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The Boundaries between Us

Territorial Functioning in Cairo's Urban Environment

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

by

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Nagla Al Khoreiby

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To my parents, thank you for enabling my paths, and pouring your hearts and trusts in me.

To my partner, thank you for the endless support, for bearing the distance, and easing troubles with joyful laughter. Life is effortless with you.

Nagla Al Khoreiby

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Territorial Functioning in Cairo's Urban Environment

Abstract
Boundaries have been erected and demolished, across history, in the name of conflicts and peace treaties, segregation and protection, and other more conflicting views. These are only the visible contested boundaries, meanwhile, more boundaries linger within human psychologies, that are perhaps even more divisive than the visible ones. Egypt, as well, have had its share of boundaries. While the national boundaries have maintained external political stability in the recent history, internal societal boundaries have grown in contestation. The commencement of the republic, more than 60 years ago, have unfolded unprecedented political transitions and societal transformations. Cairo, the centralized magnet of Egypt, have transitioned from one system to the other, while molding in expansion, to agglomerate the Egyptian masses.

The visible urban transformation of the city have harboured intricate social processes of segregation and alienation. Thus, disintegrating the society into different social groups, separated by tangible and intangible territorial boundaries, and fragmenting the city at its seams. While territorial boundaries stand firm between the different social groups in Cairo, there is still room for reconciliation. Territorial functioning is a lens through which interconnected processes of space, society and cognition can be analysed, to find the grounds to approach processes of superior-inferior differentiation and closed-off environments. This research is a quest to reveal the boundaries that are erected between the society in Cairo, in reference to the global discourse. To decipher the foundation behind their existence, and exhibit potential entry points to negotiate the future of the city.

Keywords: Boundaries, Urban Boundaries, Territorial Functioning, Human Territoriality, Fragmentation, Segregation, Cairo, Egyptian Society, Global Boundaries

Table of Content

List of Figures

List of Figures

“We keep the wall between us as we go.

There where it is we do not need the wall:
He is all pine and I am apple orchard.
My apple trees will never get across
And eat the cones under his pines, I tell him.

Before I built a wall I’d ask to know
What I was walling in or walling out,
And to whom I was like to give offense.
Something there is that doesn’t love a wall”

(Robert Frost, Mending Wall)

1. Introduction: Cairo in Transition

"It is estimated that in the last decade almost 40,000 km of walls and fences have been built in 65 major projects" (Brighenti & Kärrholm, 2018, pg.1). Boundaries across history have been erected and demolished in the name of conflicts and peace treaties, segregation and protection, dividing and uniting, among other dualities of conflicting views and opposing motives. These are only the visible contested boundaries, meanwhile, more boundaries linger within human psychologies, unspoken of, hardly broken and perhaps more divisive than the visible ones. Boundaries have hindered human encounters and exacerbated the differences between us.

Egypt is no stranger to boundaries, a nation of political intricacies and centuries of multiethnic civilizations. While the national boundaries have maintained external political stability in the recent history, internal societal boundaries have grown in contestation (Koning, 2006 ; Amin, 2012; Yousry & Mekawy, 2012; Mohamed, 2015).

Cairo, the centralized magnet of Egypt, agglomerates the collective Egyptian identity of heterogeneous parts. As Janet Abu-Lughod describes it, Cairo "captured the hearts of writers… [trying] to reconcile the city's rich history and political changes with what appears to be the persistent essence of its people's character" (Sims, 2012). In the recent history, however, rapid changes have profusely seeped into Cairo's persistent identity upon an unprecedented growth that altered the composition of the city. This was ignited after the 1952 revolution, when the country witnessed the major transition of its political system

from a kingdom to an independent republic. Embarking upon a new nationalist era, the capital harnessed a striving will and the opportunity for a much wider range of population than the stratified aristocratic strata of the monarchy, and thereafter proceeded on with a canvas of development.

In the following sixty years the government transitioned from one regime to another with limited resources that hindered a smooth transition. Starting with a socialist regime that enabled the power of the public and prompted local production. This was an era heightened with Arab patriotism that supported several Arab wars, unfortunately however met with defeat. The following regime retreated from the closed economy and initiated an 'open-door' policy that embarked on a capitalist regime, highly affected by western advancement. What followed was a neoliberal regime, adopting the global trend, regressing from government ownership and public facilities to the unrestrained private market. This regime was the longest, until struck by the 2011 revolution that called for 'bread, freedom, and social justice'.

Suffocated from the lack of basic survival needs and a politically petrified population, this revolution came with a rare moment of unity and a collective cry for and from the wider society. Potentially, the 2011 revolution removed all covers from the concealed realities of the standing Egyptian society, and revealed the inner complications the country have harnessed for the past transitioning decades. Ever since the country has been through yet other vigorous political, economic and social transition, the uprise of 2013, and up until 2014 when the current ruling president embarked on another round of political and economic reforms, which results have not yet been reaped.

There have been distinct features that surfaced since the early formation of the republic in Cairo. First, the shift in economic frameworks; beginning with a closed socialist economy fuelled with local production, to liberalization of the economy through the open-door policy, to a market-oriented economy, and the current transitional mixed-system economy. The changing economic frameworks indeed introduced new financial opportunities and accompanying challenges for the society. Second, the dramatic population increase in the starting decades of the republic, primarily due to urban-rural migration to the centralized capital attracting labour and working class. This introduced new social strata to the capital, accompanying their background cultures and mor-

phing into the new urban life. Third, the spiking population numbers inevitably induced a massive expansion in urban shelter. This urban expansion, however, was tangled between what the government could supply from public housing, which was insufficient against the need, so those who could not afford the expensive alternative consumed adjacent agriculture lands with informal housing. And in utter contrast to the face of informality, when the private market dominated the economy, gated communities surfaced to house the centers of wealth. Between the latter poles, fragmented urbanization consumed Cairo's expanding geography (Sutton & Fahmi, 2001; Yousry & Mekawy, 2012).

The preceding remarks, concurrently, introduced new rules for social mobility within the capital (Amin, 2001) and induced "sharp socio-economic differences" (Mohamed, 2015). Upon which, a new spectrum of social classes was produced, with no specific reference to a governing identity or value system, but mostly different cultures residing in close geographic proximity. Even the once heightened patriotism of the revolution in 1952 and 2011 that connected the population slowly diminished midst the race of survival due to the turbulent economy. The abrupt shift of the governing regimes has shaken the economy's competency to support the city's need for growth and cater for basic citizen needs.

Cairo, eventually, ended up with a spectrum of contrasting socio-economic realities that enforced societal and geographic challenges. The fragmented urban setting that evolved harnessed clear territories harbouring different communities of the society. Each community developed its own culture depending on its own resources and limited exposure to the collective identity Cairo has become. The wide gap between cultures heightened the need for community distancing and regulating social interactions in predictable environments, better defined as the sense of territoriality (Altman et al., 1980). While instinctively practiced as "a regulator of socio-spatial interactions" (Pfeiffer, 1980), territorial functioning in Cairo developed into a psychological and physical status that strengthened segregation among the society.

Positioning: Hypothesis and Research Objectives

The research puts forward a hypothesis that there exist territorial boundaries between the different groups of the society within Cairo, often tangible than intangible, that solidify the sharp differences between the society, heighten the sense of group differentiation, and threatens the societal willingness to cooperate for survival and growth. The purpose of the research is to understand and make visible those boundaries, from where they can be debated.

