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Shalatin (Egypt): Between Urbanism & Nomadism

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

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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 2014

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.

07/21/2014

Mohamed Mahrous

Signature

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Abstract

Shalatin is one of the most peripheral and isolated human settlements in Egypt. However, recently the State has been applying different Sedentarization strategies targeting the Bedouin population in the region and attracting outmigrants from the Nile valley as well. Thus, this recent transformation towards urbanization of the city has resulted in: inconsistent urban growth, the negligence of inhabitants' spatial needs, and discarding their cultural diversity and ecological context. Hence, this research aims at investigating the urbanization process taking place in Shalatin and evaluating the associated socio-ecological transformation. Moreover, it illustrates the city growth to grasp reasons behind such transformation. In this respect, three methods have been adopted to carry out this research. Firstly, literature reviewing of publications and official documents that has been conducted to understand more about the Egyptian Nomadic groups and analyze urban approaches adopted by authorities targeting different ethnicities within the city and the resulting influences on shaping the city of Shalatin. Secondly, field research visit has been conducted; in order to track actual dynamics and the on ground socio-ecological and spatial factors. Afterwards, collected data is visualised and compared through tracing and analyzing the city maps; to monitor the existing urban conditions and patterns formed by inhabitants. Eventually, the research achieves set of key findings and conclusions regarding the importance of integrating the ethnic backgrounds and socio-ecological differences of Shalatin. By the end of research, set of recommendations is listed towards improving the urban growth of Shalatin and the associated urban development framework.

KeyWords: *Shalatin, Sedentarization, Nomadism, Urbanism, Urban, Socio-Ecological, Socio-Spatial, Bedouins, Outmigrants.*

Table of Contents

Chapter 1. Introduction and Research Framework

1. Introduction and Research Framework	01
1.1. Research Problem.....	04
1.2. Research Hypothesis	05
1.3. Research Objectives	06
1.4. Research Questions.....	06
1.5. Research Strategy.....	06
1.6. Research Methodology.....	07
1.7. Research Limitations.....	10
1.8. Chapters Outlines.....	11

Chapter 2. Nomads of Egypt: Conceptual Framework

2. Nomads of Egypt: Conceptual Framework	15
2.1. Understanding the General Norm of Nomads	18
2.1.1. Literature Review.....	18
2.1.2. Global Classification and Geographical Mapping	19
2.2. Nomads in Egypt: Identity & Sedentarization	20
2.2.1. Distribution of Nomads in Egypt.....	20
2.2.2. Assimilation Stages for Nomads in Egypt.....	24
2.3. Sedentarization in Egypt	27
2.3.1. State Sedentarization Efforts: Historical Insight.....	27
2.3.2. 'Wadi Al-Natron' Project	28
2.4. Conclusion	29

Chapter 3. Nomads of Shalatin: Activities, Movement & Habitat

3. Nomads of Shalatin: Activities, Movement & Habitat	31
3.1. Ecological Context.....	34
3.2. Social Aspects and Tribal Structure.....	37
3.3. Bedouin Economic Activities in Shalatin.....	39
3.3.1. Pastoralism: Traditional and Main Activities.....	40
3.3.2. New Economic Opportunities and Activities.....	40
3.4. Nomads' Movement Schemes in Shalatin.....	41
3.5. Evolution of Nomads' Shelter and Habitat.....	44
3.6. Compatibility of Activities, Movement and Habitat.....	48
3.7. Conclusion	50

Chapter 4. Official Attempts Towards Urbanization of Shalatin: An Analytical Point of View

4. Official Attempts Towards Urbanization of Shalatin: An Analytical Point of View.....	51
4.1. Shalatin: Strategic Importance of City Location.....	54
4.1.1. Early Location Importance.....	54
4.1.2. Political Dispute Triggering Urbanization.....	54
4.2. Egyptian Government Urbanization First Steps and Influences.....	55
4.2.1. Development & Sedentarization Aiming Official Policies.....	57
4.2.2. Outmigrants from the Nile Valley	59
4.3. Sedentarization Oriented Urban Development	61
4.3.1. First Official Master Plan (1995)	61
4.3.2. Second Urban Intervention (2000)	65
4.4. Conclusion	71

Chapter 5. Shalatin between Nomadism and Urbanism: Analysis of the City Urban Growth

4. Shalatin between Nomadism and Urbanism: Analysis of the City Urban Growth.....	73
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5.1. General Characteristics of Shalatin	
Urban Growth.....	76
5.1.1. Early conditions (1992)	76
5.1.2. Migration Movement (2000)	77
5.1.3. Current Urban Conditions (2013)	78
5.2. Human Geography & Ethnicity in Shalatin:	
Locations and Main characteristics.....	87
5.2.1. Traditional Bedouin Settlement:	
Socio-Spatial Relations.....	87
5.2.2. Nile Valley Outmigrants: Main Locations	
and Characteristics.....	91
5.3. Chosen Districts and Associated Urban Phenomena.....	93
5.3.1. 'Hagar Al-Asas' District:	
The Changing Dynamics.....	93
5.3.2. 'Khalf Ala'mayer' District	95
5.3.3. 'Zalamony' District.....	97
5.3.4. 'Makabyer El-Shyoukh' District.....	99
5.3.5. 'Al-A'aly' District: The Drought	
Outmigration.....	101
5.4. Conclusion	104

Chapter 6. Conclusion & Recommendations

6. Conclusion & Recommendation.....	107
6.1. Summary of Key Findings	109
6.1.1. Egyptian Bedouins: Identity and Sedentarization.....	110
6.1.2. Traditional Living System in Shalatin	111
6.1.3. Urbanization of Shalatin	111
6.1.4. Official Master Plans.....	112
6.1.5. Ongoing Urban Transformation	113
6.2. Recommendations Towards a Future Vision	115
6.2.1. "Learning from Shalatin": Development of Sedentarization	
Policies and Planning Processes	116
6.2.2. Urban Development Strategies	
for Shalatin.....	116
References.....	123
Appendices.....	129

List of Figures

Figure 1: Rising Conflicts between Governmental Plans and Community Aspirations.....	04
Figure 2: Cause-Effect Relationships between Community Influences and Inconsistent Urban Form.....	05
Figure 3: Methodology applied by the researcher through thesis formulation.....	08
Figure 4: Overview on Research Limitations.....	11
Figure 5: Formulating Structure of the Chapters flow of Content.....	12
Figure 6: Nile Valley and Two Bordering Deserts representing the majority of Egypt's Surface area.....	17
Figure 7: Map the global distribution of Nomads.....	20
Figure 8: Nile Valley segregating the two deserts and locating three major Nomads groupings.....	21
Figure 9: Modified Assimilation Stages inspired by Awad classification.....	24
Figure 10: Main nomadic, semi-nomadic and sedentarization locations for Bedouins.....	26
Figure 11: 3 planned towns part of 'Wadi Al-Natrun' project, agricultural and industrial activities domains.....	28
Figure 12: Schematic diagram explaining the chapter concerns to be investigated within the city of Shalatin and its surrounding peripheries.....	34
Figure 13: Locating study area of city of Shalatin within Egypt.....	35
Figure 14: Peripheries of 'Ababda' and 'Bisharia' tribes.....	37
Figure 15: Tribal structure setting and relation to traditional ownership based on natural boundaries in 'Wadi Houdin'.....	38
Figure 16: Influences implied within Pastoral Economic Activity.....	40
Figure 17: Shalatin Bedouins Seasonal Movement Frequency in the regional and natural context.....	41

Figure 18: Movement Schemes in Shalatin and its peripheries.....	43
Figure 19: Seasonal Pastoralism Movement in the regional and natural context.....	44
Figure 20: Nomad's Traditional Shelters "Bersh"	45
Figure 21: Semi-Nomad's 'Shacks'.....	46
Figure 22: Sedentarized Bedouins Houses.....	47
Figure 23: Evolution in a Bedouin unit and corelations between different stages.....	48
Figure 24: Analysis and contents for chapter 4.....	53
Figure 25: Urban attractions for nomadic population and Nile Valley migrants.....	56
Figure 26: 'Hagar Al-Asas' Bedouin Housing Prototype.....	61
Figure 27: The 1st Urban Vision for Shalatin.....	63
Figure 28: Reflections on Drawbacks of GOPP Proposed Urban Development Studies and Master Plan.....	65
Figure 29: The 2nd Urban Vision for Shalatin.....	66
Figure 30: Identified two modes of urbanization according to the 2nd approach.....	67
Figure 31: Recognition of Tribal structure in light of the Proposed Urban development Plan:.....	69
Figure 32: Overflow of chapter 5 to investigate the transformation of Shalatin from Nomadism to Urbanism.....	76
Figure 33: Shalatin City, 1992.....	80
Figure 34: Shalatin City, 2000.....	82
Figure 35: Shalatin City, 2013.....	84
Figure 36: Main districts and locations of Shalatin	87
Figure 37: Spatial Analysis for a Bedouin Self-built settlement in Shalatin.....	90
Figure 38: Nile Valley Outmigrants different modes of Urbanization in Shalatin.....	92
Figure 39: Bedouins & Nile Valley Outmigrants settlements in 'Hagar Al-Asas'.....	94
Figure 40: Khalf Al-Amayer area socio-spatial analysiss.....	96
Figure 41: 'Zalamony' area socio-spatial analysis.....	98
Figure 42: Official Housing Projects in 'Makabyer Al-Shyoukh' area surrounded by Bedouins Self-built settlements.....	100
Figure 43: Bedouin settlements in 'Al-a'aly' area with socio-	

ecological and spatial analyzes.....	102
Figure 44: Conclusion of chapter 5 to investigate the transformation of Shalatin from Nomadism to Urbanism	105
Figure 45: Summary of the ethnic interrelationships through urbanization process.....	106
Figure 46: Relation between different modes of housing in Shalatin.....	114
Figure 47: Spatial analysis for recommended urban configurations in a Bedouin settlement in Shalatin	119
Figure 48: Analysis of overall main findings and interpretations.....	121

List of Tables

Table 1: Brief demonstration of Nomads distribution over Egypt	21
Table 2: Temperature degrees in Shalatin in Celsius degrees	35
Table 3: Assimilation stages in terms of the corresponding Shelter typology and urban configuration.....	49
Table 4: Differences between the official approach of 'Urban Housing' and 'Bedouin Housing'.....	68

Glossary

'Wadi' (وادي).....Valley

'Souq' (السوق).....Market

'Hagar Al-Asas' (حجر الاساس).....Foundation Stone

'Khalf Ala'mayer' (خلف العمائر).....Behind the Housing Blocks

'Zalamony' (ظلموني).....It is injustice for me'

'Makabyer El-Shyokh' (مقابر الشيوخ).....The Sheikhs' Graves'

'Ala'aly' (العالى).....The High

1. Introduction and Research Framework

1. Introduction and Research Framework

Remote desert settlements in Egypt are usually inhabited by Bedouin tribes, with different spatial needs in their urban context than the other high density settlements of the Nile Valley. Hence, the Egyptian State has been revealing a strategic interest towards Sedentarization of these Nomad groups living within such remote peripheries. This interest rises from the important role that these Nomad groups could play in political disputes threatening Egypt's' sovereignty over its land. In this regard, the famous disputable border area with Sudan known as 'Halayeb' triangle has been a matter of concern to the Egyptian State for the last three decades. Thus, emerges the challenge of developing this border region with political unrest by attracting the isolated inhabitants into newly more connected urban nodes. Consequently, the Egyptian State has planned and implemented different urban development projects that attracted Bedouin inhabitants and the Outmigrants from other Egyptian regions.

City of Shalatin, which is located in the north of 'Halayeb' triangle, has been undergoing so many development plans by the government in order to: ensure the State's political sovereignty, facilitate the Sedentarization process of existing Nomads, and attract some of the Nile Valley population. Thus, there are two main groups currently sharing Shalatin; to benefit from incentives offered by the government. The first is 'Ababda' and 'Bisharia' tribes with their nomadic background, while the second group is the Outmigrants coming from the Nile Valley and Upper Egypt specifically. In this respect, a lot of official development projects were executed in Shalatin targeting the provision of shelter and basic services for both groups. Hence, so many demographic changes accompanied these projects

that affected the social structure of the city. Consequently, these recent changes played an important role in shaping the urban growth of Shalatin in terms of cultural and economic traits for each of the two inhabitant groups.

In light of the strategic importance of Shalatin and its surrounding peripheries, it becomes important to consider the uniqueness of the area Ecological aspects. Obviously, the ecological context had a significant reflection on inhabitants' anthropological behavior and has been also highly connected to the traditional economic activities such as: grazing and seasonal agriculture. Accordingly, the research focuses on both social and ecological aspects to be taken into deliberation for any future urban development in the city. Hence, better understanding of these aspects would lead to sustainable urban development within such nomad settlements lying on country borders. Subsequently, this thesis discusses the government role versus the on ground urban initiations by the community.

In this respect, this research is mainly concerned with analyzing the urban growth of the city of Shalatin in terms of the socio-ecological impacts associated to the recent evolution of its urban form. Hence, the research demonstrates the exceptionality of the city to monitor the ongoing urban transformation from Nomadism to Urbanism, whereas both traditional and modern housing are embedded within city fabric.

1.1. Research Problem

There are many socio-ecological factors influencing the urban form of Shalatin. Hence, an existing gap can be clearly witnessed between the on ground development engines which are: the governmental top-down vision and implemented projects, on the other hand the people's aspirations towards more convenient life in view of their ethnic background. Therefore, the area has been evolving in a context of cultural conflicts between both ethnic groups whether Bedouins or Nile valley Outmigrants, and how they perceive the future of the city in a different view of the government (See Figure 1).



Figure 1 Rising Conflicts between Governmental Plans and Community Aspirations (Author).

Accordingly in the last three decades, the city of Shalatin has been rapidly heading towards urbanization as a strategic node in the southeast. Although on the other hand, the current urban situation that is being practiced on ground raises so many speculations regarding the urban future of this city based on differentiation and diversity. Additionally, there is a potential risk of having serious urban conflicts between different living ethnicities that shouldn't be neglected, in which the government didn't fully succeed in respecting their uniqueness, ecological and cultural identity, and actual interests (See Figure 2).

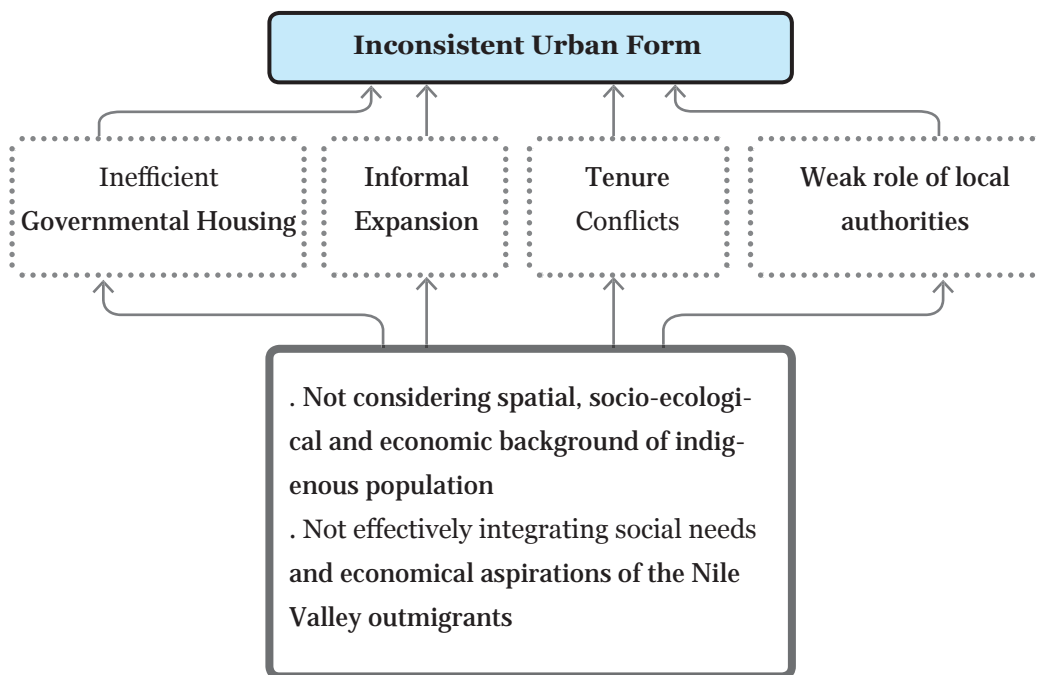


Figure 2 Cause-Effect Relationships between Community Influences and Inconsistent Urban Form (Author)

In light of the previous premise, this research addresses the lack of suitable spatial relations and interactions between different urban settlements. Thus, the inconsistency of urban forms are referred back to the socio-ecological issues between inhabitants originating from different ethnicities that resulted in a gap between what has been planned by the government and what has been exercised by the community on ground.

1.2. Research Hypothesis

The socio-ecological distinctiveness of nomad inhabitants in Shalatin, in addition to their existing cultural differences from the newly introduced ethnicities

migrating from the Nile Valley, all are affecting the city urban expansions. Accordingly, this research postulates that better understanding for these culturally and ecologically sensitive communities and integrating their particular spatial needs properly into the city future plans; leads to more sustainable urban development based on differentiation of the socio-spatial processes.

1.3. Research Objectives

This research aims at emphasizing on the importance of integrating the Socio-ecological and economic aspects in the urban development of Shalatin. Thus, this research examines the transformation occurring to the Bedouin settlements in the city of Shalatin in light of:

- Governmental policies and urban development interventions
- Correlations and conflicts with Nile Valley Outmigrants
- Urbanization behavior initiated by the community (Self-made expansions whether formal or informal)
- Socio-Ecological influences on the city harmonizing and development

1.4. Research Questions

The Main Question discussed in this research is: How to integrate the Socio-ecological aspects in the urban development of Shalatin? Subsequently, this research aims to unfold the method of integrating the socio-ecological aspects through answering the following questions:

- What are the social, economic, and ecological characteristics of Shalatin?
- What are the different movement schemes for the Bedouins of Shalatin?
- What are the influences of the official planning approach in Shalatin?
- What are the socio-spatial factors contributing to the current urban form of Shalatin?

1.5. Research Strategy

In order to meet the research required objectives and answer the previously mentioned research questions; the research strategy was based on real situation investigations accompanied by on ground observations, comparisons and analysis.

The reason behind such a strategy was mainly to verify the collected data and to update its content. Hence, the researcher during the exploration of answers and relationships connecting different urban phenomena in Shalatin was attempting to assess all relative anthropological and spatial existing behaviors. In this regard, it was essential to plan ahead the sequence of the site visits and the desired outcomes. Accordingly, the researcher identified list of places and specified groups of people to meet. In this previously mentioned framework; to investigate the conceptual meaning for urban transformations in nomadic communities toward Sedentarization, methodology and implied approaches are discussed below as well as limitations that constrained the researcher mission.

1.6. Research Methodology

The research methodology is based upon a field research visit conducted by the researcher to the city of Shalatin and the adjoining regions in the Red Sea, and Upper Egypt. The visit lasted for 1 month in the pre-mentioned locations. In addition, interviews were conducted with urban planning entities concerned with the urbanization of such remote region. In this regard, in depth interviews, observations, questionnaires and literature reviews, were all basic tools for the researcher in the data collection phase. Hence, the detailed methods and tools (See Figure 3) followed in this research are more explained below.

A- Literature Review: In this step data was reviewed on global phenomena of nomads and its relation to the Egyptian context.

B- Case Study Selection: At this stage the researcher looked for a suitable case study with a complexity of ecological and spatial factors. Thus, criteria for that matter were listed, in which the selected case study should: possess strategic importance that triggers the government for its urbanization, genuine and promotes for cultural diversity. Accordingly, the earlier investigation of Egyptian context has revealed that city of Shalatin is a very explicit and controversy in terms of socio-ecological aspects. Also Shalatin provides a good example on diverse ethnicities and the urban transformation from Nomadism to Urbanism, in which collective types of urban fabric and characteristics exist together.

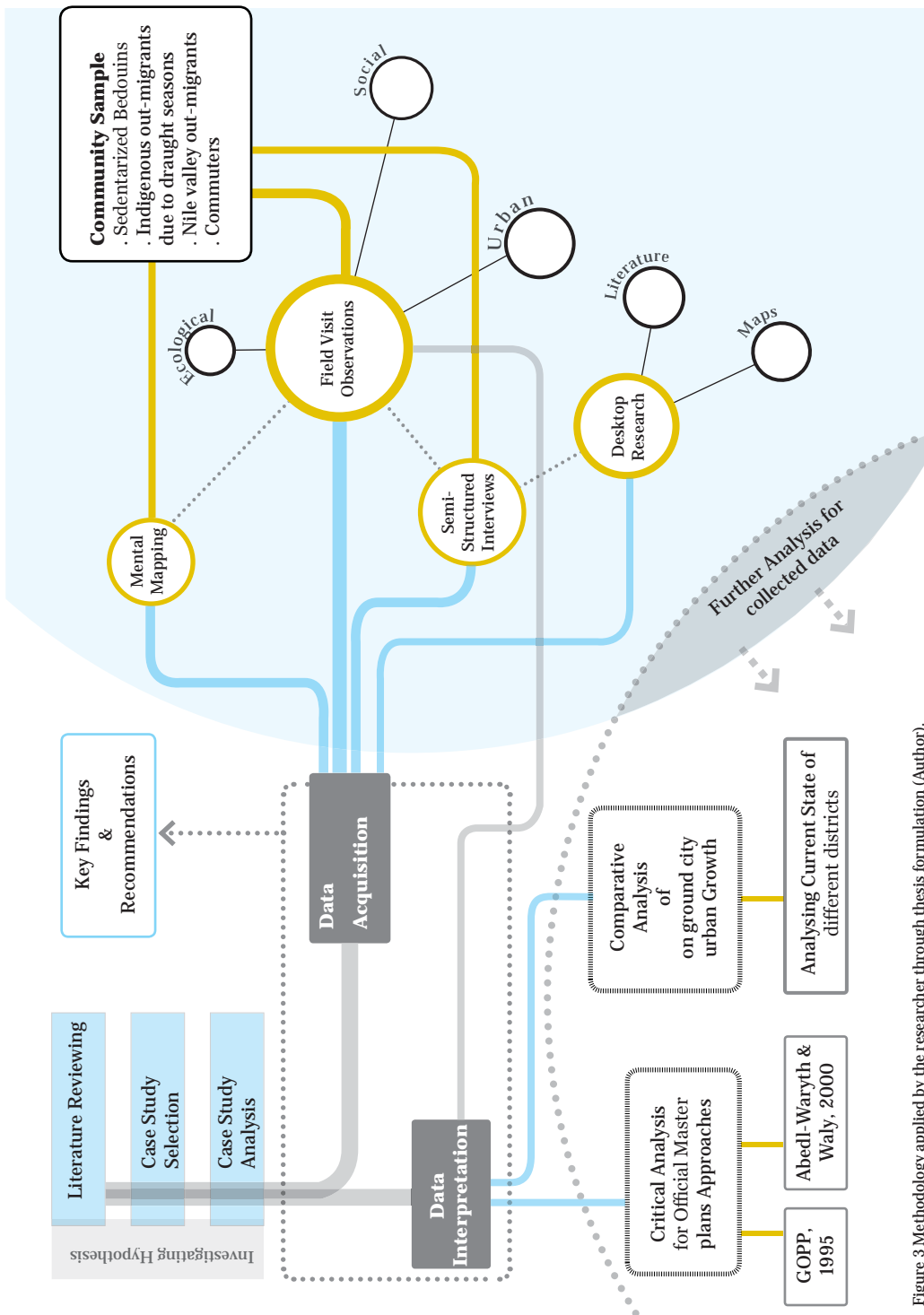


Figure 3 Methodology applied by the researcher through thesis formulation (Author).

C- Case Study Analysis/ Data Acquisition: This process has involved various tools and methods:

Desktop Research:

At this stage, the researcher examined the different anthropological studies on the 'Beja' tribes inhabiting the area. Later, it was important to recognize the governmental point of view from central key actors in Cairo. Thus, visits to General organization for Physical Planning (GOPP) took place, in which meetings were conducted with involved team members who have been working on city plans. Additionally, the research addressed other professional urban planning consultants that were also involved in the planning of Shalatin. For example, one of the interviews was with Mr. Tarek Waly who was one of the consultant engineers working on the city planning in 2000. Furthermore, it was necessary to have City Maps from official Egyptian institutes. Thus, the researcher paid some visits to the Institute of African Studies & Researches that offered a considerable amount of data especially concerning anthropological and ecological aspects; since the institute already held a conference about the development occurring in the area.

Field Visit Observations:

The field research visit that was conducted by the researcher in Shalatin for one month (March, 2014) enabled him to experience the validity of the anthropological literature found about the Bedouins in the region. Also to document and illustrate the changes that occurred to their living conditions after settling in Shalatin, and being in direct contact with Outmigrants from the Nile Valley communities possessing different cultural backgrounds.

Semi-Structured Interviews:

The exposure to the anthropology of Bedouins in Shalatin has enabled the researcher to understand very important details concerning their living conditions. Later, it was easier to relate such cultural and human traits to the research spectrum. In this regard, this process included interviewing inhabitants from different groups and investigating their activities in and outside the city; to analyze the real spatial relations. Thus, exploring how they perceive the official plans and their responses towards other groups' urban expansions.

Mental Mapping and Community Mapping:

These tools were mainly used to facilitate the process of identifying urban fea-

tures. Thus, individuals originating from different ethnicities were targeted. Accordingly, data was collected through: mapping their perception of ongoing changes in the city of Shalatin, locating different tribal grouping per different roots, natural limitations, and social boundaries. This method was used whether through diagrams with the help of the researcher or by engaging them to locate certain transformations and activities on printed maps.

D- Case Study Analysis/ Data Interpretation:

At this point, the researcher analyzed the collected data in terms of visual illustration and relationships, in which maps were sketched and over layered. Thus, this kind of spatial investigation of urban changes of Shalatin was utilized to identify the ethnic socio-urban relationships, and settlements expansions and proximity. Consequently, the researcher conducted the following steps:

Critical Analysis of Official Proposed Master Plans:

Reviewing the introduced official interventions towards the urbanization of Shalatin. Respectively, certain measures are to be investigated within these official plans; to assess if the government has effectively incorporated the community's social, economic and ecological aspects within its vision and proposed strategies.

Comparative Analysis for City Urban Growth:

Several comparisons are utilized; to analyze urban form evolution, and settlements interactions using satellite images and official existing AutoCAD maps. Such comparisons tend to understand the Bedouin clusters embedded within city formation and structure. Thus, by using such graphical and visual illustrations the complexity of the exiting urban form would be more comprehended.

1.7. Research Limitations

During the research framework, certain limitations and challenges have been listed to indicate the setting in which this research was conducted through. These limitations are further explained in Figure 4. Limitations within this research were mainly against the accuracy of the following three mentioned tools:

Desktop research:

- Available resources on study area are limited in terms of maps, literature documents and archives
- Some data are outdated

- Most of reports are reflecting the Egyptian official state vision for place and human aspects

Field visit observations:

- Constraints in terms of mobility through various city districts and surrounding peripheries
- Inconvenience of geographic locations
- Limited accessibility of transportation outreach to different areas

Interviews:

- Cultural barriers to communicate with indigenous ‘Beja’ tribes in the distant ‘Wadis’, since they are very conservative communities
- Interviews were based mainly on verbal communications most of the times; due to the Community mistrust regarding strangers. Hence, the interviewees refused to take photos, fill questionnaires or have their testimonials recorded as they were suspicious about research work. So the researcher had to conduct his questions through semi-structured interviews embedded through casual conversations to obtain sufficient and good quality of data.
- Head of City Council in Shalatin totally refused to cooperate with the researcher or facilitate his mission through provision of primarily data.

1.8. Chapters Outlines

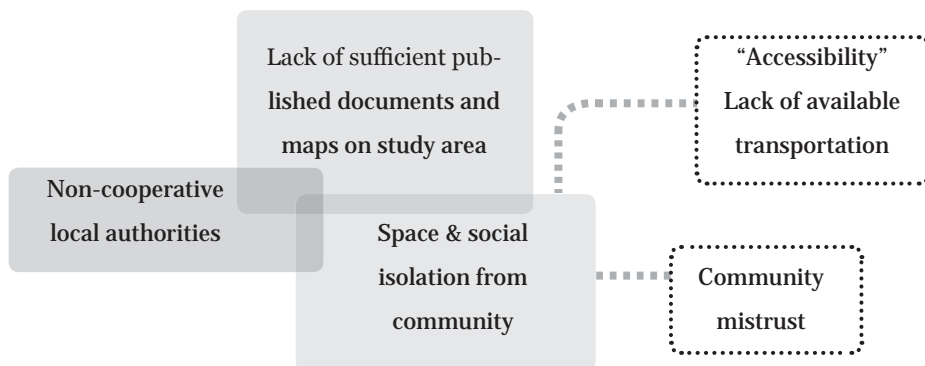


Figure 4 illustrates an Overview on Research Limitations (Author)

Starting from chapter 2 until chapter 5, analytical processing of collected data and interpretation is illustrated; afterward chapter 6 explains the key findings and recommendations as an evidence of testing the research hypothesis. The outlines of the thesis content are illustrated as follows in (Figure 5):

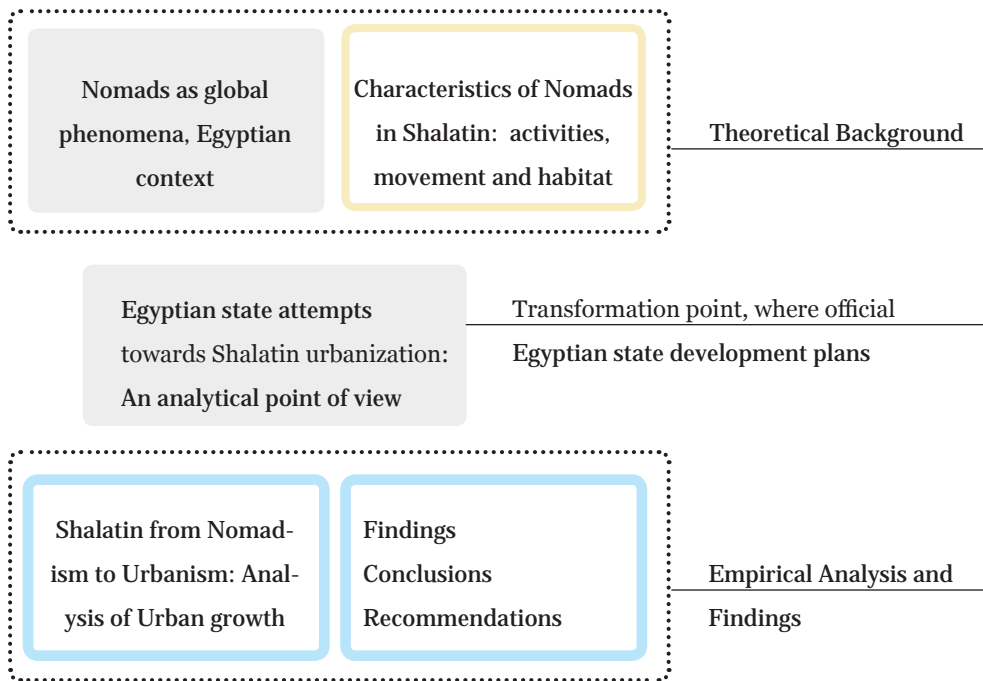


Figure 5 Formulating the flow of content and structure of the chapters (Author)

Chapter 1: Introduction and Research Framework

Explaining brief background on scope of this research thesis and the research framework

Chapter 2: Nomads of Egypt, Conceptual Framework

Explains the conceptual norm of Nomads as a global phenomenon, and provides a close-up look on Nomads peripheries and assimilation stages in Egypt. Furthermore, the chapter provides historical overview on the general approaches towards integration of Bedouins including brief demonstration of 'Wadi Al-Natron' official project in the Eastern desert of Egypt.

