Connecting Urban Policy Making and Implementation
Case of Maspero, Cairo, Egypt

A Thesis submitted in the Partial Fulfillment for the Requirement of the Degree of Master of Science in Integrated Urbanism and Sustainable Design

by

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Supervised by

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University of Stuttgart

27/07/2015
In the name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate
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Disclaimer

This dissertation is submitted to Ain Shams University, Faculty of Engineering and University of Stuttgart, Faculty of Architecture and Urban Planning for the degree of Integrated Urbanism and Sustainable Design. The work included in this thesis was carried out by the author in the Year 2015.

The candidate confirms that the work submitted is his own and that appropriate credit has been given where reference has been made to the work of others.

27/07/2015
(MennatuAllah Hendawy)

Signature
هذه الرسالة مقدمة في جامعة عين شمس وجامعة شوتجارت للحصول على درجة العمران المتكامل والتصميم المستدام. إن العمل الذي تقويه هذا الرسالة قد تم إنجازه بمعرفة الباحث...

هذا ويقرر الباحث أن العمل المقدم هو خلاصة بحثه الشخصي وأنه قد اتبع الإسلوب العلمي السليم في الإشارة إلى المواد المؤخوذة من المراجع العلمية كلها في مكانه في مختلف أجزاء الرسالة...

و بهذا إقرار مني بذلك،

التوقيع:

الباحث: مِنّة الله مُحمَّد هنداوي
التاريخ: ٢٧ /٧ /٢٠١٥
ريبط وضع سياسات العمران و التنفيذ
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موافقة مجلس الكلية

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MMDDYYYY
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And my success is not but through Allah. Upon him I have relied, and to Him I return (Holy Quran, 11:88)

This work is a result of endless personal and professional interactions, I apologize for forgetting anyone who contributed directly or indirectly to it.

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In the end, May this work be of benefit to others.

I ask Allah, the most high, the Knower of all, to make this work beneficial for others and me.

*Verily, He is the One who grants success.*

Thank you

ْجزاكم الله خيراً

MennatuAllah
Thesis Abstract

If those in power claim to be concerned with sustainable urban development, then why is the urban condition not improving? What is desired through urban planning decisions/objectives versus what is achieved in reality presents two dependent and interlinking spheres of action. The missing link between policies at the national level and practices in Egypt, triggered this research. This research aims to explore the relationship between urban policy making and implementation in order to identify how a connection can be established. The research is motivated by this ‘how’ question through investigating what happened and is happening in the deteriorated historical inner city area of Maspero in Cairo.

Accordingly, the research follows a qualitative exploratory approach answering the following sub-questions (1) why is it important to connect urban policy making and implementation? (2) What is the relationship between urban policy making and implementation, and what happens in Egypt and Maspero? And (3) what makes urban policies implementable and sustainable? The research is derived by the notion of ‘beneficial knowledge’ in Islam, a cyclic research methodology is adapted to enhance the credibility and deliverability of the research findings. This thesis starts with a general review of worldwide literature leading to conceptual framework, and a suggested model to understand and analyze roles and relationships in urban policies. Afterwards the Egyptian context is studied and the case of Maspero is analyzed. Processes are studied through notions of urban policies, governance and management, while outcomes are evaluated by witnessing the impact of policies in reality; either development or deterioration. In the end, lessons and recommendations are presented leading back to the research goal.

Maspero presented a controversial case, not only that it mirrors different political agendas over time but also, it reflects the struggle of residents to stay in the area no matter what. The relationship and influence of national and local levels on each other, demonstrated the need to revisit the current processes of development, if Maspero is to be taken as a best practice.
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<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CAPMAS</td>
<td>Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GOPP</td>
<td>General Organization for Physical Planning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HBRC</td>
<td>Housing and Building Research Centre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ICESCR</td>
<td>International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ISDF</td>
<td>Informal Settlements Development Facility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IUSD</td>
<td>Integrated Urbanism and Sustainable Design</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MURIS</td>
<td>Ministry of state of Urban Renewal and Informal Settlements</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NUCA</td>
<td>New Urban Communities Authority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NUO</td>
<td>National Urban Observatory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SCAF</td>
<td>Supreme Council of the Armed Forces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SCUPD</td>
<td>Supreme Council of Urban Planning and Development</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Transliteration

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>المعلم النافع</td>
<td>Al- Elm Al Nafe’a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>بولاق</td>
<td>Bulaq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>أبو العلا</td>
<td>Abu Al- Ela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>وقف</td>
<td>Waqf</td>
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</tbody>
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Preface

These beliefs and reflections, among many others, triggered this research.

Scene 1: long time ago, I listened to this Hadith by prophet Mohammed (peace and blessings of Allah be upon him) who said: “When a man dies, all his deeds come to an end except for three – an ongoing charity, beneficial knowledge or a righteous son who will pray for him” (Narrated by Muslim, 1631). At that time the notion of beneficial knowledge affected me, and the idea of being a teacher clicked in my head.

Scene 2: On 25th January 2011, people went out in the streets calling for ‘Bread, Freedom, and Social justice’. We demanded the fall of the regime.

Scene 3: Late 2011, during one of the sessions of “The New Urban Revolution in Greater Cairo” summer school, Prof. Galal Amin (Professor of Economics at the American University in Cairo) said “Those who are interested in development do not have power, and those who have power are not interested in development”. I felt it is true.

Scene 4: March 2013, I have taken the responsibility to be a part of the academic staff of Ain Shams University, and so, transferring knowledge to the coming generations had become an important element in my life.

Scene 5: late 2014, Dr Mostafa Madbouly (Minister of Ministry of Housing at that time) reflected in his speech during the Responsive urbanism conference in Cairo, on the gap between theory and practice, and the importance of bridging it. I was surprised to find out that politicians have similar notions like academia.

*If we are asked to pursue and produce beneficial knowledge then why there are claims about the disconnection of theory and practice?*

*If those in power, sometimes, share common interests with people/academics, then where is the problem?*
To those who are interested in development, and have power
Cover

Source: Author, 3d of Maspero from MADD, 2014

XXV
CHAPTER ONE

Introduction and Methodology
1.1 Triggers and driving notions

Urban planning is a connecting discipline which reflects and links to reality. This makes it in the center of the discussion as an intersecting sphere dealing with dichotomies like: policy making versus implementation, theory versus practice, and objectives versus reality.

What is desired through planning decisions versus what is achieved in reality presents two dependent and interlinking spheres of action. There is a wide spectrum between perceiving urban planning as a purely results oriented practice, to a completely process-led tool of development (Hamrouni, 2013). Although, there is a consensus regarding the strong connection between the planning process and outcomes in reality, literature had focused on either processes or outcomes, the interlinking relationship between them is not documented. This thesis attempts to fill this gap.

Meanwhile, we are living at a time where more than 50 % of the world’s population are living in cities (United Nations Human Settlements Programme, 2014). Cities become both, the center of prosperity as well as the cause of problems. This reveals a growing demand for prepared planning, coordination and urban management (ibid). Managing the process of urbanization becomes accordingly at the center of planning for the majority of the world\(^6\). The lack of efficient management of urbanization has already resulted in many urban problems, for instance: deterioration, informality, insufficient services, poor transport systems are some of the symptoms observed in reality.

By taking the increased urbanization process as a phenomenon that needs to be tamed, in addition to recognizing the importance of both, outcomes and processes, urban planning moves from an approach of intervention, to a tool of integration. Processes are studied through notions of urban policies, governance and management, while outcomes are evaluated by witnessing the impact of policies in reality; either development or deterioration.
Cairo as an uncontrolled mega city (Sims, 2012) makes me wonder how it evolved. In this manner, urban development is pursued through one of two scenarios; scenario 1 works on developing the existing situation, Scenario 2 directs efforts towards new areas. The former presents a ‘fix it’ approach, while the later reflects a ‘throw it’ approach. This research revolves around the first approach by focusing on the redevelopment of deteriorated inner city area of Maspero in Cairo. From this premise, Maspero is selected because of its urban conditions (deteriorated) and the urgency of its situation (an ongoing project).

1.2 Field of Inquiry and Research Topic
As a part of the integrated Master program - Integrated Urbanism and Sustainable Design (IUSD) - this thesis tackles the field of urban planning through an inter and cross-disciplinary approach. According to Jensenius (2012), Interdisciplinary means “integrating knowledge and methods from different disciplines, using a real synthesis of approaches” and Cross disciplinary refers to “viewing one discipline from the perspective of another” (Jensenius, 2012) based on (MarilynStember, 1991; Abernethy, et al., 2005).

In this research urban policies are explored through spheres of urban planning, public policy, governance and management. Urban planning is a multidisciplinary field by nature (Fainstein & Campbell, 2012; Friedmann, 2008), public policy originates in political science literature (Wolman, 1999), governance relates to politics, economics, and international relations (Crespo & Cabral, 2010), and management belongs to different sciences. An urban lens is used to study the connection between the mentioned disciplines, as well as the connection between decisions/institutions and reality.
1.2.1 Title breakdown

The title of the thesis attempts to describe all the research. ‘Connecting urban policy making and implementation’.

Initially the word bridging was used instead of connecting, despite the massive literature that refers to bridging the gap between policies and practices, this research aims to go beyond bridging this gap towards connecting or linking both spheres through creating an effective chain which takes from policy making to implementation and vice versa, this is proclaimed as the processes between both.

The concept of –process is not used here in one of its two common meanings: –change of a phenomenon over time!, but in the meaning of a conversion process, [...] A conversion process is not a change of a phenomenon, but something that forms the relationship between phenomena (Bressers & de Boer, 2011, p. 60).

The word urban presents the perspective of the research. The different disciplines included in the research are filtered through an urban lens. This urban lens is used to practicalize the research topic and connect it with reality, where the outcomes on the urban environment reflect the policy direction inside institutions. Despite the lack of consensus of what is meant by urban, which will be referred to later in chapter two, it is used in its simplest form as a city or town with high population density and industry based economy.

Policy refers to the political direction of the studied context reflecting “what is to be done and how” (Nakamura, 1987, p. 145). In this respect, policy making refers to policy decisions and agendas inside the concerned political institutions (typically through central government), while implementation is the transfer of policies to practices (typically through local government) (Figure 1. 1).

The thesis title summarizes the research problem, goal and questions as illustrated in the next part.
Figure 1. Thesis title breakdown
Source: Author, based on the conceptual framework in chapter 2
1.3 Research scope and context

In most cases, a political will is a key success factor for sustained development. This makes the role of national urban policies a driving force and main pillar for urban development. At the same time, practices in the local level reflect the effectiveness of higher levels policies in reality.

Accordingly, the research studies both national and local levels. The national level is studied through understanding national policies of urban development in Egypt. The local level is reached through tracking what is happening in the case study of Maspero (Figure 1.2).

Maspero is a reflection and a consequence of the national urban policies in Egypt. It gives an indication of the urban planning approach adopted in the country (especially regarding cases of deteriorated historical areas in Cairo). Further details regarding the selection of Maspero are presented in chapter four.

Figure 1.2 Research scope and context
Source: Author
1.4 Research problem
The research addresses the problem of the *disconnection between urban policy making and implementation in Egypt*. In spite of the presence of many strategies and plans in the country, they are not implemented in reality (Matsunaga & Magdy, 2015; Sakamoto, 2013). This is addressed by analyzing the case of Maspero over time.

1.5 Research goal and corresponding Research questions
This thesis aims to contribute to the worldwide literature about urban policies in general, and to Egypt in particular. It also intends to contribute to the adopted research methodologies through integrating the Islamic notion of beneficial knowledge as a main premise to connect this research with reality.

The research goal is to *explore the relationship between urban policy making and implementation in Egypt in order to identify how a connection can be established*. To reach this goal, several secondary issues were addressed to reach a wider understanding of the research topic including: urban policies, the policy process, governance, management, urbanisation, and sustainable urban development. Issues were tackled globally and in Egypt. In the end the case of Maspero provides the empirical insight.

Accordingly, the thesis answers the following questions:

- **Main Question**
  - How to connect urban policy making and implementation in Egypt/Maspero?

- **Secondary Questions**
  - Why is it important to connect urban policy making and implementation?
  - What is the relationship between urban policy making and implementation, and what happens in Egypt and Maspero?
  - What makes urban policies implementable and sustainable?

Figure 1. 3 illustrated the research problem, goal and questions.
Figure 1.3 Research problem, goal and corresponding questions
Source: Author
1.6 Research journey:

I do not separate my scientific inquiry from my life. For me it is really a quest for life, to understand life and to create what I call living knowledge—knowledge which is valid for the people with whom I work and for myself” (quoted by Marja Liisa Swantz in (Reason & Bradbury-Huang, 2005, p. 1)).

1.6.1 Research approach

أو عِـلْـمٌ يُـنْـتَـفَـعُ بـه

“Or beneficial knowledge”

I am influenced by the notion of ‘al-‘ilm al-nafi’ -‘العلم النافع’ in Islam, which is translated to beneficial knowledge in English. However, the word ‘ilm’ in Arabic refers to a broader meaning than its English translation to the word ‘knowledge’ in English. According to Akhtar (n.d) “it is an all-embracing term covering theory, action and education”, however knowledge is focused only on information (Akhtar, n.d.). While, the word ‘nafi’ implies the importance of studying and practicing knowledge that benefits and is useful (Owais, 2011).

The notion of beneficial knowledge:

features prominently in the sayings and teachings of the Prophet Muhammad (Peace and blessing of Allah be upon him), contemplates the end-result of knowledge and advocates utilitarian knowledge that contributes to human welfare, in preference to that which may have doubtful consequences (Kamali, 2003, p. 7)

The research methodology (linking research with reality), and topic (connecting policy making and implementation) are taken as a reflection to the notion of beneficial knowledge.

Beneficial knowledge is a main drive for me to learn and practice urban planning. Bridging the gap between research and reality is accordingly a main value to pursue during this research. Since, “The [research] question is not just about What, Where, When or Why but more about How” (Khalil, 2014, p. 15), hence, this research is a journey to explore what is beyond the status quo, what resulted in it, and what initiated it. By perceiving this research as a journey not a
destination, mutual learning had been the essence behind it. Maspero being a controversial case and currently under the spot of development, fulfills this aim.

By keeping in mind that mutual learning is one of the research intentions, this research fall under Mode 2 of knowledge production, developed by Gibbons et al (1994) in their book “The new production of knowledge: the dynamics of science and research in contemporary societies”. This mode emphasize on the need for communication and participation for producing knowledge, which emerged from the “enhanced social accountability” that inginted demand for two way communication between science and societies (Gibbons, et al., 1994). Gibbons et all (1994) stated “Traditionally, communication between science and society was essentially one-way; scientists were the holders of privileged expert knowledge, while the lay public was to be enlightened and educated” (Gibbons, et al., 1994, p. 36). While, at the time being:

communication between research and society increasingly takes the form of diffusion processes that carry scientific and technological knowledge into society while norms and expectations held by different institutions and communities are brought home more forcefully to the research communities (Gibbons, et al., 1994, p. 38)

This describes the mode of this research.

Furthermore, different interpretations for the ‘beneficial knowledge’ notion emphasized on the strong connection between acquiring knowledge and taking action (Owais, 2011; Al-Khateeb, n.d.; Alghazaly, n.d.). The importance of translating scientific knowledge into action in reality is also referred to in science by Graham et al (2006) in their paper ‘Lost in knowledge translation: Time for a map?’ (Graham, et al., 2006). The methodology and tools adopted in this research for this purpose are presented in the next part.
1.6.2 Research methodology

So how knowledge is gained? Based on the Holy Quran, Kamali (2003) stated:

Knowledge is gained through observation and experimentation backed by reflection, as in the following verses: Say: Travel in the earth and see how He made the first creation (Q. 29: 20). Have they not travelled in the land so that they should have hearts with which to understand? (Q. 22: 46). The first part of these verses refers to observation, and the second part to the use of reason, reflection and understanding (Kamali, 2003).

Keeping the notion of beneficial knowledge in mind, I was derived to drift from the conventional linear research process towards a cyclic one. Wadsworth (1998) discussed the difference between both processes in relevance to the action research methodology (Figure 1.4).

![Figure 1.4 Conventional research cycle versus cyclic research cycle](Source: Wadsworth, 1998)

Hence, by adding the values of seeking knowledge in the Holy Quran, and the principles of beneficial knowledge found in the Hadith of the prophet Muhammed (Peace and blessings of Allah be upon him), which are interpreted by Owais (2011), Al-Khateeab (n.d) and Alghazaly (n.d), to the cycle of Wadsworth (1998), the methodology of this research is created (Figure 1.5).

For the purpose of beneficial knowledge, the cyclic process intend to link research and reality. Findings, and recommendations are reviewed and revised with key actors through repeating some of the interviews, and organizing a roundtable for discussion. This is done to verify the research findings, increase the research quality/credibility and to disseminate the research recommendations, hoping that this alters the current process in Maspero. Thus, the research involves three
phases: (1) data collection (2) validation of research findings (3) delivering research recommendations (Figure 1.5).

Multiple methods were used for data collection in phase one and two (Figure 1.6), this is to ensure a wider understanding of the topic and to enhance the reliability, triangulation and validation of data (Yin, 1989; Ritchie & Lewis, 2003). Primary data is collected from interviews with these actors and observations through field visits, while secondary data is collected in parallel to literature review through previous studies, reports, books, TV talks, and articles. Diagrams and visuals are used to present and analyze the collected data based on the literature review in chapter two.
The research targets four main groups; policymakers (central government), policy implementers (local government), those working on the process (activists), and those influenced by policies in reality (community residents’). During each phase actors from different target groups are interviewed (21 person interviewed, phase one: 12 interviews, phase two: 12 interviews and roundtable discussion) (Figure 1.6).

Figure 1.6 Methods of data collection and target groups
Source: Author (data collection based on (Kumar, 2014))

The validation of research findings is carried out through repeating the interviews, and organizing a round table discussion in the university. The deliverability of research findings could take place through one of the following alternatives, article, blog, booklet, or guidebook, which should be communicated to the different actors.

As the research focus on contemporary events and revolves around ‘how’ and ‘why’ questions, with little control over behavioral events, a case study methodology is used (Yin, 1989). According to Schramm (1971) “The essence of a
case study, [...], is that it tries to illuminate a decision or set of decisions: why they were taken, how they were implemented, and with what result” (Schramm, 1971) in (Yin, 1989, p. 12). Accordingly, this research is qualitative and explanatory (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003). The case of Maspero is studied for the empirical inquiry and backed up with theoretical review to investigate the relationship between urban policy making and implementation.

1.6.3 Thesis structure

Figure 1.7 illustrates the development of the research topic from an idea, passing through understanding the topic, developing the conceptual approach and analytical diagrams, then focusing on the context of Egypt, analyzing the case of Maspero, and in the end extracting lessons and suggesting recommendations.

The thesis is structured accordingly, chapter 1 presents the introduction and methodology of the research. Chapter 2 focuses on the worldwide literature of the studied issues, based on this a framework and theoretical understanding for urban policies are developed. Chapter 3 focuses on exploring urban policies in the Egyptian context. Afterwards the empirical investigations through observations and documentation of the status quo in the Maspero is documented in chapter 4 and analyzed in chapter 5. In the end, recommendations and conclusions are stated in chapter 6.
Figure 1.7 Research process and major research outline
Source: Author
1.7 **Research Relevance**

The research topic is relevant to the current global and Egyptian urban debates. It is relevant from different dimensions: time, political, societal, scientific, and methodological as presented below.

- **Time and political Relevance**
  - More than half of the population worldwide are living in urban areas, and its increasing (United Nations Human Settlements Programme, 2014; Lange, 2009).
  - The international interest in studying national urban policies (United Nations Human Settlements Programme, 2014).
  - The formation of the Ministry of state of Urban Renewal and Informal settlements (MURIS) in Egypt, in June 2014, and the willingness to develop informal areas in the country.
  - The current presence of a strong political will to develop Maspero.