It is vital to highlight that territoriality is not only evident in Cairo's residential settlements but all services infrastructure, from education, health care, to leisure facilities, but this study mostly focuses on residential settlements due to its clear cutting geographies and communities. In addition to the integral role that residential neighbourhoods have on our cognitive social behaviour, where the early lived experiences in our residential neighbourhoods contribute to "defining our daily activities, shaping our opportunity structures, and affecting our perceptions of the social world" (Krysan & Crowder, 2017, pg.42). Upon which, for the context of Cairo, the research aims to:

1) Examine the status of territorial functioning among the Egyptian society in Cairo - what is happening.
2) Uproot the background processes that cultivated a heightened sense of territoriality among the society - how has it happened.
3) Asses the factors that contributed to why have we become territorial - why has it happened.
4) and Negotiate how can territorial assessment reveal meanings for negotiating the future of the city.

The research is a qualitative study in its essence, and adopts a theoretical and an empirical method of investigation. Primarily, the literature will review the relevant themes regarding Cairo's urban status within the field of urban studies and behavioural sciences. The purpose is to establish a global understanding of the key concepts and contextualize Cairo's status, in addition to developing an analytical framework to approach the study's spheres of analysis.

Henceforth, the research will develop upon two main spheres of analysis:

1) A literature review of Cairo's republican history to explore the background processes of Cairo's territorial development and its driving factors.

2) An empirical analysis, through adopting a case study of Cairo's recently developed urban environment, to exhibit the present territorial functioning of its urban society. This will be a phenomenological study, to observe and assess lived experiences of four communities with different socio-economic backgrounds and cultures, yet in close geographic proximity.

Eventually, the research intends to extract findings that build upon Cairo's historical development and the observed present for a critical discussion on Cairo's territorial functioning and negotiate the future of the city.

2. Research Approach

The research ultimately investigates human territoriality and the boundaries that erect between the society throughout the process, exhibiting the context of Cairo. A central term for the research is 'Territorial Functioning', coined and elaborated by Ralph Taylor (1988), he describes it as follows:
"a closely linked constellation of place-specific, socially determined and influential cognitions, behaviours and sentiments... concerned with issues of personal and group identity, cohesiveness, control, access and ecological management" (pg. 1).

Territorial functioning puts forward a spatial, social, and cognitive field of investigation. Where, from a social constructivist worldview, meanings are deduced from lived experiences and the complexity of multiple views regarding the highlighted phenomenon (Creswell, 2014). Henceforth, it is a qualitative inquiry, aiming to understand the particular phenomenon of territorial functioning, in the context of Cairo, through observing expressed meanings in the urban environment and studying the lived experiences of the society.

The study will adopt a theoretical and an empirical method upon which two main spheres of analysis will be developed. First uprooting the background processes and driving forces that deployed territoriality within Cairo's urban landscape, through a historical assessment. Second, an empirical assessment, of a phenomenological nature, of Cairo's present status, by adopting a representative case study of the phenomenon, where territorial functioning is observed.

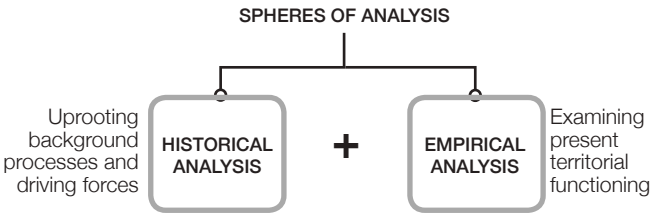

Figure 2.1: Spheres of assessment for territorial functioning in Cairo

2.1 Theoretical and Analytical Framework

Guided by the objectives of the research and the overarching concept of human territoriality, precisely territorial functioning, literature will be primarily reviewed to articulate the relevant theoretical concepts. The key themes that constitute territorial functioning will be discussed; space, society and cognition, while capitalizing on the context of Cairo. Upon which, an analytical framework will be developed for the study. The purpose is to develop a global understanding of the observed reality, in addition, a correlated discussion of the key themes to approach the components of the study.

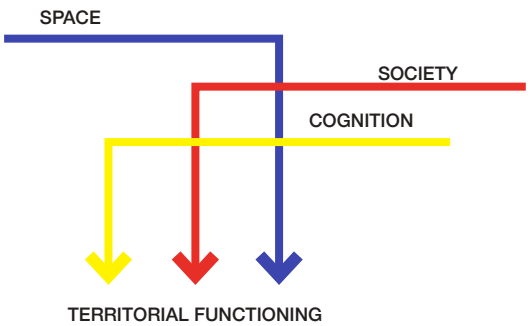

Figure 2.2: Constituents of Territorial Functioning

A. Starting with establishing the guiding concept of human territoriality, and territorial functioning within an urban setting. Understanding the origin of this instinctive behaviour and how it could develop into a restrictive behaviour within a society. Exhibit the components that constitute territorial functioning, and how are they embodied within an urban setting.

Proceeding with the three interlocking territorial themes:

B. Space: As briefly highlighted, Cairo is spatially identified as a "fragmented metropolis" (Yousry & Mekawy, 2012), expanding informally and formally, between limited public development and private market investments. Urban fragmentation is a common global phenomenon attached to discussions of the city. Thus, the city as a context will be investigated while identifying the dynamics of a fragmentation, and the formation of urban territories.

C. Society: Diving into the constructs of an urban society, expanding on sociological concepts of social structure and change, while understanding forces of change that would drive the heterogeneous essence of an urban society to form segregated communities, isolated by territorial boundaries.

D. Cognition: Tap into behavioural sciences and social psychology, to explore concepts of behavioural processes, cognitive dynamics and ideologies, within an urban setting, and the essentiality of the cognitive dimension to analysing any given context.

Analytical Framework

Based on the comprehensive articulation of the several concepts regarding the key themes, an analytical framework will be constructed, through which, the two main spheres of analysis will be approached. The analytical framework primarily adopts the concept of 'Territorial Functioning' as a central analytical lens, which will be elaborated further in the theoretical concepts section. The findings extracted through out the study will be cross-cut across the three main discussed themes that constitute territorial functioning: Space, Society, and Cognition, refer to the figure 2.2. The spatial field denotes the defining physical features of the setting and its geographic status. The social field identifies the socio-economic status and observed culture/lifestyle of the discussed group. Lastly, the cognitive field taps into the perceptions of the group and their observed behaviours towards their environment, while possibly decoding their driving motives and sentiments.

2.2 Scope of Analysis

2.2.1 Historical Analysis

The study's analytical assessment is positioned post the republican history of Cairo. As briefly mentioned, this date marks the beginning of the independent rule of Egypt, and the shift from a monarch to a republic. A transition in history that marked rapid and unprecedented observed changes in the composition of the city and its social structure. Accordingly, the first sphere of analysis regarding the historical background will explore the republican history of Cairo, while unravelling the main political and economic transitions that shook the city. In addition to the driving forces that triggered changes within the society and fuelled the geographic expansion of the city. Eventually, extracting the culminated factors that triggered territorial functioning within Cairo.

Data will be derived from literature, grey literature, story telling, media productions, and interviews. All potential resources that would capture the essence and the portrayal of the development of Cairo's history. The data will be subjected to the guiding analytical framework constructed earlier, focusing on the spatial and the social attributes, where capturing the cognitive attribute could be challenging due to the absence of subjects. Nonetheless, as the resources were being reviewed, the information investigated have contributed to modifying and sharpening the analytical framework to ensure all the important elements have been covered for the final discussion.