Chapter 3: Nomads of Shalatin: Activities, Movement and Habitat

In this chapter, the ecological context of Shalatin and its surrounding peripheries is investigated. Afterwards the social and economic activities for the city original Nomad inhabitants are explained. For instance, the research highlights their tribal structure system and traditional pasturing activities. Later in this chapter, the Bedouins movement schemes contributing to the change in the urban form are illustrated. In this respect, a brief overview on shelter typologies and clusters

is introduced through Shalatin habitat analysis.

Chapter4: Official Attempts Towards Urbanization of Shalatin: An Analytical Point of View

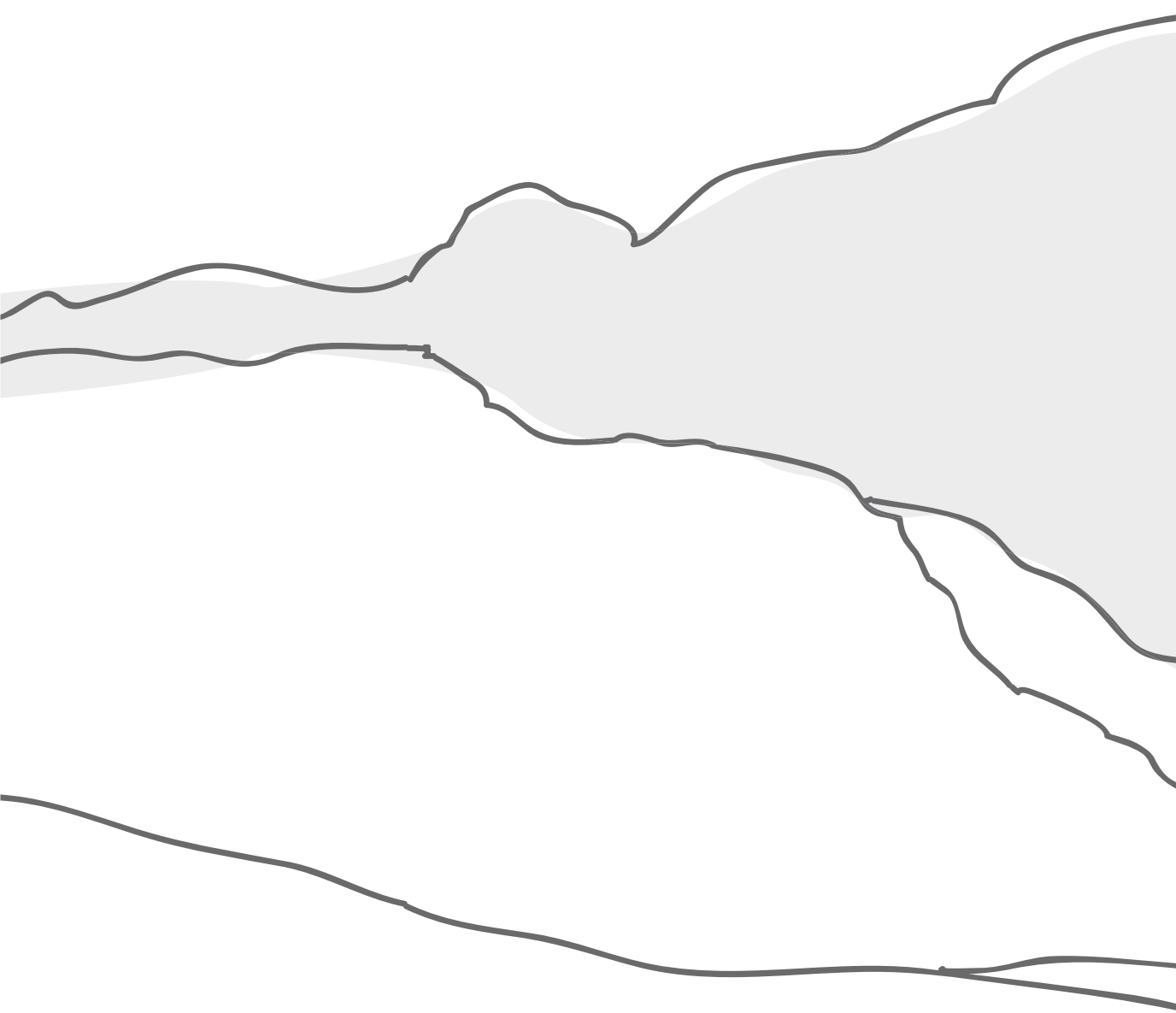
This chapter emphasizes on the importance of the city of Shalatin and the surrounding disputable area of ‘Halayeb’ triangle. Accordingly, it is discussed within the sections of this chapter the governmental attempts towards imposing the state sovereignty over the Bedouins territories, and encouraging them towards Seder-tarization. Thus, the researcher analyzes the official proposed Master Plan for urban development by the General Organization for Physical Planning (GOPP) in 1995 followed by Red Sea governorate initiation in 2000 with cooperation of contracted consultants for this specific mission.

Chapter5: Shalatin between Nomadism and Urbanism. Analysis of City Urban Growth

In this chapter, the Bedouin’s urbanization behavior and patterns inside the city is analyzed throughout: Comparing city growth over time (1992, 2000, 2013), and Comparing current state of five various districts within city in terms of social and spatial relationship. Accordingly this chapter investigates the socio-urban integration of Nile Valley Outmigrants into the city fabric, in addition to the existing tensions and conflicts affecting urban expansions (see Appendix 1).

Chapter6: Conclusion and Recommendations

Final results regarding the positive and negative urban features associated to the city transformation from Nomadism to Urbanism area disclosed in this chapter. Accordingly, set of findings result out of the empirical study and field visit. In this respect, the research reaches at this point set of recommendations regarding any future vision for the urban development of Shalatin, in an attempt towards more effective and consistent urban settlements. Thus, the obtained results within this chapter could be reflected as well on the whole region of ‘Halayeb’ Triangle because of the common similarities.



2. Nomads of Egypt: Conceptual Framework



2. Nomads of Egypt: Conceptual Framework

Egyptians have been settling around the Nile Valley for many years; where fertility of the land has naturally attracted them to stay and cultivate. During this major agriculture based development that was taking place in the valley, the two bordering deserts -Eastern and Western deserts-remained barely occupied. These desert lands are representing 95 percent of the whole surface area of Egypt (Figure 6), in which they were occupied by relatively smaller population of nomad tribes. Hence, these nomad inhabitants have maintained their way of living through adaptation to harsh climatic and environmental conditions and established their own societies (Awad, 1954). Additionally, there were no transitional zones for long time between a historically acknowledged region for its great fertility and another one of extreme barrenness. Consequently, it becomes important to understand such geographical gap between these two societies, and to further investigate the nature of those nomad inhabitants that were not tempted by the valley.

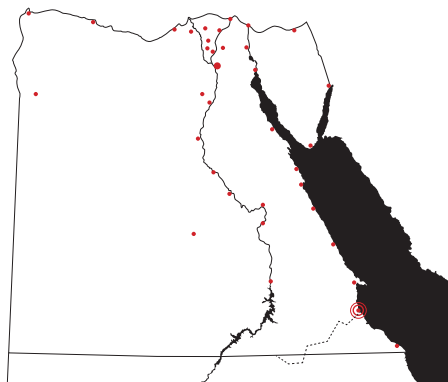


Figure 6 Map viewing the Nile Valley and two Bordering Deserts representing the majority of Egypt's Surface area (Author).

In this respect, this chapter starts by investigating the concepts and types of nomads from a global point of view. Afterwards, a closer overview on the Egyptian case will be illustrated in terms of nomads' geographic distribution and Assimilation stages. Eventually this chapter displays one of the Sedentarization Projects in 'Wadi Al-Natron'; in an attempt to understand the state exerted efforts and the response of the target groups.

2.1. Understanding the General Norm of Nomads

The use of 'Nomad' related terms dates back to remote antiquity, although a defined meaning or origin has never been traced. 'Herodotus', who is well known as the father of ethnography, used 'Nomads' to describe Ethiopians of the desert in his time, also it was used for the peoples of 'Great Sahara' who attracted the interest of Mediterranean observers by their distinguished economic system and way of living (Berque, 1959).

2.1.1. Literature Review

Nomad is defined as "a member of a group who has no fixed residency but move from place to place usually seasonally within a well defined territory" (Merriam-Webster). Modern societies usually use terms such as 'Nomads' or 'Bedouins' to portray populations, which are very much dissimilar than their own (Merriam-Webster). At the time populations of nomads are decreasing, the voices of how Nomads perform an important function in society are rising. Nomads used to effectively represent the coding agents of landscape; since nomads mostly transcend a land without destroying it, which is considered a significant urban and ecological feature (Berenbaum, 2009).

On the other hand, nomads' populations are having recent urban transformations towards Sedentism and sometimes called Sedentariness. Sedentism is commonly expressed in the evolutionary anthropology and archaeology as 'a term applied to the transition from nomadic lifestyle to a society which remains in one place permanently' (Hirst, 2007).

Thus Sedentism means 'living in groups permanently in one place' (Hirst, 2007). Forced Sedentism or Sedentarization occurs when a dominant group limits the movements of a nomadic group, where nomadic populations were subjected to such process since the early cultivation of land. Sedentarization continued in the modern society through the imposed global demands on inhabitants to adopt

a fixed habitat styles. Thus, it is commonly perceived that Sedentarization and the appearance of agriculture are two of the most evolutionary steps towards the appearance of complex societies through the human history (Stanford Jr. University, 2012).

In the Middle East, Bedouins still represent one of the notable advocates of Nomadology against fully settled populations. In this regard, the historian 'Ibn Khaldoun' provides in his famous introduction to history 'Muqaddimah' an explanation of Nomadic and Sedentary life patterns in the Arab world. Subsequently, he describes the sedentary life style as a combination of the different values of Bedouins and settled people. 'Ibn Khaldoun' further explains Nomadism to be a relative tendency; since people naturally tend to fluctuate between settled and nomadic life (Crown, 2002).

Accordingly, there is a continuous argument in the urban and architectural theories concerning the influences of globalization and integrated culture on values of nomadic communities such as originality and diversity. In this premise, the concept of Sedentarization becomes controversial regarding the nomads' ability to preserve their individuality and yet achieve the required level of assimilation into their new formed settlements. This view can be more elaborated through overlooking nomads' locations, and realizing how they cannot be segregated anymore from the global rapid transformation towards urbanism.

2.1.2. Global Classification and Geographical Mapping

The commission on Nomadic Peoples produced a fact sheet on nomads, in which three main groups of nomads were identified: pastoralists, hunter-gatherers, and travelling workers (New Internationalist, 1995).

- **Pastoral:** populations of pastoralist groups are estimated to be 30 to 40 million pastoral in the world, moving with their households in search of pasture for their animals.
- **Hunter-gatherers:** Populations of hunter-gatherer groups such as Amazonian and Australian indigenous peoples are difficult to quantify, as they are difficult to capture' using methods such as Census surveys. Their movement is based on hunting rather than racial or biological characteristics.
- **Travelling Workers:** Also known as travelers, is the Roma, Gypsies or other travelling and seasonal workers, who are neither hunter-gathers nor pastoralists.

Nomads are indicated in the global map of main nomadic peoples (New Internationalist, 1995), in which the first two are identifiable as seen in Figure 7. The Roma are not represented since they are widely spread; therefore their zones are not registered on the map. Thus, a further look over the Egyptian Pastoral Nomads is demonstrated within the rest of this chapter.

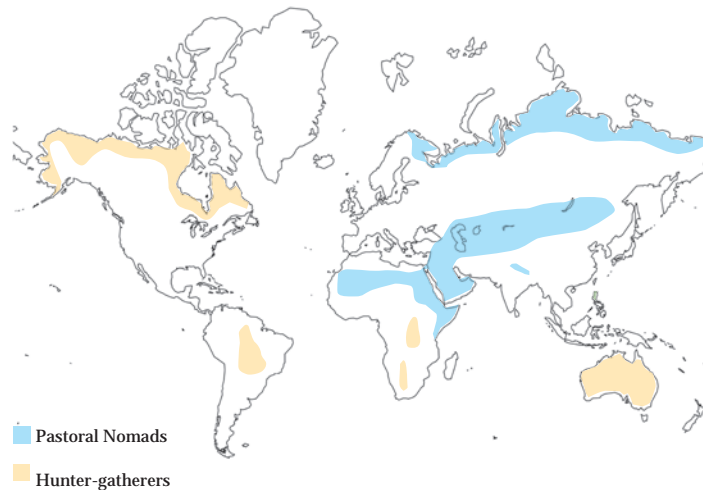


Figure 7 Map of the global distribution of Nomads. Source: (New Internationalist, 1995), adopted by Author.

2.2. Nomads in Egypt: Identity & Sedentarization

In this section, the general characteristics and locations of nomads in Egypt are illustrated; so as to examine their motives for either discarding or maintaining their nomadic life style.

2.2.1. Distribution of Nomads in Egypt

In Egypt, the fertile narrow valley of the Nile River is transversely dividing the rest of the land into two vast deserts: the Eastern Desert which is excessively arid with Rocky Mountains, and the Western Desert also arid but with a group of dispersed oases. Such a natural contrast between the valley and the desert affected different groups of inhabitants socially, economically, and the way they set up their urban settlements, (Awad, 1954). Furthermore, the desert occupiers of nomads are divided among themselves to different tribes occupying three main spots as shown in Figure 8: Sinai, Eastern desert, and the Western desert.

Hence, these three nomadic groups are associated with diversity in their surroundings, performed activities, and evolution stages. Thus, this premise is more investigated in (*Table 1*) according to: Political and Geographical Influences, So-

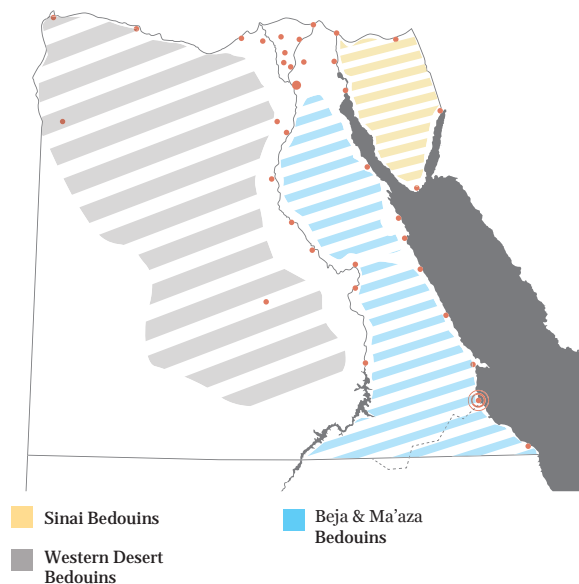


Figure 8 Nile Valley segregating the two deserts and locating three major Nomads groupings (Author)

A- Sinai	Political and Geographic Influences	Nomads living in Sinai, the homeland of many Arab Bedouin tribes, have been largely affected during the Egypt-Israeli War (1967-1973), whereas the Israeli occupation had a large economic interest in the area. Thus, when the war was over in 1973, the Egyptian State has encouraged new development plans in Sinai that involved the area Bedouins (Ghazi, 1985). The State's continuous attempts for attracting Bedouins towards Sedentarization were in order to have more strategic control over the land.
	Socio-Economic Development	The emerging market of tourism against the traditional pastoral activities has contributed in the abundance of many Bedouins for their nomadic life. Tourism in Sinai represented a fast and feasible source of generating income, in which employment opportunities and different infrastructure services were provided in the region (Hobbs & Tsunemi, 2007).

A- Sinai	Towards Sedentarization	New roads penetrated southern Sinai and major coastal highways were constructed. Subsequently, this continuous development context has encouraged Bedouins to relocate around touristic areas such as Sharm El Sheikh; in order to provide different services. Furthermore, Egyptian authorities established a number of Bedouin settlements for nomad tribes who refused to settle (Ghazi, 1985).
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cio-Economic Development, and Urban Impacts towards Sedentarization.

B- Eastern Desert	Political and Geographic Influences	<p>Nomadic presence in the Eastern Desert is inhabited by two tribes, who vary in ethnic and cultural background.</p> <p><u>A- 'Ma'za' tribe:</u> between south of Suez and Qusair.</p> <p><u>B- 'Beja' tribes:</u> in the south of Egypt and extend beyond the borders between Egypt and Sudan, in which many families have double nationalities. After the independence of Sudan (1956) 'Halayeb' Triangle, which is a part of 'Beja' tribes homeland, became disputable between the two countries. Consequently, the Egyptian government has been initiating some development strategies to prove its sovereignty over the Triangle, where part of these initiations is targeting the Sedentarization of the roaming families of 'Beja'</p>
	Socio-Economic Development	<p><u>A-Ma'za tribe :</u> Tourism based development specially in Hurghada and Marsa Alam, attracted Bedouins to benefit from sedentary life. Furthermore, long drought seasons in the region in the last decades have also contributed to such a behavior. Nomads started to settle around tourism locations, in which they mostly offer safari trips, camel rides, etc.</p> <p><u>B- El-Beja tribes:</u> they are divided into 'Ababda' and 'Bisharia' tribes, who are well known for the herding and trading of camels with Sudan. The social bonds between these tribes, which extend beyond the borders between Egypt and Sudan, are considered to be of high priority.</p>

<p>B- Eastern Desert</p>	<p>Towards Sedentarization</p>	<p><u>A-Ma'za tribe:</u> Bedouins settle down in simple houses or huts that are made out of reed. Also, during the last two decades (Hobbs & Tsunemi, 2007), some nomadic groups settled down in the Nile Valley as in 'Beni-Suyef' and 'Minia' (Awad, 1970). <u>B- El-Beja tribes:</u> Sedentarization life is starting to become a common behavior. However, pure nomads are still occupying remote areas. The future of nomads in the area is uncertain in light of the weak presence of a tourism activities and halted official plans (M.Serag, 2008).</p>
	<p>C- Western Desert</p>	<p>Political and Geographic Influences</p>
<p>Socio-Economic Development</p>		<p><u>Awlad Ali tribes:</u> Western Desert folks; they usually practice their traditional Pastoralism activities. The number of herds is still measuring the economic and social status of the tribesmen. The social organization and tribal commitment of Awlad Ali is very strong, and their distinctive character represents a challenge for any proposed development by the State (Abu-Lughod, 1984). <u>The seven oases:</u> Agriculture expansion is the main activity there (Abu-Lughod, 1984), in addition to the rising eco-tourism development as in 'Siwa', 'Dakhla' and 'Kharga'.</p>

C- Western Desert	Towards Sedentarization	The distinctive changes in the way of living of the western Desert tribes were sponsored by the governmental. The implemented official projects have radically shifted the Bedouins traditional work patterns. Hence, a tremendous change has also taken place in their settlements and spatial relations. Thus, The main objective of the government was sedentarizing nomads' populations, and cultivating desert land. This is monitored in the Northern coast and the seven oases, in which both areas host an old sedentarized population and expanded agriculture activities (Abou-Zeid, 1959).
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Table 1 brief demonstration of Nomads distribution over Egypt (Author).

As it can be concluded, characteristics of nomads in Egypt have been influenced by national development policies. This has resulted in an urban alter for most of the Egyptian nomad communities towards Sedentarization, and formation of new communities.

2.2.2. Assimilation Stages for Nomads in Egypt

Through the history of Egypt, nomads roamed the two deserts and practiced their traditional flock herding, which is totally unlike the mass populations who preferred to settle down within the Nile valley. These Nile valley settlers used to work as land cultivators or as called in Egypt ‘Fellahin’ (Awad, 1954). Thus, the relation between a nomad who would simply settle and cultivate and be a ‘Fellah’ is associated with social and cultural impacts beyond merely the physical movement. Therefore, the gradual assimilation process for a nomad to be a completely sedentarized citizen undergoes three phases and four stages as displayed in Figure 9; in which the inhabitants are being integrated within other communities whether by the Nile Valley or elsewhere (Awad, 1970).

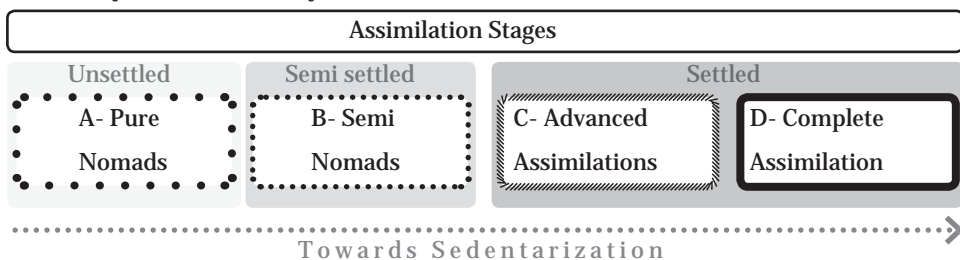


Figure 9 Modified Assimilation Stages inspired by Awad classification (Author).

Accordingly, these four stages from pure nomadic communities in the desert till the complete assimilation or Sedentarization, is further explained below in terms of Location, Social, Economic and Architecture features; in an attempt to indicate how far the assimilation process is being accelerated or slowed.

A-Pure Nomads :

Location: In the Eastern Desert; some of 'Ma'za' tribe roamed between the Red Sea and the Nile Valley. Within 'Beja' tribes also in the south and having more developed relations to their relatives in the Sudan. Some of Pure nomads exist also in the Western desert occupying the area between the Libyan 'Cyrenacia' and the Nile Delta, except of the oases and the coastal strip of the Mediterranean.

Economic Activity: Possessing camels and herding.

Social Aspects: The standard tribal organization is very solid and usually influenced by the tribe chief 'Sheikh'. They follow their customary laws, which are taken into consideration by the official authorities as well. Relations with sedentarized relatives in the Nile Valley are kept with seasonal visits in order to exchange goods and flocks (Abou-Zeid, 1959).

Architecture: Temporary goat-hair tents.

B-Semi-Nomads :

Location: The strip of Mediterranean coast, Sinai and the Eastern Desert. Therefore, a distinctive clear line cannot be drawn between the pure and semi-nomads especially concerning location. At this stage Nomads live in villages of their own, but still completely separated from the 'Fellahin' (Awad, 1954).

Economic Activity: They are different from pure nomads as they engage in seasonal herding besides cultivation. The process starts with the occupancy of an agricultural zone or at least an approximate area to a water source; in order to reduce the dependency on the uncertain rainfall.

Social Aspects: The tribe divides labor efforts into two groups, one for cultivation and the other one for herding. Subsequently, each of the two groups has different chief, which is considered as the first move to fracture the solid tribal organization unity.

Architecture: Houses are built of stone and some tents are still present (Abou-Zeid, 1959).

C-Advanced Assimilation:

Location: After realizing the value of land, Bedouins moved into the heart of cul-

tivated land and away from the desert. Thus, former segregation of settlement in the semi-nomads state is inapplicable. Hence, in the advanced assimilation stage they share living with 'Fellahin' (Awad, 1954).

Economic Activity: Common practice of agriculture and hired jobs.

Social Aspects: For Bedouins, the tribal organization is not active anymore but still inspired by their original tribes' traditions and values in their living (Awad, 1970).

Architecture: No more light structures that used to be common and integrated in their communities.

D-Complete Assimilation :

Location: The spatial dimension is not of any importance and is not distinguishable any more (ibid).

Economic Activity: They are now part of the settled community whether it is agricultural or in other cases urban center. Following the advanced assimilation stage.

Social Aspects: The traditional tribal organization is completely replaced by new social relationships with no link to the Bedouin origin.

Architecture: Mainly with minor differences to the Nile Valley settled communities.

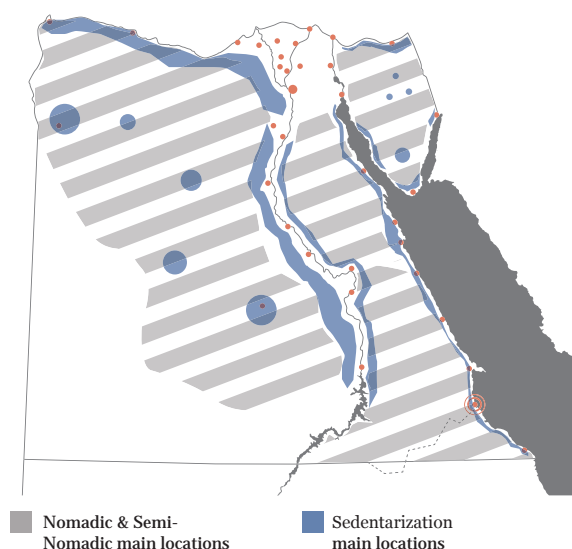


Figure 10 Main nomadic, semi-nomadic and sedentarization locations for Bedouins (Author).

2.3. Sedentarization in Egypt

Nomads usually represent a source of concern for the Egyptian State, to demonstrate its sovereignty over these different nomadic peripheries. In this regard, there have been some attempts by the Egyptian government over the past 60 years towards the Sedentarization of Egyptian Nomads. Recently, these official attempts are becoming favorable due to: Technology and Social media, and the rising touristic profitable development. Thus, Nomads are willing to abandon the traditional pastoral and introvert nomadic activities (George, 1973). However, questions remain regarding the response of these nomadic communities towards the governmental settling efforts. Consequently, the socio-economic and urban impacts in some areas are still not clear.

2.3.1. State Sedentarization Efforts: Historical Insight

All through the Egyptian modern history, rulers of Egypt have been encouraging the nomad tribes towards Sedentarization. These official efforts can be dated back to the time of Mohamed Ali Pasha (1805-1849). According to 'Yussef Hekekyan'; an Armenian engineer at that time has described in his diary the process of Bedouin Sedentarization. Hekekyan states that Mohamed Ali was the first ruler in modern times to allow the nomad Bedouin to cultivate the fringes of the Nile; as long as they defend the Valley against other Bedouins' invasions. Afterwards, these new groups of settlers became rich; therefore Mohamed Ali enforced small annual tax on the land that had gradually increased until they were treated equal to the 'fellahin' in terms of payment obligations (Aharoni, 2007).

It can be obviously seen through the strategy of Mohamed Ali Pasha, where he used the settlement of Bedouin in achieving economic and strategic purposes of his own:

- Economically, Bedouins were used to increase the area of cultivated land, in which the state benefits from taxes and a share of the agricultural corps.
- Strategically, the state had better opportunity in supervising the activities and movements of these tribes by locating them in a proximity to the Valley.

Until the second half of twentieth century, Sedentarization of nomad tribes was usually considered by the state as a political tool; to acquire more power over land and citizens' activities (Guirguis, 1956). After the Independence of Egypt from British occupation in 1954, the State had a large interest to strengthen its power over the land . In this regard, the Desert law 124 was enacted in 1958 and

modified in 1964. According to this law; the state doesn't acknowledge the tribal possession of land that was considered to be a state property. However in some specified cases by the law, if a family provides evidence that it has cultivated a land, it would have a chance to be granted the land tenure.

In the middle of all historic attempts to integrate populations of Nomads, they are rarely looked at as human resource that can generate national income. In this respect, 'Wadi Al Natrun' project is investigated in the following section.

2.3.2. 'Wadi Al-Natrun' Project

The Valley 'Wadi' lies 135 km South-West of Cairo, which is an extended depression in the south of the coastal strip. It follows the administration framework of 'Al-Bouhira' governorate (see Figure 11).

Background on the project: The shallow salt lakes cover over half of the total area. Aside from the main Sedentarization objective, the state intended to:

- Expand agriculture land.
- Improve the local herding breeds and introduce higher quality pasture plants.
- Utilize the unused natural resources.
- Develop the traditional and local crafts and to establish new industries.



Figure 11 Illustrates 3 planned towns part of 'Wadi Al-Natrun' project where agricultural and industrial activities domains. Source: Google Earth, adopted by Author.

Political - Geographical Influences: In the 1950s, the official Egyptian administration tried so many political efforts towards the Sedentarization of Bedouins living in the Western Desert. Thus, this project was a part of a large plan targeting the Sedentarization of nomad tribes in the Western Desert. In this respect, Lila Abu-Lughd (1984) states that: “*Ideological and material motives underlay the government’s interest in integrating the Bedouins into the Egyptian state, economy, and national culture*” (Abu-Lughod, 1984).

Socio-Economic Development: The State’s large interest in expanding agriculture land prevailed over the existing traditions of animal husbandry. As a result, the region’s wealth in herding was negatively affected, where it used to symbolize the Bedouin identity. Consequently, deterioration of pastoral activities was associated with negative changes in the tribal social structure; in which individuality became more favorable than the traditional united groups of complex-families (Abou-Zeid, 1959).

Towards Sedentarization: the project proposed prototype settlement units that didn’t consider any form of customization to the Semi-nomads spatial needs and activities. Moreover, these prototypes have also failed in raising the interest of Nile Valley population to join the project. It can be observed that the project has focused mainly on the economic value of the area and the utilization of its resources. Subsequently, the State showed no actual adaptation to the socio-cultural features of the semi-nomadic Bedouins living there (Abu-Lughod, 1984).

2.4. Conclusion

This chapter discusses the importance of rethinking the methodology of integrating different communities with special characteristics such as nomads. Thus, the research recognizes the complexity between theories of Nomadology and Sedentarization in abstract, and the existing live situation of Bedouin communities. Consequently, this chapter illustrates the nomads of Egypt as an example on how nomads, even if in the same country, differ in terms of the geographic, social and economic characteristics.