- **Societal Relevance**
  - Although, various policies and plans were developed globally, and in Egypt to tackle challenges of urbanization, informality and deterioration continued to accelerate dramatically. This calls for quick and practical solutions.
  - As this thesis aims to connect urban policy making and implementation, this research could therefore form a positive contribution to the (formal and informal) Egyptian society.
  - The research topic tackles issues related to the majority of the world.

- **Scientific / Academic Relevance**
  - The multidisciplinary perspective of this research does not only comply with the core of the IUSD master program, but is also aligned with the global research direction towards integration of issues and fields (Mode 2 of knowledge production (Gibbons, et al., 1994)).
  - Although many researches tackled urban policy and community needs, little attention is given to the interaction between them.
There is a claimed consensus that urban policies should be reflected in reality, however, literature lacks to address how this can be achievedvi. By adopting a cyclic research approach, both, the outcomes and methodology of the research can be used for drawing out lessons for the future. The critical topic of this thesis; studying urban policies in Egypt adds to the body of knowledge.

- **Methodological relevance**
  - Scientifically, the notion of beneficial knowledge in Islam can be an added value to link research and reality, this also contributes to the body of knowledge.
  - By referring to the link between research and reality through promoting beneficial knowledge. The chosen research topic and scope is one with a strong transformative character. It aims to contribute to the current ongoing project of Maspero.
  - The actors involved are perceived as participants not as research subjects, which supports the ethics and values of the research.
  - Recommendations are developed with them and by them, not as an imposed steps by the researcher.
"The majority world is a term used in preference to the largely inaccurate, out-of-date and or non-descriptive terms as developing countries, third world and the south". The term was introduced by Rahul Mehrotra at "Connect Ideas – Maximize Impact" symposium in 2012 (Transsolar, 2015).

Similar concept is used by Geurts (2014) in which he represents the relationship between policy making and implementation as a pendulum, this is referred to in Chapter 2.

“When a man dies, all his deeds come to an end except for three – an ongoing charity, beneficial knowledge or a righteous son who will pray for him” Hadith by prophet Mohammed (peace and blessings of Allah be upon him) (Narrated by Muslim, 1631).

Gibbons et al differentiated between two modes of knowledge, mode 1 (traditional) and mode 2 (new). “Mode 1 [is] generated within a disciplinary, primarily cognitive, context, Mode 2 knowledge is created in broader, transdisciplinary social and economic contexts” (Gibbons, et al., 1994, p. 1). Mode 2 is derived from Mode 1.

The third United Nations Conference on Housing and Sustainable Urban Development (Habitat III) is issuing in 2016 the New Urban Agenda, in which national urban policies are given great attention as an essential element that connects policy processes and implementation (United Nations Human Settlements Programme, 2014)

According to Wolman (1999), more literature is needed about urban policy and urban policy process in political science (Wolman, 1999). This is also observed in the field of urban planning, where the influence of policies and processes on development and decisions are given little attention (Geurts, 2014). Accordingly, this thesis contributes to the debate of addressing local needs at policy level.
CHAPTER TWO
Theoretical Understanding of Urban Policies

*Actions speak louder than words*
Given the field of enquiry of this thesis, and its primary aim of focusing on (1) urban policies, and (2) the connection between policy making and implementation. This chapter starts by defining what is meant by ‘urban’ ‘policies’ and ‘urban policies’, afterwards the policy process is described general, showing the different approaches for it and the adopted model as the base for this research; the stages heuristic model.

The stages model then links to the next part - the dimensions of policies: ‘making’, ‘implementation’ and ‘implications’, which is the focus of this thesis. The relationship between those three domains is discussed afterwards, and the parameters affecting urban policies are demonstrated, reflecting the importance of context, time, and actors. Following this, policy functions are illustrated in terms of governance, management and the influence on urban conditions. Eventually, a theoretical understanding for the relationship between policy making and implementation is presented elaborating the idealistic relationship between the domains of the research.

Based on the literature introduced in this chapter, a conceptual framework is proposed in the end to direct the rest of the research by dividing it into four aspects: policy making, policy implementation, implications and the processes connecting them.

This chapter does not only aim to cite the various discussions through reviewing literature, but also aims to provide a solid ground for the next chapters. Hence, the proposed theoretical illustration and conceptual framework will act as a base for further discussions in the next three chapters, linking back to the research questions and goal presented in chapter one.
2.1 What Makes a Policy an “Urban” Policy?

In the beginning, it is important to define what is meant by urban and what is referred to with policy. Starting with the word urban, in the past it was easy to recognise urban areas because of its clear geographic, social and economic characteristics. Nevertheless, currently literature refers to the urban/rural dichotomy and to the problems of clearly distinguishing both (Llieodoropoulos, 1999). In general, urban could refer to a central city, or metropolitan areas (cities and suburbs), or all the non-rural areas or any urban place (Wolman, 1999). Such wide range of associations to the word urban, results in a lack of a generally accepted definition of what is ‘urban’. When it comes to policy, according to William Jenkins (1978):

> A set of interrelated decisions taken by a political actor or group of actors concerning the selection of goals and the means of achieving them within a specified situation where these decisions should, in principle, be within the power of these actors to achieve (Jenkins, 1978, p. xx)

For the purpose of this research, implicit meanings behind policies are of a major concern. Hence, definitions of policy that presents it through an action driven process, are the definitions adopted. For instance, policy is defined by Peter Guy (1993) as “the sum of government activities, whether acting directly or through agents, as it has an influence on the lives of citizens” (Guy, 1993, p. 4) in (Wolman, 1999).

So what is meant by urban policy? Urban policy is considered a subsystem of policy studies in political science (Wolman, 1999). “Urban policy as a general term is about the activities of government in urban areas” (Blackman, 2003, p. 12). An expanded definition would involve not only explicit policies that are directly related to urban areas, but also, the implicit meaning behind it involving all policies that have direct or indirect impact on urban areas. This reflects “geographic (city)”, as well as “functional dimensions (urban development)” that have to be included in defining urban policies (Wolman, 1999, p. 27; Cleveland, 1969).
At the end of 1960s and early 1970s, political scientists gave a lot of attention to studies of national urban polices (Cleveland, 1969; Savitch, 1979; Farkas, 1971; Wolman, 1971; Haider, 1974) in (Wolman, 1999). Up to the 1990s, urban policy referred to issues in big cities. Meanwhile, it is essential to think of what does urban mean in a broader sense. It is therefore important to think beyond the definitions that refer only to living in cities. The broad geographical and topical meaning of what is referred to as urban today consequently changes the definition of urban policies (Turner, 2011).

In the past 20 years, studies of political science focused more on public policies, while ignoring urban policies. Such decreased attention to urban policy in research and academia might be an indicator of the limited attention given to urban policies in the policy agenda in reality (Wolman, 1999).

Urban policies are highly influenced by a state’s policy (policy making), as well as the urban issues in a certain context (policy implementation). Government ideologies have a direct influence on the policies adopted and implemented, in the same way as the issues in reality highly affect the policies adopted (Blackman, 2003; Wolman, 1999). Thus, what makes a policy, an urban policy is simply the context and issues studied, which are to related to urban matters (Sapotiche, 2010; Wolman, 1999), this frames the direction of this research.
## 2.2 The policy process

There were different attempts to define and understand the policy process through various models, theories, and frameworks, which in the end complement one another resulting in a wider understanding and interpretation of the policy process. Some of these approaches focused on the stages or the aspects of the policy process, while others studied the policy implications, analysed the processes within, or targeted the involved actors (Burton, 2006).

Looking at the different approaches collectively provides a holistic insight towards reality (Burton, 2006). Table 2.1 shows some of the different models.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Model Type</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a) The heuristic stages model</td>
<td>Developed over time, starting from Laswell in 1956, Emphasize on the cyclic nature of the policy process (Sabatier, 2007; McDonald, et al., 2010; Burton, 2006)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) The systematic model</td>
<td>Developed in 1960s, foster the linearity of the process (McDonald, et al., 2010)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) The rational/comprehensive model</td>
<td>It takes a theoretical, comprehensive, and rational approach towards decision making (Lindblom, 1959; McDonald, et al., 2010)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(d) The bounded rationality model</td>
<td>Developed by H.A. Simon 1957, it admits the absence of completely rational decisions, However, it also assumes that the people involved in the process are as rational as possible, but up to certain bounds (skills, resources, etc.) (Selten, 1999)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(e) The institutional rational choice framework</td>
<td>It’s a group of frameworks, originally developed by Kiser and Ostrom in 1982, it concentrates on the institutional processes itself (Ostrom, 2007; Sabatier, 2007)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(f) The incrementalism model</td>
<td>Focuses on the knowledge of the people involved in policy making, it assumes that knowledge is generated based on previous experiences without paying much attention to new information (Sabatier, 2007; McDonald, et al., 2010)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(g) The punctuated equilibrium framework</td>
<td>Originally developed by Baumgartner and Jones (1993), then broaden by Jones, Baumgartner, and True in1998. it perceives the policy process as a stable one, that could be altered by major shifts in government or public opinion (Sabatier, 2007)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(h) The multiple streams model</td>
<td>Developed by John Kingdon in 1984, it combines the politics, policy and problems streams to create</td>
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Table 2.1 Approaches to the policy process

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<tr>
<td>(i) The advocacy coalitions model and the policy networks model</td>
<td>Developed by Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (1988, 1993), it refers to the various actors operating within the policy process, as well as the power of advocacy groups, it also shows the reasons behind policy changes, as well as how it changes over time (Sabatier, 2007; McDonald, et al., 2010; Burton, 2006)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All these models, among others, represent various attempts to identify policies and its processes. However, such approaches do not mean to provide expectations or rigid outlines about the policy process. Rather, they are meant to act as tools for understanding and tracing how policy is made (McDonald, et al., 2010). Consequently, such theories, models and frameworks can be used for developing strategies that connect policy making and implementation.

The stages heuristic model is considered the most famous, as well as criticised model of the policy process (Althaus, et al., 2007; Howlett, et al., 2009) in (McDonald, et al., 2010). Given the topic of this research, connecting urban policy making and implementation, the stages heuristic model formulates the bases of the research topic and title, as it separates and links policy making and implementation as two stages in the heuristic cycle in a simple way. In addition, it provides a process oriented conceptual framework of the policy process, which is aligned with the nature of this research (urban planning through a process led approach), thus the stages model is used to set “research boundaries” (Rissmiller, 2000, p. 6).

The stages heuristic model (Figure 2.1) developed over time “by Lasswell (1956), Jones (1970), Anderson (1975), and Brewer and deLeon (1983)” (Sabatier, 2007, p. 6) as an approach to analyse policies by observing the policy process as a series of stages (ibid). Hence, the model provides an analytical approach for the policy process (Burton, 2006).
According to the stages heuristic model, policy processes start by setting the agenda with defining issues and problems, which then formulates the policies to be pursued. The adopted policies shall afterwards be implemented in reality, and subjected for later evaluation to revise the cycle (McDonald, et al., 2010; Sabatier, 2007). There are different interpretations for the stages of the policy process, some literature refer to it as a five stage model, while others over simplify it to only four stages. In general, the policy process involves four phases: “initiation, formulation, implementation and evaluation” (Geurts, 2014, p. 7).

In spite of the prominence of the stages heuristic model, starting from the late 1980s different critiques appeared by “Nakamura 1987; Sabatier 1991; Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith 1993” (Sabatier, 2007, p. 7). The model is criticised for its simplicity and generality, as it does not explain each stage in detail. In addition to that, while some critiques referred to the unpracticality of the sequential nature of the cycle, others questioned the sequence itself (Burton, 2006; Sabatier, 2007; Nakamura, 1987; Rissmiller, 2000). Moreover, others criticised the scope of the cycle as it is limited to the implementation of major legalisations only, while ignoring the interactions of different actions/projects at the same time (Sabatier, 1986; Hjern & Hull, 1982) in (Sabatier, 2007). All these critiques show why there are new calls to replace or improve the stages heuristic model. However, further literature worked on explaining the cycle stages. Therefore, the stages heuristic model is still valid as a straightforward way for advising policy makers, as well as, organising and understanding policy making.

Figure 2.1 – Policy Process
Source: Author based on (McDonald, et al., 2010; Burton, 2006; Sabatier, 2007; Geurts, 2014)
2.3 Policy dimensions: making, implementation, and implication

Policy has a strong impact on every aspect of our lives (Torjman, 2005). Referring back again to the definition of policy by Jenkins (1978), it is clear that policy is highly linked to making long term decision, and taking action by embodying these decisions in legislations (Sandford, 1984). This is also demonstrated in different literature, which aimed at defining and simplifying the complex notion of policy, and in turn policy making. Government goals, actions, and intentions, are therefore the defining aspects of policy (Torjman, 2005; Geurts, 2014). At the same time, the general policy cycle presented earlier, also emphasize the importance of actions to the policy process, where policy implementation is one of the stages of the process.

According to Thei Geurts (2014) “The process of policy making is characterized by the coexistence of a political and a production dimension and the interaction between the elements in these dimensions” (Geurts, 2014, p. 6). Interactions include the actors, and decision making processes involved. The reason behind defining the urban policy process through relating policy formulation/making and policy implementations is the likelihood of policy to turn intentions or decisions into practices or regulations in reality (Geurts, 2014). According to Geurts (2014):

The difference between policy formulation and policy implementation is that policy formulation addresses the ‘what’ and the ‘why’, whereas policy implementation regulates the ‘what’, the ‘how’, the ‘where’, the ‘who’ and the ‘when’. Formulated policy objectives may be expressed and formulized as policy statements, programs or projects aimed at solving a problem or at fostering progress in a society. Policy implementations may be expressed and formulized as laws, procedures, protocols, directives or budgetary actions, for example. (Geurts, 2014, p. 8).

This formulates the two interconnected spheres of this research: policy making and implementation, and the main purpose of connecting them, with a special attention given to ‘urban’ policies.

Referring back again to the challenges in defining policy, urban, and urban policies, the same challenge is present in understanding what is meant by policy
making/formulation and implementation. It is debatable, According to Nakamura (1978):

when [...] does policymaking end and implementation begin? For some, policies have their essential characteristics at the outset of a process, and implementation is what occurs afterward (Sabatier, 1985). For others, the final effective shape of a policy is defined as it is carried out by the level of officialdom in direct contact with citizens (Lipsky, 1978). Finally, incrementalists see policy making as a continuous process reactive to, but separate from, the carrying out of an earlier version of the policies being changed (Lindblom, 1959) (Lindblom, 1968) (Nakamura, 1987, p. 145)

To cover the gaps of these definitions a third term is added for the purpose of this research; policy implication, referring to the influence of policies in reality, or in other words practices on the ground (Mekawy & Yousry, 2012). Hence, policy making and implementation are assumed to happen inside institutions, where policy making refers to formulation of policies on the national level, while, “implementation is the process in which the legitimized policies put into action” (Gültekin, 2014, p. 46; Sandford, 1984). while the implications are what is observed in reality; either development or deterioration (Figure 2.2).

Figure 2.2 shows that policy making and implementation takes place inside institutions while policy implications are what is seen in reality. This manifests is a strong relationship between what happens inside urban institutions and planning in reality. Not only the impact of institutional design on planning, but also the impact of planning on institutions is referred to in literature. Inam (2002) mentioned that “Both planning institutions and the urban development they attempt to shape have long-term effects; and both affect each other. On the one hand, planning institutions can influence both the level and pace of urban development; on the other hand, urban development can and frequently does trigger institutional change”. This relationship is perceived as both, constrain and potential (Inam, 2002). It can also be a one way (top-down or bottom up) one or two way process.
Figure 2.2 Policy dimensions and terms used in the research
Source: Author
2.4  Parameters of urban policies: context, time, and actors

By moving away from physical planning towards process led one the scope of planning had widened. The actors’ typology had broaden, as well as the tools and approaches adopted and a wider topic had become in focus to achieve strategic development (Hamhaber, 2012; Hamrouni, 2013). In order to understand what

is happening in reality, several parameters are important to be defined and understood. This includes who are involved the decision making process (actors), how they interact, where, and when (Figure 2. 3).

In general, national/central governments, Local governments and market economy, all influence urban policies (Wolman, 1999). Accordingly, in order to understand what urban policy is in a specific context, it becomes important to look at the history of state’s intervention in urban areas, this can also be understood through understanding the role of central and local governments.

On one side, national governments play a key role in framing efficient institutional process which deal with future challenges (UN-Habitat, 2012; Turok & Parnell, 2009; Parnell & Simon, 2014) in (United Nations Human Settlements Programme, 2014). They are responsible for developing legal frameworks (Napier, et al., 2014), promoting additional financial instruments (UN-Habitat,
2012; UN-Habitat, 2013), and strengthening local governments and the technical capabilities of city authorities in planning and management (Smit & Pieterse, 2014) in (United Nations Human Settlements Programme, 2014). Plans and budgets should be aligned accordingly to ensure the implementability of national urban policies (United Nations Human Settlements Programme, 2014). On the other side, local government’s role is observed on the local level through the implemented actions. It is responsible for elaborating strategies, providing services, and executing regulations (World Bank, 2001). In this respect, the role of central governments remain important in policy making, and financial control through the ministries (especially in centralised contexts), while local government become responsible for policy implementation. The implications of decisions by central and local governments affect positively or negatively the community/citizens in a certain context. In some cases, the inhabitants, planners, and Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) can form public pressure to push polices in a certain direction (MADD, 2014) (please refer to Figure 2. 5).
2.5 Policy functions: governance and management, and their influence on urban conditions

On one side, policy makers govern a country’s affairs through a single government or a networked governance system. Governance refer to controlling a country’s affairs at different levels (Local, regional, global) or contexts (urban, rural) and by different formal and informal institutions (governmental and non-governmental NGOs) like for example: the state, the private sector, the civil society, or any institution that is of people’s interest. Accordingly, the roles of involved actors are redefined, where the government’s role is weakened by the presence of other actors, and the civil society becomes a social mobiliser and political facilitator (UNESCAP, 2009; The Commission on Global Governance, n.d.; UNDP, n.d.). This wider involvement of actors (particularly the presence of civil society) is what distinguish governance from government (McCarney, et al., 1995).

Governance initially aimed at enhancing the processes and relations in the national level, now it is integrated and promoted to all levels. (Lange, 2009). The studied level (UNESCAP, 2009) and context defines the actors involved in the development process. Although all levels are interlinked, urban governance takes place at the city (local) level (Lange, 2009). Figure 2. 4 Illustrates the actors and institutions in urban governance.
On the other side, decisions at higher levels are translated to reality through effective management. Management refers to “the process that ensures the goals of an organization are achieved and resources are used efficiently and effectively” (World Bank, 2001). It represent the link between policy making and implementation. Hence, “Urban management is defined as a set of instruments, activities, tasks and functions that assures that a city can function” (Sirry, 2003) in (Acioly, 1999). It is about “how decisions are put into action”. It is about the reflection of objectives in reality (Afify & Okba, n.d.). When it comes to policies, both, governance and management are not the realm of urban politics, but they represent the connection as well as the distinction between policy making and implementation (Bačlija, 2010).
Consequently, central governments take a new role as enablers and supporters, opposing the previous directive one (Mumtaz & Wegelin, 2001). While,

Local government performs both governance and management roles. The local government administration develops its strategies and policies based on this direction for the city (usually determined by the political arm). The management role of local government thus lies in the service delivery and enforcement of regulations (World Bank, 2001).

All of this highlights their role in connecting urban policy making and implementation. Hence, urban policies are controlled by central governments, and administrated by regional and local offices (Blackman, 2003). This might result in a slowed down decision making process (United Nations Human Settlements Programme, 2014).