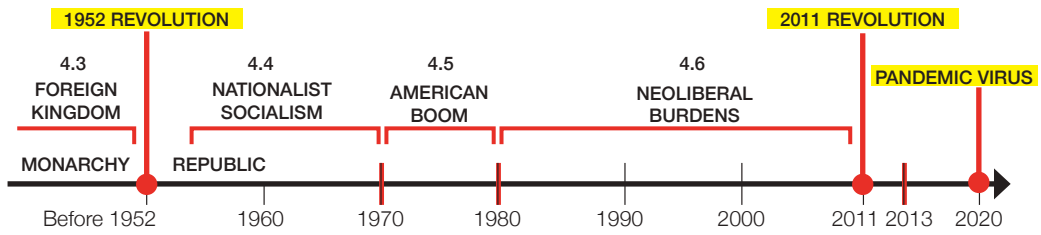

Figure 2.3: Timeline of major political transitions in Egypt and Cairo since 1952

2.2.2 Empirical Analysis: Case Study

Territorial functioning within Cairo is the hypothesized observation of the study. History's dossier taps into the probable background processes that contributed to the identified phenomenon. Meanwhile, an empirical assessment for the observed present is crucial to display and assess the current dynamics of territoriality within Cairo's urban environment. Both spheres are necessary to one another, and some how have been assessed concurrently and iteratively to build a momentum of understanding and identification.

A case study has been adopted with the specific requirements: recently emerging territories, hosting socio-economically different communities, visible from the typology of the built environment and the accompanied social aesthetic, and within close geographic proximity, where territorial function is visible and can be assessed. Accordingly, the location of New Cairo in the Eastern dessert of Cairo have been chosen. New Cairo is a relatively new extension of the capital, surfaced in the early 1990s with motives that have shifted while developing. Further background information will be discussed in the appointed section for the case study.

Figure 2.4: Location of territories for the study's case study in New Cairo

Four community territories have been selected in New Cairo, abiding by the identified classification, located in the intersection between the fifth settlement and the third settlement. They are identified with the following names: A. Tatweer Housing, B. 5th District Private Buildings, C. Katameya Heights, and D. Zelzal Emergency Housing. The methodology adopted to approach the case study is a phenomenological method, where the lived experiences of the 4 territories regarding the identified phenomenon will be investigated and described. This method of study allows for a culminated understanding of the nature and the dynamics of the phenomenon at hand (Creswell, 2014).

Three attributes will be investigated regarding the four community territories: 1) the development background information through desk research and interviewing involved experts, 2) field work to identify the spatial physical attributes of each territory, through mapping and observation, 3) and the social and cognitive attributes of each community through semi-structured interviews with a random sample of residents from each community.

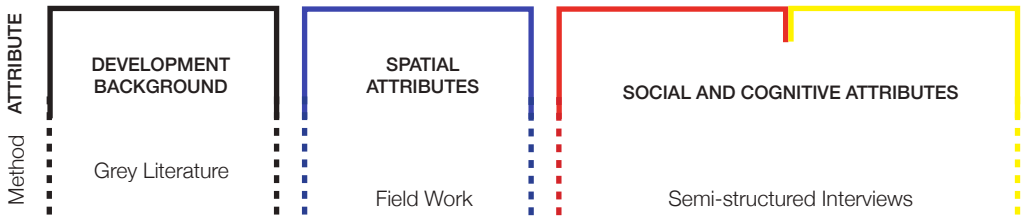

Figure 2.5: Assessed attributes for the selected case study.

2.2.3 Process and Limitations

The research process initially commenced with the sequence that the study has been laid out in, yet throughout the process, the revealed information dictated continuous iteration in the sequence of investigation. The iterative process, in fact, has been rather constructive in refining the approach of assessment, and configured a more wholesome understanding of the topic at hand. While initiating with the literature of the identified phenomenon was crucial to formulate the analytical framework, yet once the spheres of analysis were approached, the context and the subjects dictated modifications that grounded the analytical framework with reality.

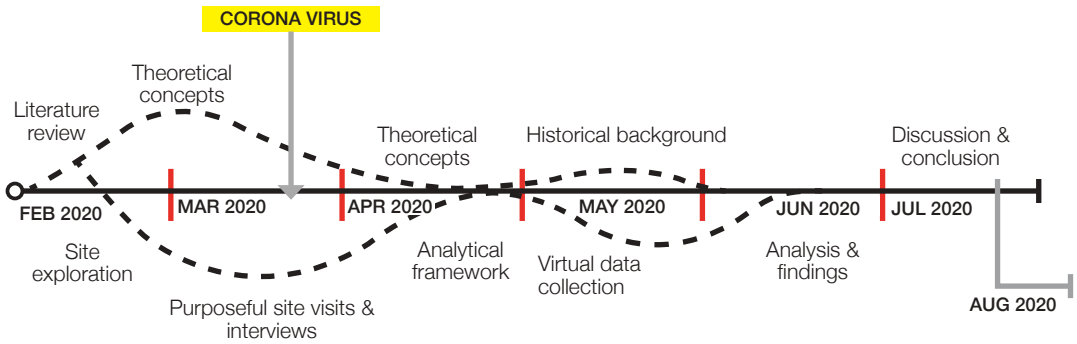

Figure 2.6: Timeline of research process

The limitations of the study are comprised in the nature of the study itself and partially the methodology. The study has an exploratory nature that dives into tangible and intangible fields of investigation. In reference to territorial functioning, as mentioned earlier, the study explores and correlates a spatial, social and cognitive dimension of Cairo's urban environment. The phenomenon of territoriality within societies, in addition, is a complex status that does not develop immediately, but upon a consecutive sequence of timely events. Therefore, the study does not only rely on an empirical assessment, but uprooting background processes in history, overlaid with the present status.

Upon which, the historical assessment requires exploring multiple formats of documentation to reveal the layered and complex background of history. Also, to avoid bias and singular perspectives in history. On the other hand, the empirical assessment had its own set of limitations, as a phenomenological study, while the spatial dimension is physically visible for assessment, the social and cognitive dimensions are not. They require approaching participants and allowing them the space and time to reveal information as intricate as possible regarding their status and perception of themselves and the other. In addition, avoiding my own bias in reading the meanings expressed from the participants was a challenge.

A particular remark on the world that was shaken due to the corona pandemic virus. It presented a challenge for the world, not only to myself as a researcher. It hindered possibilities of approaching participants for my empirical part of the study, even virtually, at least in the early stages, when all human beings were shook at the immensity of this virus, and the sudden halt the world had to encounter. Since the empirical assessment is structured in a phenomenological approach, having contact with the studied subjects was necessary to have semi-structured interviews discussing the studied phenomenon. Due to the urgency of the health situation, phone interviews were opted for instead, which even later became difficult to acquire the time from potential participants. Eventually, the deducted results enabled a potential format for an online questionnaire that was sent out to the target group, and the respondents where somewhat sufficient.

On the other hand, despite the complexities of the situation, a behavioural dimension of my studied subjects was revealed. Territorial boundaries in Cairo filters the society in desired communities, but the crisis redefined the boundaries. On one hand, they suddenly dissolved against one human race for survival, but on the other, vulnerable communities were further pushed away by edges of fear and a compromised economy. Also, new boundaries were erected in the name of individual self-care and sometimes cautious safety of the other. It is a situation that definitely redefines conceptions for the entire world.