Hence, Sedentarization process of Nomads should pursue effective revenue on the long run through: respecting their originality and values, enhancing their living environment, and building their capacities. This can be monitored through the historic case of Mohamed Ali, when he triggered the Bedouins to cultivate

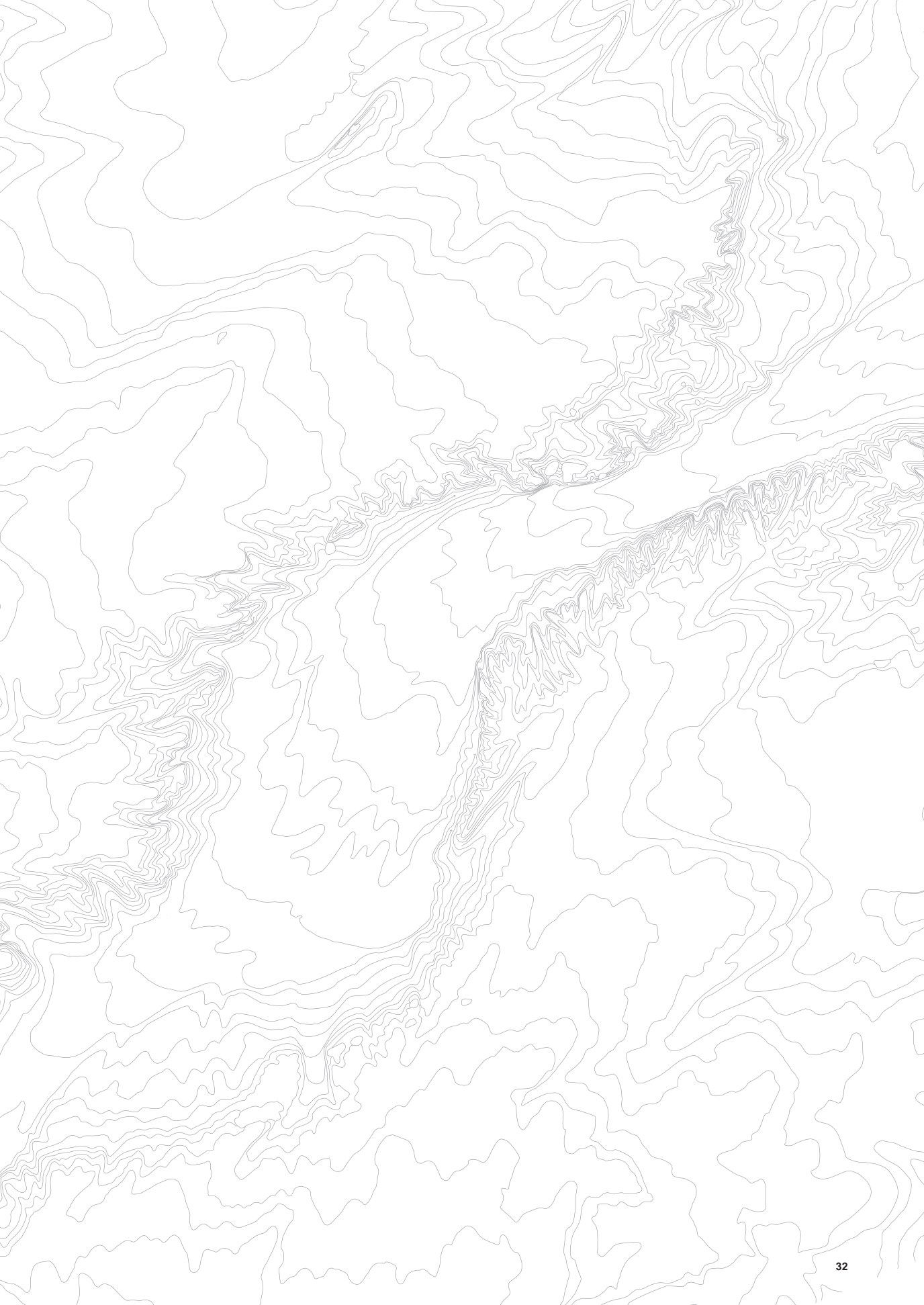
land. Moreover, the recent Bedouins contributions to the success of touristic development in the Red sea and Sinai confirm the previous point of view.

On the other hand, the sustainability of Sedentarization process is threatened by the national policies. Hence, the state usually focuses on its strategic political and economic interests, while ignoring the nomads' traditional way of living and their distinctive cultural identity. This has been illustrated in the case of 'Wadi Al-Natrun'. Subsequently, national development plans for Nomads Sedentarization should: provide relevant ecological and urban context, and preserves their unique socio-economic characteristics.

In the following chapters of this thesis, there will be further investigation on city of 'Shalatin' that is one of the nomad peripheries in Eastern desert of Egypt. Thus, development of its urban context is to be investigated in terms of political, Socio-economic and Sedentarization progress of the city.

The background of the page is a detailed topographic map with intricate contour lines, suggesting a mountainous or hilly terrain. The lines are thin and grey, creating a complex pattern of peaks and valleys.

3. Nomads of Shalatin: Activities, Movement & Habitat



3. Nomads of Shalatin: Activities, Movement & Habitat

Over the past years, the Egyptian government had strong presence since 1992 in the region, and had serious attempts towards area Sedentarization. Subsequently, the nomadic tribes in the Southeastern desert of Egypt were undergoing so many urban transformations. Consequently, the anthropological characteristics and movement schemes of existing nomad groups were affected. In this regard, many Bedouins were employed in the newly introduced official administrations (Al Badawy, 1998), which enhanced their sense of belonging and assimilation into the area against their past nomadic behavior. As a result pure nomads, semi nomads, and sedentarized Bedouins are currently sharing same cities and towns of the Southeastern Egyptian desert in an urban interactive manner.

Hence, the process of homogenizing originality with modernity raises important questions regarding the capability of the area to develop as an urban center in the south, yet conserves its uniqueness and identity. In light of this argument, the research implies certain observations that were collected during the literature reviewing and the field visits in March 2014. Therefore, this chapter provides a closer look on the Southeastern Bedouins, which are still attached to their nomadic origins. For instance, settled Bedouins in these peripheries would still prefer to walk and drive depending moon's light rather than streetlights, likewise, they still appreciate their tribal properties even if trees and try to visit these trees on regular basis. Furthermore, they still send their folks whether goats or camels when it rains to the mountains even if this could last for a year . All of these observations triggered the call for more understanding of the urban ongoing transformations.

Thus, it becomes necessary to grasp the primary anthropological features of the area in order to understand the urban growth of Shalatin as an urban node (Waly, 2014). Accordingly, this chapter discusses the different aspects formulating the identity of nomads living in the Southeastern desert of Egypt (See Figure 12). Subsequently, the research investigates the ecological characteristics, social aspects, economic activities, and the Bedouins' movement schemes, respectively. Afterwards, the analysis within this chapter continues to correlate the nomads' movement and activities with the habitat, throughout a rapid scan of the occurring changes in the urban morphology.

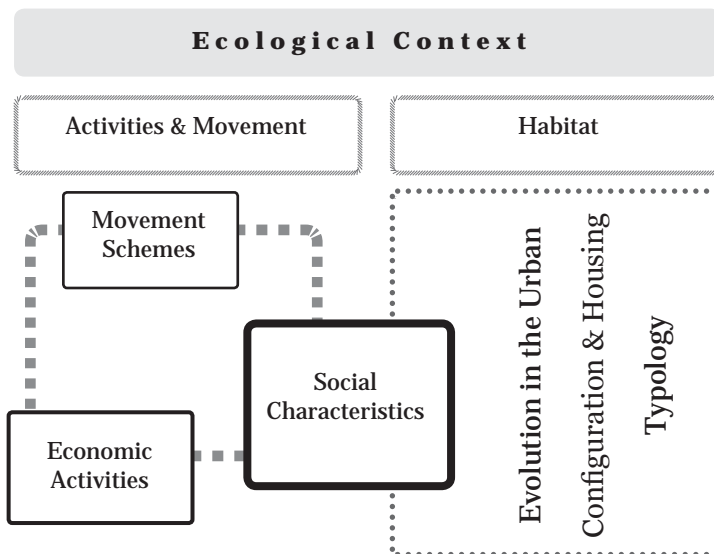


Figure 12 shows Schematic diagram explaining the chapter concerns to be investigated within the city of Shalatin and its surrounding peripheries (Author).

3.1. Ecological Context

Desert, mountains and valleys constitute a great importance in the life of the southeastern desert of Egypt, whereas the study area of Shalatin is located. Hence, this section studies the site characteristics of Shalatin and the surrounding peripheries attached to 'Halayeb' triangle; as a primitive introduction to understanding the communities associated to the Southeastern desert of Egypt.

A-Location: Shalatin is 520 kilometers south of 'Hurghada', and is the biggest city just north of the 'Halayeb' triangle. Thus, Shalatin represents the administrative center 'Markaz' of all Egyptian territories until the border between Egypt and Sudan, including: Abu Ramad, Halayeb, Ras Hadarba or Cape Hadarba, Marsa Hameera, and Abrak (Red Sea Gov., 2014).

It can be concluded from (Figure 13) that Shalatin is aligned to the border of ‘Halayeb’ triangle, the area of disputed sovereignty between Egypt and Sudan. Moreover, Shalatin stands as a connecting point between the coastal cities on the Red Sea and the pure Pastoral peripheries.

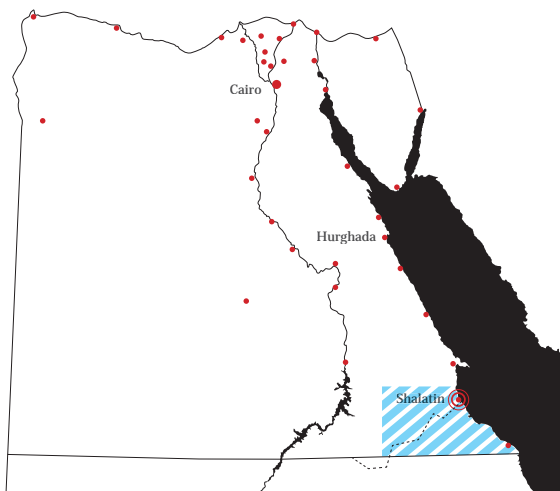


Figure 13 Locating study area of city of Shalatin within Egypt, based on Red Sea Governorate data (Author).

B-Climate and Weather: The climate in this zone in general is Arid, where the rainfall is much more in winter than in summer. The area is mainly identified to be hot arid, in which the average annual temperature in the city of Shalatin is 26.1 °C. About 14 mm of precipitation falls annually (Climate- data.org).

It is worth to mention that the climatic conditions especially drought seasons resulted in cattle death incidents. Thus, these incidents contributed in the movement of Bedouin down from the mountains to the city (Ghazaly, 2006).

Month	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec
Average high °C	25.5	26.5	28.3	31.7	34.7	36.5	37.4	37.4	36.1	33.9	30.4	26.8
Daily mean °C	19.7	20.4	22.2	25.3	28.5	30	31.3	31.5	30.2	28.1	24.7	21.3
Average low °C	14	14.3	16.1	18.9	22.4	23.6	25.3	25.6	24.4	22.3	19.1	15.8

Table 2 Temperature degrees in Shalatin in Celsius degrees (Climate- data.org)

C- Topography: In the Eastern Desert, the Red Sea Mountains rise gradually from the west to the east (Sea-Coast); forming a natural barrier that isolates Shalatin (Moldovan, 2010). At the same time, the valley folks perceive these mountains as a natural threat but also they realize the importance of mountains as a great source of welfare. Hence, the topographical context of Shalatin and its surrounding peripheries consist of mountains, coastal plain and valleys cross cutting the desert.

Hence, the topography can be generally classified into (Waly, 2005):

- Coastal Plain
- Bottom side of Mountain Plain: exists in-between the coastal main road and the eastern desert mountains, transversal valleys such as 'Wadi Rahba' and 'Wadi Al Houdein ' are cross-cutting this plain.
- Mountains are natural border to the west; in which they are separating the coastal plain and the valleys.

D- Water Resources: A major limitation for urban development in Shalatin is the scarcity of water resources, which also represents a political challenge in attracting populations to settle down under such arid and harsh climatic circumstances. The main sources for water in the region are wells, where seasonal rain-water is naturally refilling these wells like most of the inhabited desert ecological systems.

Most of Shalatin freshwater wells are spreading in the inner parts of the existing western valleys 'Wadis' and especially in 'Wadi Al Houdein'. On the other hand, there are other underground water sources; however, they are salty and not valid for human consumption due to their proximity to the sea (Al-Shafie, 2014). There is a general understanding for the great threat of the flood basin by the Bedouins, in which Flash floods are usually expected with seasonal rain. Thus, Bedouins of the area has developed their own skills to protect the existing water resources as traditional livelihoods, in which they use these resources wisely.

These general features of Ecological context for the inhabited peripheries of the Southeastern desert are strongly reflected in the socio-economic activities and movement schemes. Respectively, the following sections further discuss such aspects.

3.2. Social Aspects and Tribal Structure

Historically, the main population occupying the southeastern desert in Egypt is the 'Beja' tribes that extend to East of Sudan and Eretria. 'Beja' tribes are divided into smaller tribes, in which only two of them 'Bisharia' and 'Ababda' are living in Egypt. Both tribes are famous to be self-sufficient nomadic camel herders, where they share: land, resources, and even opportunities offered recently by the government. In this manner, the two tribes have reached a historical homogenous state between each other; not only due to land proximity but also through marriage and social relations. The population percentage estimations between 'Bisharia' and 'Ababda' in Shalatin are 70%-30% respectively (Moustafa, 1998).

'Ababda' tribe spreads over the Northern region of Shalatin reaching 'Qusair' city and mixing to the West with Upper Egypt governorates especially Qina, Luxor and Aswan. 'Ababda' tribe presence extends to the North of Sudan in 'Wadi Halfa', Abu Hamad and Shendi areas (Moustafa, 1998). Alternatively, 'Bisharia' tribe has its own influence over most of the Southern areas to the South of 'Ababda' tribe. Their presence continues in the Eastern section of Sudan around 'Otboura River' basin and 'Port Sudan', and even reaching Eritrea and the Ethiopian highlands (figure 14) (Al Badawy, 1998).

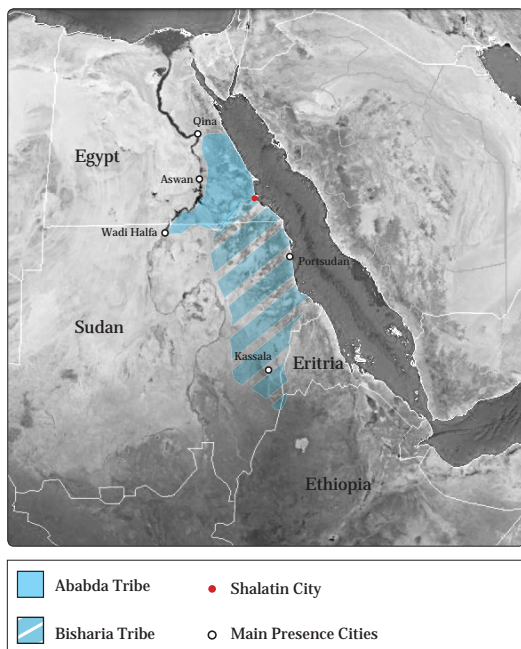


Figure 14 Peripheries of 'Ababda' and 'Bisharia' tribes, based on: Al-Badawi, 1993 (Author).

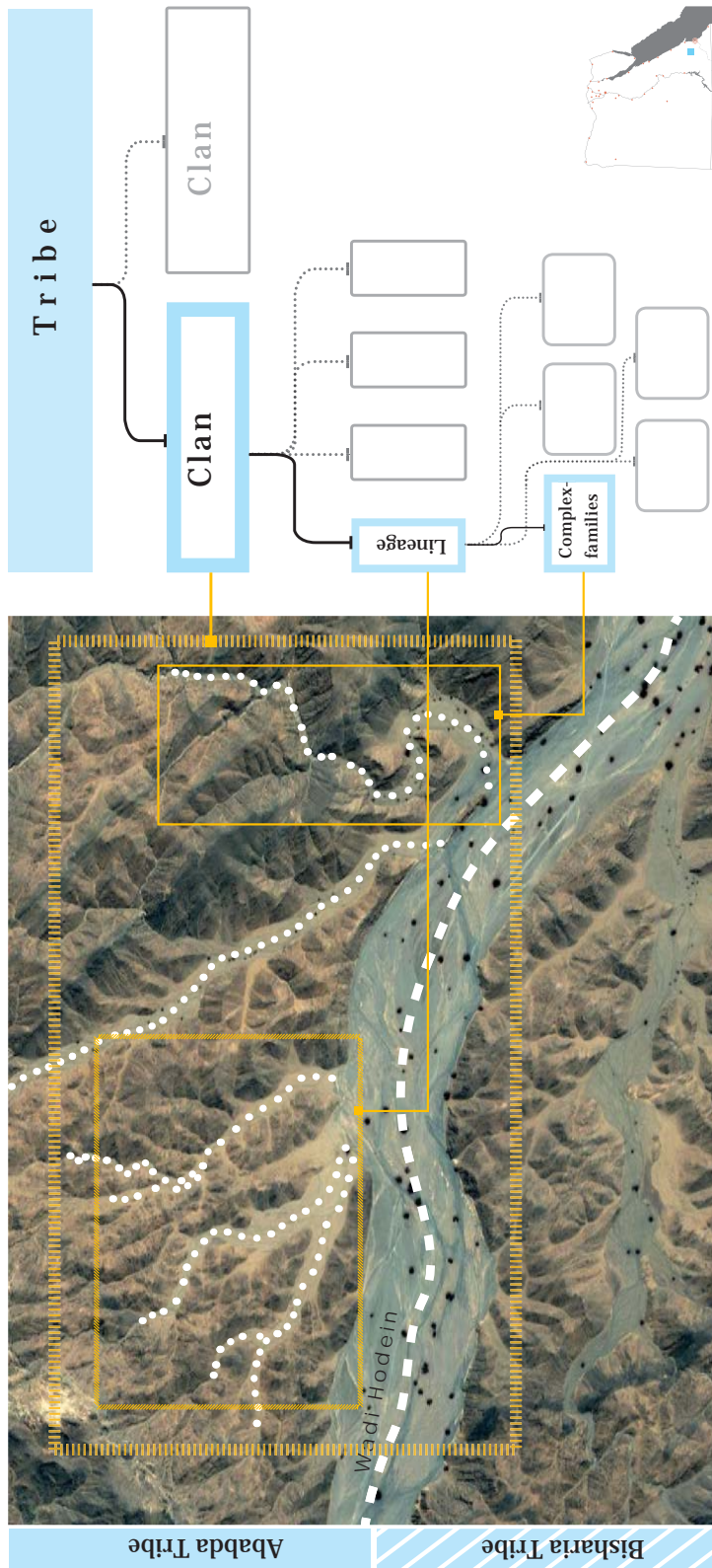


Figure 15 Illustrating Tribal structure setting and relation to traditional ownership that is based on natural boundaries in 'Wadi Hodein'. Source: Google Earth, adopted by Author

'Ababda' and 'Bisharia' tribes have a similar tribal structure and grouping system. Each tribe is divided into a number of clans, in which every clan consists of a number of lineages that are forming a smaller fragment unit inside the tribe (figure 15). Subsequently, the smallest tribal unit is the complex families. While for the power structure and representation, every lineage is headed by a 'Sheikh' that is chosen to represent it in front of the other lineages. Subsequently, the most powerful 'Sheikh' normally represents the whole clan. The upper tribal organization is not a very frequent structure to deal with during the everyday life activities of Bedouins, in which the complex family is the most common for the Bedouin individual (Moustafa, 1998).

Such a hierarchical system is very respected by the Bedouins; as it regulates clans and lineages relations regarding: their social commitments, selection of their living locations, moreover the power structure of 'Sheikhs' is useful in resolving conflicts between families (ibid). It is worth to mention that both 'Ababda' and 'Bisharia' tribes living in Shalatin used to have one joint leader or 'Sheikh' on the top of their clans. This situation remained until the recent Egyptian governmental presence in Shalatin, in which the tribal structure union was affected. As a result, the affiliation of the existing nomads was divided to approximately 12 'Sheikhs' instead of only one.

3.3. Bedouin Economic Activities in Shalatin

During the researcher field visit to Shalatin, various nomad inhabitants were interviewed in which they frequently referred to the importance of traditionally existing Pastoral activities for them. 'Yassin Al-Bishary' a merchant from the 'Bisharia' tribe have mentioned in this regard "We are not farmers, they (government) should have developed our own economic activities which is also related to our social heritage, we herd folks in the valleys and we cannot entirely abandon our heritage of Nomadism, they (government) could have supported pastoral techniques in modern ways" (Al-Bishary, 2014)

Thus, Bedouins of Shalatin consider Pastoralism as a complete living system not only as profession or source of income. This explains the other related activities such as herds trading, in which both economic activities are to be further explained below.

3.3.1. Pastoralism: Traditional and Main Activity

The strong relation between Bedouins and Pastoralism is basically triggered by their natural context. The availability of grazing fields especially after raining seasons has facilitated the activities related to livestock. Bedouins livestock's are divided into (Al Badawy, 1998):

- **Camels herding:** Camels are the most important asset for Bedouins in Shalatin, in which the social class is defined according to numbers and species of owned camels. Men are the only involved labor in camels herding; due to the long distances traveled after grazing.
- **Goats herding:** considered as a secondary interest for Bedouins and usually left for women and children to look after the goats.

Mostly all the social aspects of Bedouins are directly attached to their herds. Moreover, the tribal judiciary system, penalties and the political position are identified in terms of livestock owned by tribesmen. Consequently, Bedouins usually brag with their camels' numbers and species (Badawey, 1993).

In light of this premise, it can be concluded that herding comes in the first place regardless the assimilation stage of Bedouins. Thus, Camels are considered as a sign of wealth from their perspective even if they work in governmental sector or any other professions. Hence, there should be a consistent integration of the pastoral tradition in any proposed development for the area (ibid).

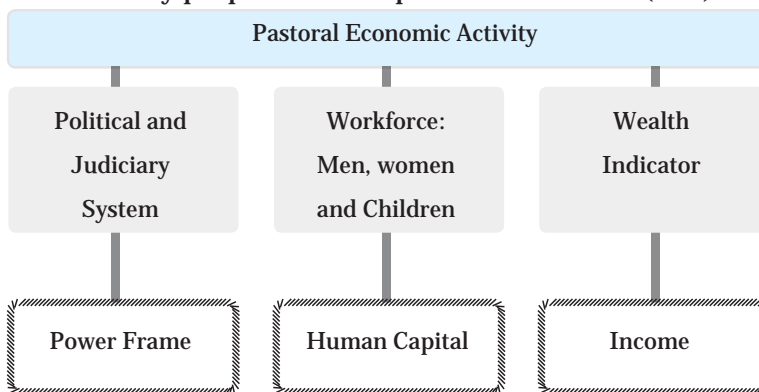


Figure 16 Influences implied within Pastoral Economic Activity (Author)

3.3.2. New Economic Opportunities and Activities

Trade, was not one of the main economic activities for Bedouins of Shalatin; as they were more interested in their traditional pastoral activities. Afterwards, the

strategic location of Shalatin in the middle of the trading line between Egypt and Sudan provided the city with this new and constant source of income . Therefore, Bedouins got involved in the camel caravan trade once they have the financial ability to do so. In this respect, one could easily notice the big yellow Lorries coming from Sudan carrying: camels, leather, herbs and many other Sudanese goods. Subsequently, Sudanese merchants come and stay in Shalatin market, where they purchase their needs from the Egyptian goods.

Shalatin is famous for Medicinal plants, however needs more development to be an active source of income for the city. These Medicinal plants are usually collected from nearby mountains and valleys; as a part of the well-known goods of Shalatin (Al Badawy, 1998).

3.4. Nomads’ Movement Schemes in Shalatin

City of Shalatin was exposed to natural and economic factors influencing the inhabitants’ movement schemes and stirred major urban transformations. Thus, ecological and climatic incidents such as drought had a great impact on the Bedouins’ movement down to the city following the cattle death. The migration movement of Bedouins to Shalatin was in groups according to their original tribal structure, which means it was in clans, lineages or at least families moving together towards their new settlement spot (See figures 17,18,19).

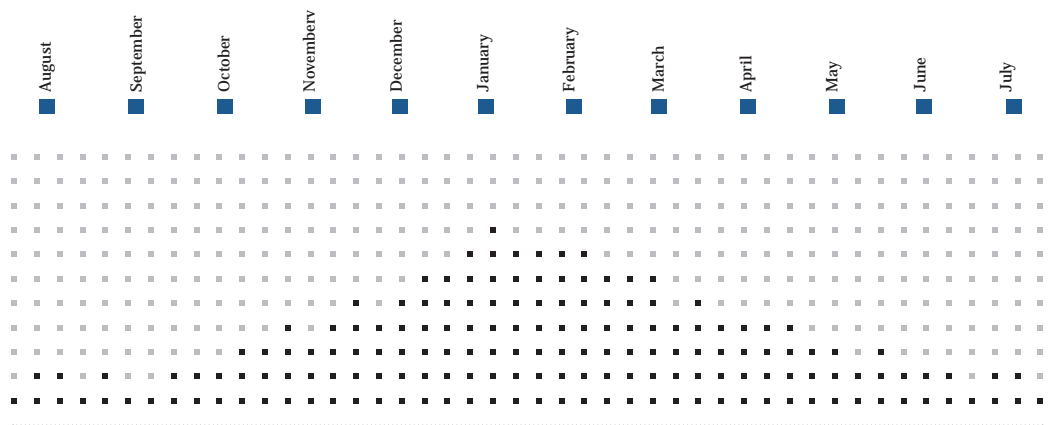


Figure 17 Shalatin Bedouins Seasonal Movement Frequency in the regional and natural context. Based on: Moustafa, 1998; Interviews (Author).

A- Traditional Movement Phase

In light of the widely spread pastoral activities within the region, Bedouins tend to move North and South in search of better rangeland valleys. ‘Ababda’ tribe roams in the northern region till the ‘Ma’aza’ Plateau, while ‘Bisharia’ tribe re-

mains in the Southern section (Al Badawy, 1998) . The former categorization of regions between the two tribes is part of their old heritage legacy. Political and administrative borderlines between Egypt and Sudan were not of a great concern to the Bedouins of Shalatin. Their strong relation to their land and nature made the priority to the seasonal movement after grazing.

Lately, Bedouins have started to understand the importance of the location aspect to benefit from the services offered by the Egyptian government (Al Badawy, 1998; Kamil, 1971). However, owning livestock remains to be the most favorable activity in Shalatin. Hence, majority of Bedouins patiently wait for the raining season to go back to 'Wadis' and look after their roaming flocks in wilderness. This situation is perfectly described by 'Yassin' when he says: "*After it rains you would hardly find any Bedouins in Shalatin, most of them would go to graze in the mountains with their livestock even if they have jobs in the city*" (Al-Bishary, 2014).

Yassin's comment indicates that those Bedouin are connected to their origins and nomadic roots. It also demonstrates their need for integrating traditional socio-economic activities besides other opportunities offered through government development plans.

B- Drought Movement Phase

The region of Halayeb and Shalatin suffer from a heavy drought season during the time between 1996 till 2002. Hence, the indigenous Bedouins inside 'Wadis' suffered from the scarcity of rainwater and natural resources. Consequently, the young tribesmen experienced high rates of unemployment; since they rely on livestock herding, hunting and charcoal natural production (Ghazaly, 2006). In this regard, Bedouins movement targeted the coastal line cities: Halayeb, Abu-Ramad and particularly Shalatin, since they were the largest urban settlement in the region.

C- Resettlement Movement Phase

In 1992, the Egyptian government displayed a great interest in imposing its sovereignty over the disputable lands on the Egyptian-Sudanese border. Afterwards, Shalatin was declared to be the capital city of 'Halayeb' triangle, and a vital trade portal between Egypt and Sudan (Al Badawy, 1998). This explains the city recent magnetism for many Bedouins to settle down and join trade activities.

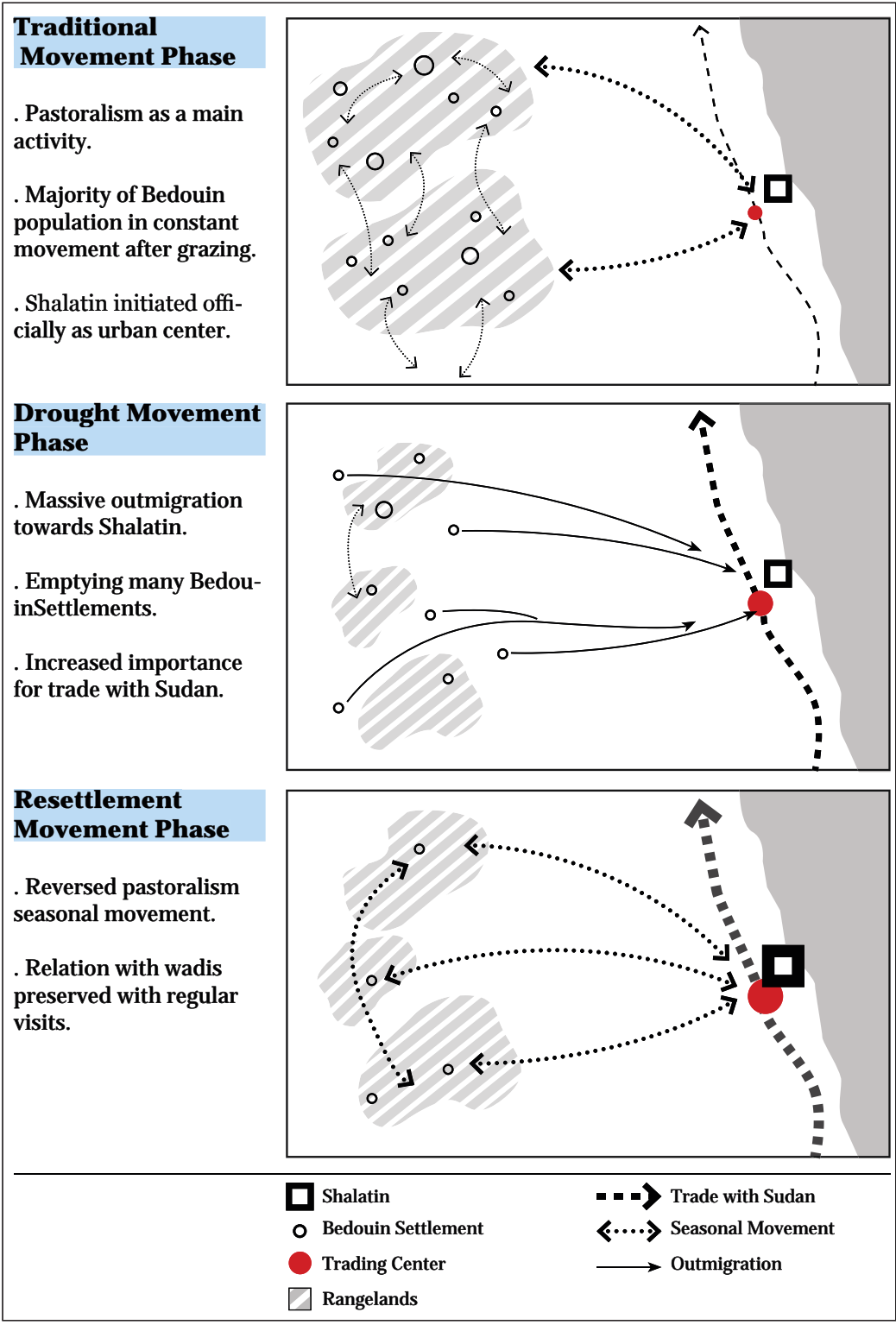


Figure 18 Movement Schemes in Shalatin and its peripheries (Author).