When it comes to urban planning, according to Salheen and El Khateeb (2012), there are different levels of planning: policy, plans, programs, and projects (Salheen & El Khateeb, 2012). In addition two more levels are explored in order to understand processes of urban development through a practical lens (‘politics’ and ‘practices’ are added to policy, plans, programs, projects). The ‘politics’ levels reflects the intentions and agendas of political leaders, resembling the political direction (Hallsworth, et al., 2011), while ‘practices’ refer to what happens on the ground.

This categorisation could be taken as the translation of policies inside institutions into practices in reality. Hence, it is concluded from the literature presented that policy making happens at politics and policy levels, processes occur at the levels working on plans and program, and policy implementation takes place on the project level. By adding the consequences of policies as a third domain to this research, ‘practices’ become the fifth level, which reflects policy implication. Accordingly, a relationship can be established between policy levels (policy making and implementation), governance levels (strategic, tactical and operational), planning levels (policy, plans, programs, projects and practice) and corresponding actors (Figure 2. 5). This demonstrates the research terms from policy, governance, management, planning and the corresponding actors.
Governance takes place at higher levels (policy making), where national policies are a result of it (Crespo & Cabral, 2010). Management in turn is the decision making processes at lower levels, which leads to policy implementation. Accordingly, it is interpreted within the previous analysis that in an urban context, urban actors aim to put policy into practice through integrating social and political groups and interests towards a shared vision for urban development (Figure 2.5).

Accordingly, the urban conditions observed in reality (policy implications) are a result and reflection of how a country is governed and managed. Figure 2.6 demonstrates the relationship between urban governance, urban management and urban development, as well as, the two-way influence of planning on institutions and vice versa. Furthermore, it illustrates the importance of urban
governance and management to achieve urban development (United Nations Human Settlements Programme, 2014). In an ideal situation, good governance and efficient urban management result in urban development.

Figure 2. 6 Relationship between policy and practice (Author)
2.6 Theoretical relationship between urban policy making and implementation: ideal situation

The literature presented in this chapter demonstrates the complex relations between policies and urban contexts. Accordingly, an analytical grid is proposed as a simple tool to understand policy making, implementation and the processes behind in a specific context.

The grid is inspired by and based on the literature about urban policies, governance, and management, linking them with the concept of transition management, multi-level approach to governance for sustainable development, developed by Kemp & Loorbach (2003), Loorback (n.d.), Loorback (2010), concept of tiering n strategic actions (planning levels) that is based on Arts, el al. (2005) and Salheen & El Khateeb (2012), and the levels of authority and action developed by Borham (2012). The grid combines the parameters of urban policies (actors, context and time as a 4th dimension) with planning, policy, and governance levels.

The grid is an attempt to simplify the complex reality of urban policies, governance and management. It is flexible and functional at the same time, where spatial, functional, political dimensions represent its core. At the same time, it is context, sector and time specific. They form the basis of the analysis. Depending on the context of study, actors, and problems, solutions are framed. In the next chapters, this grid will be used in exploring the relationship between policy making and implementation both in Egypt and Maspero.

In theory, policies, plans, programs and projects have to be interconnected forming a feedback loop/cyclic process between upper and lower levels. Policies happen at the policy making, plans and programs takes place at the middle tier, while projects occur at lower levels. This provides an abstract understanding for the planning process in general, and the dependency of those elements on each other in particular (Figure 2.7).
Figure 2. The ideal/theoretical interpretation of the relationship between policy making and implementation (time and context specific)
Source: Author, grid based on (Borham, 2012) and graphics inspired by (Samir, et al., 2014)
2.7 Conceptual framework

This conceptual framework is developed based on the research topic and aim. In addition, literature about urban policies, and the stages heuristic model of the policy process refined the framework.

The main idea of the proposed concept is to not only focus on the cycle of the stages heuristic model, but also to identify the elements within it, and more importantly, the relations between them (Figure 2.8). Accordingly, the framework fragments the cycle into elements which comply with the main research aim of ‘connecting urban policy making and implementation’.

The conceptual framework intends to facilitate the study of each element, and then allow for further analysis throughout the next chapters, for the aim of connecting them in the end of the research. Therefore, the connection of policy making and implementation is observed through studying the management process between and behind both of them.

However, it is noteworthy to mention that policy does not work out in reality in such a neat way. The proposed conceptual framework doesn’t aim to provide concrete representation or classification of policy, but rather, it aims to outline the dynamics and interactions within the urban policy process in a broad way. This is also used to guide and organise the following chapters to focus on four domains: policy making, implementation, implications, and the processes between them.
Figure 2. 8 shows that policy making is studied through understanding national urban policies and urban governance, processes are illustrated through urban management, policy implementation is explored through the actions and decisions taken in terms of projects, and policy implications are discussed.
through the observed urban conditions in reality. All these notions are investigated in a certain context: Egypt and the Case of Maspero.

2.8 Conclusion

The literature review presented in this chapter forms the theoretical framework and the base for the rest of this research. The studied literature is extracted from different disciplines like urban planning, political science, corporate studies, and development.

Although, most of the terms used in this research are arguable and subjected to continuous development—(e.g. urban, policy, urban policies, policy making, policy implementation, governance, management), it is agreed that linking policies with urban issues (depending on context and time) is important to achieve sustainable urban development. This reflects the strong connection between policy making, implementation, and implications in reality, which is the topic of this research.

In this respect, throughout the research, policy making refers to the political direction in a certain context, in addition to, the adopted policies and decisions made at higher tiers of the government, which is often carried out by the central government, policy implementation is done through the local government, and includes the actions taken to implement the policies identified by upper tiers, policy implication is what is observed in reality (either development or deterioration) and the connection is demonstrated through the type of the relationship between the three domains. Theoretically, all the domains have to be linked with each other in a framework that allows for feedback and communication.

Based on this, in the end of this chapter, an analytical grid and a conceptual framework are developed to guide the rest of the research in exploring the relationship between policy making and implementation, in Egypt and Maspero.
The concept of transition management is based on literature about governance and complex systems thinking which results in a multi-level governance framework. Its primary aim is to direct transition of societies towards sustainability through combining policy and societal realms (Loorback, 2004).
CHAPTER THREE

Exploring

Urban Policies in Egypt

Overlap of policy making and implementation
After establishing a theoretical understanding for urban policies in chapter one, this chapter aims to reflect on the national context of Egypt as a practical case. Accordingly, the chapter starts with understanding the Egyptian context, including the evolution and institutionalisation of urban planning in Egypt, the key actors working on urban development in the country, the levels of planning and the administration structure of the country.

The second part focus on urban policies in Egypt and their impact on urban development, particularly in Cairo. Following this urban policy making and implementation in Egypt is demonstrated through presenting the policies adopted over time.

In the last part, the relationship between urban policy making and implementation is explored.
3.1 Understanding the context

Egypt is divided into 7 economic regions (Greater Cairo, Alexandria, Delta, Canal, North Upper Egypt, South Upper Egypt, and Asyut) that are cascaded to different local units on five levels. Each local unit have a definite legal status forming governorates, cities, markaz (kisms), district (hai), and villages (shieakhah). Local government units launch and manage public services and design industrial areas within their districts (United Nations, 2004).

The structure of the country is described in law 57 of 1971 which was amended several times until law 314 of 1982 (ibid). Governorates are formed by a decree from the president involving one or more cities and governors are selected by the president. They form the main units of the local administration system in the country, with no political role. Egypt consist of 26 governorates which consist of two types, urban simple and complex (Figure 3.1). Markas (kisms), cities and hai are formed by a decree from the prime minister, following an approval from the local public unit. The second type is villages (shieakhah) are formed by a decree from the governor according to the public council of the Markaz, and the approval of the local governorate public council (Sims, 2003; United Nations, 2004).

In general, governorates are the main local administrative entities responsible for execution and implementation of policies at higher levels. However in reality they do not have their own budget or source of finance, they totally depend on the budget of the central government (Sims, 2003; Shaath, 2015). According to Sims (2003) “They are also weakened by the peculiar dual executive system whereby national ministries have their own directorates at the governorate level through which sectorial budget allocations flow”. They also suffer from bureaucracy and low salaries” (Sims, 2003, p. 4; Elshaarawy, 2015).

As the governorate employees are selected by the central government, since 1979, a parallel system was regularized to allow for elected councils to represent the population on the governorate and district level. Theoretically, these councils legally represent the voice of the people and are responsible for approving development plans and budgets. However, in reality they have a limited power,
and their members are usually from the same ruling party which makes a conflict of interest during decision making (Sims, 2003; World Bank, 2007). Although there are legislations to coordinate this administrative network, the rule of practice exceeds the rule of law in Egypt (Abd-ElKawy, 2015).

Figure 3.1 Levels of policy, planning, territory, administration in Egypt

Figure 3.1 shows the administrative bodies and divisions of Egypt. It is noteworthy to mention that “The system applied in Egypt is one of local administration and not local governance” (United Nations, 2004, p. 7). The Egyptian system follows an administrative top-down system, where the central government is the main and sometimes only decision maker.
Moreover, in terms of planning levels, the administrative divisions of the country address only national and local levels, through the ministries working on the central government and the governorates working locally. Although there are departments on the regional scale, they don’t have a managing or governing role (Elshaarawy, 2015). This results in a disconnection and gap between what happens on the national and local levels (Borham, 2012).

3.1.1 Evolution and institutionalisation of urban planning in Egypt

It was only in 1950 when urban planning and development in Egypt started to be practiced as the way seen today. Until then, there was neither a master plan for the country, nor a guiding planning system. Urban development was regulated through the Subdivision Law (52 of 1940) and was managed through scattered bodies, it was “confusingly controlled by central ministries and utilities concessions” (Sims, 2003, p. 11).

Starting 1950s, and after announcing Egypt as a republic, efforts to regularize urban development took place. The following time line shows roughly the process of institutionalisation of urban planning in Egypt (Figure 3. 2). The official recognition of urban planning took place in 1973 by the formation of the General Organization for Physical Planning (GOPP).
Figure 3. Evolution and institutionalisation of urban planning in Egypt

Source: Author based on (Alfiky, 2014; World Bank, 2007; Sims, 2007; El-Shahat & El-khateeb, 2013; Khalifa, 2013; Youssry, 2015)
### 3.1.2 Planning of urban development in Egypt

In general, planning in Egypt starts at the national level through a five year socio-economic development plan (stated in law 70 of 1973), developed by which is divided at lower levels into plans, programs and projects in different fields through the local administration act 34 of 1979 (Figure 3.3). Urban planning and development represent one of these fields where projects at local levels should be guided by the national development plan at higher levels. This approach started in 1960s during Nasser era (1918–1970), however it was replaced with an annual plans system during war time for twenty two years. In 1982, the five year national development plans resumed again. (Salheen & El Khateeb, n.d.; Youssry, 2015).

Socio-economic national development plans directs public and private investments. Public investments are obliged to follow it, however private ones are only guided by it. The plans set objectives for different sectors of development. Accordingly, they are considered as the direct cause for the success or failure of investments’ relocation in the country (Salheen & El Khateeb, n.d.; Amnesty International, 2011).

In addition to the socio-economic national development plan, a strategic urban development plan focus on urban development according to the building law 119 of 2008. This is considered the theoretical interpretation of how urban development is planned in Egypt, which is different from what happens in reality. In practice, the development process in Egypt is complex and involves many actors with blurred and duplicated roles (World Bank, 2007; Elshaarawy, 2015),
Figure 3. Planning policies and governance levels in Egypt
Source: Author based on (Salheen & El Khateeb, n.d.) revised with (Elshaarawy, 2015; Youssry, 2015)
3.1.3 **Key actors influencing urban development**

There are several bodies dealing with and influencing urban planning in Egypt at different levels. Actors are divided into (i) Governmental organisations, (ii) civil society organisations, (iii) International organizations, (iv) Private sector, and (v) the Academic sector (Hamrouni, 2013), working on national, regional and local levels.

Governmental organisations involve ministries, governorates and local popular councils. Different ministries work in urban development like (a) the Ministry of housing (including the New Urban Communities Authority-NUCA, the Housing and Building Research Centre- HBRC, and the General Organization for Physical Planning-GOPP which host inside it the National Urban Observatory-NUO), (b) Ministry of planning and local development, (c) Ministry of agriculture and land reclamation, (d) Ministry of Culture (the Egyptian authority of Antiques), (e) Ministry of Awkaf, (f) Ministry of tourism (Authority for Tourism Development), (g) Ministry of Defence and Military Production, (h) Ministry of Environment, and (i) the Ministry of state of Urban Renewal and Informal settlements (including the Informal Settlements Development Facility – ISDF), in addition to the Egyptian Survey Authority (World Bank, 2007; Hamilton, et al., 2012; Hamrouni, 2013).

In 2008, the Supreme Council of Urban Planning and Development (SCUPD) was created in response to a presidential decree and the unified building law no. 119/2008 (articles no. 3 and 4). It consists of ministries dealing with urban planning and development in Egypt, plus the heads of related institutions and ten professional experts. The council is managed by the Prime Minister. It determines national objectives that are related to urban development where plans are approved by it, after being reviewed by the military Production. It is also responsible for coordination between ministries, reviewing draft laws, and assessing the implications of executed plans (Alfiky, 2014; Nada, 2014; Tadamun, 2014; Egyptian Ministry of Justice, 2008).
In addition to the public agencies, other actors are involved in urban development in Egypt. The civil society organisations including Local non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and Community based organisations (CBOs), international development and multilateral organizations like the World Bank, UN-HABITAT (UNCHS), USAID, GIZ, AFD, KFW, CIDA ... etc, they provide fund, tools, soft and technical assistance. The private sector and consulting offices also have a role in this network, in addition to the academic sector involving universities and professors (Hamilton, et al., 2012; World Bank, 2007; Hamrouni, 2013). Figure 3. 4 and Figure 3.5 shows the different actors and their roles in urban policies in Egypt. According to Serag (2015), based on his experience as a consultant, planning experts and consultants are most of the time not connected with the higher tiers of the government (central government), consequently they cannot recommend or object to planning decisions (Serag, 2015).

Ministries are responsible policy making at the national and regional levels, while at the local level, governorates execute development plans through their local executive units which cooperates with the GOPP. Local executive councils follow up sectorial plans. Sectorial units in both Markaz and governorate levels follow up implementation of socioeconomic plans, however, urban planning doesn’t have a financial or implementation mechanism (Youssry, 2015; World Bank, 2007). The heads of the service departments are accordingly, administratively linked to the heads of Markaz/city. However, they are technically connected to their aligned line ministry. This conflict results in slower, duplicated and conflicting decision making process (World Bank, 2007). In addition, there is no implementation mechanism for strategic plans (Youssry, 2015), and little control is given to local government where financial and political power is given to central government, this makes the decisions in Egypt top down (Ansari, 2011; World Bank, 2007; Hamilton, et al., 2012). However, in parallel, parallel practice had risen after the Egyptian revolution in 2011, to provide a platform for urban researchers/activists to be part of urban development (MADD, 2014; Shawkat, et al., 2015).
### Actors Involved in Urban Planning in Egypt

**Source:** Author based on (Hamilton et al., 2012; World Bank, 2007; Hamrouni, 2013)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Governement</th>
<th>Civil Society organisations</th>
<th>International organisations</th>
<th>Private sector</th>
<th>Academic Sectors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Central Government</strong>&lt;br&gt;Ministry of housing (including the New Urban Communities Authority-NUCA, the Housing and Building Research Centre- HBRD, and the General Organization for Physical Planning-GOPP which host inside it the National Urban Observatory-NUO)&lt;br&gt;Ministry of planning and local development&lt;br&gt;Ministry of agriculture and land reclamation&lt;br&gt;Ministry of Culture (the Egyptian authority of Antiques)&lt;br&gt;Ministry of Awqaf&lt;br&gt;Ministry of Tourism (Authority for Tourism Development)&lt;br&gt;Ministry of Defence Operation Authority for Military Force&lt;br&gt;Ministry of Environment&lt;br&gt;Egyptian Survey Authority&lt;br&gt;Ministry of state of Urban Renewal and Informal settlements (including Informal Settlements Development Fund ISDF)&lt;br&gt;<strong>Local Government</strong>&lt;br&gt;<strong>Local popular council</strong>&lt;br&gt;Urban Development, Land Management and Investment</td>
<td>Local NGO’s and CBOs</td>
<td>International development Multilateral organizations like the World Bank, UN-HABITAT (UNCHS), USAID, GIZ, AFD, KfW, CIDA ... etc,</td>
<td>Consulting offices Investors</td>
<td>Universities Professors</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 3.5 Structural relationships of key actors in urban development
3.1.4 Egypt Today: Implications of policies on the urban environment

Urban conditions are a result of interrelated “economic, social, political, and cultural systems of society” (Mekawy & Yousry, 2012, p. 2). The fast pace of urbanisation in Egypt was not accompanied by the necessary planning to guide it. Cairo had become, the main attraction pole for both; investments and people, in fact, its size had doubled in less than ten years (Vignal & Denis, 2006) in (Mekawy & Yousry, 2012).

As a result, various urban challenges are critically discussed now on the table all over Egypt, and particularly those in Cairo. Informal settlements, illegal building extensions, deteriorated historic areas, over loaded infrastructure and services, and the lack of transportation, and urban pollution all represent part of the urban challenges shaping the urban environment nowadays. However, it is also normal to find large gated communities with low built up area, next a deteriorated compact core. Similarly, you can find people suffering from water shortage, and at the same time find wide golf courts. These are some of the many contradictions currently in Egypt and Cairo, which forms the current skyline and ariel view of the city (Maarouf, 2013). Mekawy & Yousry (2012) argues the duality in Cairo is “resulting mainly because of ineffective, inappropriate and inadequate public planning regulations and policies” (Mekawy & Yousry, 2012, p. 2). In addition “The effects of policies are often indirect, diffuse, and take time to appear” (Hallsworth, et al., 2011, p. 6). The status quo of the urban environment in Egypt is accordingly the consequence and implication of interrelated factors that happened over time. Hence, the next part focus on urban policies in Egypt over time.
Figure 3.6 Ariel view of a part of Cairo showing spatial inequities
Source: (Maarouf, 2013)
3.2 National urban policies in Egypt

Planning is an interdisciplinary discipline that is addressed at different levels. At the same time, it is highly linked to politics, which is a fact that is too often overlooked (Friedmann, 2008). In Egypt, the situation is beyond the norm. Politics is over taking planning, and politicians are over taking the role of urban planners (Abd-ElKawy, 2015). There is a strong relationship between national policies at higher levels, systems of urban management and urban governance, and the way urban issues are dealt with at the local level, all this is connected to major events happening in a certain context (Hallsworth, et al., 2011).


For sixty years, urbanisation grew out of control, and urban conditions deteriorated resulting in the current scene seen today (spread of informality, lack of infrastructure, etc.). the last attempts to tackle urban challenges focused on constructing parallel cities (gated communities) which does not have a place for the urban poor (Mekawy & Yousry, 2012), consequently the poor became poorer and the rich became richer (Mansour, 2011). Nevertheless, such inequalities and dualities ignited the people to demand the fall of the regime during the Egyptian revolution in 2011 calling for ‘Social justice’ hand in hand with ‘Bread and Freedom’ (Maarouf, 2013; Mekawy & Yousry, 2012). The demand for social justice later manifested the need for tackling urban inequalities (Ibrahim & Singerman, 2014).