3. Theoretical Concepts & Frameworks

3.1 Territoriality: From Instinct to Inhibition

The theory of territoriality have been discussed widely across many disciplines, this study adopts an urban and sociological lens. Upon which, the theory will be elaborated primarily through the literature of Iriwn Altman, Sidney Brower, Amos Rapoport, and Ralph Taylor. The following will emphasize the origin of the term, how is it defined among the aforementioned scholars, the drivers and the constituents of territoriality as a behaviour, from instinct to inhibition.

Origins, definition, and constituents

Territoriality is considered a natural instinctive behaviour to maintain and identify a controlled turf (Yeganeh & Kamalizadeh, 2018). The term was originally used in studies considered with birds and animals referencing the act of laying claim to land for survival purposes (Brower, 1980). Human beings, however, exhibited territoriality in a more complex behaviour, mostly due to the overriding cultural frameworks (Altman et al., 1980; Taylor et al., 1981; Rapoport, 2011). Altman et al. (1980) define human territoriality as “the relationship between an individual or group and a particular physical setting, that is characterized by a feeling of possessiveness, and by attempts to control the appearance and use of the space”.

Rapoport (2011) adds that there is a significant factor of identity that constitute territorial behaviour as well. Upon which arises the need to regulate social interactions based on familiarity, through adopting spatial separations to enable "predictable environments" (Brower, 1980). Human territoriality, accordingly, exhibits cognitions and behaviours of separation and control, that are fuelled by cultural sentiments. The dynamic of cultural sentiments in Cairo is central to the research for the studied phenomenon.

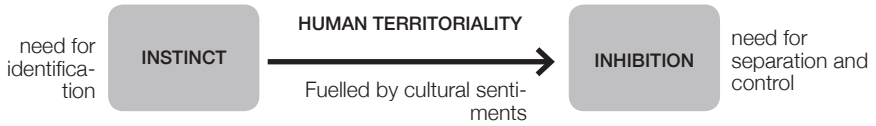

Figure 3.1: Human Territoriality from instinct to inhibition

Territoriality in Space

"Psychological well-being, feelings of security and safety act on people's attitudes, and the indicators of environmental psychology depend on the user's perception of space as territory (Newman, 1972; Grifford, 1997 as cited in Mahmoud, 2018, pg. 31). The identification of territories are based on psychological and social factors, and are defined in space using physical separations, and visual demarcations. The latter not only serves the purpose of identifying a territory, but also, cater for the desired control and security (Brower, 1980; Rapoport, 2011).

Brower (1980) explains that there is an accompanying perception of threat with territoriality, which individuals or the group tend to guard themselves from. Threat in this case, does not only constitute physical safety, but also the threat of a compromised individual or group culture. Perceptions of what one perceives as familiar in this case play an important role, where variances of opinions and perceptions could trigger territorial behaviour. The built environment, in this case, is the hosting space to mitigate sentiments of threat and utilize control measures, reflecting cognitive sentiments through spatial manifestations. The triggered territorial behaviours are, inevitably, contextually and culturally bound, henceforth the spatial composition can predict the background dynamic of the studied context.

Scales of Territories

There are different scales for territorial assessment. Earlier Altman (1975) classified territories between primary, secondary and public, based on the level and the personality of interaction. While Brower (1980) developed this classification to relate to planning and urban assessments, where he based the classification on the occupancy and control of space. Accordingly, he classified territories between personal, community, society, and free occupancy. The research, as mentioned earlier, attempts to uproot and examine territoriality within Cairo. Accordingly, adopts two consecutive scales; a wider scale of assessment while narrating and uprooting the historical background, which displays the scale of the entire society of Cairo and how it developed. Followed by, the smaller scale of assessment of community occupancy, which will be adopted in the case study.

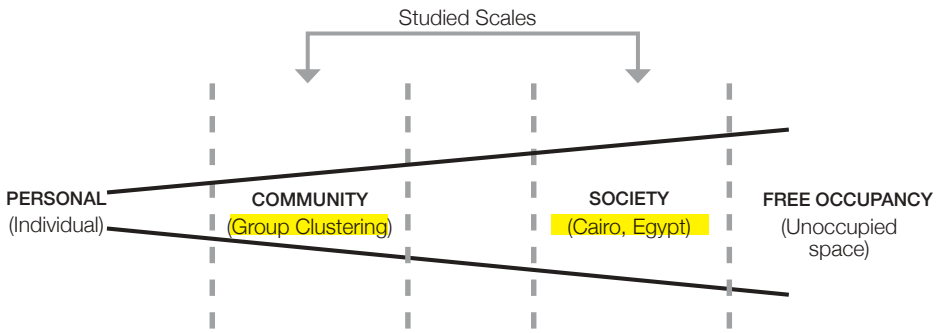

Figure 3.2: Scales of Territorial Assessment, adapted from Brower (1980)

Community Territories & Residential Neighbourhoods

In most contexts, residential neighbourhoods either comprise an agglomerated community, or establish a community. Thus residential neighbourhoods have an integral role on our cognitive social behaviour, where they affect the early lived experiences, contributing to "defining our daily activities, shaping our opportunity structures, and affecting our perceptions of the social world" (Krysan & Crowder, 2017, pg.42). In addition, the spatial features of residential neighbourhoods often indicate and contribute to the quality of life of its residents, in terms of affordability, their sense of safety, sense of ownership, level of integration or segregation within the surrounding environment (Sirgy

& Cornwell, 2002; Yeganeh & Kamalizadeh, 2018; Huang et al., 2019), among several other indicators . Community occupancy have thus been chosen as an indicative scale of analysis for the case study. As hypothesized, Cairo's society is disintegrating into clusters of community territories, with multiple factors of identification and social outlooks, which will be thoroughly exhibited further on.

Territorial Functioning

The set of behaviours that embody qualities of inhibited territoriality have been described by Taylor (1988) as 'territorial functioning'. The term is defined as "a closely linked constellation of place-specific, socially determined and influential cognitions, behaviours and sentiments... concerned with issues of personal and group identity, cohesiveness, control, access and ecological management" (pg. 1). This term is central to the analysis of the study, the key attributes identified to territorial functioning are geographic, social and cognitive attributes.

Geographically, it is context-specific, in addition to being responsive to physical alterations in space. Meaning, the composition of the geographic setting is directly correlated and representative of the harboured territorial cognitions and sentiments. Socially, territorial functioning is influenced by the social structure of the studied society, touching upon levels of integration and cohesion of the society. Cognitively, territoriality operates on sentiments that yield controlled environments, such as physical and identity safety, stability and familiarity, ownership and responsibility towards the space (Taylor, 1988; Huang et al., 2019). Different measures and practices are adopted to ensure the latter, upon which varying intensities of territorial behaviours are expressed.

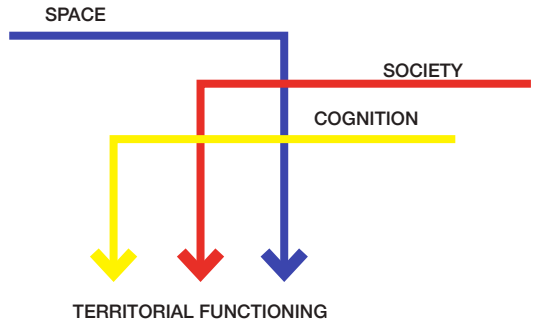

Figure 3.3: Constituents of Territorial Functioning

Taylor (1988) elaborates that territorial functioning have multiple consequences, but most likely an immediate effect on the "socio-physical ecology" of a space. Specifically, when there exist a deliberate intention of preserving or altering the social order of the given society .