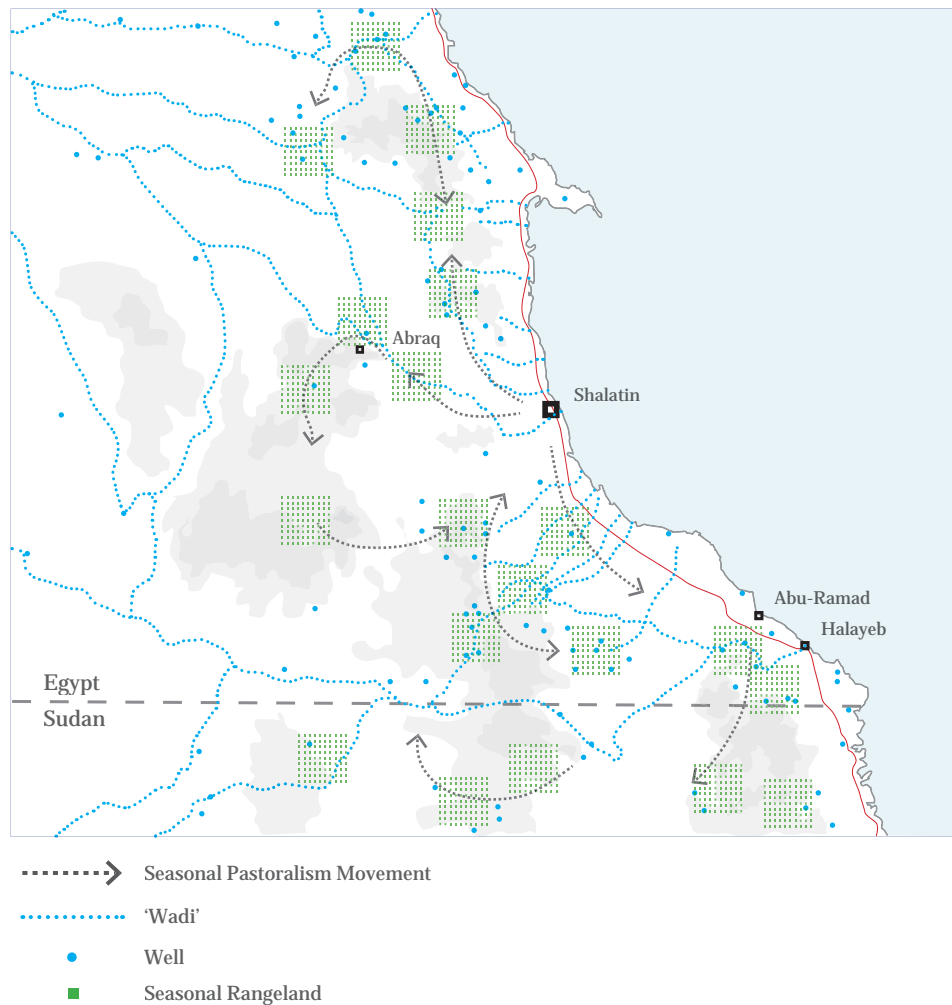


Figure 19 Seasonal Pastoralism Movement in the regional and natural context. Based on:

Al-Badawy, 1998; M. S. UK, 1969 (Author).

3.5. Evolution of Nomads' Shelter and Habitat

The urban transformation from Nomadism to Urbanism in Shalatin represents one of the explicit examples, whereas both traditional and modern housing are embedded within city fabric. Additionally, the seasonal movement of Bedouins had a great influence on their shelters formation and physical features. In this respect, shelters of pure nomads are simple structures and made of natural materials from the existing land resources.

Later on, the Bedouins in Shalatin experienced gradual shift towards more assimilation into the city, in which their settlements were considered to have a

semi sedentary status. Thus, Bedouins seasonally moved to grazing fields in the 'Wadis' and come back to these settlements. Eventually, many Bedouins have followed a full Sedentarization life style in which the head of City Council in Shalatin stated that: "Estimated percentage of nomads who got sedentarized in the city is approximately 20%, they moved searching for better city life and proper access to different services." (Al-Ma'amoun, 2014).

Accordingly, this section describes the Bedouins commonly used shelters prior the existence of the social housing projects. Thus, the Bedouins shelters are categorized below into three main stages as follows.

- Nomadic Traditional shelter 'Bersh'.
- Partial Sedentarization 'Shacks'.
- Full Sedentarization 'Concrete'.

A- Nomad's Traditional Shelters "Bersh": 'Bersh' units still exist in many courtyards of Bedouin's modern houses. It is for many Bedouins a physical cultural heritage that they prefer to preserve. Simply it represents the nomadic condition that they appreciate and try to sustain, as in case of old-aged citizens that are sedentarized in Shalatin. The exterior appearance of 'Bersh' units is quite close to African huts shape but with a more plain conical end for roofing. According to Bedouins interviewed by the researcher, 'Bersh' units embraced an ecological and climatic adaptation with natural conditions. Despite its light materials and primitive structural technique, it proofed rainwater during winter and provided shady and breathy shelter during hot days of summer (Moustafa, 1998).



Figure 20 Nomad's Traditional Shelters "Bersh". Source: <http://gabelbaprotectate-egypt.blogspot.de/>

Construction of these shelters involves significant participation among the family members. Men take care of setting the basic structure, which consists of trees trunks on a semi circular plan, on top thinner and taller branches forming the roof are fixed together with ropes. Women would collect former materials during their pasturing small herding flocks as goats, in which they cover the structure with a layer of tight mats, and add from inside an additional layer of fabrics or wool. Outside the 'Bersh', a social space is created with a simple ground sitting for traditional café drinking between women. When the family needs to move, 'Bersh' parts get decomposed and packed on camels to be recollected on the new location (ibid). Ownership boundaries scarcely existed between different 'Bersh' units because of the common understanding of Tribal communal living rights, which should be well respected and obeyed by all of them.

B- Partial Sedentarization 'Shacks': This stage was characterized mainly with tendency of Bedouins towards more integration into the city. Most probably, the physical appearance of these shacks was adopted by Bedouins that were in contact with the early mineral excavation expeditions starting from the 40's. The introduction of industrial materials in the Bedouins shelters reflects their acceptance of the dominant society products. In this respect, they add an extra layer of sand, gypsum and straw to the exterior surface of shacks. Additionally, pitched roofs are usually covered with branches, palm leaves or corrugated sheets. The inner part of the shacks started to include partitions of mats to divide spaces for the family, and the kitchen was included inside the unit (Moustafa, 1998).



Figure 21 Semi-Nomad's 'Shacks', "Bersh" units can also be seen in the background (Author).

Bedouins at this stage started to fence an approximate plot to their units in order to keep goats and sheep inside, while herding camels most of the time in the

wilderness (ibid). This new territorial behavior of fencing plots is a clear sign for the transformation to semi sedentary life of Bedouins in Shalatin. Moreover, it gives a hint on their living system, where livestock was always an essential part of it. Therefore, adding these fenced plots was a natural and expected process done by Bedouins.

C- Full Sedentarization ‘Concrete Houses’: This stage of settlement’s evolution in Shalatin is directly connected to the introduction of the official Bedouin housing projects by the state . At the beginning, the majority of these units were inhabited by employees and workers of the city council. At the same time, limited groups of Bedouins accepted to live in these units, and were mostly senior citizens, women and children. It is important to mention that the Bedouin communities were not ready for the full Sedentarization as planned by the government at that time.

An important aspect for the former inhomogeneous relation between Bedouins and the first housing units, that they were not used to live in similar concrete structures. Subsequently, they found these units not coping with their nomadic and semi nomadic living conditions. In this respect, a camel herder describes his inconvenient relation to the new governmental housing units in Shalatin by saying; “*We feel suffocated when we live inside these boxes*” (Moustafa, 1998).



Figure 22 Sedentarized Bedouins Houses (Author).

Gradually, the government was persistent on developing Shalatin as an attractive city for the Bedouins to settle in. These assimilation strategies came along with the provision of Basic Urban Services and Infrastructure grids. Moreover, the local economy development has attracted so many youth to join the newly intro-

duced full time jobs provided by the government. Therefore, Bedouins modified their living condition in the urban context of Shalatin.

Later on, Bedouins started to accept living in the modern masonry brick and concrete housing models. A main characteristic of these settlements, that it started to define and give priority of having boundaries and limits between the different plots, even inside the one tribal, lineage or family grouping. Fenced plots to keep goats started to appear next to their units, 'Bersh' emerged inside courtyards as mentioned before to host the non-adapted Bedouins especially old-aged citizens (Moustafa, 1998).

3.6. Compatibility of Activities, Movement and Habitat

This section correlates the nomads' movement and activities with the existing habitat to identify the variance in the ecological, social, and economic activities in (Figure 23). In this view the following table explains the corresponding architecture and urban form to the pre-mentioned assimilation stages of Bedouins in Shalatin.

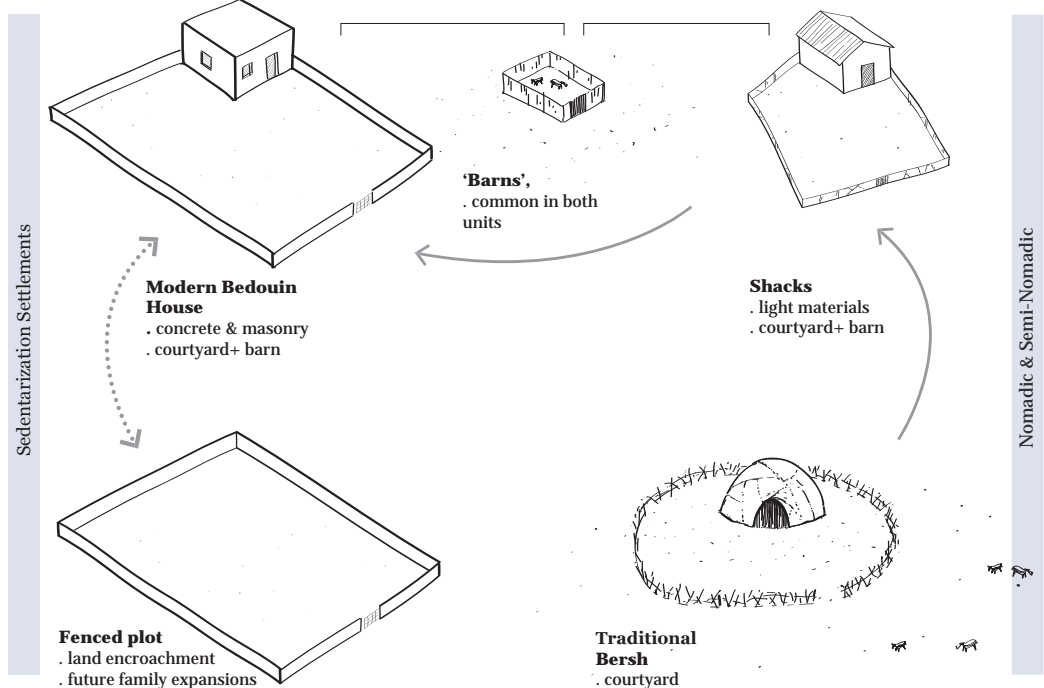


Figure 23 Evolution in a Bedouin unit and correlations between different stages (Author).


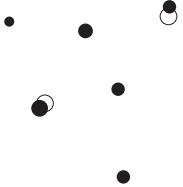

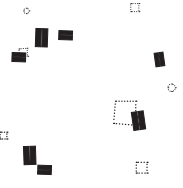

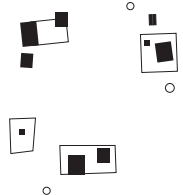
	Shelter Typology	Configuration
<p>Pure Nomads</p>	<p>'Bersh', it is a tent made of wool, lint or mats. 'Bersh' is the traditional and primitive nomadic shelter in the region of Halayeb and Shalatin.</p> 	<p>Because of constant movement with their flocks, they did not settle for long periods in the same spot. Therefore, nomadic Bedouins did not sense the need for any territorial patterns or used land possession tools.</p> 
<p>Partial Sedentarization</p>	<p>'Shack's regular forms; rectangular skeleton with pitched roofs is built of trees trunks and then covered with a mixture of wooden panels and corrugated sheets and sometimes with cardboards.</p> 	<p>Bedouins in this stage started to define locations for their settlements; it could be the same previous locations for their old 'Bersh' units or new spots chosen for better conditions and chances. Defining territory started to rise.</p> 
<p>Full Sedentarization</p>	<p>Bedouins started using masonry bricks and concrete for the first time in their shelters. Development in materials and techniques were referred to external factors (government- Nile Valley outmigrants).</p> 	<p>These settlements started to define boundaries and limits between the different plots, even inside the one tribal, lineage or family grouping. Walls circulating the unit came into the scene, reinforced concrete buildings started to replace shacks in many areas.</p> 

Table 3 Assimilation stages in terms of the corresponding Shelter typology and urban configuration (Author).

3.7. Conclusion

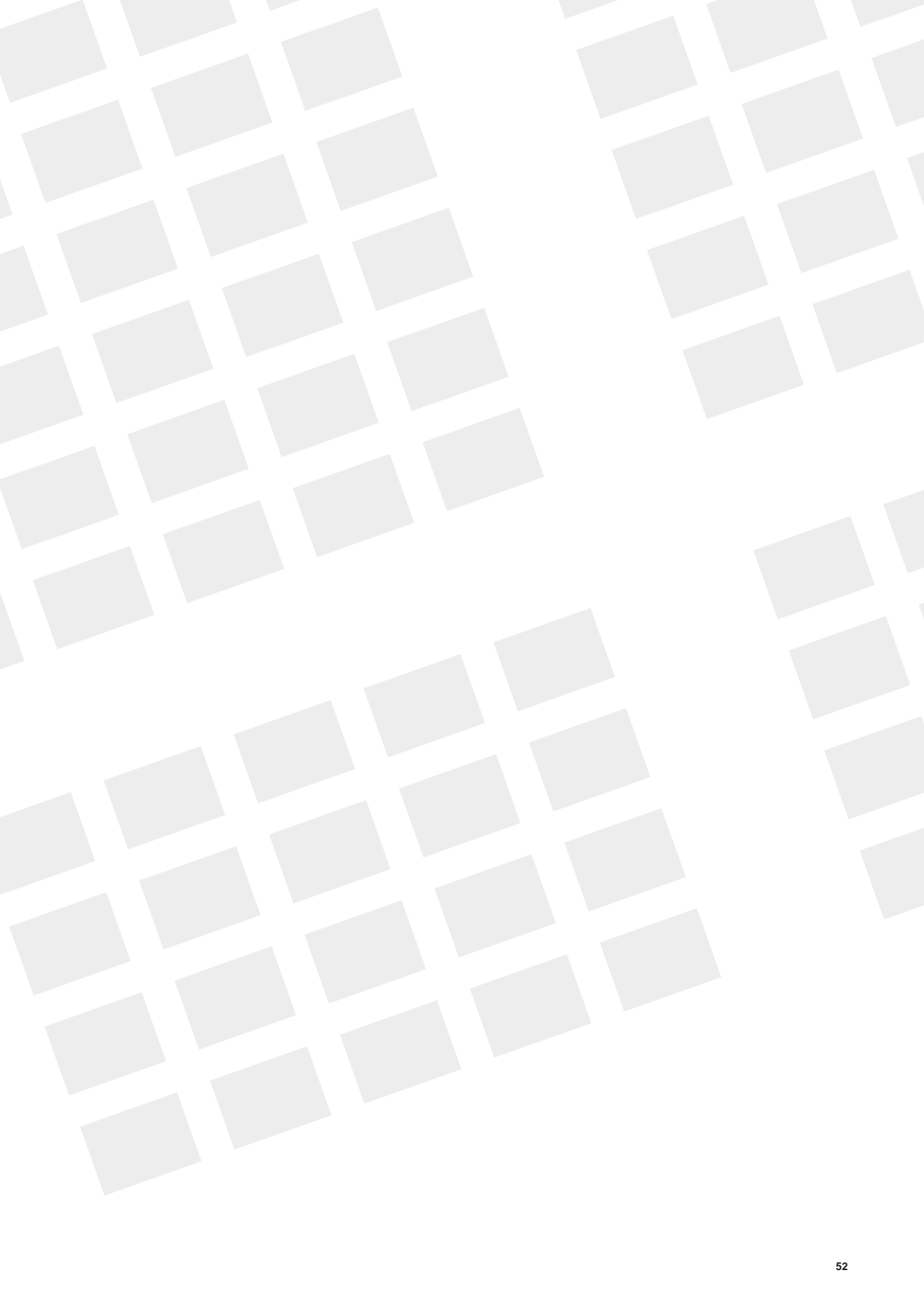
This chapter concludes that the ecological context represented in the harsh desert environment and scarcity of resources contributed to the current identity of Shalatin. In this respect, Bedouins of Shalatin used to appreciate their tribal structure, social solidarity, and their one common leader even if they belong to different sub tribes 'Abada' and 'Bisharia'. This social enclosure is perceived as an isolated and defensive manner when dealing with other non-nomadic groups. Recently, Bedouins of Shalatin assimilated more into the modern life, and enjoy full time jobs in the city. Thus, complexity of their tribal structure is weakened.

Hence, following the Egyptian official interest towards Sedentarization, Bedouins shifted towards new job opportunities such as trading and administrative full time jobs. Subsequently, their shelters and clustering relationships have been mixed. In this regard, one can monitor the urban transformation in Shalatin by noticing: the 'Bersh' existence, the light-structured shacks allowing less flexibility to move, and the red brick buildings.

Accordingly in the following chapters, the research investigates the Egyptian official plans for development of Shalatin, in which chapters 4 and 5 are concerned with examining the gradual urban assimilation of both Shalatin Bedouins along with the Nile valley outmigrants.



4. Official Attempts Towards Urbanization of Shalatin: An Analytical Point of View



4. Official Attempts Towards Urbanization of Shalatin: An Analytical Point of View

This chapter aims at understanding the Egyptian State approaches towards the city urbanization. Consequently, the role of the Egyptian government in Shalatin is investigated; in order to analyze the official vision and proposals for the city development. Respectively, the first section starts by highlighting the disputable borders with Sudan including Shalatin. Later, another section is introduced concerning the offered governmental services and subsidies for the benefit of Bedouins' Sedentarization. In this regard, the target beneficiaries are identified in terms of the applied motivational policies. Subsequently, collective analysis for testimonials of local officials in Shalatin are mentioned ; in order to find out particulars on the given incentives. Finally, this chapter provides a concise review of the proposed urban development plans by the government for years 1995 and 2000 respectively.

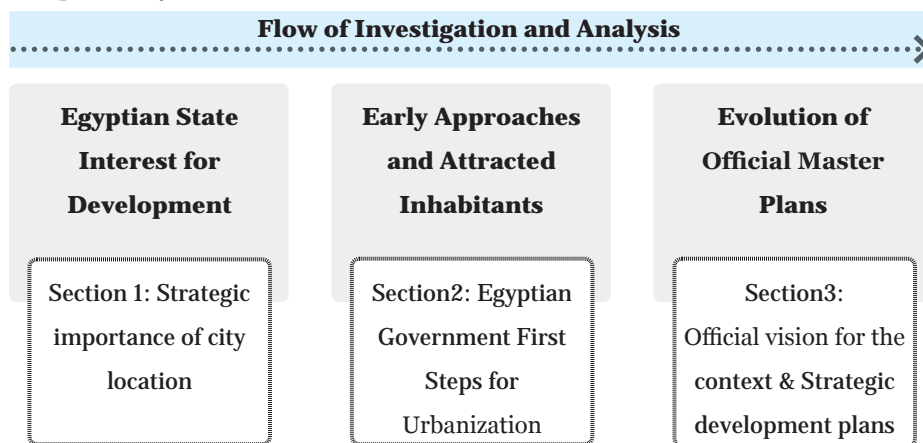


Figure 24 Analysis and sections contents for chapter 4 (Author)

In this respect, this chapter represents a transitional step prior the urban growth analysis of Shalatin, which is discussed in the following chapters.

4.1. Shalatin: Strategic Importance of City Location

After 1992, the strong governmental presence in Shalatin has generated new job opportunities for Bedouins. Many of them were hired in basic jobs in the newly founded official agencies in the city (Al Badawy, 1998). Moreover, it has been elaborated during the previous phases of this research that the main reason behind the State's interest to invest in Shalatin would be due to its strategic proximity to Sudan. Accordingly, some details regarding the strategic location of Shalatin and political disputes are mentioned below.

4.1.1. Early Location Importance

Despite the fact that Shalatin is a newly emerged city, but the Eastern coastal road to Sudan is considered to be the oldest direct land connection between the two neighbors (Rafla, 1965). Therefore, the Southeastern border region of Egypt including the city location has a historical economic and cultural importance; in which the Arabs reached Sudan before and after the Islamic conquest through that road. Thus, the southeastern periphery of Egypt played a fundamental role in the spreading of Islamic culture and Arabic language in East of Africa. Therefore, the connectivity provided by this road contributed to the massive human migration waves of Nomads in this region. Respectively, it is important to point out that some of these migrations settled down in the area of Shalatin and intermingled with the nomadic 'Beja' tribes.

4.1.2. Political Dispute Triggering Urbanization

The political dispute between Egypt and Sudan over 'Halayeb' Triangle had largely affected the urbanization process in Shalatin. Thus, the Egyptian government and military conducted an accelerated process of urbanization; towards imposing the Egyptian presence over the land. Consequently, the official strategies involved urban development of Shalatin and targeted the whole border triangle at latter stages. Hence, it is mentioned below a short overview on the historic background on such a dispute.

The First Dispute in 1958: This dispute started just after 2 years of the Sudan independence from Egypt in January 1956, where Sudanese authorities claimed

that the area of which is commonly known as 'Halayeb and Shalatin' belongs to its constituencies. The Sudanese claim is based upon the decree made by the Egyptian minister of interior in 1902, which defines an administrative boundary along with the political border. Subsequently, these borders were identified in accordance to the pastoral nomads of 'Bisharia' and 'Ababda' tribes, which were continuously moving cross the 22° N latitude after their grazing. On the other hand, The Egyptian position stands on the 1899 treaty signed between Egypt and Britain, which defines all the areas south of 22° N latitude as the Sudan (Abdel-Hakim, 1998).

The main reason behind the rising conflict between the two countries is due to this historic 1899 treaty imposed by the British occupation. This drawn line in the 1899 treaty added 'Halayeb' triangle to the administrative responsibility of Khartoum authority, which at that time was part of the Egypt and Sudan Kingdom (ibid). Until the 1958 conflict, the status of 'Halayeb' triangle remained the same under the Sudanese administration. At this time, Shalatin used to be called 'Bi'r El Shalatin', which means water well of Shalatin and was administratively attached to the Village of 'Marsa Alam'.

Egyptian Military Soft Intervention in 1992: the notion of Shalatin as a city was hardly noticed in any of the Egyptian official maps or documents until 1992. Respectively, it was only mentioned as a military outpost just 2 km north of the administrative line. This situation shifted dramatically in 1992, when Sudan signed an oil excavation contract with a Canadian company counting 'Halayeb' Triangle within the contract. The situation escalated diplomatically between the two countries leading to an actual Egyptian military intervention; in which an end was put to the troubled status of the triangle for the favor of the Egyptian side (Abdel-Hakim, 1998).

4.2. Egyptian Government Urbanization First Steps and Influences

The Egyptian governmental existence in Shalatin has strengthened its status as a capital for the region of 'Halayeb' triangle. Thus, the first steps taken by the Egyptian government after 1992 to convert city of Shalatin into main urban node for the Southeastern desert were (Al Badawy, 1998):

1- Construction of primary, elementary and secondary schools, in addition to 'Azhar' institute. Moreover, two other schools were planned to be built in Abu-

Ramad and Halayeb; in which all of them are to fuel the first educational services for the area.

- 2- National Television broadcasting; for raising national sense of belonging and connections through Media.
- 3- Initiate a medical veterinary unit; to provide services for the existing livestock owned by the city inhabitants.
- 4- Initiate a bureau for the tribes' affairs; in which the required admission and registration procedures were managed. This service mainly targeted the tribesmen who were not registered into the State's official records yet.
- 5- Foundation of a City Council; as a local administrative authority.
- 6- Initiate a medical unit; to provide health care services for inhabitants.
- 7- Construct sea water desalination plants in each of: Shalatin, Abu Ramad and Halayeb, and it should provide its services for free for the inhabitants.
- 8- Initiate an agriculture administration; to supervise and direct farmers, and also to work on the Sedentarization of Bedouins.
- 9- Construct housing units; to sedentarize Bedouins in the area.

It can be concluded through reviewing these steps that the state was empowering the city through provision of basic urban services. Hence, Shalatin was turning into an urban attraction pole for Nomadic populations as well as Nile Valley out-migrants.

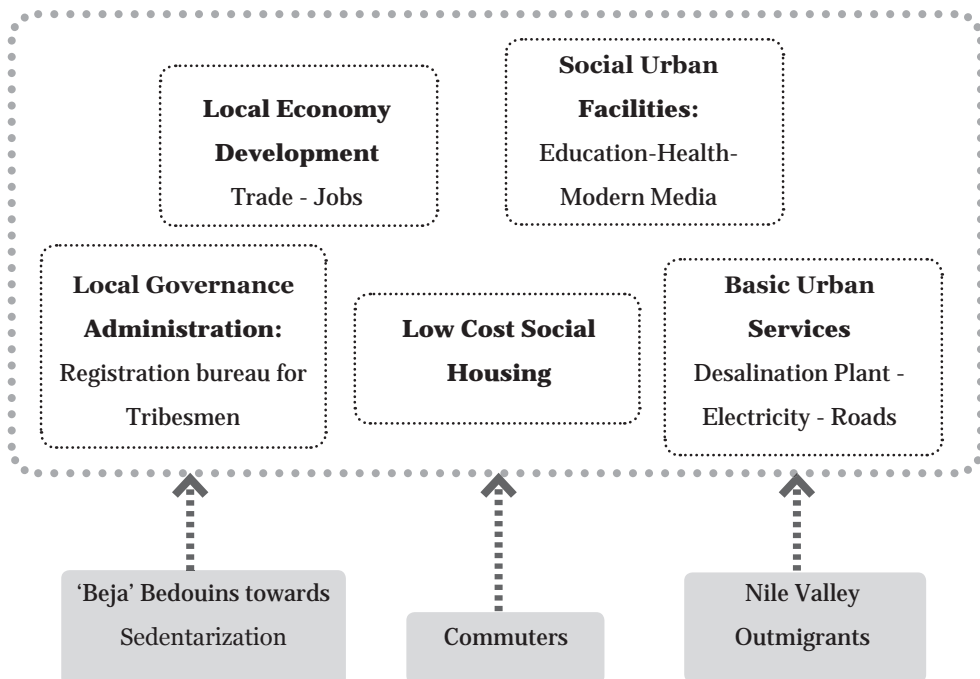


Figure 25 Urban Attractions for Nomadic populations and Nile Valley migrants (Author).

In light of the former mentioned procedures, it can be concluded that the government was targeting in the first place the establishment of sedentarized community of Bedouins in the region. Also the early initiation of agricultural administration in the area indicates the Nile Valley oriented policies. This traditional mentality reveals the State's perception of sedentary societies that they should work in agricultural, even if the capacity and natural resources don't support such possibility. Moreover, provision of the expensive desalinated-water plant, electricity, and housing units raised the standards of living and aspirations in Shalatin; in which Bedouins were attracted to settle down.

4.2.1. Development & Sedentarization Aiming Official Policies

During the research investigation on the most appealing official policies, it was found that subsidies and job opportunities are the most powerful ones. In this respect, it has been found through interviews and field visits that the government offers a 100% of the salary as an additional subsidy for its employees in the name of 'Attraction Subsidy' in order to attract human resources. Moreover, the government offers easement in vacations in the form of 20 working days for 10 off days. Hence, previous methods increased the numbers of the new settlers coming to Shalatin. But in the same time, the previous measures did not succeed to convince lots of those immigrant officials to bring their families along to stay in the city.

However, the government targeted local inhabitants through offering services that are free of charge such as: electricity, Desalinated water, and administrative fees. Also, the state's employment strategy started recently to give favor for locals in official jobs; i.e. people who were born and registered in Shalatin can apply through governmental hiring advertisement.

In this respect, the researcher conducted three interviews. The first interview was with Head of Desert Research Center, while the second was with Head of the Sedentarization sector at the Ministry of Social Affairs. Finally, the last interview was with Head of the Agriculture Administration in Shalatin. The aim of these interviews was mainly to identify the role of their representative apparatuses and their Perception of future of the city of Shalatin

A Sedentarization subsidy is being paid by the ministry for Bedouins in the areas of Shalatin, Abo-Ramad, and Halayeb; the main aim of such a strategy is to encourage Bedouins to settle down in these defined locations. Since these subsidies are paid regularly, therefore any family that is not found to be settled for six consecutive months is excluded from payment. Nowadays, around 4800 families in the whole region get benefit from this subsidy. New settlers from Nile Valley can access such subsidies only in case they are registered as a herdsman or fishermen. The Ministry of Social Affairs is also responsible for the distribution of Housing Units for Bedouins. The distribution process is based on the results of a social survey conducted between Bedouins. Afterwards, units were distributed randomly with no relation to tribal or families bonds (Yousri, 2014).

The ministry is paying a desertification and drought subsidy for Bedouins in the region. Such a subsidy is supposed to help Bedouins to face the changing climatic conditions specially drought, which has affected their traditional way of living that usually depends on rain. Consequently, 5900 families in the region get benefit of this subsidy. The ministry is offering another subsidy, which is the 'Productive Families' project. For example, Pastoralism projects are one form of this help, which is simply based on offering 3 herding animals and their food (Yousri, 2014).

It was concluded from the interviews as well that Water is the main support of life in Shalatin area whether in the city or inside the valleys,; in which it is the backbone for the semi-nomadic communities in the valleys; they use it in a very sustainable way through surface wells (depth 16m) and only for their direct needs and also for their flocks. In this respect, the limited storage of the underground water in the Red Sea is a main concern because it's irreplaceable. Accordingly, Water Many times tribe chiefs asked the authorities not to bring their MODERNITY to their wells because it will simply exploit or damage them (Al-Shafie, 2014).