After the revolution, the country witnessed political and economic instability. The Supreme council of the armed forces (SCAF) (headed by Mohamed Hussin tantawy) lead the country until the elections of Morsi in 2012, who was ousted in 2013 by the military. In 2013, Adly Mansour came in power for a transitional
period until the elections of Sisi in 2014 (Noaman, 2014; Abd Rabou, 2015). In spite of the dramatic changes on the national level, Egypt witnessed strong mobilisation towards creating dialogue between urban communities and the government through various initiatives on the local level (Ibrahim & Singerman, 2014) in addition, during that time informal urban extensions grew at a higher pace as a result of the lack of state control. Figure 3. 7 summarises the political direction in Egypt since 1952 and its influence on urban issues.

In the next part, policy making, policy implementation and processes in Egypt are discussed based on the definitions presented in the previous chapter, policy making is addressed through political directions and national policies, while policy implementation addresses the projects implemented during this time. Thus, it is important to know that the structure of the following part is not based on chronological order, but rather, organised according to the research domains.
Figure 3. Timeline of urban policies in Egypt/Cairo between 1952 and 2011

1954 - Nassir
- Socialist policy
- Arab Nationalism, Arab Socialism and Pan-Arabism
- Industrialisation

1970 - Sadat
- Priority for military expenses
- Open door policy, Liberal Capitalism & Privatisation

1984 - Mubarak
- Free market economy, Privatisation
- Entrepreneurial Planning

2011 - Morsi/ Mansour/ SiSi
- Community importance
- Sustainable Urban Towards Strategic Planning Development

1952 - Announcing Egypt as a republic
1967 - Start of War
1970 - End of War
1992 - Earthquake
2011 - Revolution

1950 - 1960 - State Driven with support of private sector
- Public housing mass production and establishing industrialising the desert in new towns

1970 - 1980 - Housing the desert, and connecting downtown Cairo with the Nile

1990 - 2000 - Public Private Partnerships in favour of investors
- More investments in the desert by gulf developers and famous business men, creating gated cities inside the city

2010 - Present - Rise of community, civil society, International organisations
- Social and urban equity and inclusion

Top-down / centralised / Relocation of urban poor

Contested, Bureaucratised, personalised towards participation?
3.2.1 Policy making in Egypt: politics overtaking policies

Before the Egyptian revolution, despite the different policies adopted by the three presidents (Nasser, Sadat, and Mubarak), all the of them had the same military background and focused on the same objectives of: getting out of the Nile valley, urbanising the desert, and controlling Cairo’s growth, however, in practice, this was not achieved (Deknatel, 2012; Tadamun, 2014; Hendawy, 2014). In terms of urban policy making, urban planning was comprehensice and decisions were top down until the 2000s, when strategic planning was introduced in the building law 119/2008 (Youssry, 2015), which was more relevant to the re-planning of existing cities, not the construction of new ones (Serag, 2008; Serag, 2015). However, until now some planners claim that urban planning in Egypt is central not strategic (Borham, 2015).

Several problems faced urban planning during both times, for instance the lack of shared vision, structural and institutional difficulties, and the conflicting opinions and interests (Hamilton, et al., 2012). Dorman (2007) described the similarity of the planning approach, despite the differences between strategies, as “strong regime atop a weak state” (Dorman, 2007, p. 247).

Hence, the Egyptian revolution in 2011 demanded the ‘fall of the regime’. The revolution attracted the attention towards political reform on higher levels, as well as, tackling urban issues on the local levels:

including demands for a more equitable spatial distribution of public services, further democratization of planning processes and local government, and urban development policies which serve the general public, rather than wealthy residents, foreign investors, or real estate speculators (Ibrahim & Singerman, 2014).

Consequently, Morsi initiated a national initiative to clean the streets of the country, however, by this he tried to shift the responsibility from the state to the citizens (Fahmi & Sutton, 2010; Furniss, 2012) in (Ibrahim & Singerman, 2014). At the same time, he continued the ‘throw it’ policy of Mubarak by announcing the construction of 44 new cities in the desert (Nagila, 2013), instead of adopting
policies to develop current cities. Nevertheless, urban problems were not given a priority during Morsi time (Stadnicki, et al., 2014).

Likewise, during the transition period of the supreme Council of Armed Forces (SCAF) in 2011, no plans were introduced from the side of the government, yet, there was a political announcement and a call for a competition to propose affordable housing units to solve the housing problem during the time of the SCAF, which is perceived to be announced for political reasons (Serag, 2015). Similarly, during the transition period of Adly Manousr in 2013, urban issues were not the top priority of the state. However, following the Egyptian revolution in 2011, many international agencies supported the transition of the country towards democracy through financial and technical assistance for urban, social and economic projects. At the same time, different civil society organisations, local initiatives and urban activists were mobilised and continued to work on urban development through organised and unorganised efforts of parallel collective action (Ibrahim & Singerman, 2014), however such attempts did not guarantee the movement of Egypt towards a recognised governance system that involves the civil society in the official planning of the country (Ibrahim & Singerman, 2014).

After SiSi’s ruling in 2014, on one side, the Ministry of Urban Renewal and Informal Settlements was formed marking a turning point in the history of urban development in Egypt. Besides that, for the first time informal areas were recognized in the Egyptian constitution accounting the government to deal with them. Policy makers/ the central government started to use a different language in addressing the urban poor, including health and safety, as well as participatory approaches in the processes of development. (Tadamun, 2014; Madbouly, 2014; Eskandar, 2015). Whether words will be translated into actions in reality, or not, is still not known. On the other side, forced evictions are still taking place across the country (Rose, 2014; Amnesty International, 2014), which contradicts with the people-oriented language used for development.
As mentioned above, there are two plans which tackle urban issues in Egypt, the socioeconomic national development plan (law 70/1973) and the strategic urban development plan (law 2008/119) (Figure 3.3). At the time being, Egypt 2030 deals with socioeconomic issues, and Egypt 2052 addressing spatial development of the country (Youssry, 2015). The Egypt 2030 vision aims to develop the different regions in the country, one of the strategies proposed is to introduce new communities with various economic bases (GOPP, 2014) in (Serag, 2015). This is similar to the new Map of Egypt proposal proposed during Sadat time (Attia, 1999) in (Serag, 2015). The strategic vision for Egypt 2052 is prepared by the GOPP, stressing on getting out of the Nile valley towards the red sea in the East, the oasis in the west, and to keep Cairo as the heart of Egypt, yet reduce its attractiveness and the internal migration to it. The vision accordingly works on five pillars: (i) Development of the territory of the Suez Canal area to be a hub for global logistics and industry (ii) Development of the North West Coast and its desert hinterland (iii) Development of northern and central parts of Upper Egypt (iv) Development of South Egypt. (v) Development of Sinai (Ministry of Housingm Utilities and Urban communities, 2015). In fact officially announcing a vision for Egypt is considered an important step towards transparency and a goal focused development, however the commitment towards the strategy is as crucial, which is debatable because of some of the projects promoted by the government (Abd El-Kawy, 2015). This will be discussed further in the policy implementation part.

Furthermore, the ongoing international recognition of the importance of managing urbanization worldwide is also seen in Egypt. Recently, in December 2014, during the UN Habitat meeting in Cairo, Dr Clos (the UN-Habitat Executive Director) emphasized on the fact that urbanisation is a potential to drive development. He mentioned that this depends on effective cities planning towards sustainable urban development that can be facilitated through adopting new urban agenda that focus on urban planning, urban economy, urban management and legislations (UN Habitat, 2014). Likewise, during the Egypt Urban Forum, held in Cairo, 14-16 June 2015, the plenary session about national
urban policies focused on the need for inclusive national urban policies that links urbanisation, socio-economic development and environmental sustainability.

### 3.2.2 Policy implementation: mega urban projects and incompetency of local government

According to the interviews conducted throughout the research, some actors view the challenge of urban policies in Egypt as problem of policy implementation, more than an issue of policy making (Hassanien & Abd El-Rady, 2015). The challenges facing policy implementation in Egypt can be divided into two parts; the choice of development projects (Abd-ElKawy, 2015) and the competency of local government (Abdulaty, 2015; Borham, 2015; Shaath, 2015).

Starting with the choice of development projects, while keeping in mind the claimed objective (over time) is to get out of the nile valley. According Doorman (2007), Between 1952 and 2011:

> All three [presidents], [...], shared an authoritarian modernist view of urbanism characterised conceptually, by the imposition of schematic order, and more materially by large centrally planned construction projects nominally following western styles and building standards (Dorman, 2007, p. 78)

Nasser focused on the provision of public housing in addition to creating new towns in the desert, Sadat supported urbanising the desert, in addition to connecting downtown Cairo with the Nile, and Mubarak encouraged gulf developers and famous businessmen to invest in the desert, which later resulted in the emergence of gated communities (Deknatel, 2012), urban problems like the emergence and spread of informal areas was totally ignored until the 1990s (El-Shahat & El-khateeb, 2013). Thus Deknatel (2012) argued:

> Such mega-projects exemplify what Yale political scientist James Scott calls “authoritarian high modernism,” a state-led development logic which presumes that rapid modernization and social order—a shift through industrialization and urbanization—can be realized with sweeping projects imposed by a cadre of planning authorities (Deknatel, 2012).
During the transition periods of the SCAF, Morsi and Mansour, no mega projects were announced. Yet after Sisi’s ruling in 2014 the same approach addressing urban planning through flagship projects resumed. This shows that, until this moment, mega urban projects are promoted from policy makers to gain popularity through providing tangible physical outcomes (Serag, 2015). The issue here is not about the scale of the projects, but rather, about their connection and relation to the strategic vision of the country, if there is (Abd El-Kawy, 2015). Although flagship projects are used to achieve economic development, its argued that the way the projects are branded through the use of massive numbers (i.e. million feddans,...etc) and the announcement of short time spans is unpractical and primarily used for gaining popularity (Serag, 2015) the question is, are these projects complementing the strategic vision of their time? Or are they promoted for political reasons or to gain national support?

Serag (2015) stated:

Unfortunately, it seems that the Mega projects in Egypt are affiliated with the interests of the presidents and the upper tiers of the government. Even if the project is strategically important and crucial, it proceeds according to the level of interest of the upper tiers. This attitude should be changed aiming to establish a more scientific and strategic planning approach in Egypt (Serag, 2015, p. 14).

According to the strategic vision of Egypt 2052 several projects are suggested for 2017: Construction of an airport in the city of 6th of October, Creating Zafarana port, building two research and vocational learning centres in Cairo and 6th of October city, establishing two tourism centres in Cairo and Giza, creating seven centres of rural development in Qaluibiya and Helwan, building three agricultural and industrial centres in Qaluibiya, Helwan, and East of Cairo, constructing two logistics areas in 10th of Ramadan and Helwan, and building six development corridors passing through the region (Abd El-Kawy, 2015).

The current flagship projects under progress in Egypt include; the new Suez canal project, and the development of the Suez Canal Corridor, the Toshka rural development project, The reclamation of 1 million feddaniv And the new
administrative capital of Egypt (Capital Cairo). Besides these mega projects, there are other projects sponsored by the government like the one million residential units’ project, and the provision of infrastructure, mainly roads’ construction (Serag, 2015; Ayyad, 2015). Bhattacharya quotes Simon Williams, chief economist, Central Europe, Middle East and Africa, HSBC in, finally after four years from the revolution in 2011, the economic conditions in Egypt started to get better (Bhattacharya, 2015). The progress seen in Suez Canal project proves this point. However, the time allocated for Toshka rural development was shortened and the consultant of the project was changed through a top down decision, against the advice of the initial consultant (Serag, 2015). Moreover, the reclamation of 1 million feddan project did not meet its objective at the pre-set time frame (one year), according to media, only half of the target was achieved (Alaa, 2015).

![Map of National project in Egypt](image)

*Figure 3.8 Map of National project in Egypt
Source: (Ministry of Housingm Utilities and Urban communities, 2015)*
The Cairo Capital city project was announced in March 2015 during the Egypt Economic Development Conference in Sharm el-Sheikh, without any community involvement. The project proposes a new elite capital for Egypt that is 50 km away from the cities of Suez and Sukhna (Serag, 2015), this clearly contradicts the current strategic plan of Egypt 2052, which aims to discharge Cairo, not to enlarge it (Abd-ElKawy, 2015; BBC, 2015). The technicality of the proposal is debatable (Kingsley, 2015; Sirry, 2015; BBC, 2015). However, it clearly takes resembles the ‘throw it’ approach in dealing with current cities in Egypt, the strategy which failed over the past 60 years. Nevertheless, a similar project, to construct a new capital, was promoted in the past, the project of Sadat city during Sadat time, and could not attract population due several reasons, one of them is its closeness to Cairo, (Bhattacharya, 2015; Feteha, 2015; Galal, 2015).

Figure 3.9 Model of Cairo Capital city
Source: (BBC, 2015)
This raises many questions regarding the similarity of SiSi’s policy to Nasser, Sadat, and Mubarak, and their military background, did the regime really fall? (Hendawy, 2014; Abd-ElKawy, 2015; BBC, 2015; Chulov, 2013; Heggy, 2011), the state driven approach to urban development in Egypt (Serag, 2015), the role of non-politicians (consultants, and community) in urban planning in Egypt (Bhattacharya, 2015; Serag, 2015), and the evaluation system of previous attempts, does anyone assess or documents past projects? (Abdulaty, 2015; Borham, 2015; Shaath, 2015)

Beside the flagship projects currently in the scene, there are several small initiatives by civil society organisation and unregistered groups (Ibrahim & Singerman, 2014; Shawkat, et al., 2015), in parallel to the government, which means to prove that “they are taking control of Egypt’s urban problems”, for instance the call of the president to walk and use bicycles in the streets, as an approach to solve the complicated transport problem of Cairo, although the initiative itself could have had an influence on the Egyptian streets, however there was no follow up, or real campaigning for the cause. This among other examples of ad hoc projects exerted by the central and local government shows that roots and causes of the problems are not tackled (Figure 3. 10) (CairObserver, 2014).

Figure 3. 10 The president cycling in Cairo streets
Source: (CairObserver, 2014)
The second challenge facing policy implementation in Egypt is the competency of the local government. Despite the apparent efforts to regularize and institutionalise urban planning in Egypt (especially after the formation of the General Organisation of Physical Planning - GOPP - in 1973), in practice many obstacles lead to a gap between what was planned versus what happened in reality. At the same time, efforts to decentralise the planning process did not succeed due to the rooted centralised culture in the political system of the country, which highly affected the mind sets of those in power (World Bank, 2007). The lack of technical skills and financial capacity of the local government were other reasons behind this failure (World Bank, 2007; Abdulaty, 2015; Borham, 2015; Shaath, 2015; Zaaza, 2015; TADAMUN, 2015).

At the same time, local popular councils are dissolved since ….., which results in the lack of a monitory body to assess current efforts, and the absence of official representation of citizens, if any participation is to take place (Ansari, 2011). Hence, executive councils at the local levels are managing urban affairs solely. However, Ibrahim & Singerman (2014) argues that power is still centralised in post-revolutionary Constitutions to upper tiers of the government, though more seats are now given to youth and women, who are above the age of 21 (Ibrahim & Singerman, 2014)(Figure 3. 5).Figure 3. 11 illustrates the role of the governorates, the executive council and the Local Popular Council.

Although, the Egyotian revolution in 2011 attracted the attention towards political reform on the national level, as well as urban challenges on the local level. However, transforming and democratising local government remained out of the scope of both domains (Ibrahim & Singerman, 2014). Bassed on the interviews there is a general consensus rearding the incompetency of the local administrative units in Egypt (Abdulaty, 2015; Borham, 2015; Shaath, 2015; Zaaza, 2015).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Governor</th>
<th>Executive Council of the Governorate</th>
<th>Local Popular Council (LPC) of the Governorate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>As executive authority of all local administrative units, he/she supervises the implementation of state policies as well as utilities and departments whose management is not delegated to LPCs. He/She is responsible for security, morality, public values and the protection of human rights.</td>
<td>Follows up the work entrusted to the executive bodies of the governorate and the execution of projects and services at the governorate level.</td>
<td>Requests, through the governor, any data related to the activities of executive bodies. Supervises the utilities and activities that fall under the jurisdiction of the governorate. Supervises and monitors the activity of subsidiary LPCs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supervision &amp; Follow-up</td>
<td>Assists the Governor in developing administrative and financial plans. Studies and expresses opinion about the subjects to be discussed with the LPC, as well as any issue referred to by the Governor of the LPC.</td>
<td>Outlines and approves economic and social plan as well as local projects requiring community efforts.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prepration</td>
<td>Within 15 days of its issuance, the governor can ask an LPC (from any level) to reconsider any of its decisions. He/she can also cancel an LPC’s decision if it does not comply with the law, damage the public interest or contradict with other LPCs’ decisions.</td>
<td>Enforces the recommendations and decisions issued by the LPC of the governor. Approves the draft of the annual budget. Ratifies or vetoes the decisions issued by subsidiary LPCs.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 3. 11 Summary of Governorates’ Responsibilities in Egypt according the 2014 Draft of LAL. Sources: (TADAMUN, 2015) based on the Draft of Local Administration Law of 2014) and (Nada, 2013)
### 3.2.3 Urban policy process: Central, Personal, and Physical

An important, yet often under-discussed factor that affects urban planning outcomes is the process through which planning decisions are made. The process reflects both the incentives guiding policymakers and the relative power of those policymakers at various levels of government. As such, the structure of Cairo's local governance systems matters when discussing urban planning and decision making (Ansari, 2011).

From Nasr city housing project in 1958, to Toshka project in the 1990s, to the projects introduced in Cairo 2050 master plan in 2010, to the proposal of Cairo Capital in 2015, all attempts reflected the same approach which deals with the social and urban environment through a central, physical, state driven, top down process (Hamilton, et al., 2012; Bhattacharya, 2015; Afify & Okba, n.d.; World Bank, 2007; Ansari, 2011).

The environment in which planning is practiced is central, bureaucratic, and driven by politics more than needs (Serag, 2015). In addition, progress of urban projects depends mainly on the political interest and pressure of higher levels, Serag (2015) describes planning in Egypt as a pressure activity; pressure from the president on the minister by announcing a certain project on the priority list of development either in media or in his program, the ministry in turn exert pressure on the planning agency, which will stress on the consultants to meet upper decision without objection (Serag, 2015). Beside that external pressure is sometimes present from the allies of those in power (Hamilton, et al., 2012; World Bank, 2007).

This approves Springborg (1979) argument that:

Policy-making and decisions are generally dictated by the central government, although it is not immune to divisions itself. Governance in Egypt tends to be driven more by the influence of particular individuals than institutions, with the latter being used as a medium for the development of patronage systems (Springborg, 1979) In (Hamilton, et al., 2012, p. 14).

Although after the revolution, local and international civil society organisations and groups tackled urban issues, the local administration system in Egypt is still
not fully recognising their presence, and does not involve them in the development process. At the same time, since 2013 the local popular council further, decisions are highly concentrated in the central government (and informally, their allies who are resembled in the business elites). In spite of the presence of the local popular councils, decision are state driven and top-down. At the same time, decisions are usually person-driven depending on the person in charge; the president, prime minister, or the governor (Hamilton, et al., 2012; World Bank, 2007; Afify & Okba, n.d.). All of these concerns raise various questions regarding who rules? Who decides? And who manages, urban development in Egypt.

