs of goods sold imported to countries outside Lebanon, UN members and Israeli soldiers spending their money in site, which all means a high individual income due to the very low population of the site.

- Such high income in a relatively poor area carries most of the people in the neighboring villages to work in site and thus depend on it. Therefore, we would observe people living as far as Bint Jbeil (35km) away dependent on the economy of Naqoura.

- The site of the United Nations whether chosen by chance, or due to reasons discussed in chapter 2, has proven with time to be the center of all the busy and commercial activities that illustrate lower Naqoura. It has accommodated for the train railway, the Lebanese Douanne, the historical sea surveillance
tower and last the United Nations camp with all that it carries with meanings of economy, work and busy life.

Through observation of the site, I assume that it is passing through one of its major historical transformation instances. Several elements prove such a transformation:

- The starting of the death process of the UN camp with all its social and economical implications.
- The removal of the political situation, which previously announced the area as an informal duty free area.
- The death of the commercial urban development.
- Loss of many people for their work in Naqoura.

I think leaving the village to revive on its own is almost impossible. The destiny will be very similar to any other village in South Lebanon and particularly on the sea. However, it is a pity to lose all this richness of the place, which has accumulated with time. Probably, the reason for the failure or at least the quick transformation of the area, is its dependence on economy and politics which are both very variable and restricted by very particular conditions. However, in such a site these two conditions can never and will never be ignored. Any future practice is dependent on the political and economical situation. Nevertheless, I would like to introduce a third dimension which is moderately fixed in relation to the first two, which has been ignored all the time. That element is nature. Yet, we have to keep in mind that acknowledging the potentials of nature, does not mean that we have to exploit it till it suffers. The cycle of the site has moved from agricultural to commercial. However ignoring the resources and potentials which nature had provided. Consequently, I would propose to continue the cycle with an element which combines agriculture, commerce, nature and politics which is INDUSTRY. Nonetheless, what has previously been called the none-smoke industry of tourism. That industry will be a resemblance of the various factors the site depends on and has lost during the recent phase of liberation. The French soldiers during colonial times and the foreign UN soldiers during the current days will be replaced by foreign tourists from abroad. The port, the railway, the UN camp and the Commercial strip which were a source of living for a large number of people in the site are replaced with that hi-income industry. The strategy of capital, once used by Israelis in the area, may once again be used. However, this time from the Lebanese side in order to prevent outward immigration from the region. Last but not least, we have to acknowledge the position of the area in a critical political situation on the border. Therefore, an act of situating an industry of tourism for a large group of people previously described in chapter 4, may be a continuation of the buffer zone idea. That idea was not the invention of Israel during occupation however, it extends back to the Colonial period. Naqoura area was divided between English and French, and demarcated as a military zone for pure security reasons. Later on, the Lebanese army adopted the idea and declared the whole area as military. And last the Israelis developed the issue into what they called “al shareet il hodoodi” or the buffer zone. Therefore, that industry will be an informal type of buffer zone with Israel. However, many future scenarios
should be taken into consideration. What if the peace process succeeded and the border was opened with Israel? What if Israel reinvaded Lebanon and occupied the South? What if the Lebanese army never took control over the area?

The intervention will be a large size project that caters for tourists from outside the region and Lebanon, with major sea and water activity facilities. The tourists as described in chapter 4 will be as follows in descending order:

1- The organized mass tourists
2- The individual mass tourists
3- The explorers
4 – The drifters

However, the main problematic is to take into consideration these types of users in juxtaposition to the locals who have a different culture of using the beach. Therefore, my proposal for intervention would be the following:

The site of intervention will be the UN camp after removal. There are two possibilities, taken into consideration; either making use of the existing structures of the camp for the intervention, or assuming that most of the structures will be dismantled and thus planning from ground. The intervention will try to accommodate for both type of users; organized types of tourism, which is mainly for foreigners and high income local tourist in addition to the informal type of tourism discussed extensively in chapter 2. So generally speaking the project will be a juxtaposition of proposal 1 and proposal 2.

The most important issues which the project would tackle are:

- Dealing sensitively with nature since it is the main resource for such a project and destroying it will destroy the foundations of such a project.
- Respecting the locals' culture, habits, beliefs etc...
- The possible future scenarios that the project may face, mainly politically speaking.
- Analyzing the funding process of such a project since the land is privately owned (probably dividing the project into phases or smaller parts etc...)  
- Acknowledging the fact that the upper part of the village is relatively conservative, thus an introduction of a sea touristic facility should be studied carefully. (bathing suits, alcoholic drinks, night clubs, mixed swimming between genders etc... )
- Relative position of the site with other touristic sites which might be on the agenda of visiting tourists such as Tyre, Khiam, Bawwabat Fatima, Saida etc...
- The social differences between various users of the project (a lot may be of different cultures, backgrounds, ideologies, classes etc…)
- Respecting the history and culture of the site, which form layers which have developed and accumulated with time.
- Study the possible life span of the project in relation to the political changes. Will the construction be temporary, permanent etc???
- Study the project in terms of job facilities for people from the area.
- Transportation to and from the site. Probably one could make use of new means of transportation such as by boat or even utilize the existing UN helicopter airport for civil touristic use.
- Acknowledging the culture, behind the activity of appropriating the sea, and thus responding to it through the design.
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