Accordingly, the priority for the area development should be targeting the animal production; since it is the most traditional and respected economic activity for the indigenous inhabitants. Moreover, the area has strong capabilities to host such activity (Taha, 2014); in which Semi-nomads in the valleys start their grazing season from January till March that is directly connected to the seasonal rain fall. They follow the rain and they are very sensitive in following its fall in

the mountains with their flocks (Al-Shafie, 2014). Therefore, the Valley dwellers have a very deep understanding and respect to their ecological context. Accordingly, it is better to support their way of living with simple tools than introducing incompatible techniques as improvised agricultural, which is excessively expensive and out of the locals needs.

In this regard, the research outlines some of the potential low-Tech tools proposed by the interviewed official representatives; for a successful agricultural development in the area such as: using flood rainwater by directing them into the valleys, and constructing simple flood basins and dykes. Consequently, it is important to suggest feasible methods to facilitate the land cultivation with fresh water in the area and overcome the scarcity of water resources. Thus, the importance to integrate the surrounding valleys should be pinpointed through the development of Shalatin; as it is the original inhabitancy for the nomadic tribes (Taha, 2014).

In this respect, Valleys around Shalatin had a great opportunity to support the traditional agriculture and collection of wild and medical herbs, in which the government should develop it along with them in a sustainable way and introduce to them simple hints for a good and modern production (Al-Shafie, 2014)

Some other remarks were communicated through these interviews regarding the modern life technologies and the accessibility aspect. It was mentioned that the introduction of vehicles had an important role in preserving and supporting these people way of living in the surrounding mountains and valleys, they do have a sharing system to maximize the benefit of it by acquiring goods and fresh water from the city (ibid). Moreover, the introduction of solar power to these communities should be considered as a future plan for the area; that would maximize their benefit if attached to their simple techniques of water excavation and electricity generation. It could also be the base of a sustainable sedentarization for them in the area rather than fleeing to main cities (Al-Shafie, 2014).

4.2.2. Outmigrants from the Nile Valley:

Labor: During the years 1995-1996, large numbers of Out-migrants started to flee to Shalatin. Most of the new settlers came from Qina and Aswan, in which the rising urban development in Shalatin attracted them. Those new settlers see Shalatin as the new opportunity land away from the dense valley, where it is

easier and cheaper to obtain a property, get hired in the public sector (Al Badawy, 1998), and motivated by rumors about people who search for gold in mountains of Shalatin . In addition, trade opportunities with Sudan through the international market of Shalatin (Al-Souq Al-Dawly) represented an additional attraction factor for them (Al Badawy, 1998).

Many of the Nile Valley Out-migrants started to register themselves and their families in Shalatin in order to get benefit from the ongoing urban development. Thus, they applied for land plots subsidized by the State; as an encouragement step for attracting residents to the remote city. This category of Shalatin inhabitants is considered as the main force in urbanizing the city; in which they contribute in many economic activities of the city such as trade and construction industry.

Throughout the research interviews, it was found that large group of these residents is totally settled in Shalatin by a decade or more. Hence, they have taken advantage of the governmental supportive procedures towards the city urbanization, in which they benefited from. Many of them had already built their own houses in a Bedouin housing style where land plot is mainly acquired through agreement with superior Bedouin tribe. However, conflict incidents happened when new settlers did not recognize the unofficial local rights of ownership by Bedouins.

Commuters/ Officials: Professional employees get double the payment that they usually earn back in their home cities. Through field visit observation and conducted individual interviews; the majority of governmental officials consider Shalatin as only a working place, therefore they did not settle down with their families in the city. Poor infrastructure of the city is considered a main reason for such an attitude along with the facilitation of regular vacations. Hence, the new city until now has failed to attract educated professionals to live in it, who refuse to risk their families' living standards.

4.3. Sedentarization Oriented Urban Development

Shalatin was composed of seven Bedouin main groupings with population estimations of 3500 inhabitants in 1991. The main residential district (Hagar Al-Asas) is located on the northern side of the main axis, where the only paved road exists. Services were concentrated in the center of these settlements. The main activity was Pastoralism with side Jobs such as working for the mineral company in Abu-Ramad (GOPP, 1995).

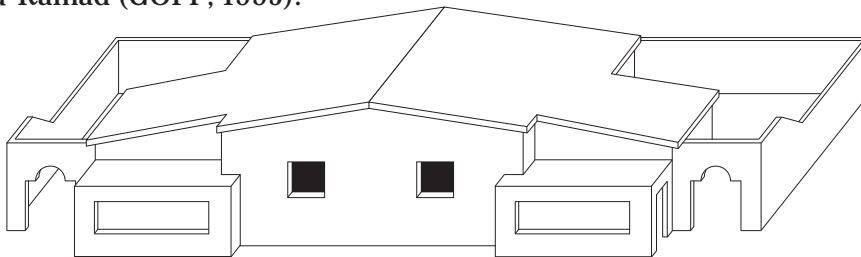


Figure 26 'Hagar Al-Asas' Bedouin Housing Prototype (Author).

Thus, until 1992 the infrastructure of Shalatin was under primary construction, boats transferred potable water from Qusair, and the only power plant had a limited capacity. There were only scattered settlements, where no villages or cities existed in the common sense of sedentary communities planning perception. The report of General Authority for Physical Planning (GOPP) in 1995 mentions that the strong presence of gathering nodes in the traditional Bedouin locations inside 'Wadis' particularly around wells and springs. These settlements usually located on highlands or more specifically on foothills in order to avoid the risk of sudden flash floods(GOPP, 1995).

4.3.1. First Official Master Plan (1995)

Shortly after 1992, the General Authority for Physical Planning (GOPP) conducted its first urban planning involvement for the city of Shalatin in order. GOPP's report of 'the spatial planning of Shalatin city' clarifies in its introduction that: "The southeastern region is of a strategic importance to the national and border security, since its geographical location promotes it for a vital role in the state's development strategies, which aims for filling and development of void spaces on the national scale that represents economical and strategic importance. The projected development should enhance the economical stimulation and reduce population's stress on the existing urban settlements in the Nile Valley".

Therefore, the official urbanization strategy in Shalatin was based in the first place on the political importance especially after the dispute with Sudan. Moreover, another main target for that approach was to attract population from the over-crowded Nile Valley settlements (GOPP, 1995).

A- Urban Development Vision: GOPP's vision for the urban development strategies in Shalatin included the following targets:

- Developing urban nodes for the Sedentarization of Bedouins, and to attract population from Upper Egypt governorates.
- Setting a touristic development plan for the area; since the area includes natural qualifications for that.
- Founding an international harbor along with a domestic airport.

The GOPP strategies considered the provision of infrastructure services, and connecting Shalatin with Aswan city through 'Wadi Houdein'. Moreover, it considered the accessibility to potable water through extending the pipelines network from Aswan (over 500km). This official vision towards urbanization of Shalatin was to a great extent a typical and repetitive strategy for most of the Red Sea settlements, which usually promotes for tourism as the stimulating economic element for development.

B-Perception of Socio-ecological Aspects: Through investigating the social studies attached to the GOPP final report, no recognition for any special services for the dominant tribal structure in Shalatin were clearly stated. However, the general outline of the study identified the needed services for "tribal groupings" like any other sedentary community such as: educational, health care, cultural and religious services. GOPP has even proposed the initiation of "green open spaces" in these tribal groupings, this indicates lacking awareness of the primary characteristics for nomadic desert communities. Pastoralism was mentioned as a main socioeconomic activity among Bedouins in the area, although it was not integrated into the urban component of the study. For instance, animals barns were completely absent from the GOPP analysis.

'Wadis' were described as natural limitations for the city urban growth. Therefore, 'Wadis' compel the spatial formation of the city to be scattered in some areas and connected in others. The GOPP considered the need to reduce possible

conflicts over the natural water channels . ‘Wadis’ were mentioned with no further explanation in another sector; to be utilized through agriculture and grazing activities.

One of the remarkable recommendations was to avoid building in the coastal area of Shalatin; because of the salty soil with potential side effects on structures foundations. However additional reason was implied; which is to reserve the land use for the futuristic tourism industry. Another recommendation was to adopt water sensitive urban techniques; in order to collect floodwater from valleys and use it in the development process.

C- Proposed Master Plan: The report has mentioned a list of intended projects for the city including 148 Bedouin housing units, in which 100 of these units were under construction. Additionally, the report mentioned the construction of different educational services and the fishermen village.

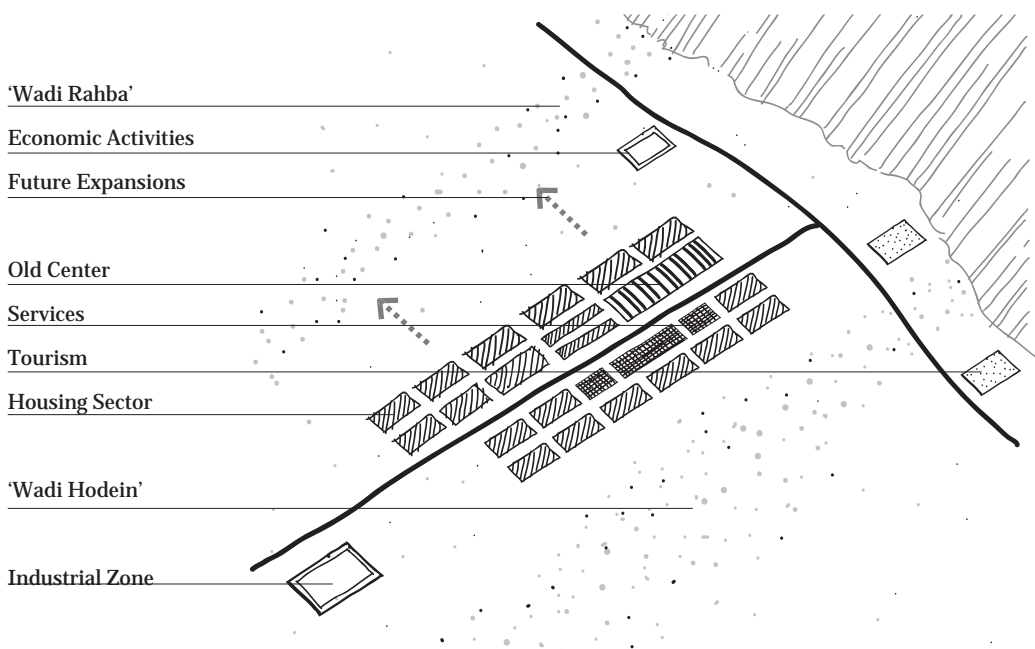


Figure 27 The 1st Urban Vision for Shalatin: GOPP (Author).

The existing construction work of the 100 Bedouin houses reveals a huge gap between the GOPP as the official authority responsible for the city planning from a side, and the lack of their awareness on the ongoing urban development from the other side. Thus, such a gap raises concerns regarding the role of the other key decision makers such as military, who were involved through on ground develop-

ment. Subsequently, the proposed master plan for Shalatin officially authorized the projected traditional development, and did not offer any distinguished urban vision for the city. In this respect, Housing sector was separated into two main groups according to GOPP proposal:

- The first sector is the so-called 'Urban housing' and located in the city center, including 1800 units able to host 8700 inhabitants. It was described as separated prototypes coping with the existing social aspects. It was planned to include 8 residential neighborhoods in this development associated with their service centers.
- Second sector was addressed as the 'Bedouin housing' and includes several urban nodes situated on the peripheries of Shalatin. The units of this sector are briefly described as Bedouin units with small gardens.

The previous housing categorization did not differentiate between the two targeted groups of users. Also, the expected Out-migrants population from the Nile Valley that was recognized in the initial urban development vision was totally excluded. An interesting observation in the GOPP proposal is the allotment of the industrial zone in the southwestern part of Shalatin, which is currently the 'Souq' location. Thus, the proposed urban development seems very distant from understanding the social, economic and ecological features of the area.

D- Reflections on the First Urban Approach: The GOPP approach was to a clear extent unaware of the urban characteristics and needs of a Bedouin community. The proposed master plan perceived and theoretically planned in similar manner to any Egyptian city on the Nile Valley. Thus, the central governmental plans being proposed in Cairo were no longer efficient in Shalatin.

Therefore and in light of figure 27, it became obvious to the Egyptian government the need to revisit its vision and plans towards better urbanization of Shalatin.

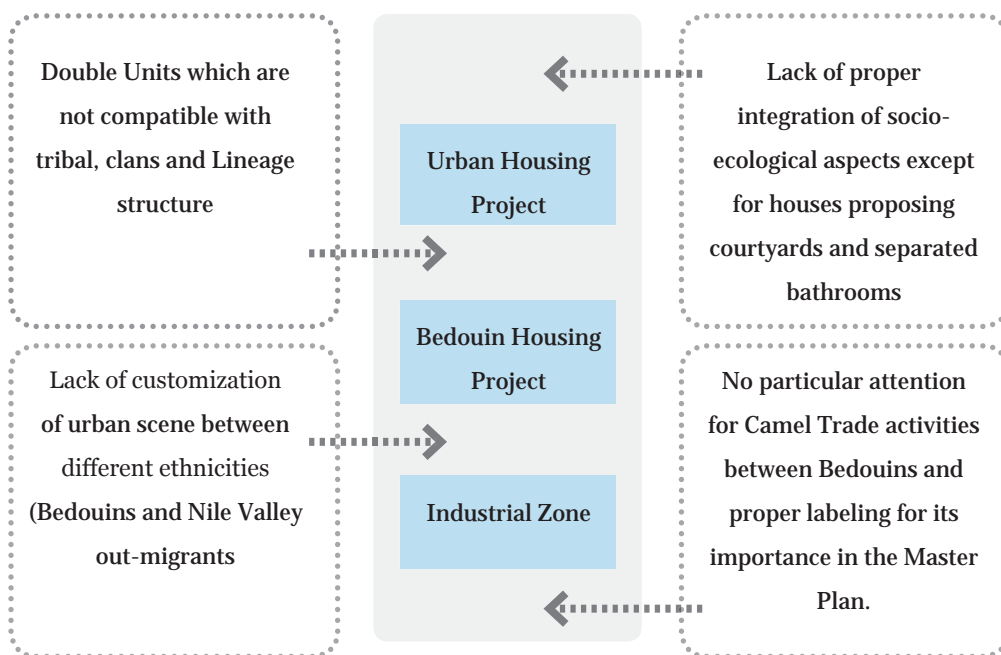


Figure 28 Reflections on Drawbacks of GOPP Proposed Urban Development Studies and Master Plan (Author).

4.3.2. Second Urban Intervention (2000)

The second phase of the official intervention in Shalatin came as a refinement of the first master plan done by the GOPP in 1995. The responsibility of planning the city was shifted to the Red Sea Governorate, which contracted private planning consultancies. The economical potential for tourism industry on the Red Sea accelerated the use of the Shoreline for attracting private investors to the area.

A clear example for this would be 'Marsa Alam' boom in the tourism development (328 km North of Shalatin), which followed the same traces of Hurghada and Sharm El-Sheikh. Therefore, the short period between the two planning proposals (1995-2000) is mainly assumed to prepare the urban scene of Shalatin for approaching tourism industry. An additional reason would be to control the spontaneous growth of existing settlements in Shalatin.

A- Urban Development Vision: The strategic vision for developing Shalatin in this approach was to support the city transformation from a semi-urban settlement to a regional urban center. Thus, most of the main targets were oriented towards generating economic development. Hence, the vision highlighted the importance of reinforcing the connectivity between Shalatin and the Nile Valley

cities in Upper Egypt through a transverse axis respecting the natural formation of 'Wadis'.

Longitudinal axis along the Red Sea coastline was also labeled in the vision; in order to connect the city with the other shoreline settlements. In the same respect, the proposal stressed on the importance of parallel significance for both development axes, the desert- Nile Valley axis and the coastline axis (Waly, 2005). The adopted urban vision considered Bedouin heritage as a stage in the whole process towards sedentary life, to have an influence on the urban transformation of Shalatin.

B- Perception of Socio-ecological Aspects: The urban planner realized the

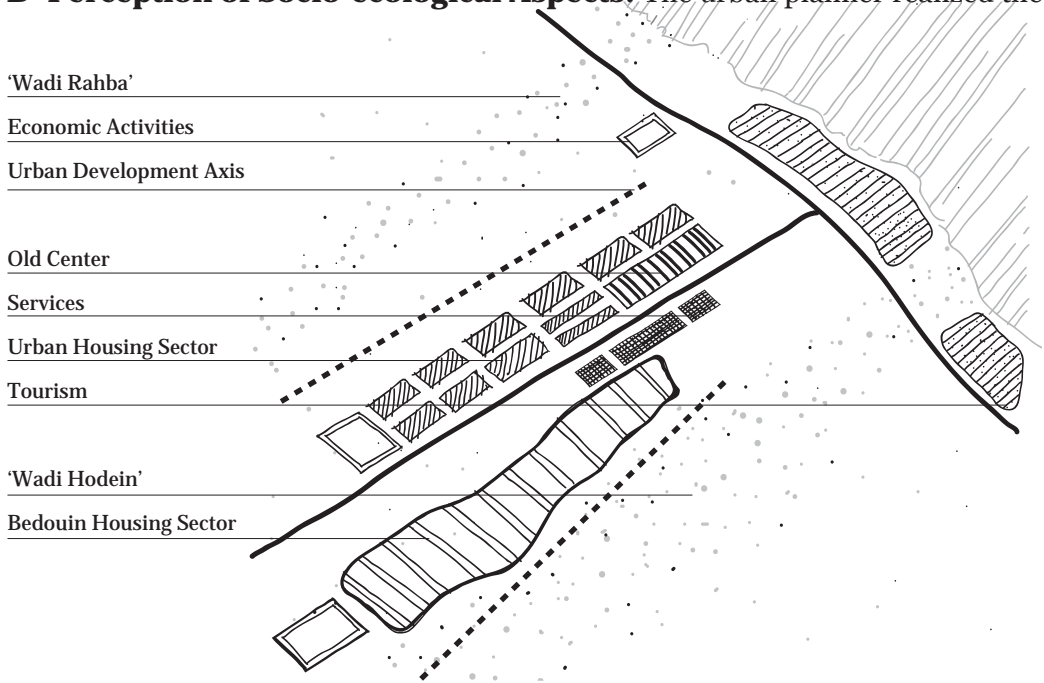


Figure 29 The 2nd Urban Vision for Shalatin: T. Waly & A. Abdel-Waryth, 2005 (Author).

distinctive relation between Bedouin communities and the ecological context. Furthermore, Seasonal movement was recognized for the first as marginal information of pastoralists both: in winter upward valleys and mountains searching for rangeland and down to the coast for other economical activities during summer season. Additionally, it is mentioned in the "Human and Society" section that the movement schemes of Bedouin tribes are connected to the availability of water resources; thus provision of constant supply would accelerate the Sed-

entarization process (Waly, 2005). However, the research considers that the previous assumption was not totally accurate, as settled Bedouins of Shalatin are still practicing some level of movement; influenced by social and cultural factors (ibid).

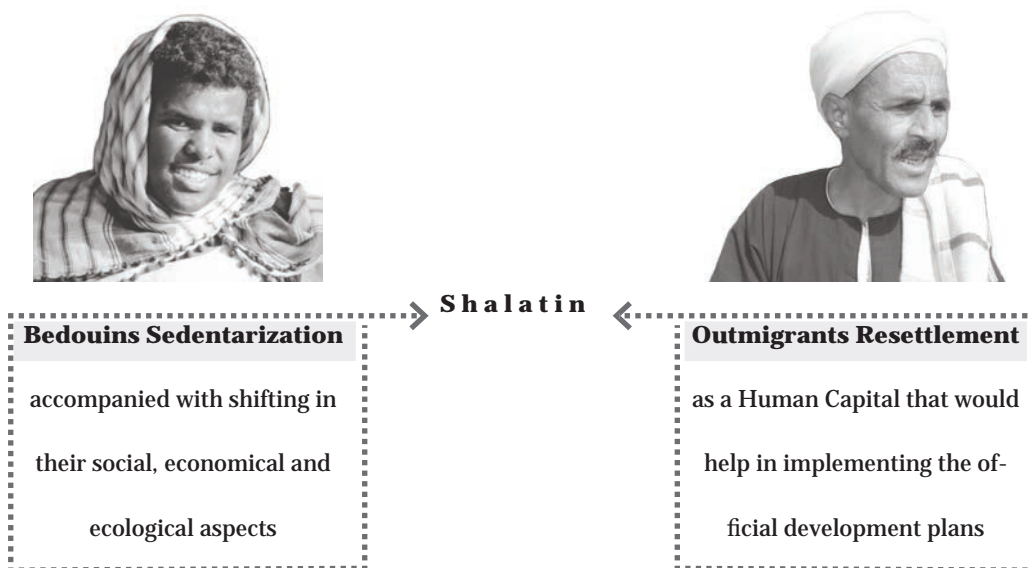


Figure 30 Identified two modes of urbanization according to the 2nd approach. photos credits: H. Mahlawy, S. Khalil (Author).

C- Proposed Master Plan: The proposed urban intervention for Shalatin defined two modes of urbanization. The first one is for Bedouins that are strongly influencing the city character in terms of: social traditions, grouping patterns, and adaptation to the ecological context. The second urbanization mode is supported by the Nile Valley Out-migrants that were attracted to the new opportunities in the new city.

Both development axes for Shalatin are perpendicular on the coast, in which tourism development suggested to occupy most of the shoreline, thus allowing a limited space for fishing activities and fishermen housing village. Accordingly, table 4 compares between the first development axis ‘Urban Housing Sector’, while the second development axis ‘Bedouin Housing Sector’.

It is worth to mention that the second official Master plan was more developed than the first one in which it promoted for:

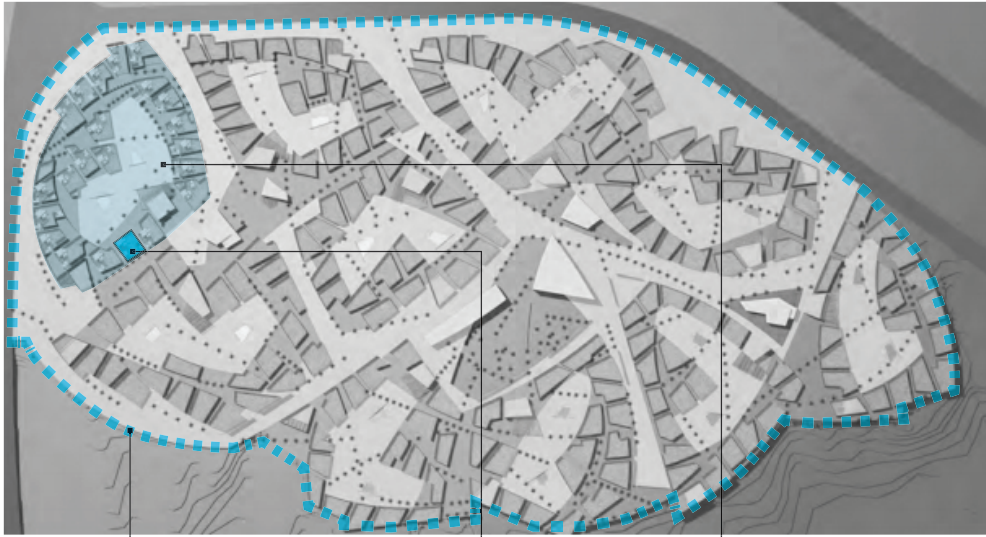
- Social participation in the shaping of Sedentarization programs and policies,

also the active participation in the design of plans and housing units to cope with the existing social needs in its transformation.

- Development of alternative economical activities rather than Pastoralism, which would accelerate the social transformation towards urban and sedentary living systems. Hence, it is Linked with the utilization of natural resources (tourism, fishing, trade, industrial).
- Inducement of population outmigration particularly professional with the provision of suitable urban and residential environment.

	Urban Housing Sector	Bedouin Housing Sector
Location	Set on the old city center and takes the northern orientation as a futuristic urban growth direction. Supposed to host Nile Valley outmigrants and settled Bedouins.	Located to the south, this sector was supposed to include the Bedouin population
Services	The main services area is to be in the center between the two axes in order to form the common ground and to enhance the social harmonization between them (Waly, 2005).	
4' } X' dēZ' _	The divided neighborhoods were relatively bigger in size and its services are concentrated in the center as usual in the modern city planning.	Rigid borders separating between Bedouin neighborhoods, the divided locations were much limited in surface and avoided
6i eV' dZ' _	The futuristic expansion zone for this sector is to the north till 'Wadi Rahba'.	Extends in parallel to 'Wadi Hodein'.

Table 4 Differences between the official approach of 'Urban Housing' and 'Bedouin Housing' (Author)



Consideration of the tribal structure for Bedouin population in Shalatin and the current neighboring different groups.

- Considering the futuristic urban growth for each group.
- Partial consideration of Bedouins spatial needs in their daily life and impacts on the formation of their settlement, whether in group or individual manners.

- Irregular forms.
- Units are assembled around a big open space; as the node for each tribal grouping.
- Gradient in spaces is meant to respect privacy in the Bedouin community.

- Consists of a main unit that hosts sleeping and living spaces.
- Detached smaller unit for bathrooms, which adapts with Bedouins traditions in the area for separating bathroom units.
- Courtyard encloses the unit with a small shaded space on the corner for men guests; in order to fit with privacy concerns.

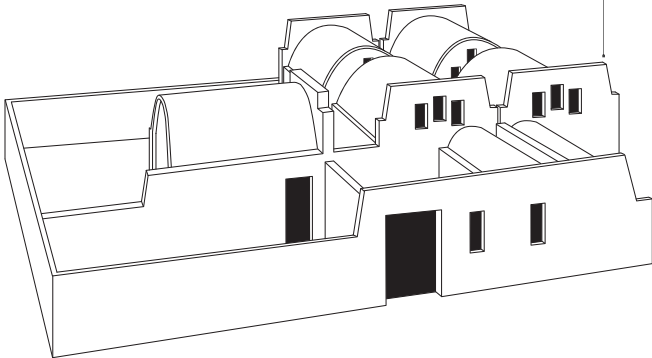


Figure 31 Recognition of Tribal structure in light of the Proposed Urban development Plan: T. Waly, 2005 (Author).

D- Recognition of Tribal Structure:

The insufficient modern housing projects in the 1995 proposed plan in Shalatin triggered the planner in this proposal to rethink other urban alternatives; regarding housing typologies offered to the local Bedouins. Thus, newly introduced urban elements have been implied in the official vision on three levels:

E- Reflections on the Second Urban Approach: The Red Sea Governorate and Shalatin City Council confirm that in spite of the Social participation of ‘Sheikhs’ in the planning process (Waly, 2014), but the whole project for Bedouin housing was halted (ibid). Moreover, it was mentioned through Bedouins interviews that the data collected through the preliminary site analysis were not sufficient. Furthermore, the newly introduced plan in 2000 continued to neglect some of the drawbacks found in the former 1995 proposal such as:

- Neither site sketches nor satellite images were included in the study to support the designer claims.
- The exterior architectural design for units has adopted vaults formations with Nubian patterns. These formations were widely rejected by Bedouins in the area, and did not consider the social background for it. Thus, the research confirms to suspect the acclaimed social participation in the design.
- Nevertheless, the continuous and accelerated change of the built environment was not titled in comparable to its significance role in shaping the city spatial formation.
- Excluding and weakening Pastoralism continued in the development of economical activities section. Unlike the first urban development vision, Pastoralism was completely missing from the charts for economical stimulation statistics and the possible employment opportunities derived from it. Even though, large numbers of Bedouin population were and still practicing Pastoralism on regular or seasonal basis.
- Barns for camels and goats were positioned to the south of ‘Souq’ and were totally excluded from Bedouin neighborhoods. Furthermore, goats barns were not explained nor mentioned in the study, even though they are forming a very important social and economical factor for Bedouins in Shalatin.

Indicators on Community Reflections

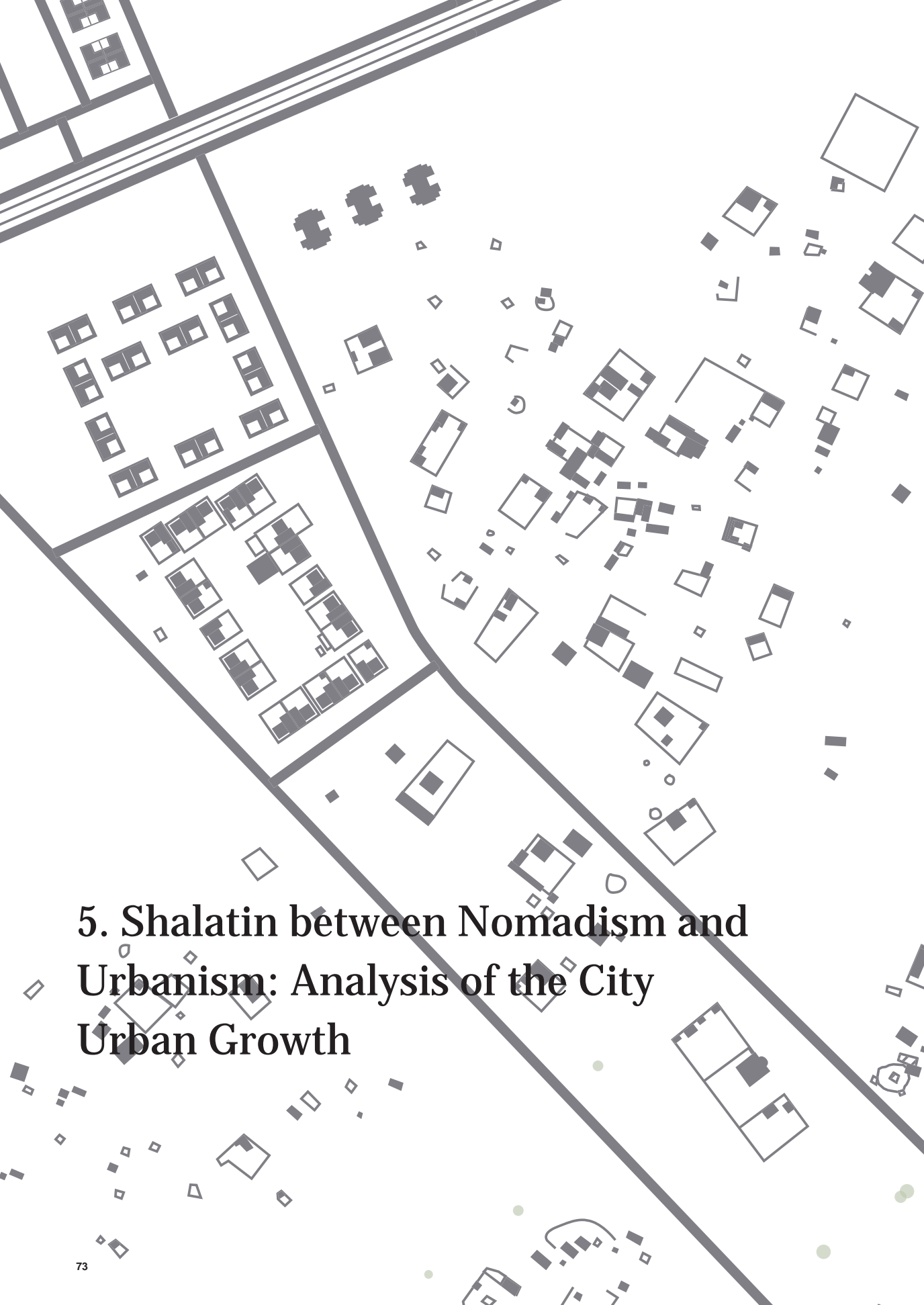
During this research, an online survey was conducted regarding different research reflections (Appendix 3) on the official housing, in which it was found that 6 out of 7 investigated respondents live in unofficial housing units, while 5 of them stated that the offered official housing is not sufficient. Moreover, all of them refused the demolition of any informal housing units even if alternatives and subsidies would be offered. Also, they were asked if they think it's important to preserve pastoral activities in Shalatin where 57.14% said yes while the rest conditioned to have an adequate place to host it.