Thus, the three attributes constitute influencing factors that interlink to produce territorial implications and erect tangible and intangible territorial boundaries. Upon which, space, society and cognition will be exhibited concurrently, through several platforms, to adjoin their loose ends and exhibit processes of territorial functioning within Cairo.

Territorial Boundaries

"Territoriality and boundaries are a fundamental part of social interaction—through means spoken and signalled, we negotiate our place in relation to others" (WRNS Studio, 2017, pg. 112). Territories, that are established based on territorial functioning, are emphasized within the society through tangible and intangible boundaries and limits. Thus, are often separated entities, not only physically but mentally. Territorial behaviour in itself acts as a "boundary between an individual and others… thus regulating social interaction" (Edney, 1974 as cited in Kinney et al., 1987).

The term 'boundary' here has been selected precisely for this argument because it denotes a physical and a mental attribute. Boundaries could exist psychologically between individuals due to prejudices and sentiments. Boundaries are drawn in the head, before they are drawn on the ground. Boundaries are drawn between sides when differences emerge as unbearable, thus marking territories stand as a resolution to control spaces and instil differentiation (Brighenti & Kärrholm, 2018). Territorial boundaries, henceforth, stand as an interface of communication between the two sides of the boundary; the conscious or subconscious will to separate or integrate.

The significance about urban boundaries and edges as Batty & Longely (1994) referenced, is that they withhold an "ambivalent role of dividing and connecting at the same time… mark the transition between different modes of existence… transmit and control exchange between territories. They are the play ground for discovery and conquest" (Richter and Peitgen, 1985, p.571-572).

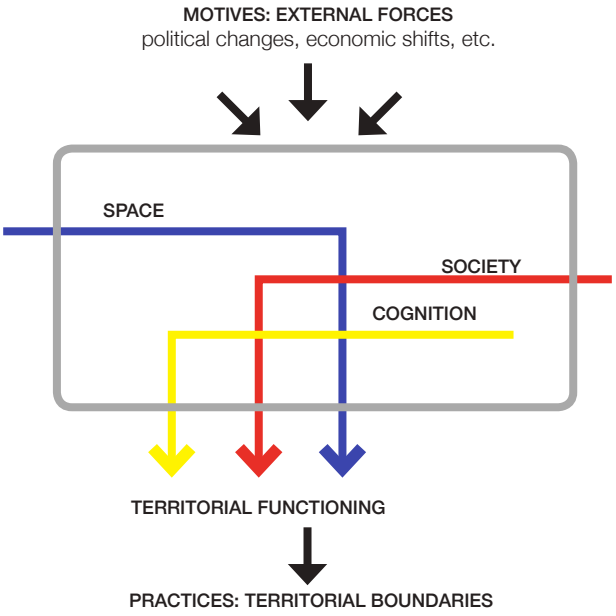

Figure 3.4: Motives and Practices of Territorial Functioning

Essentially, the city is constructed upon spatial differentiation and defining land uses using spatial divisions, but there are multiple ways to achieve the latter, the methods and reasons behind differentiation of spaces is the subject worth investigating (Sommer, 1969 as cited in Yeganeh & Kamalizadeh, 2018).

Whether affected by internal sentiments and psychological reasoning, or external forces, such as political changes, marketing techniques and cultural shifts, the practices and motives behind territorial boundaries, alongside their governing frameworks, constitute a pivotal part of this study.

Boundaries: between Integration and Segregation

Along the same line, territorial boundaries read through levels of urban integration or segregation within a given setting. On one hand they could induce sentiments of territoriality, when erected by either motivations of isolation from the society, or orchestrated by a governing authority to enforce social order (Sferrazza Papa, 2018; Huang et al., 2019). On the other hand, “interweaving of spatial subdivisions [spatial boundaries] in planned space enhances social interaction in all forms, and allows spatial/temporal factors to establish easy transitions from one role or usage zone to another” (Pfeiffer, 1980, pg. 43).

Territorial boundaries stand as a field of discovery, they constitute cognitive processes influenced by cultural and social conceptions, and manifest in space accordingly. They provide a viewing lens to the structure and dynamics of the studied urban society.

Territorial Functioning as an Analytical Concept

Essentially, territorial functioning is an action of differentiation and identification of self and space, thus the interdisciplinary discussion of space, society and cognition. As an analytical concept, it enables a field of assessment that articulates the observed urban realities that have been pointed at in Cairo, from urban expansion and fragmentation to a precarious, segregated internal dynamic of its society and their cognitive frameworks. Precisely, stressing on an intricate correlation between its three adjoining factors. Yet, before assessing this intricate correlation, a separate assessment of each factor will be discussed contextually.

Like a Tetris puzzle, each part has its own features that should be looked at separately to be able to predict and comprehend the final formation of the adjoined parts. Similarly, Cairo's territorial factors have their own features and their influencing role within the identified territorial dynamic. The following theoretical subsections will discuss the spatial, social, and cognitive status of Cairo's urban environment through theoretical concepts and global understanding, starting from the most tangible; space, to the least tangible; cognition.

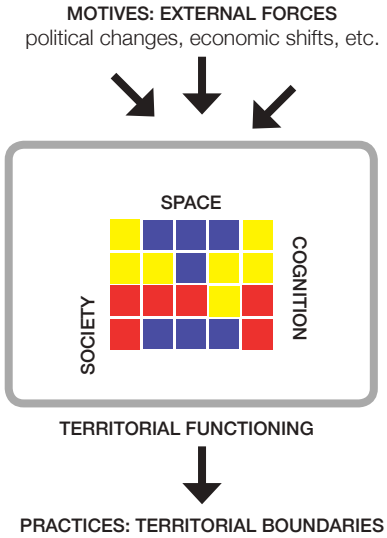

Figure 3.5: Tetris puzzle of Territorial Functioning

3.2 The City: Fragmented

The City as a Context

The built environment is defined through three settings: physical, social and interactional (Pfeiffer, 1980). What stands today as 'the city' is the product of urban dynamics upon agglomerating populations, primarily out of economic attractiveness (Loibl et al., 2018). The spatial evolution of cities have had a remarkable imprint on our world, visibly re-identifying the composition of our spaces and the aesthetic of our lives, in addition to our social and interactional behaviours.

Literature have articulated the dominance of the 'urban age', where more than half of the world's population currently reside in cities (Brenner & Schmid, 2013). Understanding cities, as a complexity of our modern age, have been the subject of urban studies, David Shane (2005) highlights that the contemporary city is "a chaotic situation of competing systems, which has an emergent logic of its own, produced by different actors designing systems across vast territories…each adding their own system as a new layer" (Sudradjat, 2012). Upon which, spatiality constitute a major factor in human behavioural processes such as that of territorial functioning.

Fragmentation

Among the multifaceted phenomena that emerged with neoliberal urbanization is the overarching phenomenon of fragmentation. Striking many cities of the world, it appears to be the result of "the disparity between the connectivity of global networks and relationships and the disconnectedness on a local level" (Harrison 2003, 15 as cited in Deffner & Heorning, 2011 pg. 5). A phenomenon that most likely reciprocate with urban expansion, where cities and expanding metropolitan areas grow in "disconnected patches of urban fabric broken up by swathes of vacant land" (Angel et al., 2012). Similarly, Cairo has geographically expanded for the past 60 years into what is referred to now as a "fragmented metropolis" (Yousry and Mekawy, 2012; Mohamed et al., 2014; Mohamed, 2015). The following subsection will theoretically discuss fragmentation as a defining feature of Cairo's spatial attribute of territorial functioning.