The article of CairObserver (2014) ‘Egypt’s cities: governed by spectacle’ and Abd Rabou (2015) claims that current process of decision making in Egypt is not central as much as it is personalised, militarised, opaque, Decision bureaucratized, short term, contested, and lacks transparency and accountability. Consequently he states that in Egypt it’s a decision taking rather than a decision making process (Abd Rabou, 2015; CairObserver, 2014). In an interview with Amr AbdelKawy (urban planner and professor and Architecture), he agreed with most of the points mentioned above, stressing on the fact that planning in Egypt is an ad-hoc process. (Abd-ElKawy, 2015). Abd El-Kawy in his recent article at Al-Shorouk newspaper ‘and when we put strategies, we do not commit!’ mentioned that the problem is sometimes not about skills or technicalities, but its about commitment to the announced strategies (Abd El-Kawy, 2015). Abd Rabou (2015) argues that all of this makes it disconnected from implementation (Abd Rabou, 2015), which will be explored in the following part.
3.3 Exploring the relationship between urban policy making and implementation in Egypt

Based on the literature presented in this chapter and the conceptual framework presented in the previous one, this part explores relationship of urban policy making and implementation in Egypt. The following diagrams are discussed with different actors (urban activists, government officials, planners, academics, and community residents) through interviews and in the organised round table event.

Figure 3. 13 shows the top down decision making process that reflects and is a result of the centralised planning process in Egypt. Additionally, outcomes in reality are poorly linked to higher tiers, which makes a more of a one way process not a cyclic one. Moreover, sources of power and legitimacy depends on political agendas and interests.

![Diagram showing top-down decision making process](image)

*Figure 3.12 Processes that determine what happens in reality in Egypt
Source: Author based on (Ansari, 2011; Borham, 2012; Serag, 2015; Ibrahim & Singerman, 2014; Devas, 2004; Devas, 1999) reviewed with (Shaath, 2015; Elshaarawy, 2015; Abdulatry, 2015; Borham, 2015)*
Figure 3.13 illustrates that Egypt follows a government not a governance system, and that the system is not connected, every function is isolated from the other. This demonstrates the contested and weak urban management, and the absence of a managing and monitoring bodies to assess or follow up on urban policies, plans, programs, and projects.

Figure 3.13 Relationship between policy and practice in Egypt
Source: Author discussed with (Shaath, 2015; Elshaarawy, 2015; Abdulaty, 2015; Borham, 2015)
In the end, Figure 3.14 shows the centralised and duplicated nature of urban planning in Egypt. According to Elshaarawy (2015) “its more of an overlap of policy making and implementation than a disconnection”, where plans and programs are prepared twice, by the central and local government. This is due to the administrative structure of the country, where line ministries at central levels are responsible for services, and governorates at the local level have a spatial responsibility. In addition, similar to the previous analysis, the figure shows that the planning process is top down, driven by politics and not cyclic.

Figure 3.14 Overlap of policy making and implementation in Egypt
Source: Author revised with (Shaath, 2015; Elshaarawy, 2015; Borham, 2015; Abdulaty, 2015)
3.4 Conclusion

In this chapter a closer look upon Egypt and Cairo is given. The current urban scene presents a reflection and consequence of the physical and centralised urban polices followed over the past three decades.

Over 40 years, urbanisation accelerated and the built up area of Cairo increased. The city was not prepared for that and accordingly, informality spread to accommodate the unplanned urban expansion of informal areas, and the deterioration invaded formal ones.

All the proposed projects and plans for the Egypt and Cairo at that time, translated the political agendas of their time. Between 1952 and 2011, three presidents came in power with different national polices, although, they all aimed at discharging the capital, this was not achieved.

Usually a physical interventionist approach is adopted to guarantee quick wins, which meant that root causes were never dealt with. Moreover, the process had always been centralised exclusively to those in power and their allies.

Although the revolution sparked change in 2011, by exploring the current strategies for urban development, Up till now, the government focused on massive infrastructure projects as well as creating more new cities, thus, it is clear that we have to learn from our own history.

Policy making proved to be politically and personally driven. And policy implementatio is observed to have little power, given the centralised planning system in the country.

By analysing what is currently happening in Egypt versus what is supposed to happen, according to the previous theoretical understanding. It is clear that policy making and implementation are overlapped.

So is Egypt heading towards participation, inclusion of urban poor, and sustainable urban development? Are the actions taken go in this direction? This will be discovered on the local scale of Maspero.
The subdivision law follows European standards (Sims, 2003).

Some of the plans which relate directly to urban issues is “the National Socio-Economic Plan (produced by the Ministry of Planning); the National Strategic Spatial Plan (produced by the GOPP), and a set of sectorial plans and policies produced by the different sectorial ministries and central authorities” (Nada, 2014). In deed efforts are need to coordinate between all these plans to achieve sustainable urban development.

Article 73 states “The state shall draft a comprehensive, national plan to address the problem of informal areas that includes providing infrastructure and facilities and improving quality of life and public health. The state shall also guarantee the provision of necessary resources to implement the plan within a specified time frame” (Governement of Egypt, 2014)

feddan = 4200 m²
CHAPTER FOUR

Case of Maspero

Maspero is Egypt
This chapter studies the relation between urban policies and practices in reality through investigating the ongoing project of Maspero triangle in Egypt. First a brief introduction about the influence of urbanisation on Cairo’s growth is presented, showing the increased number of deteriorated inner city area in Egypt’s capital. Following this, the reasons for selecting Maspero is the case study of this research are elaborated.

Afterwards, the case of Maspero is demonstrated by introducing the area, and how it is perceived differently from different groups. Then, the actors in the area and the project are introduced. Eventually, the story of Maspero is narrated by dividing it into three parts according to the main transforming points in developing the area. This chapter focus on Maspero’ past and present, while the next chapter discusses Maspero’s future. In the end, the relationship between policy making and implementation in Maspero is explored.
4.1 Background

Before Cairo’s growth in 1860, the city’s core resembled historic and valuable areas, where more than 4% of the GCR population lived in them (Sims, 2003). Some of the many examples is the district of Bulaq Abo al-Ela, where Maspero is located. However, the once used to be valuable or historic city core, can be found now in extremely poor conditions due to increased urbanisation and densities. This had resulted in pressure on the residents of such areas, who are mostly the urban poor. As they are living in an attractive area (historical core, and valuable land), hence, many private investors would like to profit from the revitalisation of the area. The public sector is then left in a paralyzed state, wanting to protect the interests of the residents and at the same time wanting to redevelop the areas to be more competitive (Madbouly, n.d.). According to Pelle Persson, the head of Sida´s (the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency) Urban Development Division:

Heritage must be seen as an asset rather than hinder for development. Inner cities have been neglected but they have a potential for economic development. They are strategically located at a crossroad between past and future. They should not be treated as a museum but as a vibrant neighbourhood.

This reflects the potentials embodied in upgrading inner city areas which deteriorated over time.
4.2 Why Maspero

Maspero is Egypt\textsuperscript{ii}

The case of Maspero is selected as a deteriorated urban area in Egypt that is currently under re-development. For a long time, Maspero presented a challenging case for politicians and planners (Abd-ElKawy, 2015). As this research revolves around urban policy making and implementation, Maspero, being under the spot of policies since 2010, is selected as an example for: the disconnection, the parallel practice and the connection of both domains. This will be discussed further in this chapter. Furthermore, the following reasons helped in selecting the case of Maspero:

- **Urgency of the situation/Area in need**: the neighbourhood is threatened to be demolished, and currently under official efforts of development.
- **A vital area**: this is to reflect on policy making and implementation, and the impact of national policies in reality.
- **An ongoing project**: MURIS is currently working on it with its new participatory approach. This is to reflect on the process dimension, and to have the opportunity to recommend changes that could be implemented.
- **A multi-dimensional case**: political, economic, social aspects are included.
- **Importance of the project**: MURIS considers it as a landmark project.
- **Uniqueness of the case**: one of the few re-planning areas in Egypt.

![Figure 4.1 Arial view of Maspero](Source: CairObserver, 2015)
4.3 What is Maspero?

4.3.1 Area profile

Maspero triangle is located in the heart of Cairo overlooking the Nile River. The area dates back to 1890, as a part of Bulaq Abo al-Ela neighbourhood, which was the western port of Cairo (MADD, 2014). The triangle forms the southern part of Bulaq. According to the official figures, the triangles forms 74 feddans involving about 18,000 residents (AllAfrica Global Media, 2014; Cairo Governorate, n.d.) (Figure 4.2, Figure 4.3, and Figure 4.4). Maspero’s name is derived from the name of the French Egyptologist Gaston Maspero, who worked as director in the Egyptian Museum in 1914 (Maspero Company, 2014).

Figure 4.2 Maspero in the context of Cairo
Source: (Dorman, 2007)
Figure 4.3 Location of Maspero triangle
Source: (Gateway and MADD, 2015)

Figure 4.4 Surrounding areas to Maspero
Source: (Gateway and MADD, 2015)
Similar to other vital areas in Cairo’s core, mixed-uses are the main land uses in the neighbourhood. The land is privately owned to several owners with the highest percentage goes to the Kuwaiti company owns 21.3%, ministry of media 14.5%, ministry of foreign affairs 13.7%, private ownership for Maspero residents 13.7%, and Maspero company (a joint venture between Cairo governorate National Bank of Egypt, and the Bank of Egypt) owns 11.5% (MADD, 2014) (Figure 4.6 & 4.7).

Up till now the land tenure in Maspero is unclear and unsecured. Mixed ownership is presented in some lands and it is debatable who has the right to stay. This demonstrates a condition of contested property/land ownership and the private ownership of the land adds to the critical situation of the inhabitants (Zaaza, 2015; MADD, 2014).

Four generations are thought to be born in Maspero. According to a study by MADD (2014) 82% of today's inhabitants in the area were born in it among 68% of their first and second degree family members. 39% of the inhabitants mentioned that social networks is their top priority in choosing to live in the area. In addition to living in the area, 78% of the inhabitants also work in it, where 58% walk to their work and 47% of them work on serving their neighbours. At the same time, those working outside Maspero take advantage from its central location and proximity to public transportation. All of this enriches the sense of belonging of the current inhabitants to stay in area (MADD, 2014).
Figure 4.5. Land Use in Maspero
Source: (MADD & Gateway, 2015)
Figure 4.6 Land ownership in Maspero
Source: (MADD & Gateway, 2015)
Similar to other deteriorated historic areas in Cairo, Maspero’s population is declining (Figure 4.7 & Figure 4.8). The situation in Maspero is even more critical. Previous national policies/approaches did not recognize the area’s historical value as a potential for development. This might be due to the high land value that attracts more private investors, or because of prime location, or because of the challenging situation as a privately owned land, or because monuments in Bulaq are not officially registered, and sometimes, the state’s approach is excused for the sake of public good (MADD, 2014).

![Population Graphs](image)

*Figure 4.7 repelling historic areas in Cairo
Source: (MADD, 2014) based on CAPMAS*
Figure 4.8 Maspero population now is less than in 1880
Source: ((MADD, 2014) based on CAPMAS)
4.3.2 Area Type: What is Maspero?

Although the reality and history of Maspero is widely known, the official classification of the area differs between actors. Each actor deals with the area from a different perspective. In spite of the fact that the area dates back to 100 years ago, the Informal Settlements Development Facility (ISDF) and MURIS deal with Maspero as an unsafe informal area (El-Faramawy, 2015; ISDF, 2011; Shaath, 2015). Additionally, some scholars like David Sims consider deteriorated historic cores as informal settlements (Sims, 2003). However, urban planners and activists in Egypt insist to deal with Maspero and other similar areas based on their valuable history as a deteriorated historic core not as an informal area (Zaaza, 2015; MADD, 2014) (Figure 4.9).

![Figure 4.9 perspectives towards the area](Author 2015, Maspero 3d from MADD, 2014)
MURIS perspective is based on the ISDF recognition of the area as unsafe area, and in turn informal (Shaath, 2015). In 2009, the ISDF classified informal areas to ‘unplanned’ and ‘unsafe areas’ (Alfiky, 2014; Khalifa, 2011). Unplanned areas represent 60% of urban areas, which usually require Long term intervention. Unsafe areas refer to areas with risks for life, housing, health, and tenure. They accounts to 5% and need immediate intervention. They are categorized into four grades; grade 1 including life threatening areas, grade 2 including areas with unsuitable shelter conditions, grade 3 health risk areas, and grade 4 areas with unstable tenure (Algohary & El-Faramawy, 2010). The ISDF prioritize its work to unsafe areas (Hazim, 2014).

In 2011, the ISDF stated that 10.6 feddan (394 housing unit) are classified as grade 2 unsafe area (ISDF, 2011). However, according to an interview with Ahmed Zaaza, he mentioned that by looking at the meaning of unsafe areas, 50% of the area is supposed to be in unsafe conditions. However, in Maspero, only 40% of the area is in deteriorated conditions (Zaaza, 2015). Al-Faramawy, the previous head of the ISDF, also agrees that unsafe areas, are areas with more than 50% of the buildings in the area are unsafe. However, he insists that Maspero is unsafe (El-Faramawy, 2015).

According to MADD (2014) field study, most of the buildings in the area are in medium condition. Only 19% of the buildings in the area are in poor condition. It is true that 14% buildings collapsed during the past years (MADD, 2014), however this goes back to the inability of residents to maintain their houses as they were not permitted, as a way of indirect prohibition (MADD, 2014; Laby, 2015). Consequently, Maspero includes unsafe urban pockets but is not considered an unsafe area (Salheen, 2015).
Many concerns are raised regarding the process and criteria of the ISDF in identifying unsafe areas in Egypt. As mentioned earlier, labelling areas as unsafe or informal is widely known to be abused for political and economic purposes (Amnesty International, 2011; Tadamun, 2014). In Maspero, the identified boundaries on the ISDF map (Figure 4.11) are matching exactly the land owned by the Kuwait Company (MADD, 2014; Zaaza, 2015). In addition, Cairo 2050 master plan, which was proposed in 2010 by political committee of the ruling part, the National Democratic Party, which was headed by Gamal Mubarak, the son of the removed president, and identifies Bulaq and Maspero as touristic and business districts (Khalil, 2014; Tadamun, 2014). All of this definitely raises many questions around the credibility of the ISDF classification of Maspero as unsafe and accordingly informal.

Recently, in December 2014, SCPUD announced the area as a re-planning area, based on the Unified Building Law no. 119/2008 (Israel, 2015; ayman, 2015) (Figure 4.11). The unified building 119/2008 law tackles topics related to urban planning and building construction. The term informal areas in Egypt is replaced with ‘unplanned’, and ‘re-planning’ areas. According to the law, unplanned areas refers to areas which does not comply with planning and building laws. While re-planning areas refer to areas of re-planning/
redevelopment or renovation including areas with high densities and deteriorated conditions, which are prescribed for full or partial redevelopment based on their situation. In general, re-planning areas are developed through redistribution of land and re-planning while preserving the historical context and the available infrastructure (Israel, 2015). Both types of areas are classified in the strategic plan of the city or villageInvalid source specified.

The future of the area is currently dealt with based on this announcement. However, it is debatable if this is considered a step pro or against the resident's rights to stay in the area. While this guarantees an official plan for redeveloping the area (Israel, 2015; Shaath, 2015), it also gives more power for the state (Salheen, 2015).

In contrary to the conflicting views regarding Maspero’s classification, based on interviews with different actors, in addition to observations in reality, and data from MADD report, it became clear that Maspero had architectural and historical values. About 40% of the buildings in the area dates back to the period between 1890 and 1929, and 35% of were constructed between 1930 and 1949. This is ignored by the government, where some monuments in the area are not registered (MADD, 2014). In short, Maspero is a special case. It is a deteriorated historical core, including unsafe urban pockets. Some may refer to it as a popular (sha’by) area, but it is not informal (MADD, 2015; Shehayeb, 2009).

In research terms, Maspero is an example for the implications of the lack of urban management and absence of political governance. In the following part, Maspero’s past, present and future will be discussed presenting urban policies dealing with the area over time.
4.1.1 Actors in Maspero

Several actors are involved in the development of the triangle including key actors like the government, investors, residents, and secondary actors like academics, media and political parties. Each stakeholder have a specific role, power and interest. The government is responsible for its developmental role, land, and investments management, while Investors are interested in generating profit, Media generate news and advocate for rights, political parties needs people’s support, residents and human rights organisations call for better quality of life and their right to stay in the area, and in the end, academics and project partners (urban activists) are interested in research, documentation, and advocacy (MADD, 2014). Figure 4.12 shows the various actors involved in the project in further detail.

*Figure 4.12 Actors in Maspero
Source: Author based on (MADD, 2014; Azouz, 2015)*
In research terms, actors are divided into policy makers policy implementers, and those affected by policy implication (Error! Reference source not found.). Based on this, collection of primary data is done.

Figure 4.13 Categories of actors
Source: Author based on (MADD, 2014))

So how do they foresee the current redevelopment of Maspero? Based on journal reviews, interviews, and discussions, there is a consensus regarding the need for a compromised solution to benefit, both, the residents and investors. In addition, the importance of participation in urban development is highlighted, and policies of forced eviction are opposed. Whether these intentions are transferred to actions or not, will be discovered in the following parts.
4.2 **Maspero’s story**

The presented study of Maspero is done over three periods of time, Maspero’s past, present and future. The parallel project conducted by MADD in 2013 is considered the first crucial point, and the official cooperation between MADD and MURIS is considered the second transformation point. This chapter focus on the past and present of Maspero, while the next when address speculations about its future (Figure 4. 14). The story of Maspero is narrated based on interviews with various actors, in addition to previous studies about the area.

![Figure 4. 14 Study timeline](source: Author)

### 4.2.1 Maspero’s Past (until 2014):

*From glory to eviction*

As a part of Bulaq area in Cairo, the history of Maspero is linked to it. Bulaq’s name is derived from the word Bulaq that is present in the old Egyptian language meaning an anchor or port. The area was formed as a result of the shifts in the eastern part of Nile River that took place between the 13th and 15th century. Urbanisation started in the area during the era of Al-Nasser Mohamed Ibn Qualwoon (1285 - 1403) (Khalil, 2014). During the 14th century, Bulaq became the main port in Egypt. In the 15th century, Maspero area was defined during the 7th Nile river landfill, and Abu el-Ela mosque was built forming an important landmark and gate to the area. In 1840, Bulaq became the industrial area of Cairo and Alexandria’s port became the main port in Egypt. In the end of 19th century, downtown Cairo was built and, 26th July Street was constructed, marking the beginning of urban development in Maspero. Afterwards, the boarders of
Maspero were defined and Qasr el-Nile Bridge was built connecting the Downtown to Zamalek (Laby, 2015; MADD, 2014).

In the beginning of the 20th century, Bulaq (also named Abu el-Ela) bridge was built connecting Bulaq and Zamalek, which was demolished in 1998. In the same century, development of Sharkas area in Maspero started, when Khedive Ismail (1830-1895) granted the land to Sharkas pasha who remained its owner until 1952. During that time, he rented the land for some time and then held it as trust (waqf) to his 7 servants for twenty years (ibid).

In 1952, Maspero was put to trust (Waqf) for 20 years and accordingly many families settled in the area. By the end of 1950s many houses were removed to build Maspero tower. In 1973 the trust was dissolved, supposedly for the users of the land (the residents), however, the land was sold to private investors in return of low prices. Half of the land was sold to the Kuwaiti and Saudi companies, and the other half to Maspero Company. Accordingly, the inhabitants, whom by then had a possession right, found themselves living on a land owned by new owners. The selling contracts took place between 1972 and 1983. Figure 4. 15 elaborates the change in the land ownership over time (ibid).
Figure 4.15 Land ownership timeline
Source: Author based on (Laby, 2015)
Starting from 1981, residents were indirectly banned to restore the buildings in the area. In 1982 Ramses Hilton was built resulting in the removal of many buildings, and the earthquake in 1992 had led to the collapse of others. Afterwards, many buildings were again demolished to build the ministry of foreign affairs in the nineties (Figure 4. 16). Starting from mid 1990s, Maspero residents were faced with direct and indirect threats of eviction. In 2005, Maspero Company for urban development was created, and they started buying lands. Consequently, in 2008, Maspero Youth Association (MYA) was created mainly to protect the right of inhabitants to stay in the area (MADD, 2014; Laby, 2015).