4.4. Conclusion

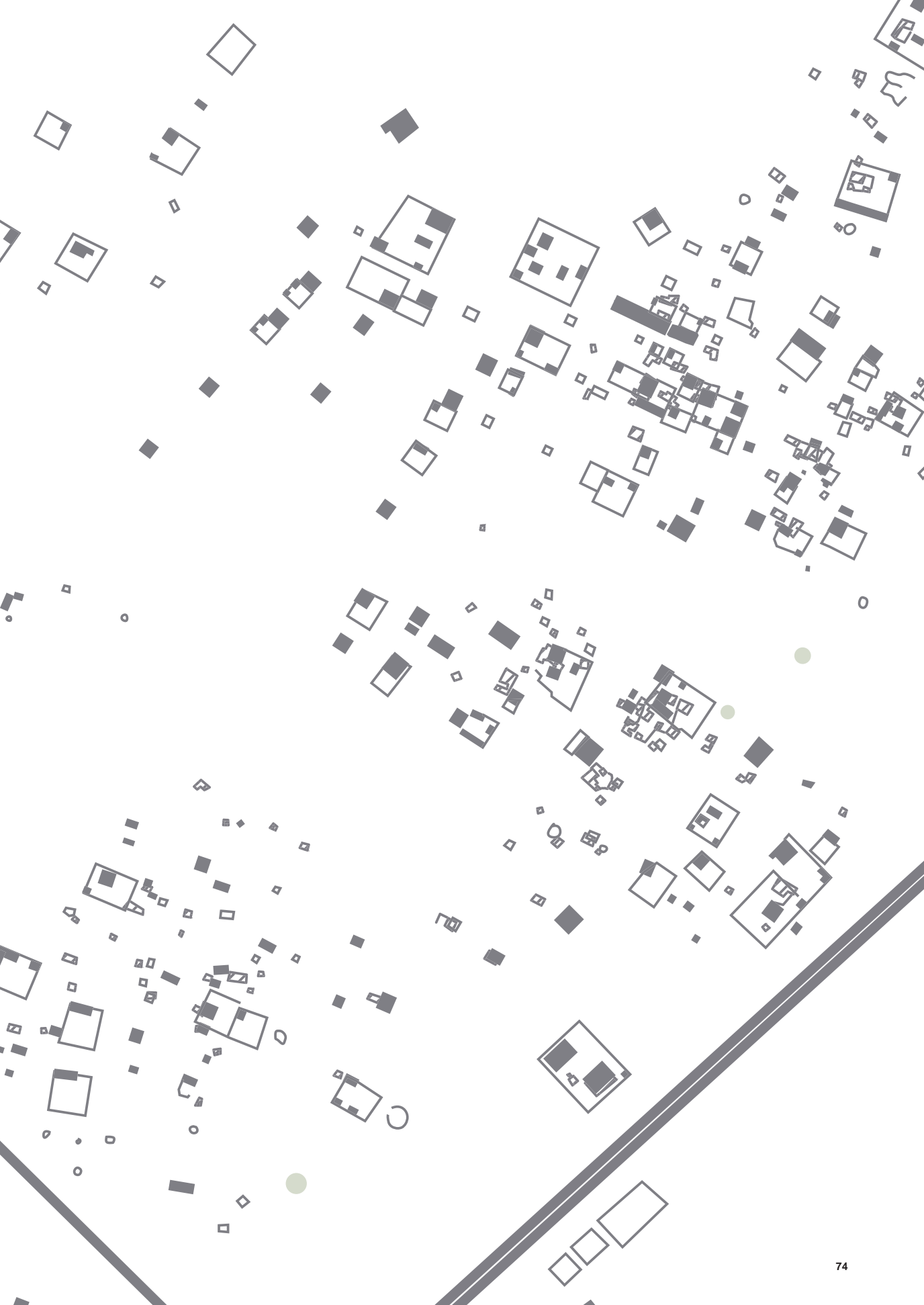
It can be concluded that the State's different visions for development of Shalatin were isolated from the changing urban realities, except for attracting population from Upper Egypt governorates. Thus, official plans contributed to the cultural resistance from Bedouins against the imposed assimilating strategy adapted by the authorities. Moreover, the spatial needs and social relations of the Nile Valley outmigrants were not considered.

Urban wise, this resistance was reassembled in the ethnic based settlements, in which the traditional formation and clustering still exists. Thus, such an urban tension adopted by the two different originating groups of inhabitants reflects their own social, economical and ecological concerns. Thus, this isolated behavior is spatially investigated in the next chapters; to grasp the main threats and possible opportunities towards a community that embraces its socio-ecological differences in an integrated urban manner.

Therefore, the research continues to question the ability of a coherent understanding of socio-spatial interactions to form a corner stone in the success of any urban development.



5. Shalatin between Nomadism and Urbanism: Analysis of the City Urban Growth



5. Shalatin between Nomadism and Urbanism: Analysis of the City Urban Growth

The research investigations within the previous chapters reveal that the Bedouin urban morphologies were clearly absent from the official plans. Furthermore, the Bedouins socio-ecological distinctiveness was not referenced as a logical framework for any of the proposed design projects. Accordingly, this research phase examines the resulted urban transformations all through site maps from different places and times. Subsequently, this chapter explores the resulting influences of the city ecological, social and political events in terms of the changing urban morphology.

In this regard, this chapter starts by analyzing three different timeline stages for the urban growth of Shalatin. Thus, the urban composition of the city is compared throughout different times in 1992, 2000, and 2013. Later, the research identifies the newly inhabited areas by the Nile Valley Out-migrants. In this respect, the chapter provides an insight on the evolution of the Bedouin housing in particular; so as to compare urban behavior of both groups. Finally, the chapter ends up with a third layer of comparative analysis; to investigate the urban features associated to five different settlements that represent governmental housing and self made expansions as well.

Thus, such an analytical process would help in defining both ethnicities various and communal behaviors in using city spaces. Moreover, movement patterns formed by the Bedouin population would also provide a smooth comprehension for the resilient urban situation. Hence, all the previous socio-ecological observations and analysis discussed within this research regarding the settlements evo-

lution of Shalatin would be monitored through different layers of maps within this chapter.

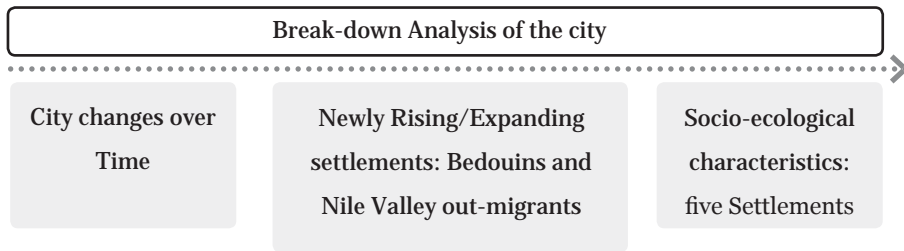


Figure 32 Overflow of chapter 5 to investigate the transformation of Shalatin from Nomadism to Urbanism (Author).

5.1. General Characteristics of Shalatin Urban Growth

In this section, the urban growth of Shalatin through comparison over three periods as follows:

- 1992: Prior the implementation of the first master plan
- 2000: after the implementation of the 1995 master plan and the migration of Nile Valley inhabitants to the city, also prior the 2005 refinement of the official Master Plan
- 2013: to monitor the effects of the Red Sea governorate urban projects and the resulting urban form after the 2005 official plan.

This comparison aims at scanning and documenting the city transformation between Nomadism and Urbanism.

5.1.1. Early conditions (1992)

The Egyptian government realized the strategic importance of the city location, in which this period witnessed the initial urban formation of Shalatin as an Urban Center. Later, the state was strongly orientated towards urbanizing the old "Bir Al-Shalatin" Bedouin settlement. At that point, the population was 3600 residents with a yearly growth rate of 2.9% (GOPP, 1995). As explained before that the political dispute with Sudan over 'Halayeb' triangle grabbed the State's attention towards the area development. Therefore, the ultimate goal from urbanizing Shalatin was to strengthen the State's presence in the city and to sedentarize nomadic Bedouin tribes that were usually roaming all over the region. The preliminary morphology for city of Shalatin was simply a linear expansion with northwestern orientation, which was supported by main axis and only road connecting the small evolving city (Figure 32). On the northern side of the road

settled the first residential core, which was constructed by the Egyptian authorities in 1985 and later on. Two housing clusters were still under construction until then. On the southern side of the road, it was growing more into services complex with: school, hospital, city council, youth center and a petrol station. According to Bedouins' sources, the 'Souq' at that time was only consisting of few kiosks serving caravans coming from Sudan.

The city formation was very limited in growth and fairly dispersed to adapt with Bedouin space requirements (GOPP, 1995). Three Bedouin groupings are found during that time at different locations. The first group is on the northern section of the city and the other two groups are on the southern part, in which one of them is even more to the south of 'Wadi Hodein' (ibid). The changes occurring to these former Bedouin groups' juxtaposition is important to be tracked in latter stages; in order to illustrate their settlements movement.

5.1.2. Migration Movement (2000)

During the time between 1992 and 2000, Shalatin was subjected to urban morphological changes that accompanied the outmigration movements by both Bedouins and Nile Valley inhabitants. Firstly, Nile Valley Out-migrants began moving to the city from (1995-1996) coming from different governorates, and starting to get involved in different economical activities but mainly: governmental sector, fishing, and trade.

Hence, this has resulted in new urbanization style of multi-storey attached buildings that were clearly simulating their original settlements in the Nile Valley. In addition, the approximate location of the new settlements to the services area and relatively distant from Bedouin's houses, encouraged the new settlers to build with their style.

Simultaneously, the Bedouin presence in the city increases dramatically in accordance to the pre-mentioned drought season (1996-2002) and the massive Bedouin movement to coastal cities specially Shalatin. The new official constructed settlements remained for long time rejected by Bedouins and perceived to be provoking their privacy. However, it can be well observed through comparing the city urban form in 1992 and 2000 that the urban settlements expanded significantly (Figure 33), which indicates that the Bedouins must have been settling down as well within the city peripheries.

5.1.3. Current Urban Conditions (2013)

Nowadays, Shalatin consists of several differentiated types of settlements inhabited by the two pre-mentioned ethnic groups. Each one of these ethnic groups was influenced by its own social and cultural background, which would respectively affect their different modes of urbanization. Hence, the nomadic behaviors are still active even after Shalatin was officially entitled to be a city. In this regard, Nile Valley Out-migrants had also proven their ability to impose some of their architecture elements and influence the city's urban formation (Figure 34).

The 'Souq' expanded largely due to the growing trade between Egypt and Sudan specially camels, which generated a growing source of income for Bedouins of Shalatin. Despite the informal spread of residential units by both ethnic groups, the 'Souq' did not include any residential settlements. The 'Souq' mainly consisted of kiosks and shops built of light wooden boards. Thus, respecting the ecological aspect for the 'Souq' in which no buildings were constructed over 'Wadi Hodein' indicates the citizens awareness towards natural threats.

5.2. Human Geography & Ethnicity in Shalatin: Locations and Main characteristics

The current urban settlements in Shalatin could be clearly categorized according to the ethnic backgrounds of inhabitants. Thus, the following figure illustrates the main districts and locations in Shalatin. Accordingly, the analysis in this section would focus in particular on urban relations between settlers of different ethnicities in some of these districts (Figure 36).



Figure 36 Main districts and locations of Shalatin (Author).

5.2.1. Traditional Bedouin Settlement: Socio-Spatial Relations

After 1992, The Northern Bedouin settlements shrank in terms of population number and became more scattered and started to distribute and concentrate around the newly initiated projects (roads- housing). At the same time, a Bedouin self-built settlement appeared in the north of 'Hagar Al-Asas' housing units. The inhabitants of this settlement were relatives of the early sedentarized Bedouins in 'Hagar Al-Asas', which means they preferred to settle based on their social bonds. Additionally, barns were built in a proximate distance to the units in the same area, belonging to sedentarized Bedouins who are still raising cattle and share this activity with their relatives as well. Later, a large Bedouin group started to settle around the 'Souq' after migrating from the 'Wadis' during the drought years.

The migrating Bedouins preferred to move down to the 'Souq'; in order to benefit from the flourishing economical activities taking place out there. Therefore, this movement aimed at settling down in lands that are accessible to free services and economical opportunities. These Bedouin groups usually live in main and sub groupings according to their tribes and lineages. Clan and tribe patterns are recognized in formation of housing patterns especially in the informal sector. 'Bsharias' live together and the same for 'Ababdas', they give priority for the family to live next to each other in spontaneously growing settlements. The clustering order followed in these tribal formations shall be more discussed below.

Ecological Context

As mentioned before that Bedouins use their ecological and geographical local knowledge in defining and setting their settlements in Shalatin. In many locations, Bedouins of different lineages use dry waterways that are recognized and used between them as a land ownership peripheral system (Figure 36). Subsequently, waterways and flood basins are avoided and considered instead as natural boundaries between different groups. During the site visit and reviewing satellite maps, it was observed in many areas that many Bedouin units are also climatically adaptable, which came through respecting North-South orientation of prevailed wind.

Tribal Grouping 'Ezbet'

Each tribal grouping 'Ezbet' is named after its lineage or complex family 'Sheikh', these groups are wisely choosing locations; to adapt with surface topography and existing social patterns in. For instance, a Bedouin group usually tends to settle next to a group from the same lineage or tribe. During the settling process, negotiations are conducting between the two groups in order to define territorial limits between them for each settlement future expansions. 'Madyafa' (guest house) is defining each group settlement entrance and it is usually positioned at a distance spot from the core residential area because of the settlement privacy. Moreover, Bedouin domain components are used effectively to define and illustrate each group territory that is commonly respected in the traditional Bedouin community (Figure 37).

Bedouin Units Clustering

Formation of Bedouin Units is highly affected by their tribal or social structure. The main characteristics for these units vary the formation of housing clusters

between three shapes: circular to half circular, “U” or “V” shapes and in a linear matter (CDC, 2007). According to the continuous change in the Bedouin unit and in the urban formation growth, these clustering shapes are subjected to changes such as the possible family extensions and structural transformation.

Traditional Bedouin settlement clustering is strongly noticed in the middle sector of Shalatin and ‘Al-A’aly’ district, whereas both locations were affected to minor changes to their socio-ecological and spatial formations criteria. Furthermore, the urban transformation in both locations is highly dynamic and resulting in continuous change in their built environment.

Unit Components and Domain

Understanding Bedouin settlement components is a vital step; in order to comprehend the evolution of their settlements to be integrated in any futuristic development. For instance, a goat barn is a main component, they are usually separated from houses 15-30 meters; to avoid cattle odor. Most of the time, they are grouped in animal husbandry zone situated in the center of a complex-family settlement in order to be under constant observation from Bedouins. Also a Bedouin individual could have more than one barn, which is used in this case as a claim of land ownership. Another element is fenced land plot; this element is widely used amongst Bedouins in encroachments and defining their settlements’ domain. Such a component is taking many forms and shapes, starting with branches or a group of old tires buried to the half creating a periphery and reaching to empty wooden shacks and masonry structures circulated with short walls. Another element is the wooden kiosk, which is very common in the ‘Souq’ and on the fringes of Bedouin settlements; its usage is limited in economical activities and usually used as small shop that is being renovated regularly because of its light materials.

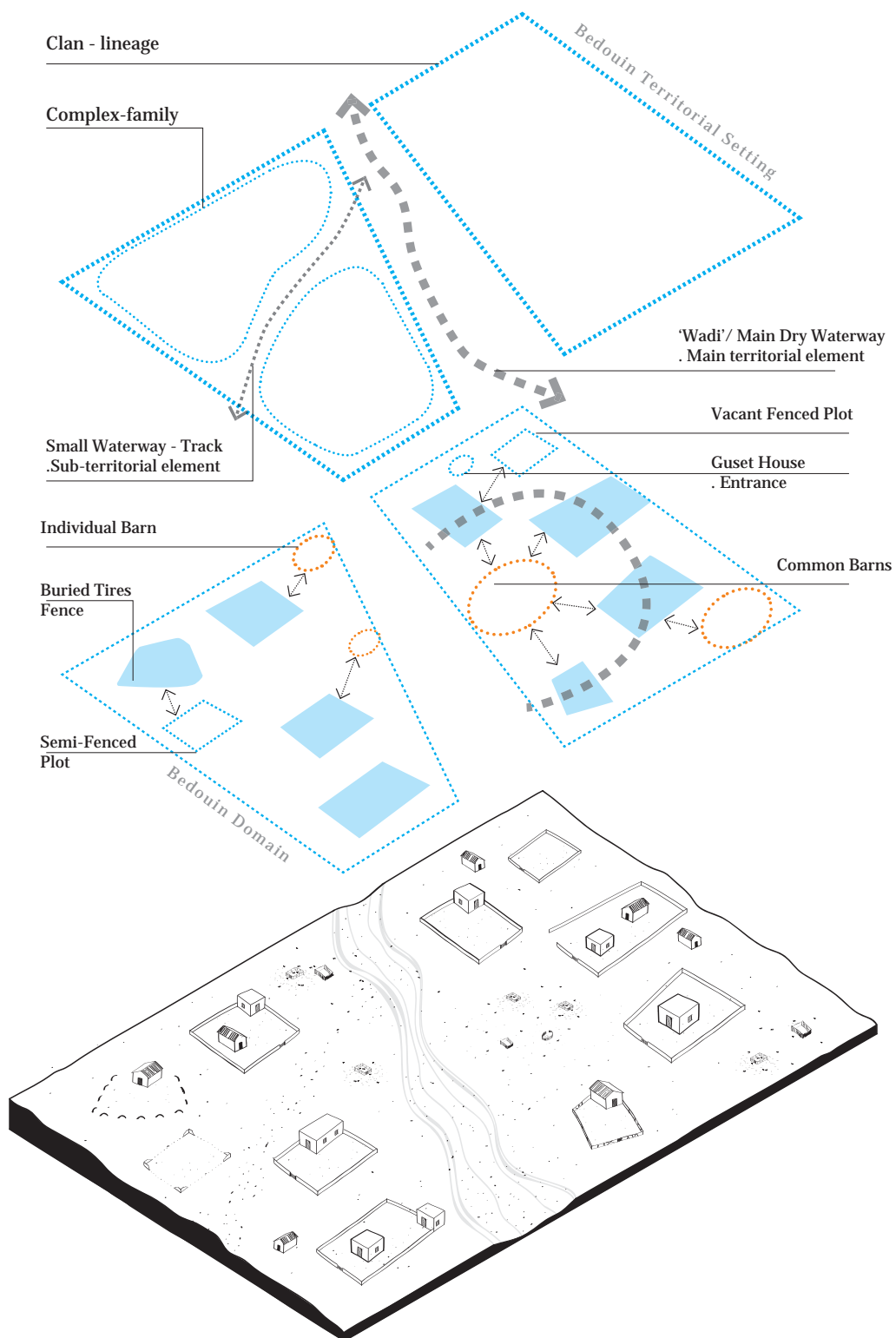


Figure 37 Spatial Analysis for a Bedouin Self-built settlement in Shalatin (Author).

5.2.2. Nile Valley Outmigrants: Main Locations and Characteristics

It was indicated before within this research that the Nile Valley outmigrants inhabited the city of Shalatin; in their search for better job opportunities and looking forward to benefiting from the governmental incentives. Thus, their initial presence locations in Shalatin could be illustrated as follows:

Fishermen Village:

Located Northeast of 'Hagar Al-Asas' area on the Red Sea coast. It consists of housing units similar to the constructed prototypes of 'Hagar Al-Asas', and arranged in a half circular form. Also there is a service area and a small maritime quay. Majority of the fishermen came from different governorates with a limited number of locals who were not usually involved in such maritime activities. The area is connected to the main road from two sides, creating a strict official periphery for the village at the same time.

'Souq Hagar Al-Asas' (Hagar Al-Asas Market):

Newly founded area by the Nile Valley outmigrants particularly from Upper Egypt. Different shops and cafes started to open in this area, in which the city residents found at last a place in the center to shop from. This situation is reflecting the new settlers highly dynamic economical activities that they are well known with, specially those from Upper Egypt and who are usually engaged in trade. Buildings of 'Souq Hagar Al-Asas' were initially linear, attached and mixed-use. Thus, ground floors are used for shops and the above one or two floors are used as apartments. Consequently, the area started to take a different urban character with its dense fabric and multistory buildings, which is directly related to its inhabitants built environment background.

Economical Housing:

This area consists of 25 housing units that were appointed for the different governmental authorities in Shalatin; in order to host its own employees. It is worth mentioning that the majority of those officials are sharing together these units during their temporal stay in the city. Therefore, the influence of residents was clearly absent; since none of them had full living needs in Shalatin and considered it only as a work place. Hence, majority of these buildings remained unmodified. Furthermore, the area's urban formation followed a formal dispersed pattern similar to the early prototypes of 'Hagar Al-Asas'.

Ala'mayr (the Housing Blocks):

It is the first collective housing prototype being implemented in Shalatin. They are consisting initially of six blocks and three floors for each. The newly implemented prototype was introduced in respond to the outmigration movement especially from Upper Egypt that represented the official labor force. Furthermore, the new settlers found no problem in living in multi-story buildings, due to their Nile Valley background.

Obviously, not all of these settlements were constructed according to the official planning vision. Therefore, new urban relation started to appear between housing blocks of the Nile Valley outmigrants and the nearby Bedouin groupings. This relation is further investigated in the upcoming comparisons analyzing its influences on the urban growth of Shalatin.

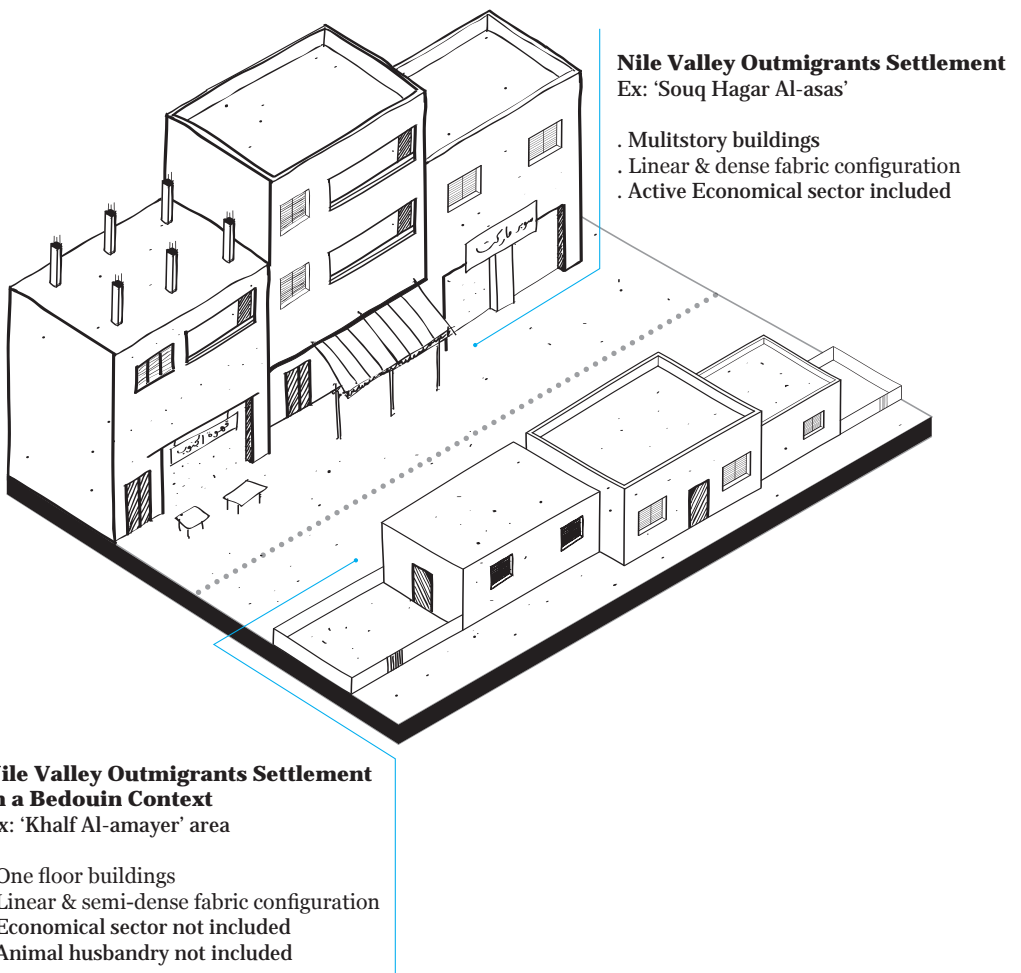


Figure 38 Nile Valley Outmigrants different modes of Urbanization in Shalatin (Author).

5.3. Chosen Districts and Associated Urban Phenomena

In this section four different districts are subjected to further investigation in which their urban status is compared in terms of: their current urban morphologies, and the accumulated socio-ecological factors affecting their urban expansion behavior.

5.3.1. ‘Hagar Al-Asas’ District: The Changing Dynamics

The first 64 prototypes were built in 1985 followed by 20 in 1988 and 50 units in 1990. Thus, some urban Services were situated on the southern side of the road including: two elementary and primary schools, a mosque, and a simple health-care unit. Simultaneously, some fishermen huts were located in the coastal area northeastern to ‘Hagar Al-Asas’. These huts were afterwards developed to host the location of the fishermen village. However, according to GOPP the presence of the fishermen village is planned to have limited urban growth; in order not to conflict with the projected touristic development.

The area is perceived to be Shalatin’s original city center. In this respect, it introduced the first housing prototypes (Hagar Al-Asas units) that were considered between Bedouins as the most suitable housing unit for their needs till now. However, the Bedouin inhabitants added modifications that were mostly represented in additional courtyards and barns for their goats. On the social needs level, the authorities completely neglected that aspect while distributing these units among Bedouins. Consequently, the tribal structure fragmentation took place by setting Bedouins randomly through the social affairs bureau regardless their family correlations.

Empowerment of people:

Till 2005, the semi-nomadic character was very clear in the northern section of ‘Hagar Al-Asas’. This was also visible through the structural characteristic of the settlement and the socio-spatial clustering of different families. The juxtaposition of barns in unified locations for each group was also noticed. It worth mentioning how the settlement was smoothly following and respecting contour lines in order to avoid a dry water way (Figure 39).



Figure 39 Bedouins & Nile Valley Outmigrants settlements in 'Hagar Al-Asas', based on: Red Sea Gov.; Google Earth, interviews (Author).

After the 25th January revolution in 2011, Bedouins gained more empowerment in front of authorities, which enabled them to construct permanent houses of brick and concrete and adding a wide courtyard. Such a structural transformation took place with the technical help of Nile Valley outmigrants construction experience. Another interesting point is the Bedouin flexibility in using their spaces, which leads to their multiple usage for goats' barns. From a side they use this space apparently to raise their cattle, but on the other side they reserve a plot for their families' futuristic building expansion. And this can be confirmed within the current transformation of this settlement.

5.3.2. 'Khalf Ala'mayer' District

Originally, the housing blocks were built in the late 90's by the city authorities in order to accommodate the increasing numbers of Upper Egypt outmigrants, whom had fled to Shalatin (Figure 40).

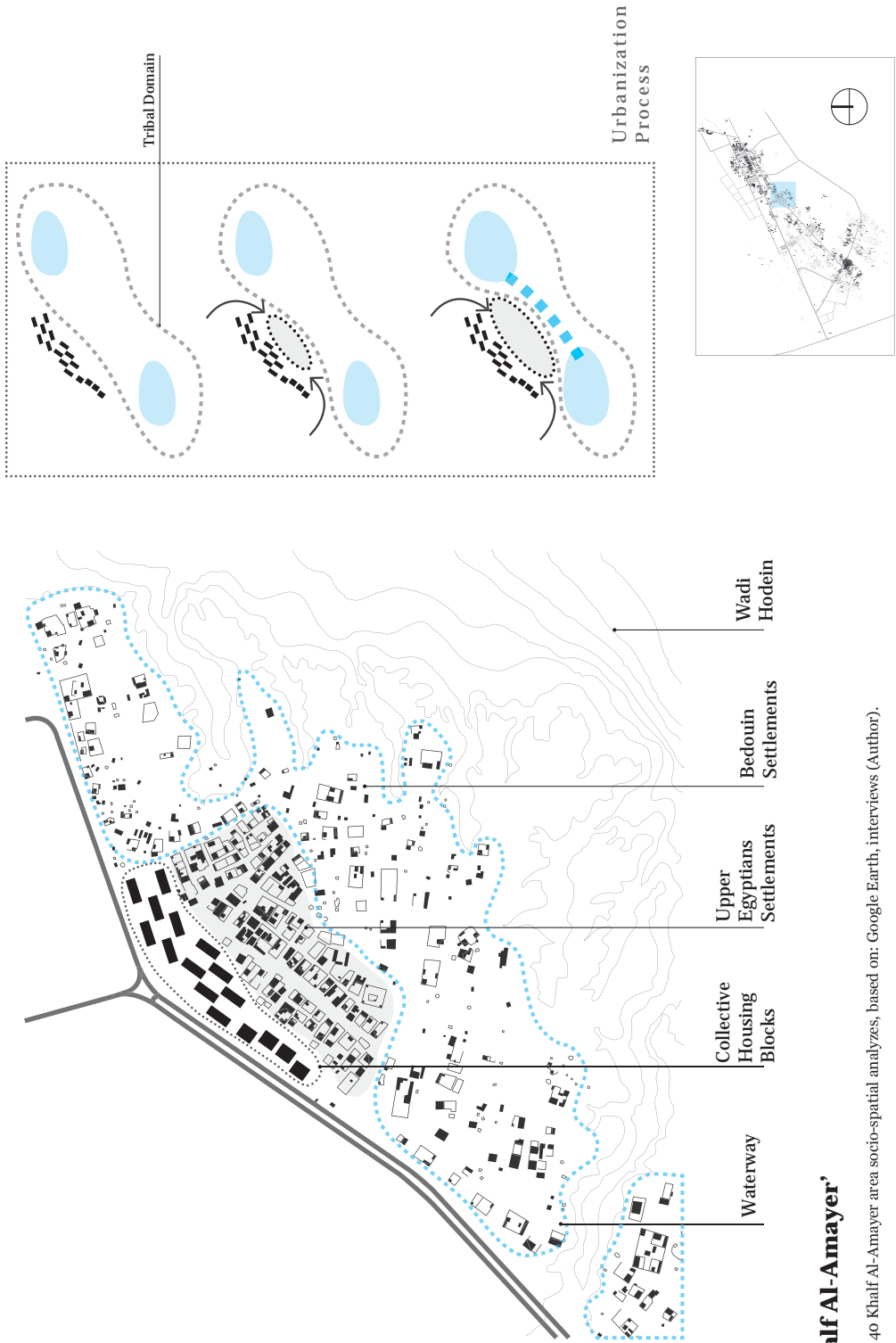
Competition Over Land:

In light of the Accelerated outmigration movements from Upper Egypt to the city of Shalatin, the first out comers have spread the word to their relatives and neighbors about the available job opportunities. Hence, the second wave of Upper Egyptians moved to Shalatin, and succeeded to secure a job in the governmental sector. Accordingly, most of them were encouraged to resettle in such promising city even if they didn't find an accommodation yet. Therefore, they could be labeled as the real initiators of the informal area in 'Khalf Ala'mayer', since they did not find a suitable official place to live in.