Etymology and definition

Fragmentation, as a term, in the field of urban research seems to acquire overlapping descriptions (Deffner & Heorning, 2011; Maturano, 2014), but a prioritized discourse in agendas of public administration and urban planning (Michelutti, 2010). The ambiguity resides yet in whether it is a new socio-spatial structure of cities, or is it representative of a complex transitional process that cities in expansion are faced with today (Deffner & Heorning, 2011). Etymologically and descriptively, it is, however, agreed that it is a phenomenon that encapsulate socio-spatial attributes within a ruptured non-unitary performance of the city (Soja, 2000 as cited in Maturano, 2014; Deffner & Heorning, 2011).

Descriptive and most relevant definition of urban fragmentation to Cairo's context is Michelutti's working term, where he specifically identifies a global south fragmented city. He elaborates that the latter appears as "a whole of socio-spatial fragments that can be visualized through the image of the mosaic and/or archipelago of pieces of territory, through separated or unbundled networks, through different approaches and uses of places, through contrasting scalar dynamics… that shape the structure of the city" (Michelutti, 2010, p.344).

Fragmentation in Cairo emerged with its expanding geography, this expanding geography was orchestrated by separated directions of development from formal to informal, public to private, eventually surfacing a patchwork of development. Meanwhile, insisting on keeping the connection to the core of the city, the development of the city's extents has been complemented with a massive network of infrastructure. As connecting this network is, it aesthetically and spatially fragments the city into parts, with physical boundaries, eventually restructuring accustomed modes of mobility. Thus, the fragmented expansion of Cairo has been an influencing factor to territorial functioning.

Fragmentation: Origins

Tracing back the appearance of the phenomenon of fragmentation, it appears to have emerged alongside structural processes of change in cities, that occurred following the second World War (Mommaas, 1996; Altınok & Cengiz, 2008). The significant structural changes were a corresponding socio-spatial adjustment to "a globalizing change in economic and political conditions" (Mommaas, 1996, pg. 215). Altınok & Cengiz (2008) highlighted the major transformations that unravelled fragmented cities were:
1) unprecedented agglomeration of population in cities leading to the need for geographic expansion, 2) new settlements criteria based on functional diversity and catering for diverse social classes, 3) the introduction of transportation vehicles altered the pedestrian structure of the city and induced larger space coverage. What has been a revolutionary uprise of post war modernization (Mommaas, 1996), resulted with inevitable socio-spatial changes. The parallel geographic fragmentation and social disintegration, emphasized disconnection and introduced new forms of segregation (Mommaas, 1996; Deffner & Heorning, 2011).

Types of Fragmentation

Due to the overarching attribute of urban fragmentation, there are several approaches to assessing the phenomenon. Of which is Navez-Bouchanine's four approaches to fragmentation, which are societal, physical-spatial, socio-spatial, and political (Navez-Bouchanine, 2002 b, as cited in Deffner & Heorning, 2011). The first indicates the assessment of a societal phenomenon, where new formations of societal groups emerge. Where as the second and the third, the authors elaborate, tackle geographic attributes in correlation to social structures, most likely evident through analysing social daily practices in space. The forth approach highlights an assessment of power relations in the production of space. The second and the third approach are the ones adopted for this study due to their correspondence to territorial assessment, and visible in Cairo's urban landscape. Nonetheless, the political aspect is highly intertwined, where the political agendas for the past 60 years of Cairo have had a direct impact on the approach and intensity of urban expansion of the capital.

Socio-Spatial [and political] Effects

Fragmentation present a "society of archipelagos [that] produce intertwining to different spaces and it gives an increased visibility to the differences, the convolutions and the communitarianism of all kinds" (Prévôt, 2001 as cited in Maturano, 2014). It is clear that fragmentation entails parallel spatial and social attributes, identified with discontinuity. Spatially, fragmentation produce a dis-integrated urban fabric, caused by "the subdivisonal planning processes detached from the entirety of the city" (Altınok & Cengiz, 2008, pg. 3). Some fragments, even, are accentuated using physical boundaries, such as that of gated communities, producing "extraterritorial spaces beyond public management and control (Goix, 2003; Coy, 2006 as cited in Altınok & Cengiz, 2008, pg. 5). In addition to stigmatized ghettos and informal areas, that are often socio-spatially excluded, through cultural and often physical boundaries.

This dis-integration inevitably produce segregated communities and growing cultural isolation (Deffner & Heorning, 2011; Link, 2008 as cited in Maturano, 2014). The governing political frameworks, in fact, often facilitate the spatial subdivision of the city in a specific pattern, Harvey (2006) elaborates "the clash of different powers, e.g. economic and political, generates uneven geographic development, (as cited in Beyazit, 2013). In addition to what is being promoted by interest groups in positions of power, such as market-driven economies, induce aspirations and direct progress and development towards a specific direction of interest, regardless the yielded consequences. Cairo is no stranger for the latter, where the planning frameworks of Cairo have been analysed to assert socio-spatial differentiation (Denis, 1997), from socialist public development, to market oriented development, serving the ruling political and economic agenda at the time.

Fragmentation and Territorial Functioning

Territorial functioning express an identification and differentiation of space and identity through instilling physical and mental boundaries. Spatial fragmentation, as such, is one embodiment of territorial functioning. It instils urban breakage and assert territorial boundaries, if not induce them. That which have proved to impede social cohesion and the collective sense of identity. Upon which, social segregation appears to be a concurrent phenomenon to spatial fragmentation, through establishing separated environments and groups. How the urban society evolve and respond to the latter, is the subject of the following subsection, where the constructs of an urban society, and the drivers of segregation within a heterogeneous society of a city, such as that of Cairo, will be exhibited.

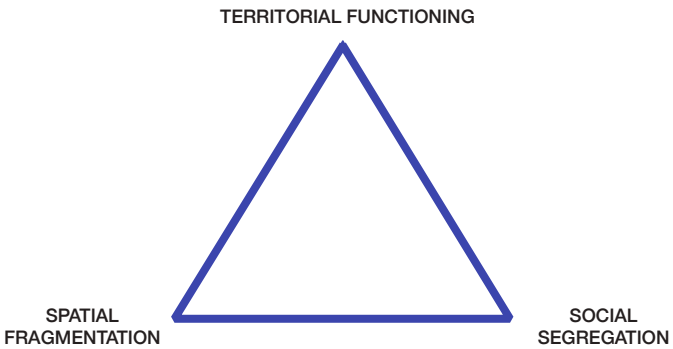

Figure 3.6: Correlation between Territorial Functioning, Spatial Fragmentation and Social Segregation

3.3 The Urban Society: Segregated

This section expands, lengthily, on sociological concepts that are primarily foreign to my educational background, but essential for the study at hand; the social constructs of societies and the concurrent dynamics of social structure and change within the city. This is due to the pivotal role of understanding societal dynamics to approach the peculiarities of the assessed urban realities of Cairo.