Figure 4. 16 demolished buildings between 2000-2014 to extend the parking area for Maspero building
Source: (MADD, 2014)
In 2009, Cairo 2050 master plan was proposed dealing with the area as if it does not exist (Figure 4. 17), in addition to another proposal by Cairo governorate to develop the area. Moreover, in 2010, a competition for downtown revitalization ‘Revitalization and upgrading of the central zone of Khedive’s Cairo’ took place which was organized by GOPP and Cairo governorate. The competition was supposed to be one of the projects to fulfil Cairo 2050 vision based on (MADD, 2014; Cairo Governorate, n.d.; Gateway, 2014). Associated Consultants jointly with AECOM won the first prize (restricted) in the competition. Their proposal dealt with Maspero as a central business districtiv (Associated Consultants, 2010). With such an elite perspective to the area, the expected approach was to replace poor families with rich towers, through evictions. In fact in 2010, Prime Minister Ahmed Nazif (2004-2011) announced that some families will be relocated in the framework of Cairo 2050 master plan (Wahba, 2010).

Figure 4. 17 Cairo 2050 vision
Source: (GOPP, 2009) in (Tadamun, 2014)
Although Egypt is committed to many treaties that condemn forced evictions and promotes the right to adequate housing, like the UN-ICESCR international law. Amnesty International reported many cases of forced eviction all over Egypt, violating national and international rights in different times (Amnesty International, 2011). Attempts of forced eviction took place in different parts of the country, which were usually politically, economically or technically legitimatized. When it comes to Maspero, direct as well as indirect evictions took place, like the relocation for implementing Cairo 2050 master plan, construction of Ramses Hilton, construction of the ministry of foreign affairs, and the extension of Maspero’s parking (Khalil, 2014; Ali, 2014; MADD, 2014). Threats of evictions accelerated since the construction of the nearby Nile towers in 1996 (Deknatel, 2012) (Figure 4. 18). Such attempts were usually legitimatized for the public good, yet this was doubted (MADD, 2014), which was condemned by national and international organisations like the Egyptian centre for housing rights and Amnesty International (Wahba, 2010). The timeline in Figure 4. 18 elaborates the national and local approaches and policies which hiders or facilitates eviction. The figure shows that there is a clear conflict between the agreements signed by the government to condemn evictions, versus what is happening in reality, on both the national and local (Maspero) scale, where forced evictions are still taking place.
Figure 4.18 National and local approaches/attempts pro and against evictions

After the Egyptian revolution in 2011, residents started to demand their right to stay, where, active residents in the area managed to communicate with Cairo governorates, hence, acting in place of the dissolved Local Councils (Ibrahim & Singerman, 2014). Additionally, the Egyptian Centre for Housing Rights, as well as, other initiatives focused on supporting of the residents right to stay in the area and their right in adequate housing (French Institute in Cairo, 2014). In 2013, Residents demonstrated against their relocation. Consequently, at different times in 2012 and 2013, during Morsi presidency, Cairo governorates (AbdelKawi Khalifa and Osama Kamal) proposed building 64 ten storey towers on 7 feddans of the area and leaving the remaining land for investors, mainly the Kuwaiti, Saudi companies and Maspero Company. This was the first internal relocation proposal by the state, which was met by complete approval from the residents (Laby, 2015; MADD, 2014). At the same time, volunteers at Maspero Youth Association organised themselves to pressure the government to fulfil its promise, through demonstrations (volunteers of Maspero Youth Association triangle, 2013) (Figure 4.19, Figure 4.20, and Figure 4.21).

*Figure 4.19 Meeting of Maspero Youth Association volunteer’s with the residents
The sign says “if the government, and Cairo governor, did not comply to our only demand, of renovation and replacing in the area, we will call for an open sit-in, till receiving a formal announcement”
Source: (volunteers of Maspero Youth Association triangle, 2013)*
Figure 4. 20 Maspero demonstrations: in the front a man hanging a sign "No for Eviction, Yes for Development", in the back a sign calling for the fulfillment of the 64 tower, and a time frame for the project
Source: Youm7.com in (volunteers of Maspero Youth Association triangle, 2013)

Figure 4. 21 Maspero demonstrations: “Does the governorate work for the benefit of investors or the people?? Where is the social justice?
Source: vetgal.com in (volunteers of Maspero Youth Association triangle, 2013)
However, later, MADD researchers (2014) proved that this proposal is not technically possible (Figure 4. 22). Not only that the proposed number of units will only accommodate 2600 out of 2500 families, but also the allocated 7 feddan will not contain the proposed number of towers, as the 64 towers will need more than 9 feddans with the minimum calculations. Madd studies were part of a parallel participatory project that started in May 2013. (MADD, 2014). In 2014, the formation of MURIS marked a turning point in the urban policies dealing with the area was witnessed, this will be discussed in the next part. Figure 4. 23 summarises the different proposals proposed for developing the area over time.

Figure 4. 22 Madd study for the 7 feddan proposal showing its impracticality
Source: (MADD, 2014)
Figure 4. 23 development proposals over time
Source: Author based on (MADD, 2014; Associated Consultants, 2010; Cairo Governorate, n.d.; Gateway, 2014; Selim, 2015)
4.2.2 Maspero Present (2013-2015):

*From parallel practice to official recognition*

Today, MURIS is taking the responsibility for re-planning the area through a participatory approach. The history of the governorate resulted in a mistrust from the inhabitants because of previous attempts of forced eviction, and unreleased promises. By the formation of ministry in 2014, not only a new approach was on the table, but also a better relation with the state was ignited (Laby, 2015).

The previously proposed project by Associated Consultants and AECOM in the framework of Cairo 2050 did not receive much acceptance from Dr Laila Eskandar, the minister of MURIS. The concept of making the area for business elites only was not appealing, in addition she acknowledged the right of both residents and investors in the land (ibid). At the same time, representatives at Maspero Youth Association and young architects at MADD approached the minister with their participatory proposal for developing the area (Abdulaty, 2015; Borham, 2015; Laby, 2015).

Accordingly, MURIS recognized, both the challenges and opportunities in Maspero and a win-win approach had become the main target. Participatory development finally became the centre of attention, instead of the previously adopted approach of state driven and investors oriented development through direct and indirect evictions (ibid). Dr Laila Eskander mentioned clearly that there will be no eviction for the inhabitants in the area. She stated that the aim of the project is to satisfy all the involved actors, and that this will be done in cooperation with youth architects who were able to communicate with the community in the area (referring to MADD) (Farag, 2014; Fowler, 2015).

Eng. Soaud Israel (head of the Projects Division for Cairo and Upper Egypt in MURIS and the head of Maspero project) mentioned, through an interview with her, that by announcing Maspero as a re-planning area, a big step is taken towards developing the area. She also said that this is considered the first re-
planning area in Egypt, making it a show case. She added that, according to MURIS, Maspero project is considered as a landmark case demonstrating how participatory upgrading can work in Egypt, how to redevelop an existing area, and how to deal with re-planning areas (Israel, 2015). It is also important to note that, Maspero’s case is receiving a strong political support from the president and the prime minister. Hence, it is claimed to be used as a political showcase by the ministry (Borham, 2015).

As Maspero is a privately owned land, by announcing it as a re-planning area, the first step will be to redistribute land ownership, afterwards re-planning and redevelopment shall take place. Land redistribution requires many negotiations and agreements between residents and investors, who almost never talked before. Accordingly, MURIS initiated this role (ibid).

Although, the official project of Maspero started in 2014, before that a group of urban researchers called MADD were working in the area through a parallel project. Their story started in May 2013, when they received research fund from IIE (Institute International Education) and ADEF (Arab Digital Expression Foundation) to research and design the triangle (El-Marsafy, 2014).

MADD is an urban innovation platform, involving four engineers between the age of 30 and 33. They started in 2010 through participating in an urban competition. It is a research platform, and they are not registered to guarantee the independency of the organization and the implementation of their parallel approach (El-Marsafy, 2014; Zaaza, 2015).

In the parallel project, after receiving the grant, MADD architects’ profiled the area; socially and physically. Different tools were used to map the residents’ lifestyles (El-Marsafy, 2014). Throughout their study, they pointed out several challenges hindering development. Some of the highlighted points were, the dilemma of land ownership, the money driven visions about the area that ignores the presence of the current inhabitants and the historical value of the triangle, the national approach in solving the housing problem and the need to connect to
nearby neighbourhoods (downtown and, Bulaq abo El-ala districts) (Borham, 2015).

MADD followed a rights-based approach in contrary to the previously suggested money led ones. Accordingly, they defended the rights of the residents to stay in the whole triangle through reshuffling of land ownership. Currently investors own lands in the core of the triangle although the prime location is its edge. Consequently, MADD approach is based on redistribution of land ownership which ensures the satisfaction of both the investors and the residents. MADD proposal focused on ensuring the right of the people, in addition to preserving the historical fabric and buildings in the area (Borham, 2015).

In the end of the seven months grant, MADD engineers had three design proposals, a concept zone and a housing proposal for the previously suggested 7 feddan (in case inhabitants were not granted the right to stay over the whole triangle) (ibid).

In 2014, MURIS and particularly Dr Laila Eskander found out that the idea of redistributing land ownership could solve the long unsolved problem of Maspero. She was interested in developing the area as well as the right of the people to stay. Consequently a connection was established between MADD and MURIS. However, since, MADD is not registered, while the ministry can only deal with official institutions, they decided to work under an officially registered architecture office named Gateway to cover this legal gap. Hence, a contract was signed focusing on solving the problem of land ownership, and proposing solutions that benefit, both, residents and investors, then the official work had begun (El-Marsafy, 2014).

According to Laila Eskandar, following a rights based approach is considered as a win-win situation for all actors. Involving residents in the decision making process is crucial for the project’s progress. A dialogue is proposed between authorities and residents to agree whether they want to stay in the area or they prefer relocation. She mentioned that, for either options, fund is provided to buy
new land or to upgrade existing houses. A budget of US $143 million is allocated to this program and residents are given property rights. In return, the government receives taxes for these properties, where 25 percent of it is redirected to upgrading informal areas. This reflects how both the residents and the government win. At the same time, in case of new investments in the area, investors are obliged to involve the residents in their planning process (Fowler, 2015).

This new system/approach is adopted and tested in Maspero triangle. Providing residents with property rights calms their fears of gentrification and eviction, which motivates them to improve their homes. According to Eskandar “Land rights in turn are therefore allowing us to improve the neighbourhoods of informal settlements” (Fowler, 2015).

Several public conferences took place after the signing of the contract between the residents, investors and the government to announce the progress in the project, and to communicate with the residents (Figure 4. 25 & Figure 4. 24). After three months of the project, the concept for distribution of land was prepared and agreed on in one of those conferences (in Feb 2014), where the residents signed a document for the final conceptual zoning of the area (Laby, 2015; Borham, 2015; Zaaza, 2015) (in the appendix).

Afterwards, official surveying of the area took place by the district (Hassanien & Abd El-Rady, 2015) in parallel to finalising the terms of references (TOR) of the international competition between an international consultant (Hill international), Gateway and MADD (Abdulaty, 2015). In May 2015, the announcement of the competition was published in the national newspaper calling for consultants and offices to apply. As a positive note, there was a selective criteria for applying to the competition, and of them is that the applied office have to have previous experience in participatory projects (AlAhram newspaper, 2015). Figure 4. 26 elaborates the project process between May 2013 and May 2015.
Figure 4.25 One of the public conferences in September 2014, in the picture, Eng. Soad Israel and minister, Laila Eskander from MURIS, Ahmed Zaaza from MADD, and Sayed Laby, a resident and representative in the MYA. 
Source: (Gateway, 2014)

Figure 4.24 A public conference in September 2014, attended by minister Laila Eskaner, and prime minister. 
Source: (Gateway, 2014)
Figure 4.6 Timeline of Maspero between May 2013 and May 2015
Source: Author Based on (Abdulaty, 2015; Borham, 2015; Loby, 2015; Hassanien & Abd El-Rady, 2015; MADD, 2014; Zaaza, 2015)
4.3 Policy making and implementation in Maspero over time

*From moving to improving (MADD, 2014)*

Maspero triangle is a controversial case due to several reasons, the area’s value, vitality, history, and location. While, its unique location in the heart of Cairo attracts investors, its cultural and historical value attracts historians, urban planners, and it’s challenging circumstances attracts activists. Consequently, the area witnessed many shifts in the urban policies dealing with it over time. Three major transformation points resulted in approaching Maspero with the current participatory approach (Figure 4. 27).

![Figure 4. 27 Maspero over time](source: Author based on (Gate way, 2014; MADD, 2014))

In short, Maspero problems revolve around being a deteriorated area with contested land ownership, which results in the challenging case present today (Borham, 2015; Abdulaty, 2015). This resembles poor urban governance due to the contested land ownership as well as inefficient urban management due to the weak role of local government over time (Figure 4. 28).

According to Selim (2015), three domains are needed in the remaking of Bulaq: political, social and spatial. Deteriorated areas are therefore an outcome of social and political influences over the spatial qualities of a certain area. Consequently all three domains have to move hand in hand in order to satisfy the needs and interests of different actors - political will supporting social and spatial development (Selim, 2015).
Based on the narrations of the past and present of Maspero, it is clear that over time the areas had been dealt with from different perspectives and policies, starting with admitting the vitality of the area that faded by time, then the tendency to attract investments no matter what, until the latest approach of recognizing the sociocultural potential and trying to hinder future deterioration through a win-win approach that respects residents and investors (Figure 4.29).

Figure 4.28 Challenges in Maspero
Source: Author reviewed with (Abdulaty, 2015; Borham, 2015)
In terms of policy making and implementation, until 2011, policy making was oriented towards the wants of investors, rather than the needs of the residents. Proposals like Cairo 2050 master plan translated the neoliberal agenda adopted at that time (Khalil, 2014; Tadamun, 2014). After the revolution, the pressure from the residents and human rights organisations to stay in the area pushed the government to propose an internal relocation option, which was proved later to be unpractical (MADD, 2014). Hence, the intervention of MADD to provide a practical alternative through their parallel participatory project came in time. However, the marked turning point happened by the formation of MURIS, and the support of the minister, Laila Eskander to the rights based approach proposed by MADD, through land reshuffling (El-Marsafy, 2014). Without this political support, the development in the area could have remained a ‘parallel’ activity.

When it comes to the third domain of this research, the process, prior to the revolution, classical top down approaches for urban planning were dominating the development of Cairo and Maspero. Elite planners and public officials used to plan in isolation of other involved actors and beneficiaries. The opinions of normal citizens and urban poor were completely excluded (Khalil, 2014; Cairo from below, 2011). Such state driven/ top down proposals resulted in forced and indirect evictions, which were met with strong resistance from residents and human rights organisations, especially after the revolution. Only when the residents became involved in the process, the project started to proceed. Accordingly, one could say that a participatory process had proved to be a key element for urban development and projects’ sustainable progress (Figure 4. 29).
Figure 4. Urban policies in Maspero Over time
Source: Author
4.4 Conclusion

As an attempt to connect what is planned at the policy level with what is implemented on the ground, while responding for the resurgent need for managing urbanisation, this thesis focused on the case of Maspero. Maspero is selected as it reflects the transformation in the relationship between policies and practices over time.

The story of Maspero is narrated in this chapter, showing that the area has a long history with national policies. It was until the parallel project by MADD, that the area started to be developed through a rights based approach. The proposed projects before MADD proposal were either idealistic and business driven, or impractical. At the same time, implemented strategies were profit driven, accordingly forced eviction of residents living in vital areas of the city had been one of the main promoted polices at that time.

Fortunately, to date, the area dealt with according to the new participatory approach promoted by the government, through its newly formed ministry of state of Urban Renewal and Informal Settlements MURIS. On a wider scale, Maspero reflects the strong reflection of policy making on implementation in Egypt.
the Greater Cairo region (GCR) consists of three governorates Cairo, the urban areas of Giza (west of the Nile) and urban areas of Qaliubia (north of Cairo Governorate)

Inspired from a quote by Mahmoud Shaaban, a teacher living in Maspero in MADD report that says “Maspero is our Egypt. We have been raised upon loving Egypt. We have been taught to defend Egypt. We have been growing up on the notion of the meaning of Egypt is embedded in the people of Egypt. We have been told, through media, that we have to die for our Egypt. Maspero is our Egypt. We will dig graves in Maspero to be buried in our land, when they come to take us out and tear Maspero down” (MADD, 2014, p. 17). In the same premise, Dr Laila Eskandar mentioned in a TV talk that Maspero belongs to Cairo and all Egyptians (Cairo 260, 2015).

Cases are present in Ezbet Abu Qarn in Old Cairo, Ramlet Bulaq and Maspiro in central Cairo, and Al-Sahaby area in Aswan (Amnesty International, 2011)

“The main objective of the project is to make a world class vibrant public realm for pedestrians that will increase the quality of life, stimulate economic vitality and create an exciting and comfortable experience for locals and tourists” (Associated Consultants, 2010, p. 27 & 28)
CHAPTER FIVE

Maspero’s future

*Same Processes, Same results*
“If you do what you've always done, you'll get what you've always gotten”
Anthony Robbins

Challenges in Maspero are a reflection and consequence of neoliberalism (MADD, 2014), urbanisation, and the national urban planning policies in Egypt. Understanding the situation in Maspero reveals many lessons and concerns regarding the role of the state, and the definition of the rights of the people (MADD, 2014).

The complexity of Maspero gives it many edges. Different notions are clearly showcased in the area leading to more questions than answers. In this chapter concerns from what is currently happening in the area are cascaded to notions and questions for future research, and - if possible- quick amendments in the ongoing project of Maspero.

Accordingly, this chapter starts by presenting what is currently happening in Maspero, based on the reviews of the different actors, in addition to the literature review. The status quo is illustrated through investigating what is known, what is not known, the stances of the various actors in the project, and the position of the project in comparison to the previously identified theoretical illustration.

Following this, analysis for the current situation is presented through defining the lessons learned from the project, and the different issues, concerns and notions. Eventually the driving and hindering forces for Maspero’s development are summarized, and speculations about Maspero’s future are discussed.
5.1 What is currently happening in Maspero

The ongoing project of Maspero reflects, the current political scene in Egypt. It resembles the direction of the government towards complying with the demands of the people to stay in their area, however, there are many unknowns in the equation that needs to be explored and understood.

5.1.1 What is known

It is clear that the government, investors and residents are all interested in developing the area. In addition, there is a revealed consensus about the importance of the participation of the community in this process. In addition, forced evictions are condemned by the new minister, Laila Eskandar (State of information service, 2014; Fowler, 2015; Israel, 2015) and in the last update of the Egyptian constitution in 2014 (Tadamun, 2014).

However, at the same time, attempts of forced evictions are still taking place in other areas in the country (Rose, 2014; Amnesty International, 2014). Moreover, although there is an agreement about participation, and its inclusion in different legislations, it is unclear how it shall be pursued, or who shall be involved, especially given that the local popular council are currently dissolved (Shaath, 2015; Abdulaty, 2015). In addition, although the 2014 constitution includes informal areas, the term itself is not defined in it (Tadamun, 2014).

5.1.2 What is not known

The notion of public benefit was previously individualized (MADD, 2014), attempts of forced evictions are still ongoing (inside and outside the area) (Rose, 2014; Amnesty International, 2014; Zaazaa, 2015), and the conflict of interest of the government in Maspero by being also an investor through Maspero Company (MADD, 2014; Borham, 2015; Abdulaty, 2015), all raise questions regarding the future of Maspero.