Unlike Bedouins, the Nile Valley outmigrants did not respect much the topography boundaries between settlements or the unofficial tribal possession of land. Consequently, they constructed their self-made settlements in the same dense fabric manner as they used to do in the Nile Valley. Moreover, they started using some Bedouin elements in their own benefit; courtyards used as storage space or as a reserved encroachment plot. One-story buildings were quoted from the Bedouin system, but with no interest in barns or raising goats (Figure 40).

Bedouin Urban Reaction:

On the other hand, two groups of Bisharian settlements were already present and had strong influence in this area, in which 'Ezbet Odis' to the east and 'Ezbet



'Khalf Al-Amayer'

Figure 40 Khalf Al-Amayer area socio-spatial analyzes, based on: Google Earth, interviews (Author).

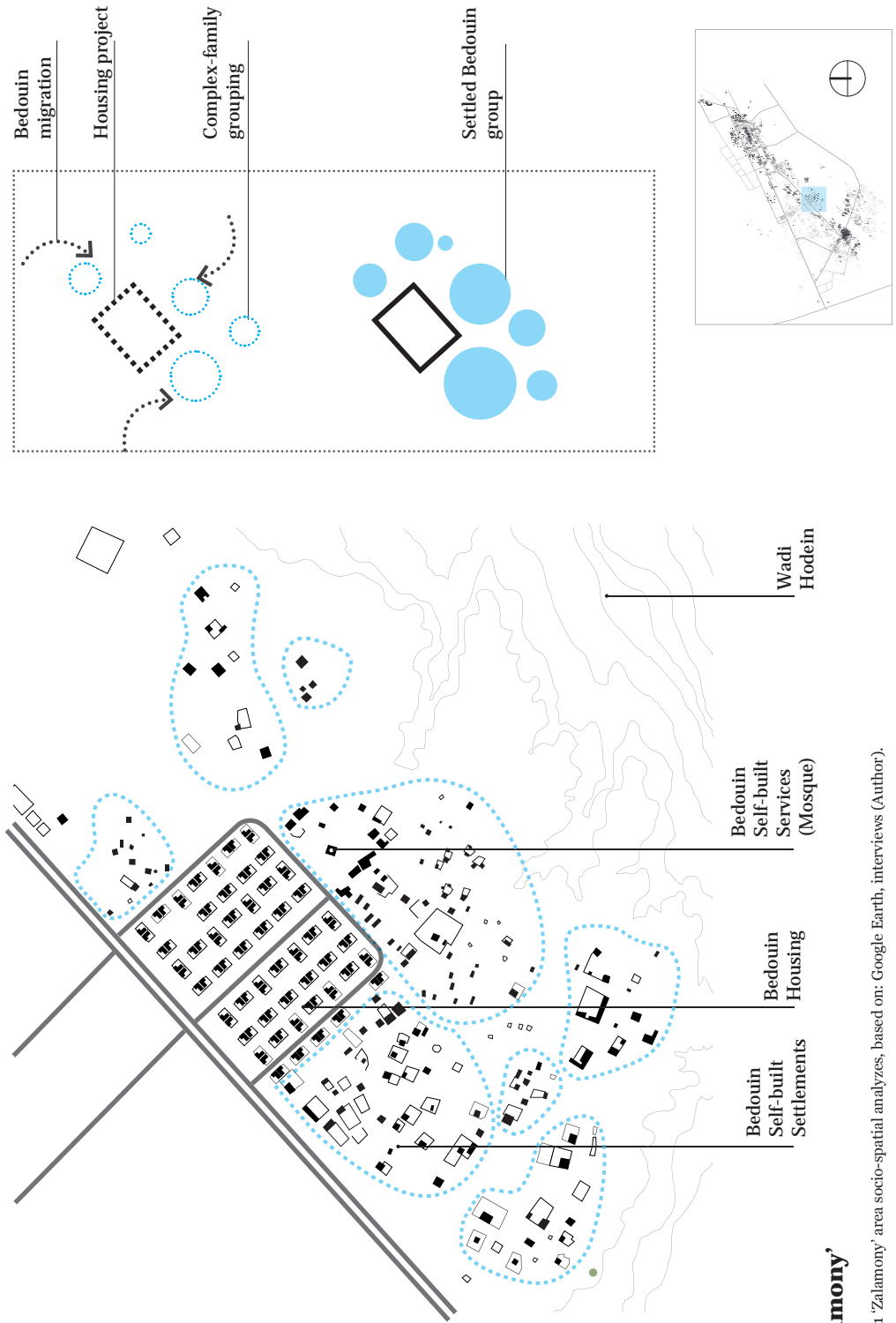
Abo Ali' to the south. From their understanding that desert land and Wadis are their ancestors' legacy, and that they have the right for its ownership. Therefore, Bedouins of the two groups were provoked by the Upper Egyptians accelerated land encroachment and urban expansion in their regions.

Moreover, Bedouins took the initiative to stop such an urban sprawl through orienting and expanding their settlements; in order to control the Informal urban expansions over their acclaimed territory. Thus, Bedouins from their side used multiple 'urban techniques' in such a process. They used their tribal relations with the other Bisharian settlements to help each other in the urban belting of the Nile Valley outmigrants expansions. In addition, they show common signs for their Bedouin ownership of existing vacant lots within the area such as: light structured shacks, fenced empty land plots, and barns (Figure 40).

Both ethnicities used their own traditions and newly gained urbanization knowledge from their common living in extending their properties in the 'Khalf Ala'mayr' area. The main reason for such an urban situation is the severe shortage in housing units for both Bedouins and Upper Egyptians in the city. This comes in a clear contradiction to the official plans demonstrated previously in chapter 4 that were intended to attract more population to Shalatin. Another reason for such a conflict is the absence of the city council effective role in guiding the occurring urban expansions. According to residents, a social conflict took place between the two groups over land encroachment incident and resulted in halting Upper Egyptians urban sprawl over Bedouin territories. However, both groups cooperate together in preventing city council authorities from demolishing their illegal settlements.

5.3.3. 'Zalamony' District

The chosen location is shared between 3 Bedouin settlements, which are: 'Ezbet Mohame Ali', 'Ezbet Mohamed Gomaa' and 'Ezbet Mohamed Eid' and all of them belongs to Ababda tribe. Each of the three settlements separates into complex families during its development and growth (Figure 41). It is Officially named 'Al-Zohor' neighborhood, and represents a good example for the urban combination between official housing sector and the Bedouin self-made settlements. It consists of 47 official Bedouin housing units forming the center for the area.



'Zalamony'

Figure 41 'Zalamony' area socio-spatial analyzes, based on: Google Earth, interviews (Author).

During the units construction in the early 2000's additional numbers of Ababda Bedouins moved next to the construction site, setting their shacks and waited for the project completion to get a unit. With the majority of them not aware of the needed official procedures in obtaining units, they missed the opportunity. From the former incident the area got its local naming 'Zalamony', which means in Arabic 'it is injustice for me'. Unlucky Bedouins started settling in location around the project to have access to the provided infrastructure services for the new neighborhood (Figure 41).

Slowly by years the planned housing project is turning into a center for informality formed by Bedouins. Furthermore, informal Bedouin settlements are also structurally transforming from wooden and corrugated sheets shacks to bricks and concrete structures, in relation to the recent financial improvements in their sources of income.

The current urban situation of 'Zalamony' is laying many questions about the future of such areas. Thus, there should be enforcement for the responsibilities of local authorities in orienting and organizing Bedouin settlements. Thus, feasible and fast methods, and inclusive strategies should be considered before the informal urban growth reaches the no return point.

5.3.4. 'Makabyer El-Shyoukh' District

Bedouin title for this newly founded housing project is reflecting the social perception for its exterior appearance. The governmental housing project for Bedouins included several stages during the period from 2005 till 2010. The project's housing prototypes varied throughout the different project stages such as: architectural design, formation and clustering.

Again the introduced official housing Bedouins was rejected. This rejection influenced in different forms; such as refusing the initial distribution of units because of the very limited space requirements if compared to the early 'Hagar Al-Asas' prototype. Moreover, self-built extensions by Bedouins were added in order to make units more adaptable to their need; such as adding courtyard, barns and even a whole built-up space.



Figure 42 Official Housing Projects in 'Makabyer Al-Shyouchh' area surrounded by Bedouins Self-built settlements, based on: Google Earth; interviews (Author).

The urban situation of 'Zalamony' informal expansions is repeated in this areas well. During the construction of the northern section of the housing project, an approximate Bedouin settlement moved next to the building site in order to get a unit. Therefore, the repetition of such communal behavior needs to be taken into consideration, in which planners didn't foresee such a problem; because these settlements usually transform into permanent shelters for those who were not housed (Figure 42).

5.3.5. 'Al-A'aly' District: The Drought Outmigration

The real beginning of 'Al-A'aly' district started with the drought outmigration (1996-2002), in which massive waves of Bedouins fled from their traditional settlements inside 'Wadis' towards the coast main settlements and in particular the city of Shalatin. Another important reason for this movement is the unbalanced official development between coast and 'Wadi', whereas the authorities concentrated all the services and infrastructures in the main three settlements (Shalatin- Abu Ramad- Halayeb). Hence, Bedouin population was highly attracted by the introduction of these services.

However, 'Al-A'aly' district is representing a primitive urban status inside Shalatin, which is in the same time clearly reflecting the socio-ecological aspects of the indigenous population and the related spatial relations. Furthermore, the absence of official housing projects assimilating the new population resulted in the erection of self-made settlements, which started with nomadic and semi-nomadic characteristics and currently transforming to a sedentary settlement. On a large scale, the tribal factor is noticeably affecting the distribution of Bedouin groups, whereas the ecological factor is being used as a periphery, which is very clear in 'Wadi Hodein', sub-basins and small dry water ways (Figure 43).

5.4. Conclusion

It can be concluded within this chapter that the city of Shalatin didn't transform towards urbanization as per the state's official plans that were discussed in chapter 4. On the contrary, the socio-ecological and cultural background of the two inhabitant ethnic groups was the main engine in the existing urban morphology of the city.

Primarily, the geographic isolation for 'Beja' Bedouins during history has influenced their spatial formation of settlements. Therefore, identifying Bedouins main locations in accordance to their tribal origin is highly important; for understanding Bedouins and their spatial interaction with other ethnicities. Modern Bedouin settlements in Shalatin follow the same settlement formation social-constraints. In addition, they have carried with them the deep ecological understanding and respect for the natural elements around them.

On the other hand, The Nile Valley outmigrants of the first wave were lucky enough to get residential units in the governmental limited number of blocks. The migrants of the second wave were not much considered in the official housing projects, that is why they created their own solution through informal settlements.

Many citizens started to maximize their land plots ownership (land encroachment) in the informal areas taking advantage of the authorities control absence and in direct relation to the expected development in the city. Many inhabitants started to define borders for land plots in the city and in relation to the growing value of land. This premise can be more understood through the three illustrated comparison within this chapter. The importance of five settlements illustration within this chapter was to visualize the importance of the social aspect in relation to human settlements and ethnicities interrelationships (Figure 44).

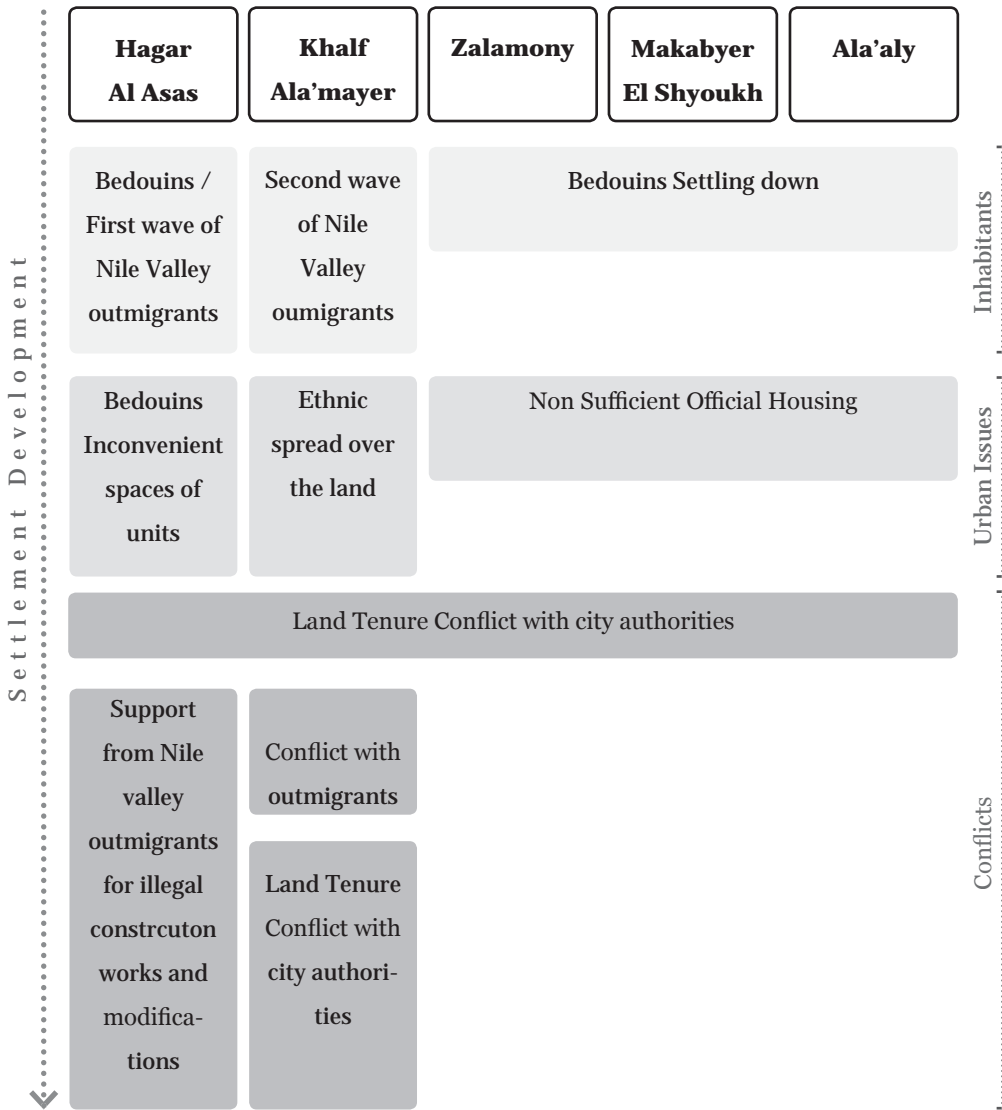


Figure 44 Conclusion of chapter 5 to investigate the transformation of Shalatin from Nomadism to Urbanism (Author).

In light of the previous diagram the ethnic interrelationships can be summarized to be push and pull according to common and diverse interests. This can be illustrated in the following diagram.

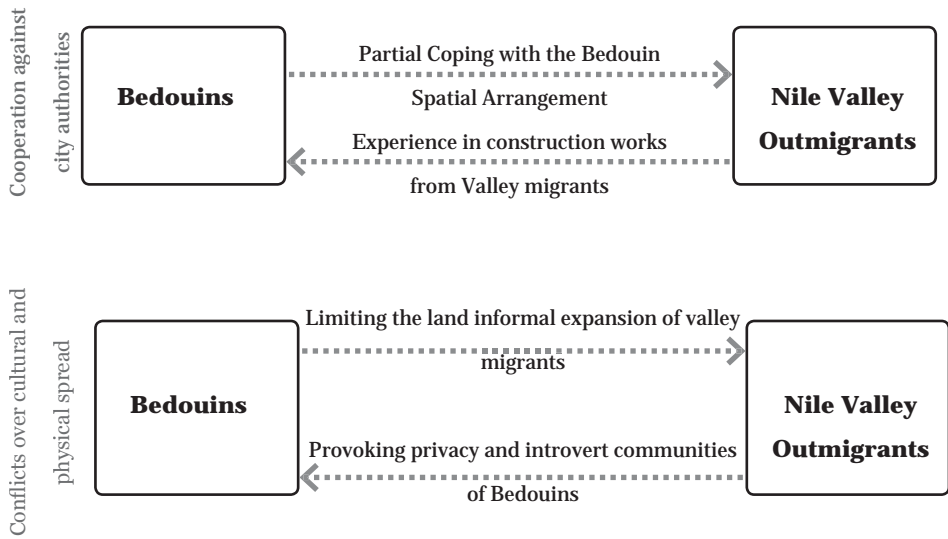


Figure 45 Summary of the ethnic interrelationships through urbanization process (Author).

6. Conclusion & Recommendations

6. Conclusion & Recommendations

Starting from the several points concluded within the previous chapters, the research findings and recommendations are further illustrated within sections of chapter 6. Consequently, the research categorizes the collective views regarding the Bedouins socio-spatial relations and resulting urban morphology changes in Shalatin. In this regard, this chapter recommends certain measures and strategies to overcome the failure of the official housing to attract the Bedouins. These views were clear in analyzing the random distribution of housing units, and the tendency of mixing different ethnicities in order to weaken the tribal structure and social coherency.

Subsequently, the research promotes for a city that is based on cooperation and interaction, and respects the ethnic differences. Thus, the self-built Bedouins settlements reflecting a long preserved cultural identity don't need to be excluded from the city urbanization process. Accordingly the research concludes that any future urbanization steps should consider the distinctiveness of Shalatin from other Egyptian settlements, and fulfill different needs of inhabitants; in which conflicts and informality would be mitigated. Hence, the summary of key findings regarding the previous points, in addition to the research suggested recommendations are mentioned below.

6.1. Summary of Key Findings

Without a doubt, Bedouins heritage and cultural has great influence in reforming their settlements and shaping the city. However, the Egyptian State Sedentarization strategy targeting 'Beja' tribes did not much consider their spatial needs and movement patterns from and to Shalatin. Moreover, conventionality of the official planning approaches has also failed to integrate or develop Bedouins' indigenous knowledge that is related to their unique society order or natural context. Thus, the validity of any urban development in Shalatin should be based on un-

derstanding the Bedouin existence along with other ethnicities, which would lead to a city based on differentiation and socio-spatial processes reflecting each group needs. Subsequently, the urbanization process in Shalatin did not combine any serious local participation or specific designs and practices adapted to the local specific situation that would address the spatial differences and needs. Therefore, the marginalization of the social factor had reflected negatively on the city urban growth, and had also increased the percentage of informality to an extent that would threaten any realistic development for Shalatin. In this view, significant research findings regarding the Egyptian Nomadic context and Characteristics of Shalatin that contributed to this situation are demonstrated in this section.

6.1.1. Egyptian Bedouins: Identity and Sedentarization

Through reviewing and examining Egyptian Bedouin communities in chapter 2, it was obvious that the State has always excluded their special characteristics; in favor of strategic political or economic reasons. In this regard, the example of 'Wadi Al-Natron' illustrated the fact on how the State dealt with the targeted Bedouin population on similar basis to the Nile-Valley ones. Consequently, many important aspects were ignored such as: Bedouins' spatial relations, social fabrics, and Pastoralism activities that are strongly attached to their cultural heritage.

It is worth to mention that State's implemented projects in stabilizing nomadic population of the Western Desert succeeded to a great extent towards Bedouins' Sedentarization. Nevertheless, the distinctive social structure of the indigenous population was negatively affected. Moreover, the herding economic activities have been largely deteriorated, whereas one of the best rangeland in Egypt was lost.

Thus, this research concludes that any Bedouin community has many elements responsible for the shaping of its cultural identity. These elements had a certain amount of complexity and were formulated of integrated and interrelated aspects: social, economical and ecological. Therefore, the absence of an integral and sustainable urban approach dealing with assimilation of Nomads population has resulted in negative impacts on their social balance. Consequently, the Bedouins national connectivity was always driven by State's political and economical interests leading to gradual loss of their distinguished cultural heritage and ecological context.

6.1.2. Traditional Living System in Shalatin

The long isolated status of 'Beja' Tribes from having a direct contact with the dominant society in the Nile Valley has contributed to the well preservation of their cultural and social exclusivity. Their physical remoteness was also responsible for the disinterest of official governance systems in applying any changes to Bedouins' living systems or dynamics, which remained traditional for a long period. However, Bedouins movement in Shalatin and the southeastern periphery went through different stages of evolution that accompanied the recently introduced official resettlement plans.

Hence, this research summarizes such a process into three main stages: pure nomadic status, semi-nomadic, and lately sedentarized population that are still maintaining to some extent their nomadic behaviors. For each of the previous stages, remarkable changes occurred to the Bedouin settlement architecture and clustering criteria. It is notable also that Bedouins' self-made settlements in different stages was greatly influenced and connected to both the ecological context and the well respected socio-tribal structure. The inter-connectivity between shelter, nature and social grouping is responsible for shaping Bedouin settlements in Shalatin.

In the same respect, Bedouins altered their economical activities to the change of their movement schemes. Pastoralism that is considered as the spine of tribal socio-economic systems was lately combined with secured governmental jobs and trading opportunities. Currently, Pastoralism is still active inside the city of Shalatin even after the full Sedentarization of many Bedouins, which is referred to social and cultural roots along with the economical importance.

6.1.3. Urbanization of Shalatin

The historical background of 'Halayeb' Triangle, where Shalatin and its surrounding peripheries are located, explains the real motivation behind the State's presence for urban development. Political dispute with the southern neighboring country 'Sudan' was the main cause to grab the attention of Egyptian authorities to the area. The State interest in development of Shalatin into main urban center was tangibly seen in different stages. These development procedures started by declaring Shalatin to be a city and included: provision of basic urban and social services, and housing projects targeting both Bedouins and Out-migrants.

Some of the planned housing projects represented an attempt by the government to offer settlements with similar characteristics to their traditional shelters. However, it is worth to note that the official approach dealt intentionally with Bedouins' housing on individual basis and neglected any social or tribal relations in the distribution of the core housing units. Moreover, traditional ecological relations between different Bedouin settlements were also excluded from the city urban form. Bedouins of Shalatin are still denied from their land ownership, which illustrates the contradiction between the inherited land tenure that is claimed by indigenous population and the official ownership condition that is affected by unstable political status.

The second effective ethnic population in Shalatin is the Nile Valley Out-migrants, who started to flee to Shalatin in 1996 looking after a better life opportunity in the new city. New settlers could be divided into two groups; commuters with high education occupying official positions in different governmental authorities, and labor migrants mainly coming from Upper Egypt and working in trade and construction industry.

Throughout this research, it becomes more obvious that the spatial needs for the new settlers were different from those of the Bedouins. Thus, two housing types of settlements have been occupied by Nile Valley Out-migrants. First, the official housing sector that tried to absorb the increasing Out-migrants population through constructing collective housing prototypes reflecting their former urban background. The second sector is the informal housing sector initiated by Out-migrants themselves in accordance with the official lag in providing sufficient housing units for them.

6.1.4. Official Master Plans

The first official master plan for Shalatin presented in 1995 by the GOPP, illustrated a typical vision by the state in urbanizing coastal settlements in the Red Sea region. The projected urban development focused mainly on creating urban nodes in order to attract the roaming Bedouin population. Also the vision tried to enhance the new city services and opportunities to absorb outmigration from the dense Nile Valley. However, the real stimulator for the proposed urban approach was the State's political interest in the first place, which reflected on the margin-

alization of social matters for Bedouins. Moreover, this research concludes that this first official master plan didn't well consider the possible spatial interactions between two different ethnic groups.

The second official urban approach in Shalatin (2000) was a refinement of the GOPP's first attempt. This approach emphasized the State's interest in adopting tourism industry as a main economical stimulator for the city. However, this second approach didn't embed any notion for the expected negative impacts on both social and cultural manners of the conservative Bedouin society.

Consequently, it can be observed that this second approach was mainly concerned with urban transformation of Shalatin from a semi-urban Bedouin settlement to an urban and regional center. However, the planner recognized the main spatial relations between inhabitants and the social, ecological and economical factors separately, in which they were not elaborated in an integral urban vision for the city. Two modes of urbanization (Urban-Bedouin) were defined and each had its own characteristics.

Thus, the second approach proposed an urban development axis, whereas housing clusters to be constructed with respect to Bedouin tribal structure. Pastoralism as a main social and economic activity was excluded from any integration in Shalatin urban morphology. Also population dynamics on ground between different ethnicities was not tackled, in which potential conflicts and informal encroachments were not considered as well.

6.1.5. Ongoing Urban Transformation

The existing urban conditions of Shalatin show that the socio-spatial patterns formed by Bedouins have prevailed over the city character and formation. Pastoralism activities are still highly active between the settled Bedouin population in direct contradiction to the official planning approaches that are analyzed within this research. In addition, some of the sedentarized Bedouins still practice seasonal movement with their flocks inside 'Wadis'; searching for better pasture and in the same time preserving a socio-ecological important aspect in their identity. On the other hand, Nile Valley Out-migrants started to have an active role in urbanizing the city. Hence, they have been reflecting their own built environment influences on Shalatin.

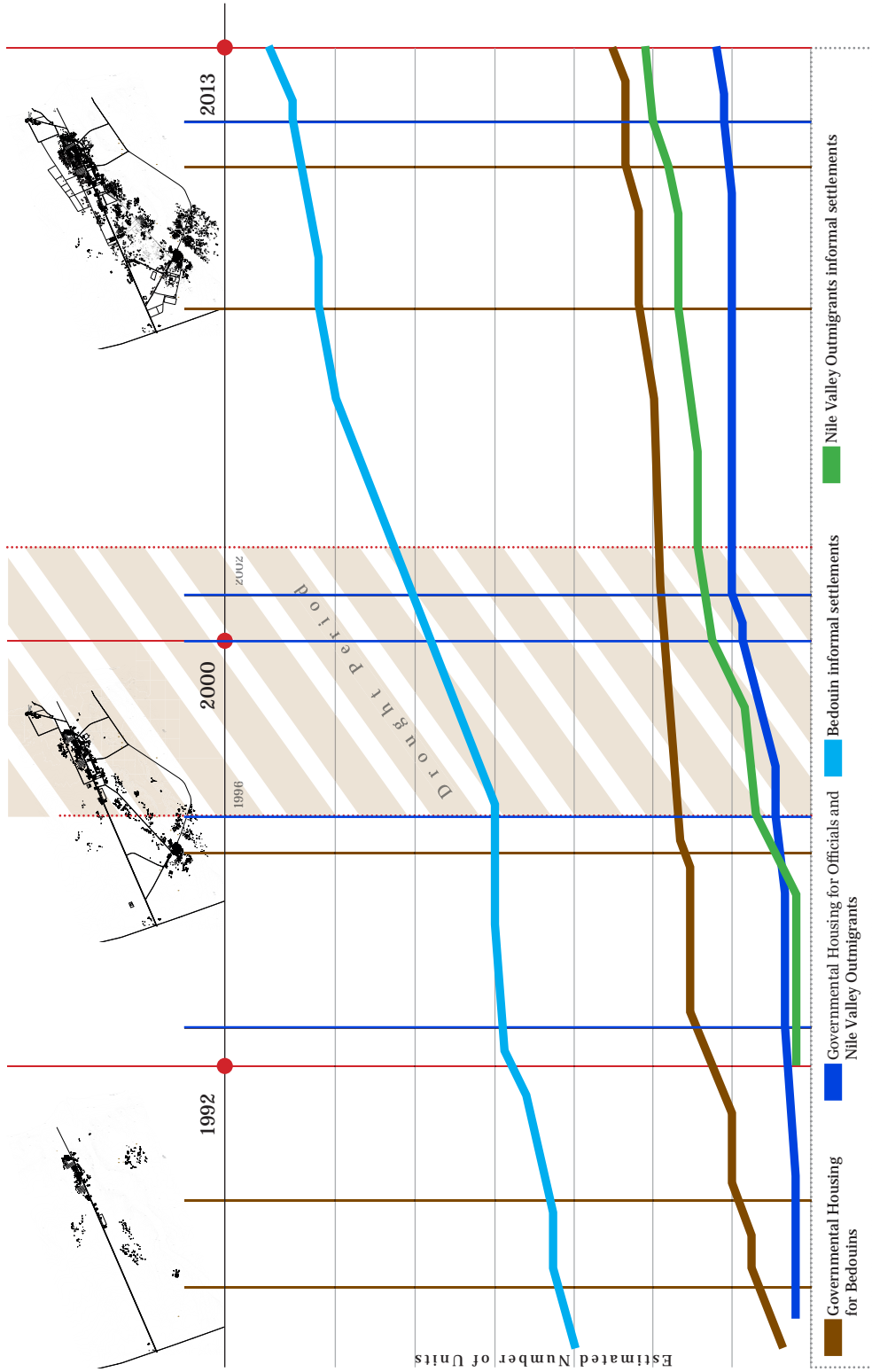


Figure 46 Relation between different modes of housing in Shalatin (Author).

Meanwhile, it was shown during the city urban analysis (chapter 5) that the government is incapable of providing sufficient housing for the increasing population of Shalatin, which in return is reflected in the huge increase of the informal housing implemented by both Bedouins and outmigrants (Figure 46).