The Society

The society is the collective reality, as Durkheim states, of a group of people that represent structured relationships associated to a political territory, that is the nation state (Giddens and Sutton, 2007 as cited in Thompson, 2017). Transitioning into the 'urban age' have had an impact on the composition and the identification of what have become an urban society. More likely expanding the identification of the society from its defining political territory to a more global culture. Wirth (1969) stresses upon "the influences which cities exert upon the social life", where "the city is . . . the initiating and controlling center of economic, political, and cultural life that has drawn the most remote parts of the world into its orbit and woven diverse areas, peoples, and activities into a cosmos" (as cited in Brenner & Schmid, 2013, pg. 8). Oscillating between global dynamics and local contingencies, the urban society have developed its own set of dynamics while inhabiting the city. That which will be exhibited in the historical assessment of Cairo, alongside the transitional political forces that have affected the formation of the Egyptian the society as such.

Social Structure and Social Change

Before diving into interpreting the urban society and culture, the following will establish the basic sociological concepts of social structure and social change for myself foremost, as an urban researcher, and the reader as well. Social structure, in the field of sociology, is defined as "the distinctive, stable arrangement of institutions whereby human beings in a society interact and live together" (Wilterdink & Form, 2018, pg.1). The authors elaborate that there is an established correlation between the concept of social structure and social change, which constitute the forces that alter the structure and organization of the society. The study of both concepts interpret the dynamic and order, as Giddens highlight, of any given society. It is vital to highlight, as well, that social life

is ordered “along the dimensions of time and space” (Wilterdink & Form, 2018, pg.1), meaning, the reference of the time period of Cairo’s historical assessment and the overarching context is necessary. Thus, the research will explore a historical background to uproot the transitions and changes along the “time and space” of Cairo.

Emile Durkheim and George P. Mudrock can be traced for some basic principles regarding social structure. The following have been put forward; “1) social relations are not arbitrary, 2) social life is composed of groups and institutions that are interdependent, 3) individual choices are affected by social environment” (Wilterdink & Form, 2018, pg.2). It appears that social relations and the composition of groups within the society is a normative composition to any given society, perhaps the question then becomes: on what basis groups formulate and what principles of differentiation govern their social relations?

Further authors and thinkers have discussed how societies structure based on dominating factors in the city that dictate social order. Sociologist Talcot Parsons explains that social structure is based on inherited norms and morals of actors in the society, and vary according to the different spheres of life. Meanwhile, sociologist Robert K. Merton elaborates that there is a dominant role of power structures in determining the social structure of a society, that which could result in inequalities. Karl Marx is an advocate of the latter, where he states “The ideas of the ruling class are, in every age, the ruling ideas” (as cited in Wilterdink & Form, 2018, pg. 4). Marx’s model complies with capitalist societies, where he emphasizes that the political and economic structure of the city has determined the social structure of the urban society, deemed with inequality.

Anthony Giddens, on the other hand, articulates the theory of ‘structuration’ as a concurrent process of social action and interaction between human agency and the existing social structure of the society (Lord Giddens, 2012). In which, human agency, particularly reflexive agents, represents the micro perspective of ‘free will’ and the effect of an individual on a group, where as the social structure represents the macro existing order within which the individual is expected to behave. Giddens emphasizes that only by understanding the relationship between the introduced cultures and the existing structure of the society, in addition to the expressed behaviours, can one understand the

basis of a social structure in a given society. Since, inherently, social structures are socially constructed (Giddens as cited in Traub, 2016), while politically and economically asserted, according to Marx. Upon which, the basis of differentiation in social structures is an entry point of understanding causes of territorial functioning and expressions of territoriality.

Seeking the City

Metropolitan regions, such as that of Cairo, came to existence as "sociospatial systems addressing activity and interest sharing of urban actors" (Loibl et al., 2018, pg. 30). The stark growth and expansion of the latter, acknowledged by the United Nations in the 1980s (Brenner & Schmid, 2013), is primarily due to the influx of population to cities, under the promise of opportunity of the roaring urban life. Loibl et al. (2018) explain that there exist several theories of urban immigration, yet they focus on three different spheres adopted from Bogue (1969); an economic sphere, a living condition sphere, and a social sphere. From an economic perspective, the authors elaborate, the city harbours employment opportunities with better salaries, accessibility to resources and goods, facilitated by accessible commuting. This theory aligns with discussions of Harvey and Castells regarding the driving economic foundation of capitalist cities of today (Fox, 2017).

The living condition and social spheres account for the elevated quality of residential neighbourhoods and infrastructure provided in cities, the supporting services that are present, in addition to the growing social circles that accommodate similar cultures or enable heterogeneity. The three immigration spheres potentially represent the spheres where social change is introduced, through economy, housing and living condition, and social status.

Urban Culture

The city represent the "defining institution" of the evolving urban society (Fox, 2017, pg. 1). The 'urban age' unfolded a new culture, composed of a set of behavioural patterns, based on the emerging dynamic of the city. The magnitude of urban culture oscillates between the debate regarding whether the city adopts a central role in emanating its local traditions and culture to the global discourse, or acts as a vessel that formulates a new 'urban' culture.

In “The Cultural Role of Cities” by Redfield and Singer, the authors argue that both cultural roles exist, where classic empires turning into ‘global’ cities such as that of Delhi beacons their culture to the world, where as, cosmopolitan cities such as New York are vessels for urban heterogeneity, and centers for “technical and economic change”, reproducing urban cultures to the world (Fox, 2017, pg. 3). Urban culture appears to be the product of global dynamics and local constructs, through “internal differentiation of functions of localities, superimposed on the universal functions (Leeds, 1979, pg. 229), depending on its defining city.

Urban Society and Community

Prior to looking into human organizations in cities, Robert park in the ‘Human Ecology’ presented how human beings adjust to their surrounding environment, and organize within a dichotomy between communities and societies (Lyon & Driskell, 2011). Before elaborating on the latter, defining community for this discussion is noteworthy as have the society been defined in previous paragraphs.

Community is a term that have witnessed several meanings, yet the round up of meanings that was built on in American sociology was expressed by Robert Park (1936) and Goerge Hillery Jr. (1955) (as cited in Lyon & Driskell, 2011, pg. 5). The authors defined communities as a group of people, geographically rooted, adopting a “totality of attitudes and a common life style”, and sharing common possessions. Referring back to Park’s statement on human organizations, he elaborates that, on one hand organizing in communities express a human’s nature need for supremacy, whereby exhibiting a competitive nature between groups. On the other hand, societies formulate to reflect a collective consensus of purpose among social groups, the latter occurs upon interactive relations between communities.

Concurrent to the evolution of cities, however, research have portrayed human organizations transitioning from the decline of community groupings to the rise of mass society (Lyon & Driskell, 2011, pg.12). The re-composition of human organizations within cities have been a central subject of research since the 1950s and 1960s, primarily referenced to industrial modernist scapes, as Louis Wirth (1938) in “Urbanism as a Way of Life” have emphasized on the emerging urban societies.

Mommaas (1996) elaborates, however, that the concepts of modernism and post-modernism have been revisited in the 1980s, centered around the socio-spatial evolution of urban life and the restructuring of its societies. In fact, the recent research on the socio-spatial effects of the urban life have witnessed societies decomposing back into closed communities due to several dynamics that will be elaborated in the following.

Looking at cities of the present day, prominently referred to as post-war industrialist, post-modernist, neoliberal cities, we find that its urban societies are defined with complex and conflicting realities. In parallel to cosmopolitan connectivity and the "web of economic security woven out of industrial regulation" (pg.1), social foundations have been revolutionized (Beck et al., 2003). The established characteristics of the present urban society have been identified with anonymity, heterogeneity, and impersonality, among several others (Redfield, 1940 as cited in Fox, 2017; Beck et al., 2003; Mondal, 2014).