Furthermore, the current solutions provided in Maspero did not tackle the root of the problem, how did mixed land tenure happen? What lead to it? And how can it be prevented in other areas? (Borham, 2015; Abdulaty, 2015).
5.1.3 Status quo of Maspero

In this part, Maspero is analysed through based on the theoretical understanding of urban policies in chapter 2, the analysis of the Egyptian national context in chapter 3, and the narrations of Maspero story in chapter 4. The aim of this analysis is to compare what is currently happening with what is aimed, in addition to comparing the local situation in Maspero to the national context of Egypt (presented in chapter 3). This is not done to assess the project (which have to take place after implementation), however it is done to draw out lessons and recommendations regarding the sustainability, replicability and success of Maspero project on the local and national scales, which could be used to amend the current processes.

First of all, Maspero is perceived differently through different actors. All actors recognise the area as a re-planning area based on the building law 119/2008, however, the government still deals with the area as an informal area (that’s why MURIS is involved), while urban planners stress on and advocate for its formality and historical value (Shaath, 2015; Abdulaty, 2015; Borham, 2015) (Figure 5.1). Such completely different perspectives are critical, as this might not guarantee the involvement of MURIS later, especially in case the minister changed (Abdulaty, 2015; Borham, 2015; Zaaza, 2015).
Figure 5.1 Maspero's contested area type
Source: Author based on (ISDF, 2011; El-Faramawy, 2015; MADD, 2014) revised with (Abdulaty, 2015; Borham, 2015; Shaath, 2015)
On the good side, the processes in Maspero involve communication with residents and young planners, which makes it participatory and two way process, unlike the traditional top down one (which is still happening in most of the other current projects on the national level). However, not all actors are supporting the project, by investigating the role and stance of the various actors regarding the current steps, it is clear that the local government and some physical planners do not fully support the ongoing steps, yet given the political power of the minister of MURIS, and the support from the prime minister and the president, the project progresses (Zaaza, 2015; Borham, 2015; Abdulaty, 2015; Hassan, 2015) (Figure 5.2).

![Diagram](image)

*Figure 5.2 Current processes in Maspero*

*Source: Author, based on (Zaaza, 2015; Borham, 2015; Abdulaty, 2015)*
This demonstrates an urban governance system, as actors from different groups are involved, and supported with a strong political will, however, similar to the national context of Egypt, the incompetency of local government is reflected on the contested urban management, and the current actions on the ground like the last attempt from the district to remove six buildings in June 2015, which was stopped by an action from the minister of MURIS (ibid) (Figure 5.3).

Figure 5.3 Status quo of Maspero
Source: Author revised with (Zaaza, 2015; Borham, 2015; Abdulaty, 2015; Hassan, 2015)
Not only in Egypt (Figure 3.12, 3.13, & 3.14), but also in Maspero, planning is still practiced through a centralised manner. The central government, through MURIS, is the steering body for both, policy making and implementation (although implementation is not its role). Furthermore, most of interviewees (Hassan from Maspero, Borham and Zaaza from Madd, and Abdulaty from Gateway), stated that the progress in the project is also personalised to the minister Laila Eskander, and that if she left her position as the minister of MURIS the continuity of the project will be under threat (Abdulaty, 2015; Zaaza, 2015; Borham, 2015; Hassan, 2015), in contrary, Khalil Shaat, the current head of Cairo governorate’s informal area upgrading unit, mentioned in his interview that the project is not personalised and that there is a strong willingness from the government to proceed in it (Shaath, 2015). However, Zazaa, Hosny, Abdulaty and Borham insisted that the local government is not interested in the project. Hosny stated “the governorate and the district don’t want people in the area” (Abdulaty, 2015; Zaaza, 2015; Borham, 2015; Hassan, 2015) (Figure 5.4).
Furthermore, it is noteworthy to mention that the situation in Maspero is beyond the normal scene of two actors with conflicting interests. The contested ownership is reflected in the conflicting relationships between the actors in the area. MADD (2014) reported that the situation cannot be reduced to a problem between investors who owns the land, versus residents who live on the land. For instance residents, donot all have the same interest to stay in the area, while some would prefer to stay, others would go for taking money and buying their own apartments elsewhere, while others would prefer to (Hassanien & Abd El-Rady, 2015; Abdulaty, 2015), in addition, some of them are renters while others are owners, and some work for the investor, all this affects their interests and relationship to the land. Moreover, Maspero Company as a joint venture between Cairo Governorate, Misr Bank and the National Bank of Egypt represent both, the state and the investors, which results in a conflict of interest for the government, as also an indirect investor (MADD, 2014; Borham, 2015; Abdulaty, 2015), however, Shaath (2015) mentioned that there is no conflict (Shaath, 2015) (Figure 5.5).
Figure 5: Detailed roles of Actors

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Actor</th>
<th>Expected Role</th>
<th>Sector</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Government</strong></td>
<td>Facilitator</td>
<td>Reinforcing law</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Caretaker of public benefit</td>
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<td><strong>Investors</strong></td>
<td>Profit making</td>
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<td><strong>Media and</strong></td>
<td>News production</td>
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<td><strong>Political</strong></td>
<td>Advocacy</td>
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<td><strong>Parties</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Residents</strong></td>
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<td>Negotiating their rights</td>
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<td></td>
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<td><strong>Human Rights</strong></td>
<td>Protecting rights</td>
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<td><strong>and Project</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Partners</strong></td>
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**Conflict**
- Conflict of interest of Maspero company
- Public interest is not commonly defined among governmental bodies
- Conflict of interest of those working for the investors
In the end, by observing what sparked the work in Maspero, and what keeps it going, it is clear that the initial contact between MURIS, young architects at MADD, and the representatives from the area ignited official development in the area. This reflects a strong political support derived by the parallel practice, and people’s demands. However, it is argued that the political interest at higher levels (the president, prime minister, and the minister) is weakly reflected to policies (i.e. no evictions, participatory development), which is not translated to other levels; plans and programs. Basically, the contact happens directly between higher and lower levels, with little willingness from middle tiers (local government) to support (Abdulaty, 2015; Borham, 2015) (Figure 5.6).

![Figure 5. 6 Analysis of Maspero project in relevance to planning, policy and governance levels](image)

*Source: Author revised with (Abdulaty, 2015; Borham, 2015)*
5.2 Analysis of the current situation

Examining the case of Maspero is not only motivated by a desire to defend a neighbourhood that is threatened by demolition. Rather, this neighbourhood represents a model that brings up many issues related to housing and urban planning on the political, economic and social sphere. [...] By discussing the Maspero case, we are in fact discussing other issues such as the right to housing, state responsibility and transparency, housing problems, forced eviction and the disappearance of old neighbourhoods from Cairo center (MADD, 2014, p. 106).

Maspero shows an active example for projects of urban development in Egypt, the project is receiving national, and international attention, and it is progressing at a quick pace. As discussed earlier, the project is promoted and recognised by the ministry as a landmark show case (Fowler, 2015; Israel, 2015). Consequently, the following analysis focus on lessons, as well as, issues and concerns to make Maspero a real landmark that leads and sets an example of how development can happen in the scale of Maspero and on the national level in Egypt.

Lessons and concerns are extracted based on the data collected throughout this research, which was then verified with key actors in the project through interviews and a round table discussion to ensure the credibility of the research findings.
5.2.1 Lessons from Maspero

Various lessons can be learnt from Maspero. The story implies the importance of participatory planning process, and strong political will in connecting urban policymaking and implementation. The strong political will is demonstrated through the role of MURIS, particularly the minister Laila Eskandar in steering development in the area. At the same time, there is a strong will from people (residents and beneficiaries) in developing the area. Without this partnership, which implies support on both scales, the project would not have been progressed in such a quick pace. Consequently, building trust between national and local tiers is crucial for urban development. This comes by meeting the needs of the people through actions in reality.

Furthermore, Maspero manifests the significance of participation for the development process, as well as, the importance of shared values/vision in connecting urban policymaking and implementation. By supporting negotiations between the involved actors (government, residents, and investors), while agreeing on a common vision of development, win-win and practical solutions are assured. In addition, Maspero reflects the importance of respecting historical, cultural, and social potentials within the area to facilitate its development in reality.

Furthermore, Maspero reflects the importance of parallel practice in sparking development. At the same time, it shows the importance of communication between official institutions and non-formal groups to connect policies with practices. It also shows the significance of rights based policies, as well as the positive implications of having at top government a person who supports such approach (the minister Laila Eskandar).

On a wider scale all this implies that urban development is a multi-level process that should be integrated, sustainable, rights based, people centered and participatory. Furthermore, the connection between politics and planning is demonstrated in Maspero through the strong role of MURIS in the development process, as well as, the key role of active and organized residents.
5.2.2 Issues, Concerns and Questions

Based on the analysis of the status quo presented earlier in this chapter, there are many concerns that threat the sustainability and future replicability of the project. Based on literature review and interviews, the following table is developed to present the main issues, concerns and notions in Maspero.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issues (What is currently happening in Maspero)</th>
<th>Concerns and Questions</th>
<th>Notions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The area is deteriorated (MADD, 2014)</td>
<td>What are the causes of deterioration? How can national policies foster urban development? How to protect historical values?</td>
<td>Urban deterioration and Harmonious Urban Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Centralized and personalized planning process (Abdulaty, 2015; Zaaza, 2015; Borham, 2015; Hassan, 2015)</td>
<td>Who decides? Does Maspero reflect the future approach in dealing urban development in Egypt, or is it an exception? Is the adopted approach sustainable or tailored only for this case? What is meant by political will: is it resembled in the parliament or in ministries or through the president or his party? How to ensure the sustainability of the project without depending on a certain person?</td>
<td>Planning approach and process</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of official representation of the community</td>
<td>How effective is the adopted participatory approach? Do the people feel represented?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

133
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue of contested land tenure</th>
<th>What is referred to by participation? Who participates? At which stages is participation allowed?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lack of Civil society organizations (Abdulaty, 2015) (government not governance)</td>
<td>How are the people represented, organized and mobilized? How to enable a wider involvement of civil society?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proposals ignore the root of current situation of Mixed land tenure (Abdulaty, 2015; Borham, 2015)</td>
<td>How did mixed land tenure happen? What lead to it? And how can it be prevented in other areas? Why doesn’t the current proposal tackle this issue?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Issue of contested land tenure</td>
<td>Who owns? How did mixed land tenure happen? Who has the legal/human right to stay; the inhabitants or the investors? How can a land be owned by more than one owner? What defines ownership?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More power is given to the state by announcing the area as a replanning one (Salheen, 2015)</td>
<td>What does this imply in reality? How to ensure that the power given to the state with this decision benefits investors and residents on the long run?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maspero is labelled as Unsafe (ISDF,</td>
<td>What makes an informal or unsafe area in Egypt (economic benefits/public</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2011) and MURIS works on it accordingly as an informal area (Shaath, 2015; El-Faramawy, 2015) inspite of the urban planners view of the area as a legal/formal historical one (Zaaza, 2015; MADD, 2014)

<p>| Some residents are owners while others are renters (MADD, 2014) | Will owners choose to stay or leave for economic benefits? | Drivers of solidarity (Economic or cause based) |
| Evictions are still taking place in Egypt (Rose, 2014; Amnesty International, 2014) and in Maspero (Zaaza, 2015). | How credible is the current language of no evictions? How evictions will be hindered on the project level? | Relationship between National and local tiers |
| Conflict of interest of the government as a state and investor (MADD, 2014; Borham, | Who decides? Who benefits? What are the drivers of decisions: public good or private interests? | Role of the state and public benefit |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2015; Abdulaty, 2015</th>
<th>Undefined public benefit (MADD, 2014)</th>
<th>What is meant by a public benefit? And who are the public? Who decides and who benefits?</th>
<th>Public benefit</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Contradictions between the right to the city and the law of the city; as well as the rule of law and the rule of practice (Abdulaty, 2015; Zaaza, 2015)</td>
<td>What is respected: law, practice, rights?</td>
<td>Policymaking versus implementation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Some laws are exempted in Maspero (Hassanien &amp; Abd El-Rady, 2015)</td>
<td>Is Maspero an exception or does it resemble the future approach to upgrade informal/deteriorated areas?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Laws of urban planning in Egypt are physical (Abdulaty, 2015)</td>
<td>How can the physical planning law be contextualized?</td>
<td>Physical versus process-led planning</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.1 Issues, concerns and notions in Maspero
In short, while there are many lessons that can be transferred from Maspero as success indicators for other areas, various concerns and issues are also raised and need to be tackled to ensure the success, replicability and sustainability of the project. Figure 5. Figure 5.7 summarizes the main driving and resisting forces, facilitating or hindering the project.

![Figure 5.7 Driving and resisting factors for Maspero’s sustainable urban development](source)

**Source**: Author
5.3 Maspero’s future?
On the national level, the uncertainty of urban planning (Friedmann, 2008) is doubled in a context like Egypt. The unavailability of specific planning system, where projects are dealt with case by case, mainly depending on who is deciding, makes results unpredicted.

One of the demands of the Egyptian revolution in 2011 was to raise the quality of life of the Egyptian citizen; socially, economically and spatially. Social and political rights accordingly became in the centre of debates (Borham, 2012). However, in spite of the changes that happened in the practice of urban planning in Egypt over the last decades (from rational comprehensive planning to collaborative planning), it was and still practiced in a centralised manner. This is double edged, as it makes policies revolve around persons, so if the right person is appointed, one can witness progress (Borham, 2015). The lack of a comprehensive system that is based on pre-set principles, yet also flexible and dynamic, lead to the problems observed today in complying to strategies, even if they are there (Abd El-Kawy, 2015).

With regrad to Maspero, over time, development schemes for Maspero and Bulaq presented an example of the paradox between what is planned in institutions versus what is actually needed in reality. While policymaking and implementation in Egypt is overlapped, it was connected in Maspero but towards the wrong direction, where the only focus was gaining profits, even if this is at the expense of people. However, the status quo marks a point of transformation in the development of the area. It is clear that the project is progressing at a quick pace, which demonstrates its success on the scale of the area,
The future success of Maspero is speculated based on the vitality of the area, its cultural and historic importance, as well as the right of the residents to stay. However, the political importance of the area, and giving the project national attention are the main drivers for developing the area in such a quick pace (Abdulaty, 2015; Borham, 2015). But does this make it a landmark project, as desired by the ministry (Israel, 2015)? This indeed depends on what is referred to with a ‘landmark’, Is the aim to have another ‘show case’ Or a ‘best practice’? Does it aim to go beyond change on the surface towards an evolution in the core? Is it about short term, or long term results? Is it about project scale benefits, or a real change in the directions of policies, plans and programs?

Accordingly, several initial indicators are formulated into the following questions to identify the sustainability and replicability of Maspero’s project. Is there a political will? Do legislations support the adopted approach? Are practices in the ground institutionalised? Are the roles of national and local actors defined? Are the public officially represented and Civil society involved? Does the proposed solution tackle the root problem? All actors agreed that there is a strong political will (resembled in MURIS), however the answers to most of the other questions was no, this indeed rings a bell regarding the current practices in Maspero. In Addition Laila Eskandar the minister of MURIS said in a quick chat with her at the ministry that she up till now the process of Maspero is still not supported by a legal framework, she showed her interest to make this root change (Eskandar, 2015)

Although answers to these questions do not assess the success or failure of the project (which is supposed to be done after the project’s completion), it helps in identifying if the project is integrated in the different levels of planning or not, and if it aims to go beyond being a shows case towards being a best practice. Similar concerns and questions are outlined in the latest publication about Maspero, ‘parallel urban practice in Egypt’ (Shawkat, et al., 2015).

Consequently, the cost of following same process will only result in another mega project that satisfies specefic political agendas (may be for political gain), with no
core transformation in the system (Zaaza, 2015; Borham, 2015). Generalizing the participatory rights-based approach in Maspero to other similar areas in Egypt will be a transformation point in the history of urban planning in the country. Accordingly, a sincere shift is needed, if Maspero is meant to be a best practice.

5.4 Conclusion
Maspero’s presents a complex case. This chapter revealed many underlying problems that are present in the area and were not known in the beginning. While this adds to the complexity and challenge of the case, it also makes lessons transferable to more cases. In this chapter lessons are extracted, and the issues and concerns are presented.

This chapter raised many questions, on which basis projects gain political support? How can a shift happen from focusing on persons and project to transformations in policies? How can urban issues be managed through a more sustainable framework? How can positive cases be generalized and learnt from? And finally, how to ensure that the right people are in the right position?

Maspero showcased the importance of the political support, and participatory process in sustaining projects of urban development. In addition, it manifests the significance of parallel practices and rights based policies in initiating development.

However, Maspero’s also project also demonstrated the deeply centralised and personalised approach of urban planning in Egypt, which is in fact benefiting the project, and makes it progress at a higher pace. However, the provided solutions still did not tackle the roots of some of the problems in the area (i.e. mixed land tenure). In addition, the stance of the local government is not clear.

Based on the presented analysis, a list of indicators are developed to identify the replicability and sustainability of urban projects, showing some different challenges that need to be tackled, if Maspero is to be a best practice.
CHAPTER SIX

Discussion, Recommendations and Conclusion

Towards connecting urban policymaking and implementation

in Egypt and Maspero
This chapter aims to link the research findings with research questions, and to open a discussion for future investigations. Hence in the chapter starts with general reflections on Maspero project are presented demonstrating the importance of connecting urban policy making and implementation in Maspero and in Egypt. After wards, results of the roundtable discussion are formulated into guidelines for this purpose. Accordingly, recommendations are presented in relation to the domains of the research; policy making, implementation, and processes. In the last part, answers to the research questions are summarized.

Finally, several options for proceeding in phase three of the research (delivering of research findings and recommendations) are presented, along with the research limitation.
6.1 **General Reflections**

Although policy making happens at the national level, it still influence lower levels. At the same time, policy implementation at lower levels affect the process of policy making at higher levels. And both, do influence the urban conditions in reality. Consequently policy makers have to consider the demands of the people at the local in formulating their policies, keeping in consideration the available resources (Shaath, 2015) (Figure 6.1). Thus, the medium between both spheres have to facilitate the connection of these both levels, which is the focus of this chapter.

*Figure 6.1 General Reflections*

*Source: Author, influence based on (Borham, 2012), 3d of Maspero from (MADD, 2014), categorization of resources and demands from (Shaath, 2015)*
6.2  Towards connecting urban policy making and implementation

In order to achieve urban development on the local level, this research demonstrated the strong connection between policies in institutions and practices in reality. Consequently, having a strong political will on the national level, efficient urban management to connect national and local tiers, and taking coherent actions, all become important factors in the equation (Figure 6.2). All this reflects on the ‘connection’ between the domains of the research; policy making, implementation, and implications. This link is perceived as a chain where each element depend on and affect the other as seen in the diagram. Accordingly, some guidelines were developed during the round table discussion to connect urban policy making and implementation, with a specific focus on Egypt and Maspero, which is the focus of the next part.

![Figure 6.2 Towards urban development](source: Author based on the Analysis of Maspero)
6.3 Guidelines to connect urban policy making and implementation in Egypt and Maspero

The proposed guidelines aims to answer the main research question: *How to connect urban policymaking and implementation in Egypt.* Different actors were asked directly the preceding question in face to face interviews, during the organized roundtable discussion, and during the Egypt Urban Forum held in Cairo in June 2015.

The Guidelines are developed accordingly and based on the main research findings, and lessons from Maspero, which are translated to principles to connect urban policy making and implementation, and hence, the redefinition of roles of actors on the national level of Egypt (Figure 6.3).