With the absence of a resilient urban vision and aware local governance system coping with realities on ground, the city of Shalatin is experiencing an ongoing urban transformation led by the social, economical and ecological needs of its dwellers. Therefore, the previous situation resulted in unique urban dynamics and relations between the different groups, in which they cooperate in some cases against the government while in other cases they have their own ethnic and cultural conflicts.

6.2. Recommendations Towards a Future Vision

The recommendation phase of the study focuses on the development of an urban vision for the city of Shalatin that involves some of the tackled urban issues discussed within this research. Furthermore, the proposed vision by the research considers the previously investigated social, economical and ecological aspects. Thus, the development line is required to integrate the changing dynamics of the local population considering the distinctive influence of their ethnic groups.

In this regard, recommendations section of this research implies the cultural factor; since it was clearly demonstrated that any futuristic urban intervention, should take into consideration the interrelated and complicated living system of the indigenous population. Also the existing governance system involved in urban decision-making for city housing projects and settlements relocation for Bedouins and Out-migrants would be part of the recommended vision. In this respect, it is highly recommended to raise the decision makers' awareness of the local community needs prior designing and constructing urban settlements is very crucial. Subsequently, such knowledge would be used as an important urban tool towards achieving: inhabitants' acceptance, positive interaction, and sustainability of any implemented urban development.

The first part of recommendation is simply labeling main titles concerning general strategies for a further development of Sedentarization policies and the involved planning processes. Consequently, it is more dedicated for further research and investigation that could be whether applied in Shalatin or in a similar

national or international context. The second part of recommendations is locally specific strategies that are urban related and targeting the context of Shalatin, where it directly reflects the main exposed issues within this research. Additionally, this part shall be briefly discussed and proposed from the researcher own point of view.

6.2.1. “Learning from Shalatin”: Development of Sedentarization Policies and Planning Processes

Urbanization policies towards the Sedentarization of nomadic communities should deeply overlook the distinctive characters of the target community. Thus, the research promotes for the following general strategies to be well considered through urban development of nomadic settlements having socio-ecological context similar to that of Shalatin.

- A. Cultural and Ecological Preservation Oriented Policies.
- B. Reforming Sedentarization Policies.
- C. Integrating Ecological Adaptive Techniques for Water Harvesting (regional, city and districts scale).
- D. Adaptive Tourism Oriented Development.

6.2.2. Urban Development Strategies for Shalatin

This section focuses in particular on the case study of Shalatin, in which the research proposes four urban development strategies to be incorporated with any futuristic plan towards the city improvement and expansion.

- A. Integration of Socio-Ecological Aspects and Local Knowledge.
- B. Growth Vision towards adequate Urban Transformation.
- C. Local Governance Reform.
- D. Parallel Development between ‘Wadi’ and Coast.

A- Integration of Socio-Ecological Aspects and Local Knowledge

The research suggests for instance that local authorities should consider the fact that the Bedouins are using dry waterways and tracks; as ownership boundaries separating between different tribal or ethnic groups. Consequently, these unofficial boundaries could be physically emphasized as a public or semi-public open space between settlements. Such a step would reduce the increasingly informal

land encroachment; which also shall be done with the integrating the ecological aspect and the well-respected local flora.

In the same respect, It has been previously confirmed that Pastoralism is an important social, economical and ecological aspect for Bedouins. Hence, the research continues to promote for the importance of integrating Pastoralism; in order to conserve and develop the animal husbandry.

This premise is quite reasonable since the region is already having suitable capabilities, especially when recording the seasonal movement for herdsman. On the other hand, Bedouins use animal husbandry locations as: a temporary occupation for land, a sign for the owner domain, and a reserve for the family future expansion. This could be used as well as an urban tool by decision-maker in orienting the city growth and integrate the activity wisely in the land use (Figure 47).

B- Growth Vision towards Adequate Urban Transformation

With the absence of any official intervention or guidance procedures, Bedouins are structurally transforming their semi-nomadic shacks into more stabilized houses that are built with masonry and concrete. As previously mentioned, such an architectural transformation is done with the technical support of the Nile Valley out-migrants that are more experienced with building techniques. Moreover, this transformation takes place as well in accordance with the economical recent improvements in the city.

Thus, informality is a consequent threat that arises from such transformations. Consequently, the increased densification over time would eventually obstruct the enhancement of basic services of the city and the quality of the existing infrastructure networks. Meanwhile, both Bedouins and Nile Valley Out-migrants are building and extending their built societies through illegal land encroachment. Thus, reaction of official authorities concerning the informal growth is limited between two options:

- Forced Evictions and Demolitions: Usually fails against local inhabitants resistance, and the local authority is cautious because of the political sensitivity.
- Providing basic utilities for the informal units (electricity- water supply).

In this regard, the research proposes that any future city vision is strongly re-

quired to accurately survey the self-built concrete structures and proposing alternative solutions that don't oblige the local authorities to demolish these structures. Hence, an urgent official support and guidance program is recommended to be founded along with suitable participatory approach; in order to well investigate and improve the urban morphology throughout two aspects as follows:

Housing:

The on-ground situation is clearly illustrating the failure and inadequacy of the official social housing approach. Therefore, a more flexible housing approach should be adopted and customized on the case of Shalatin. Such an approach should wisely deal with the situation of different ethnicities and define the suitable locations for housing for each group in order to limit any future conflict over land.

This research proposes also to have a city urbanization vision that effectively addresses the urban growth of Shalatin. This vision should offer altered solutions to overcome the official authorities' weak capacity to provide adequate shelters and services for the increasing population. Consequently, it is recommended to adopt the self-built approach and combine it with an official supervision and technical guidance based on the local conditions, available resources, and capacities.

Land Ownership Resolution:

The social unrest between different groups over land is one of the root causes for the urban problems in Shalatin, in which the state denies the Bedouins right to their land ownership; due to the political sensitivity of the region. Furthermore, the needed official procedures in order to obtain a land in Shalatin are expensive and complicated, which is obviously contradicting with the social level of both ethnicities and increases informality. Subsequently, it becomes obvious the main reason for ethnic based encroachment in light of the official unawareness and discarding of the traditional Bedouin ownership and different social groups needs.

Thus, the research promotes the importance of defining official neighborhood units that respect the Bedouins' inherited land tenure, which eventually decreases the status of insecurity for community members and encourages any futuristic development and mutual trust. Hence, a balanced resolution for the land ownership aspect would ensure a better urban development (Figure 47).

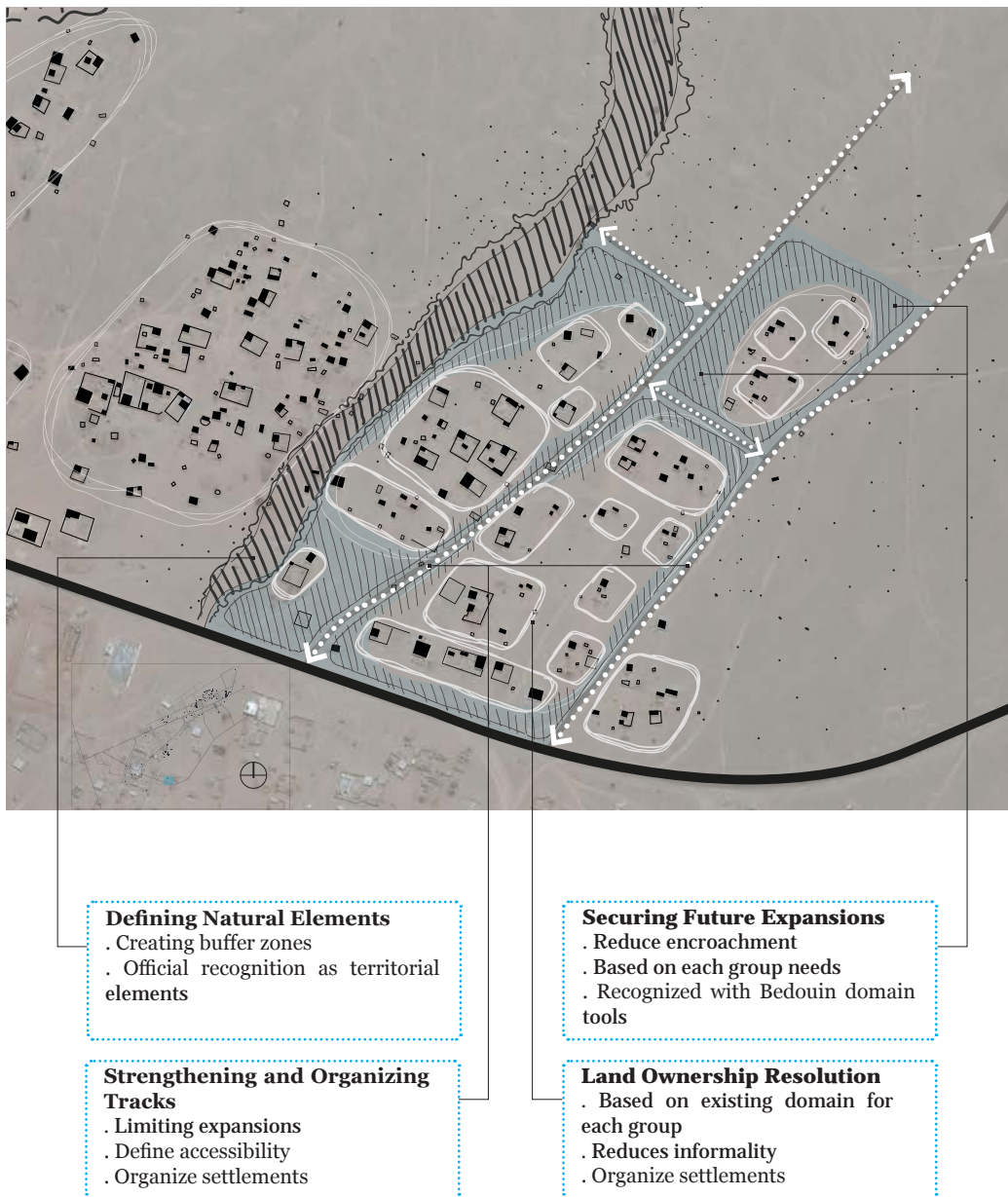


Figure 47 Spatial analysis for recommended urban configurations in a Bedouin settlement, Shalatin (Author).

C- Local Governance Reform

Shalatin is currently experiencing a constant change in its built environment on different levels, which is connected to the interest and demand of various stakeholders. At the same time, the existing local governance system in the city is perceived to be incapable of understanding the local behavior in establishing settlements. Thus, there is an urgent need for a paradigm shift in the decision making procedures and techniques of local municipality which usually follows a strict top-down approach.

Accordingly, the research recommends undergoing set of realistic reforms in the existing local governance apparatus in Shalatin. These reforms should integrate the active stakeholders of the local community and to guarantee that they represent different groups. Hence, creating an effective decision-making framework should regularly investigate the community multidisciplinary interests and involve them into diverse and flexible urbanization approach. The research presents the importance of transparently conducting studies on the required reforms to be embedded with any futuristic plans for Shalatin. Subsequently, such reforms would recognize and allow for applying unconventional techniques, and integrate the socio-ecological aspects of the city inhabitants instead of the centralized decision making framework.

D- Parallel Development between ‘Wadi’ and Coast

This recommendation is more related to regional scale especially it was concluded that constant population from ‘Wadis’ in the western side of Shalatin is fleeing to the city and other coastal settlements. This outmigration movement is not only because of the drought, but also related to the densification of different services in the coastal cities.

As previously mentioned that this outmigration has resulted in the abundance and emptying of many Bedouin traditional settlements and has also led to condensation in the city of Shalatin. Therefore, it is recommended to initiate a parallel development strategy, which sustainably include these settlements in the development process and would enable Bedouins in preserving their simple means of living.

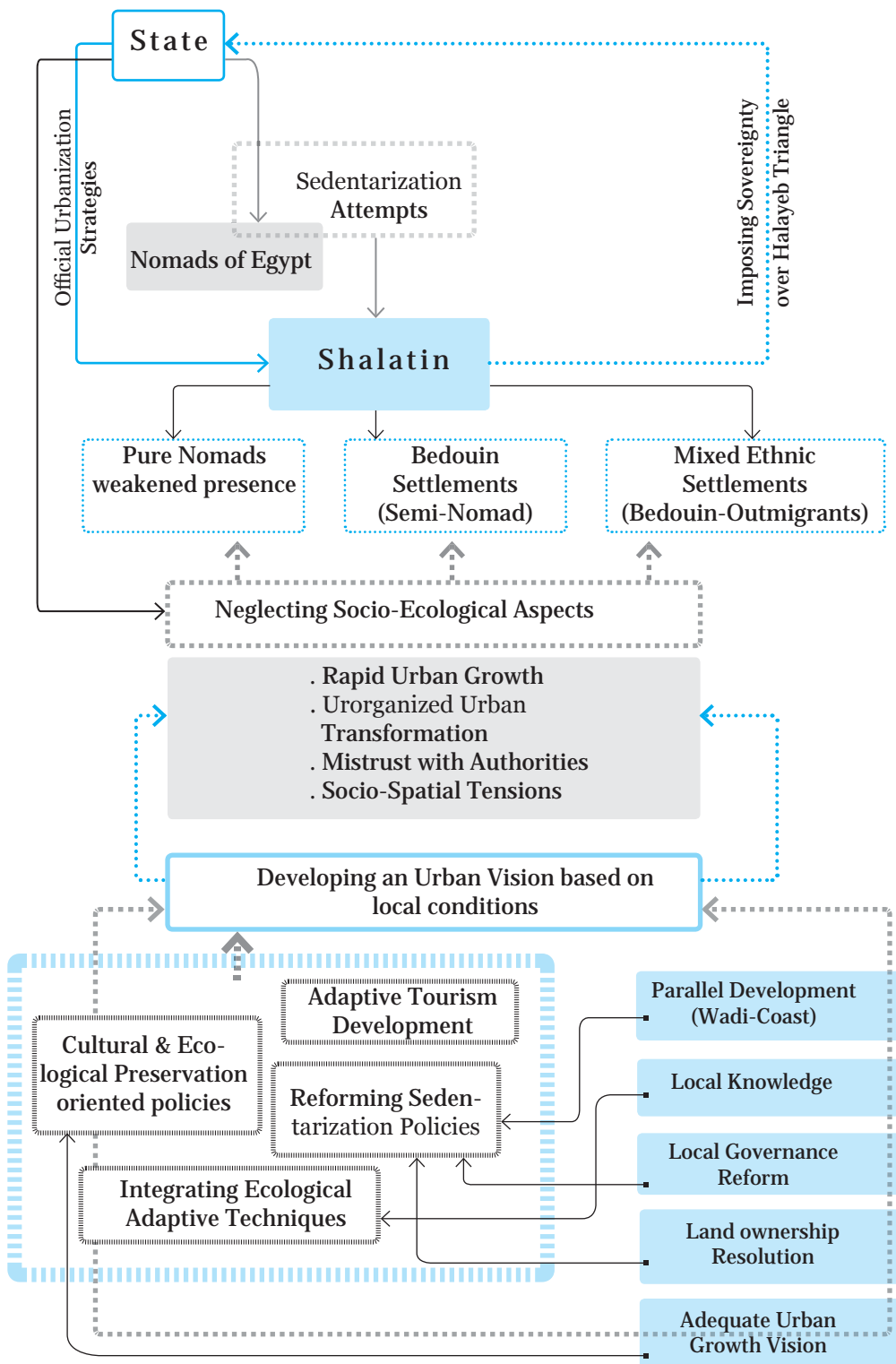


Figure 48 Analysis of overall main findings and interpretations (Author).

CONCLUSION & RECOMMENDATIONS

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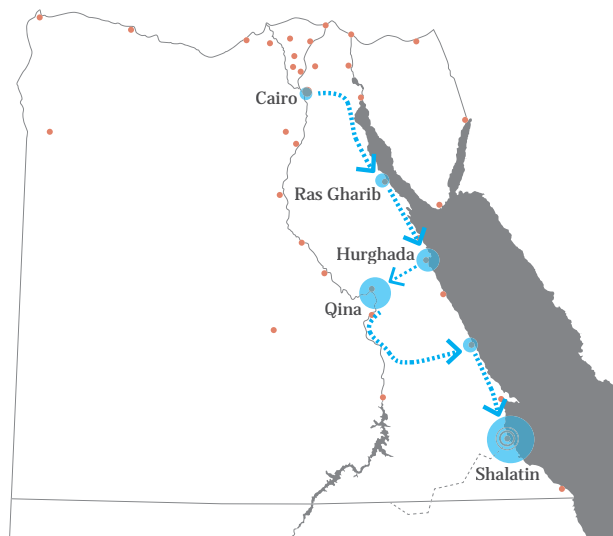
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Appendices

Appendix 1:

The researcher intended to follow certain route to and back from the city of Shalatin in order to investigate and experience different points:

- Tourism development along the Red Sea coast and its visible influence on the urban scene in many of its cities (Hurghada, Marsa Alam).
- Exposure to the old sedentarization locations in the Eastern Desert cities (Ras-Gharib, Hurghada, Marsa Alam) in order to raise important questions about the future of urbanization in Shalatin.
- Tracking the Nile Valley Outmigrants movement to Shalatin and their related motivations. In the same time being exposed to their original settlements (Qina) would help later in analysing their spatial needs.



Researcher field visit route and main stops to and back from Shalatin, March, 2014 (Author).

Appendix 2: Interviews with Local Community

Semi-structured Interviews were conducted with local community sample. However, most of the interviews were not recorded due to the mistrust in outsiders perception. Thus, most of the answers to the following questions were mentioned and interpreted within the research analysis.

Interviews with (Bedouins- Nile Valley Outmigrants)

1. Where originally did you come from?
2. Was your movement to Shalatin related to any occasion?
3. How does ethnicity affects your living?
4. How do you see official urbanization?
5. Do you have more than one residency/ property?
6. What do you work? Where?
7. How your living is related to the natural context of Shalatin/ regional?
8. Was this taken into consideration by local authorities?
9. Do you still have traditional activities (herding)?
10. Do you practice any seasonal movement?

المقابلات مع البدو و المهاجرين من وادي النيل:

- ما هو مكان نشأتك؟
هل كان انتقالك للشلاتين مرتبط بأي احداث (طبيعية،..)?
كيف يؤثر انتمائك العرقي على معيشتك بالشلاتين؟
كيف ترى الخطط الحكومية لتعمير المدينة؟
هل لديك اكثر من عقار/ مكان اقامة؟
ما طبيعة عملك ؟ اين؟
كيف ترتبط معيشتك مع البيئة المحيطة؟
هل تم اخذ هذا بعين الاعتبار في الخطط الحكومية؟
هل لا زالت تمارس أنشطة تقليدية؟
هل لا تزال تمارس اي حركة موسمية؟

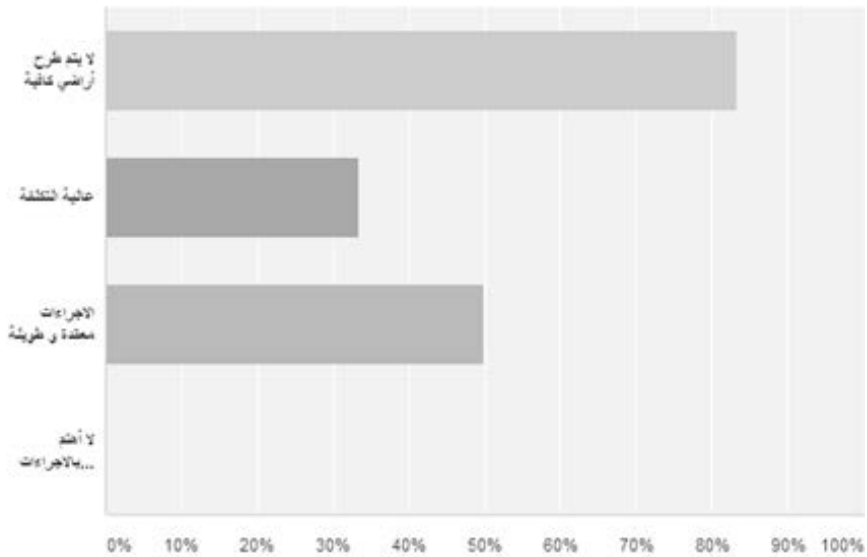
Appendix 3:

Samples of Online survey for 7 respondents from the Local community

3. How difficult it is to own an officially planned and empty land in Shalatin?

ما مدى صعوبة حصولك على قطعة أرض مخططة (دون مباني)
بالشلاتين ؟

Answered: 6 Skipped: 1

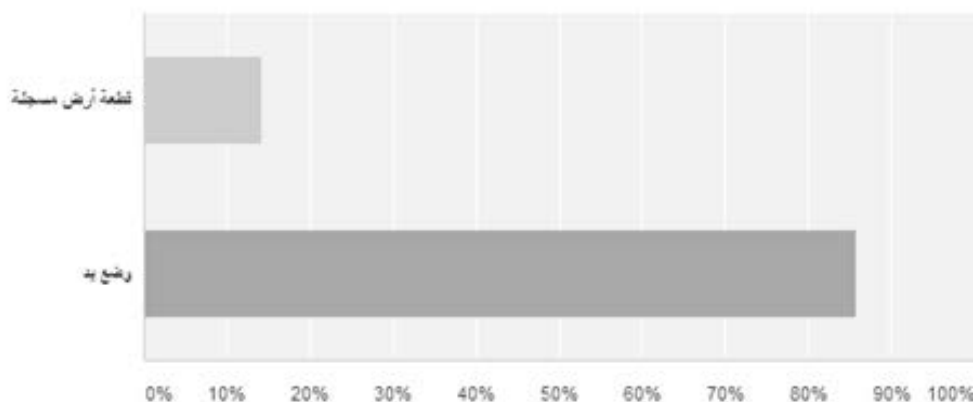


Answer Choices	Responses
لا يتم طرح أراضي كافية	Not sufficient 83.33% 5
عالية التكلفة	High Cost 33.33% 2
الاجراءات معقدة و طويلة	Complicated Procedures 50.00% 3
لا أهتم بالاجراءات القانونية	Not interested in official procedures 0.00% 0
Total Respondents: 6	

2. How do you describe the Land Tenure Status of your house?

كيف تصف وضع قطعة الأرض المقام عليها منزلك ؟

Answered: 7 Skipped: 0

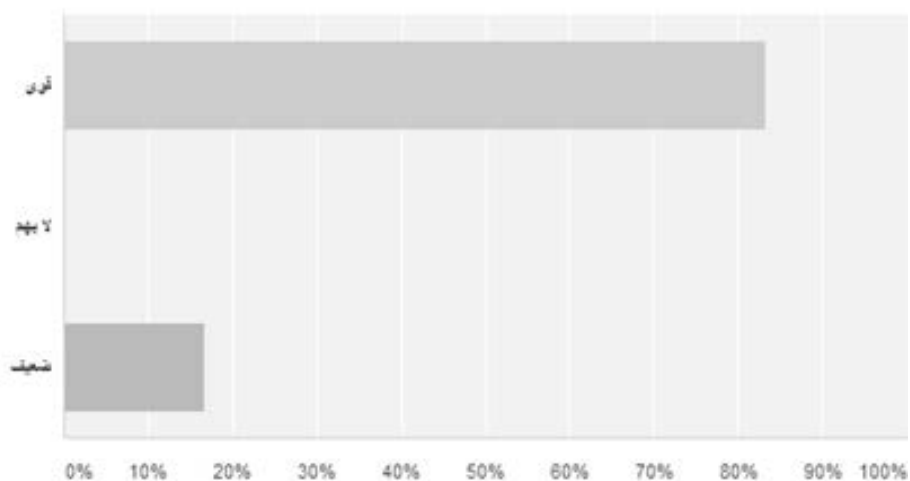


Answer Choices		Responses	
قطعة أرض مسجلة	Officially Registered	14.29%	1
وضع بد	Unofficial Encroachment	85.71%	6
Total			7

5. How it is important to live close to the tribe/ family?

ما مدى ارتباطك بالسكن بجوار القبيلة / الأسرة ؟

Answered: 6 Skipped: 1

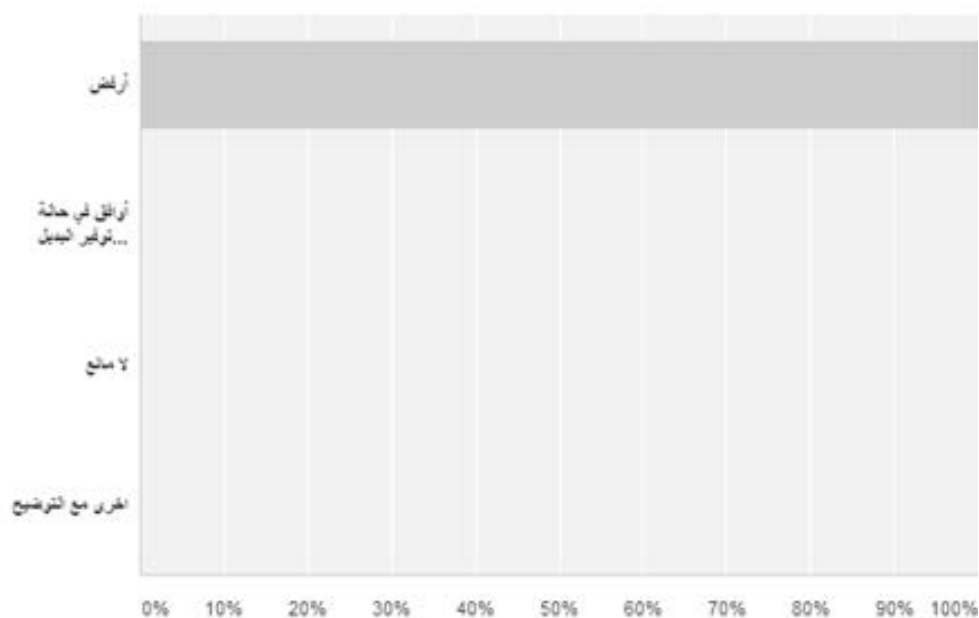


Answer Choices	Responses		
قوي	Strong	83.33%	5
لا يهم	Doesn't matter	0.00%	0
ضعيف	Weak	16.67%	1
Total			6

4. What is your opinion regarding demolition of informal units?

ما رأيك في ازالة الوحدات السكنية العشوائية ؟

Answered: 7 Skipped: 0



Answer Choices	Responses
أرفض Reject	100.00% 7
أوافق في حالة توفير البديل الجيد Agree in case of good alternative	0.00% 0
لا مانع I don't mind	0.00% 0
أخري مع التوضيح Other Responses	0.00% 0

Appendix 4:

Sketches and Mental Maps supported by the Author and some of the local Interviewees, Shalatin, March 2014



Printed satellite image used by the researcher with local tribesmen to define socio-spatial relations between different groups.

Appendix 5:

Photos taken by Author, Shalatin, March 2014



'Hagar Al-asas'



Bedouin 'Ezbat' around 'Souq'



'khalf Al-amayer'



'Hagar Al-asas' Bedouin Housing Units





Twin Housing Unit

ملخص

تتميز مدينة شلاتين و هي احد التجمعات العمرانية المصرية بكونها مدينة نائية و منعزلة و لكن بالرغم من ذلك، فقد اقدمت الدولة في الفترة الاخيرة نحو تطبيق الاستراتيجيات المختلفة بغرض استهداف التجمعات البدوية و توطينها بالاضافة الى جذب المهاجرين من مختلف انحاء وادي النيل. جدير بالذكر ان التحول العمراني الاخير الذي شهدته المدينة نحو التحضر أدى الى: حدوث نمو عمراني غير متناسق، نبذ الاحتياجات المختلفة للسكان، و تجاهل التنوع الثقافي و البيئي المميز للمنطقة. من هذا المنطلق، يهدف هذا البحث الي دراسة عملية التحضر التي تشهدها مدينة شلاتين و تقييم التحولات الاجتماعية و الايكولوجية و المكانية المصاحبة لهذا التغيير. و علي ذلك يستكمل البحث دراسة الظواهر المختلفة لنمو المدينة من تجمع بدوي الاصل الي مدينة حضرية بخصائص بيئية جديدة كمحاولة لفهم الاسباب الكامنة وراء هذا التحول العمراني. في هذا الصدد، اعتمد البحث على ثلاث مناهج بحثية مختلفة. أولاً، مراجعة الادبيات المتمثلة في المنشورات و الوثائق الرسمية كوسيلة لفهم المزيد عن الجماعات البدوية المصرية وتحليل النهج الذي اعتمدته الحكومة في استهداف أعراق مختلفة داخل المدينة وما ينجم عنها من تأثيرات على تشكيل مدينة الشلاتين. ثانياً، تم اجراء زيارة ميدانية من أجل تتبع المحركات الفعلية و العوامل الاجتماعية و البيئية الفعالة. بعد ذلك، يتم تحليل البيانات التي تم جمعها باعتماد اسلوب المقارنة من خلال تتبع وتحليل الخرائط المختلفة للمدينة، و تم اعتماد هذا المنهج بغرض رصد الظواهر القائمة و الأنماط الحضرية المكونة للمدينة. في النهاية، يتوصل البحث الى مجموعة من النتائج و الاستنتاجات الرئيسية فيما يتعلق بأهمية تكامل الخلفيات العرقية و الاختلافات الاجتماعية و الايكولوجية. وبالتالي، يتم سرد مجموعة من التوصيات من أجل تحسين عملية النمو العمراني للمدينة و تحسين الإطار العام للتنمية الحضرية بمدينة شلاتين.

عناصر بحثية الشلاتين، التوطين، البداوة، العمران، علاقات اجتماعية بيئية، علاقات اجتماعية مكانية، البدو، المهاجرين داخلها

إقرار

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

هذا ويقر الباحث أن العمل المقدم هو خلاصة بحثه الشخصي وأنه قد اتبع الأسلوب العلمي السليم في الإشارة إلى المواد المؤخوذه من المراجع العلمية كل في مكانه في مختلف أجزاء الرسالة..

وهذا إقرار مني بذلك،،،

التوقيع:

الباحث: محمد محروس

التاريخ: 2014/7 /

الشلاتين (مصر): بين العمران و البداوة

مقدمة للحصول على درجة الماجستير في العمران المتكامل والتصميم المستدام

إعداد: محمد محروص

لجنة إشراف

أ.د. أنتيا شتوكمان

أستاذ التنسيق الحضري و البيئي

جامعة شتوتجارت

أ.د. يوهانسن عيد

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أستاذ التنسيق الحضري و البيئي

جامعة شتوتجارت

تاريخ المناقشة:.....

أجيزت الرسالة بتاريخ:.....

موافقة مجلس الجامعة .../.../...

الدراسات العليا

ختم الإجازة

موافقة مجلس الكلية .../.../...

جامعة عين شمس



جامعة شتوتجارت



07/21/2014