![Diagram](image)

*Figure 6.3 Concept behind the proposed guidelines
Source: Author, concept of graphics inspired from (Faehnle, et al., 2011), 3d of Maspero from (MADD, 2014)*
6.3.1 Learning from Maspero:
During the round table discussion, actors emphasized on the success of Maspero on the local/project scale. Accordingly they summed up different factors which facilitated the initiation of Maspero project and its continuity (until this moment), and hence development in the area (Roundtable discussion, 2015). The factors discussed revolved around the importance of political leaders who support rights and community based development (Minister Laila Eskandar) on the national level in addition to the importance of active citizens on the local level. Moreover the room given for young architects to share their ideas, created a communication space that connects and mediates between all tiers in a professional way (ibid).
At the same time, in the discussion various gaps where spotted in the project that needs to be tackled if Maspero is to be a best practice, like for instance the centralized and personalized nature of the planning process, the incompetency of the local government, the weak urban management, and the absence of monitoring bodies to assess the progress in the project. Although up till this moment the absence of these factors did not stop the development in the area, but it slowed it down, and as the attendees of the roundtable say “Maspero is unique, and this is what makes it successful”. They also added that these problems are not only present in the case of Maspero, but are rooted in the Egyptian system, and need to be tackled, if development is to be a priority in the country. The attendees also emphasized on the importance of monitority and assessment, which is absent in Egypt (ibid) (Figure 6. 4).
Figure 6.4 Driving and hindering forces in Maspero
Source: Author based on the roundtable discussion
6.3.2 Principles
Kareem Ibrahim in his article ‘Post-Revolutionary Urban Egypt: A New Mode of Practice?’ in 2014, elaborated that the new participatory approaches promoted by the government have to be associated with change in the governance structure to enforce a participatory structure through institutional and legal support. He also argued that it is crucial to change the economic structure of the country towards one which enforces small and medium investors rather than big ones; in addition he stressed on the need to transform urban development practice in Egypt away from the state driven approaches of eviction towards empowerment of the local community (Ibrahim, 2014).

Additionally, during the Egypt Urban form, Dr Mahmoud Sherif (previous governor of Cairo and minister of ministry of local development) stressed on the need for a democratic process and real representation of the people in order to bridge the current gap between policy making and implementation. In the same direction, David Sims (an urban observer and scholar working on the context of Cairo) mentioned that transparency is needed, he asked the audience if any of us know the budget of our governorate or not, and everyone denied.

Furthermore, employees in Bulaq Abu el-Ela district emphasized on the importance of the availability of finance to ensure implementation of projects. Hassanein and Abd El-Rady stated that this is a main challenge facing implementation in Egypt (Hassanein and Abd El-Rady, 2015).

Eventually, in the round table discussion attendees stressed on the importance of power and its structure. They also stressed on the importance of capacity building, participation, awareness, education of urban planners, communication and transparency. Shaath and Abdulaty also stressed on the importance of decentralisation of money and resources, however, Borham insisted that decentralisation could be replaced by localisation (Roundtable discussion, 2015).
6.3.3 Redefining roles and structures

As seen in Figure 6.4, the policy maker (minister of MURIS) is taking over the role of the governorate in reaching out to the community, and sometimes even in implementation. This made the proposed option by one of the community residents to connect policy making and implementation is to have one body responsible for both (Laby, 2015). In the roundtable, the attendees also agreed that this could be a solution. Furthermore, three scenarios were discussed in this matter to suggest an initial framework for connecting urban policy making and implementation in Egypt (Roundtable discussion, 2015).

The first scenario is based on Laby’s suggestion to have one body for policy making and implementation. On the good side this can ensure comprehensive development, where policies and projects can be connected (especially in allocation of money), without the communication challenge of various actors, yet this requires highly competent staff (ibid).

The second scenario is to give the role of monitoring to policy makers, which ensures an ongoing push towards implementation. This scenario provides a middle ground between the current practices and the first scenario. However it also require high capacities and awareness. At the same time, the role of monitoring can be in coordination with representatives of the community (ibid).

Another scenario is discussed based on restructuring the governance and political structure of Egypt, to be a horizontal and decentralised, rather than the vertically central present one. Although this could provide a root solution, it is also a radical approach that takes a long time to be implemented in reality (ibid).
6.4 Recommendations

Based on the previous analysis and discussions, the research recommendations are categorised into three levels; national level of policy making (Egypt), the local level of policy implementation (Maspero) and processes. Recommendations and possible actions are developed with the different actors, and based on the research findings.

- Domain I: Policy making at the national level (Egypt)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Recommendations</th>
<th>Possible actions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Promote rights based policies and political direction</td>
<td>Spread awareness and embed it in the political system, and Ensure the appointment of persons who support this approach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decentralise and disseminate power from national tiers</td>
<td>Define specific roles for who decides who manages and who monitors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Depersonalise the planning system</td>
<td>Establish a strong (yet flexible) structure based on agreed upon values, and build capacities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Promote values driven development,</td>
<td>Establish a clear vision and share it with the involved actors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Encourage a resilient planning system that guides and learns from reality</td>
<td>Ensure that decisions at policy level reality reflect needs in reality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Develop practical strategies</td>
<td>Involve the community in the preparations, and urban planners and promote partnerships between communities and investors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ensure compliance of policies to developed strategies</td>
<td>Construct a strong institutional and legal structure to support it</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
- **Domain II: Policy implementation at the local level (Maspero)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Recommendations</th>
<th>Possible actions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ensure the efficiency of Local government</td>
<td>Build capacities of the employees in governorates and districts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Encourage projects that solve root problems</td>
<td>Deal with causes and effects, and avoid surface solutions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Develop practical projects</td>
<td>Involve the community in the preparations, and urban planners, and promote partnerships between communities and investors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ensure compliance of projects to the developed strategies</td>
<td>Construct a strong institutional and legal structure to support it</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- **Domain II: Processes and connection**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Recommendations</th>
<th>Possible actions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Connect local and national tiers</td>
<td>Ensure that decisions at policy level reality reflect needs in reality Develop legal and institutional framework that supports this connection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Establish a clear monitoring and assessment system</td>
<td>Construct a strong institutional and legal structure to support , and/or Establish an independent body to take this role</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Document processes</td>
<td>Ensure that lessons are transferred to the system, this can be done through engaging with parallel practices</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Encourage participation of local communities</td>
<td>Activate the role of civil society organisations</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6.5 Summery of answers to research questions

As simple as it sounds, what is claimed have to meet what is actually happening in reality. The question raised by Robert H. Wilson in his paper ‘knowledge and policy action in urban development: “if we know so much, why is the urban condition not improving?” (Wilson, 2000, p. 1), describes exactly the division between research and reality, as well as the disconnection between policy making and implementation. This is exactly what this research was about.

Through this research the relationship between urban policymaking and implementation was investigated theoretically and in practice (national scale in Egypt, and local scale in Maspero). In addition, the importance of connecting both domains is demonstrated as a crucial step to ensure sustainable urban development. This answers the first and second research question, illustrating the strong relation between both domains and the importance of this for sustainable urban development.

By exploring the relationship between both domains in Maspero, an answer to the last research question was provided, showing what makes urban policies implementable and sustainable through the indicators mentioned in chapter 5, and the discussion in this chapter.

By answering the three secondary questions of the research presented in the first chapter, a closer step was taken towards understanding How to connect urban policymaking and implementation in Egypt and Maspero, which was explored in further detail in this chapter. The answer focused on the importance of working on multi levels and scales through filling the gap of documentation, monitoring and assessment in Egypt.
6.6 What’s next

The last phase of this research, aims to disseminate the research findings. This was discussed with different actors, who were interested to support and collaborate in future efforts. Several ideas are present including publishing the research and/or the findings, and communicating the recommendations to MURIS (as the steering body of Maspero project). In addition, some of the actors were motivated to develop a monitoring team for assessing the project, publishing follow up reports on the ongoing process, for the aim of reinforcing positive efforts and suggesting recommendations to bridge any spotted gaps. This was proposed to be created through an online blog that observers the project. How phase three will proceed, is yet still unclear.

6.7 Research limitations

Given the senstivity of the topic of the research, data collection and filtering was a hard task. At the same time, studying an on going project meant that data always come in. on one side this enriched and verified the research, while this resulted in time pressure, which was already an issue given the cyclic process adopted, where most of the interviews were repeated to verify the research findings.

In addition, although actors from different groups were invited to the round table, only three attended the discussion. This was overcomed by interviewing other actors individually.
6.8 Conclusion

The research emphasized the significance of connecting urban policy making and implementation through investigating the national level of Egypt and the local case of Maspero.

Maspero presented a controversial case, not only that it mirrors different political agendas over time but also, it reflects the struggle of residents to stay in the area no matter what. Maspero demonstrated the importance of political support, as well as, community activism in initiating and sustaining the project, however it also shows that, although a participatory process is implemented, planning is still centralized and personalized, and the stance of local government is unclear. Accordingly, this chapter provided scenarios and recommendations to the gaps founded in the case of Maspero towards connecting urban policy making and implementation in Egypt.

It is recommended that it is crucial to establish a responsible body/group for monitoring and assessing development projects, in addition to the importance of raising capacities, and establishing strong legal framework and dynamic institutional structures in Egypt. This answers the main research question of how to connect urban policy making and implementation in Maspero and in Egypt.

In the end, the adopted cyclic research methodology provided an approach to verify the research findings, and an opportunity to connect research with reality. Further investigations are still in progress to deliver the research findings and recommendations, as an attempt to foster development in Egypt.
Appendices

Figure 7.1 The agreement document, signed by Maspero residents
Source: (Gateway, 2014)
Ministry of State for Urban Renewal and Informal Settlements
And Cairo Governorate

Request for Prequalification of Consultants

For the International Competition for Urban Re-Planning and Architecture Design of Maspéro Triangle

The Ministry of State for Urban Renewal and Informal Settlements and Cairo Governorate announce the intent to invite specialized local and international consultancy firms to participate in prequalification of consultants for limited design competition for the Urban Re-Planning and Architecture Design of Maspéro Triangle in Cairo, Egypt. Maspéro Triangle stands on (82) feddans of land in downtown Cairo, overlooking the Nile corniche and Abdel-Moneim Riyad & Tahrir Squares. It is home to more than 14,000 residents.

The goal of this design competition is to inspire a design that will be an exemplary mixed-use urban community, preserves heritage, protects the environment and does not lead to loss of local residents diversity due to gentrification.

Participants

Participation in this design competition shall be limited to qualified Urban Planner/Architect consultants (individual or consortium). Each participating body shall be composed of a leading international Urban Planner/Architect who has experiences covering the following specialty fields:

- Participatory Urban Upgrading through community consultations.
- Local knowledge of codes, construction systems and urban planning rules in Egypt.
- Engineering (architecture urban planning, urban design, civil, MEP, transportation, infrastructure, etc.)
- Socio-economics and livelihood based development of local communities.
- Historic preservation in urban context.
- Environmental protection.
- Economics of real estate developments.

Statements of evidence of the above fields demonstrating the in-house capacity of the leading participant shall be included in the submission. In case any of the above listed fields of experience is not covered, applicant will be disqualified.

Submittals

Consultants interested in participating in this prequalification of consultants for competition are requested to submit their prequalification documents in English in the same order as listed below, for the Lead Participant and sub consultants:

1. Official letter expressing the firm’s interest in participation and official contact information.
2. Firm registration in country of origin.
3. Firm Profile portfolio.
4. Firm past experience highlighting projects of similar nature including detailed project information such as, location, size, status of completion.
5. Proposed methodology and approach for implementation of the competition.
6. Organization chart of the firm.
7. Proposed project staff and responsibilities including CV’s of key project team members presenting their experience in similar projects.
8. Other supporting documents.

The consultant shall be disqualified in case of incomplete submission of the listed documents stated from item 1 to item 7.

Documents shall be submitted in one original and stamped hard copies and one electronic copy, Material to be delivered to the address below according to timeframe.

Mrs. / Head of Administration and Financial Department, Ministry of Urban Renewal and Informal Settlements,
Address / 31 St., El-Mokhayyem Al-Dayem St., New Cairo, P.O. Box 16, Cairo 11852, A.R.E
Tel. / 002 – 02 – 22629649 Fax / 002 – 02 – 22634000 E-mail / isdf@isdf.gov.eg

Submittals Evaluation

Submittals shall be evaluated by specialized and Expert committee and a short list will be compiled. Qualified applicants will be informed.

Preliminary Milestones

- Last submission date of prequalification documents is Tuesday, 7th of July 2015
- Announcement of short list of prequalified firms for the competition is Saturday, 1st of August 2015.

Note: Jury members will be selected from the Egyptian Government, UIA and international professionals. Value of the awards and evaluation criteria shall be announced as a part of the competition documents.

Coordinated by:

Figure 7.2 Competition announcement (English)
Source: AlAhram Newspaper, 2015
Figure 7.3 Competition announcement (Arabic)
Source: AlAhram Newspaper, 2015
TOWARDS CONNECTING URBAN POLICY MAKING AND IMPLEMENTATION IN EGYPT/MASPERO

Invitation Cover

Image source: Hendawy, 2015, the 3d of Maspero is from MADD, 2014
Background

This event is held as a part of my master thesis work in the IUSD- Integrated Urbanism and Sustainable Design program. The IUSD is a double degree master program between Ain Shams University and Stuttgart University.

My master thesis is about connecting urban policy making and implementation, Case of Maspero, Cairo, Egypt. The research follows a cyclic research methodology, and is derived from the notion of beneficial knowledge (العلم النافع) in Islam (Figure 1), hence, a two way learning process is aimed. This event is organised, as a part of phase 2 of the research. It intends to validate research findings and to come out with a framework/guidelines to connect urban policymaking and implementation in Egypt and Maspero. The outcomes of the event will also be integrated to the content of a booklet that I will develop later to deliver the research findings, phase 3 of the research process.

![Research process](image)

*Figure 1 Research process*

*Source: Author, based on (Wadsworth, 1998; Kamali, 2003) graphics inspired from (May, et al., 2003)*
Event purpose

Validate research findings and develop an initial framework to connect urban policymaking and implementation in Egypt/Maspero

Setting

Actors from different groups are invited on a roundtable/discussion including representatives from; central government, local government, CSOs, private sector, experts, urban activists, academia

Details

Date: Tuesday, 14 July 2015 at 1:30 pm
Place: To be confirmed

Program

- Presentation of research findings
- Discussion of results (existing situation)
- Building the framework: setting structure, key elements, main principles, and role of actors
- Outlining the framework

Contact

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List of Interviewees

Ahmed Abdulaty  Partner at Gateway (May 2015 & 15 June 2015)
Ahmed Zaaza  MADD Co-Founder (29 April 2015)
Amr Abd El Kawy  Professor of Architecture at the American University in Cairo (22 July 2015)
Ayman  Asistant of Cairo Governorate for western section (May 2015).
Al El-Faramawy  Previous Head od Informal Settlelements Development Facility (ISDF) [email] (7 July 2015).
Baher Elshaarawy  Technical Advisor to the minister of housing (5 July 2015)
Hosny Hassan  Resident in Maspero and member at Maspero Youth Association (26 July 2015)
Hazim  Employee at MURIS (February 2015)
Khalil Shaath,  Current head of Cairo governorate’s informal area upgrading unit (4 July 2015)
Laila Eskandar  Minister of MURIS, Quick talk at MURIS (July 2015)
Mohamed Hassan  Employees in the district of Boulaq Abu El ela (May 2015)
Mohamed Hassanien  Employees in the district of Boulaq Abu El ela (5 July 2015)
Mohamed Abd El-Rady  Employees in the district of Boulaq Abu El ela (5 July 2015)
Mohamed Salheen  Professor of Integrated Planning and Design (28 April 2015)
Nouran El-Marsafy  Team Member at Maspero Parallel Participatory project (December 2014)
Sayed Laby  
*Resident in Maspero and member in Maspero Youth Association (19 April 2015 & 15 June 2015)*

Salma Youssry  
*Program officer, UN habitat Egypt office (22 July 2015)*

Souad Israel  
*Head of the Projects Division for Cairo and Upper Egypt in MURIS and the head of Maspero project (March 2015)*

David Sims  
*Urban observer and scholar working on the context of Cairo through a panel question at Egypt Urban Forum (16 June 2015)*

Mahmoud Sherif  
*Previous governor of Cairo and minister of ministry of local development through a panel question at Egypt Urban Forum (16 June 2015)*

**Attendees of Round table Event**

Ahmed Borham  
*Co-Founder at MADD*

Ahmed Abdulaty  
*Partner at Gateway*

Khalil Shaath  
*Current head of Cairo governorate’s informal Areas Upgrading Unit*
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ملخص الأطروحات البحثية

إذا كان المسؤولون يدعون الاهتمام بالتنمية العمرانية مستدامة، فلماذا لا تتحسن الأحوال العمرانية؟ ما ترغبه من خلال قرارات الأهداف التخطيط العمراني مقارنة بما يتحقق في الواقع بطرق مجالين تابعين ومتشابكين للعمل. أثير هذا البحث من أجل تلك الحلقة المفقودة بين السياسات على المستوى القومي والتطبيق على أرض الواقع في مصر. هذا البحث يهدف إلى استكشاف العلاقة بين وضع السياسات العمرانية وتنفيذها وتتفننها من أجل تحديد كيفية الربط بينهما. يدفع هذا السؤال الكيفي البحث للإجابة عليه من خلال التحقق فيما حدث وما يحدث في تنفيذ منطقة ماسبيرو كمنطقة تاريخية مدهورة داخل مدينة القاهرة.

بناءً على ذلك، سيتبع هذا البحث منهجا نوعياً استكشافياً للإجابة على الأسئلة الفرعية التالية (1) لماذا من المهم بربط وضع السياسات العمرانية بالتنفيذ؟ (2) ما هي العلاقة بين وضع السياسات العمرانية وتتفننها، وماذا يحدث في مصر ومنطقة ماسبيرو؟ (3) ما الذي يجعل السياسات العمرانية قابلاً للتوفيق وتنفيذها؟ ويدعم هذا البحث من مفهوم "العلم النافع" في الإسلام، ويتم تكييف منهجية بحثية متكاملة لتحقيق مصلحة وتقبل نتائج البحث. تبدأ هذه الأطروحة باستعراضًا عامًا للأدبيات من جميع أنحاء العالم من أجل التوصل إلى إطار مفهيمي ونموذج مقترح لفهم وتحليل الأدوار والعلاقات في السياسات العمرانية. بعد ذلك يتم دراسة السياق المصري وتحليل حالة ماسبيرو. تدرس الدراسات من خلال مفاهيم السياسات الحضرية/العمرانية، حكمها وإدارتها، في حين يتم تقييم النتائج بمشاهدات أثر السياسات على أرض الواقع، سواء تطور أو تدهور. في النهاية، يتم عرض النتائج والنصائح الناتجة من التدوين من البحث من منطقة ماسبيرو تطرح قضية مثيرة للجدل، ليس فقط لأنها تعكس أجندة سياسية مختلفة بمجرد الوقت ولكن إنها أيضاً تعكس كفاح السكان المحليين للبقاء في المنطقة مهما كانت الظروف. علاقة وتأثير المستويات القومية والمحلية على بعض أظهرت الحاجة إلى إعادة النظر في الإجراءات الحالية للفتنتية، إذا كان المرجو اتخاذ ماسبيرو من أفضل الممارسات.
رَبْطُ وَضْعُ سِياسيَّاتِ العُمرانِ وَ التَنْفِيذِ
دِراَسَةً حَالةَ مَاسبِيرو، الْقَاهِرة، مِصرَ
رسالة مقدمة للحصول على درجة الماجستير في العمران المتكامل والتصميم المستدام
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مِنَّة الله محمد هَذَاوِي
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أ.د. يوهانسن عيد
أ.د. م . مروة أبو الفتوح خليفة
أ.د. مروة أبو الفتوح خليفة
أستاذ التنسيق الحضري والبيئي
أستاذ مساعد التخطيط العمراني
جامعة شتوتجارت
جامعة عين شمس
2015/7/27