On the other hand, Mommas (1996) points out at a rising 'anxiety' towards cultural identity (pg. 196), a topic that discusses the "'modern imaginary' [of the society]... the binary opposition between the Self and the Other" (Sayegh, 2008, pg. 1). Moreover, the association of exclusionary practices and marginality due to economic disparities (Harvey, 1989 as cited in Mommas, 1996) leading to socio-spatial segregation as an "undeniable urban reality" (Vaughan & Arbaci, 2011, pg. 128).

The identified features are intricately woven, yet conflicting; connectivity versus impersonality, heterogeneity versus identity crisis, economic boom vs disparity. Features that have fuelled the urge for closed community cultures, and psychological distance despite the close proximity in space (Krook, 2014), decomposing the once predominant mass society of the city. The following discussions will focus on two distinct features of urban societies, fairly visible in Cairo; anxious heterogeneity and socio-spatial segregation.

Heterogeneity against 'Us vs. Them'

The city at a moment in time became the magnetic pole for populations and diverse communities, fore-running what is known now as the 'urban age' (Brenner & Schmid, 2013). The cosmopolitan era invited all people without particular regulations but the will and the energy to ride on an industrialist

economic wave; from blue-collar workers and white-collar workers, to the more recent high-tech and creative industries. Population movements were not only rural-urban, but global as well, which inevitably put together different cultures in close proximity giving rise to the mass society, referred to earlier (Lyon & Driskell, 2011, pg.12). Heterogeneity became a defining feature of cities, as referenced earlier, exposing people to wider cultures, and even allowing the space for differences and subcultures to emerge (Fischer, 1975 as cited in Korte, 1980). Globalization, beyond economy, became a culture that promoted for heterogeneity and 'global citizens', that many were seeking.

On the other hand, while globalization has overtaken the world with the virtue of connectivity and borderless flow of almost everything from ideas, to economy, to human beings, it paved the way for pernicious power structures to assemble (Mommaas, 1996; Bremmer, 2018). In fact this was clear in a macro scale between developed countries exploiting resources from under developed countries, and on a meso scale within countries where many citizens anticipated that globalism favoured the few elites, prompting "the watchword inequality" (Bremmer, 2018, ch.1). Socio-economic disparities arose conflicts that retracted the masses into forming groups for solidarity (Vaughan & Arbaci, 2011) and subconsciously activating the psychology of safe-guarding the identity with the conception of 'Us vs. them' (Rad, 2010).

Krook (2014) elaborates on the concept of 'Us vs Them' that with the vastness of cities and its population, people tend to psychologically form clusters of social circles based on their own definition of similarity. Yet, similarities are still social constructs upon which people identify themselves and the different other. In fact, this concept could be the psychological elaboration of the sense of territoriality among human beings. Pfeiffer (1980) puts forward the discussion of territoriality as a regulator for socio/spatial interaction, where he explains "We Territories" as spaces defined by "invisible but implicit boundaries" (pg. 49). Which means it is a status of differentiation expressed socially and spatially for several different reasons.

Eventually, this self, or group, identification construct a sense of "indifference and hostility" towards the other (Krook, 2014, pg. 7). Gradually social groups retract to the earlier definition of homogeneous communities, with similar identifications and interests, yet problematically closed off from the

rest of the society. The latter systematically results with urban segregation as a socio-spatial feature in cities, governed by multiple dynamics, that essentially embody group distinction and separation.

Urban Segregation

Urban Segregation is defined as a multidisciplinary phenomenon of socio-spatial isolation among social groups within a society (as cited in Schnell & Benjamini, 2001; Vaughan & Arbaci, 2011). It is a phenomenon that is governed by multiple dynamics from political and economic urban changes, to societal changes. In addition, it prevails implications that are visible in the city, through clear spatial divisions, as well as social clustering of groups (Krook, 2014). A crucial point raised about the phenomenon of segregation, is that it should be examined whether the segregated group willingly isolated itself, or was forced into hiding through stigmatization or economic and political constraints (Vaughan & Arbaci, 2011). The latter will be considered as a point of analysis in the studied context.

Segregation is not only visible in residential settlements but also in other aspects of life in the city, such as public interaction and services offered (Schnell & Benjamini, 2001). Vaughan & Arbaci (2011) elaborate that communities can experience "both a highly spatialized as well as a highly transpatial formation" (pg. 133) independent of space. For it is a status that stems from social processes, and feeds the need to maintain social networks (Krysan & Crowder, 2017).

However, residential segregation constitute a bigger factor, where evidently "people's residences in relation to their immediate neighbours may tend to determine their lifeworlds, identities, and life chances" (Schnell & Benjamini, 2001, pg. 623). Upon which, Vaughan & Arbaci (2011) emphasize that to unravel causes of segregation, analysis must uproot the basis through which groups identify differences among themselves, the principles of their governing social structure, and the external dynamics of the city as well. The case study of this research accordingly adopts the scale of residential settlements as an outlook that represents one's social identity and lifestyle, and act as a basis of differentiation within Cairo.

The implications of urban segregation are multi-fold. The boundaries erected between the different communities impede exposure and collective solidarity. Closed communities, as mentioned earlier, are not only isolated spatially, but transpatially as well in matters and services of life in the city. The emergence of gated residences against isolated informal areas, and the "bubble cultures" (Krook, 2014, ch.1) in between, construct socio-spatial boundaries between the different communities of the society. The resulting limited exposure to homogeneous networks and behaviours constrains social mobility and opportunity in the city (Krysan & Crowder, 2017) as well as social empathy (Krook, 2014).

The resulting "everyday constraints of integration" (Vaughan & Arbaci, 2011, pg.132) obstructs "the willingness of members of the society to cooperate, to survive and prosper" (Stanley, 2003, pg. 8), which eventually leads to social conflicts (Bremmer, 2018).

Discussions on resolving segregation call for, primarily, underlying the social structures that construct social differentiation among the society, as to address the phenomenon at its core (Vaughan & Arbaci, 2011; Bremmer, 2018). Where different contexts often acquire different social constructs that instil psychological boundaries between groups. Upon which boundaries of social networks and spaces are drawn with varying rigidity and flexibility.

The Role of Public Space

In attempt to deter the rigid boundaries between groups, there have been several propositions to address the tangible and intangible drivers through space. Krook (2014) encouraged examining socio-spatial dynamics to identify surgical points of intervention to facilitate group exposure and multi-dimensional integration, commonly through shared spaces like marketplaces. Public/ Shared space "allows its users to define and understand themselves and others with whom they share the space through the space itself, in socio/spatial terms" (Pfeiffer, 1980, pg.37) . In Vaughan & Arbaci (2011), in addition, referenced the important role of public space, where it could stand as a potential site to facilitate "meaningful everyday contact" (pg. 134). Group exposure enables the acknowledgment of others, and initiates a conversation from where the city can be negotiated and its possibility of integration.

Integration

One can not argue segregation as an urban calamity without discussing its advocated counterparts; integration and social cohesion (Deffner & Heorning, 2011, pg. 4). Urban integration has been viewed in recent discourses as the solution to the complex interweaved urban problems (Pickett et al., 2004; Macrorie & Marvin, 2018), one of which is the "overall development of socio-economic relations" (as cited in Milojevic, 2018, pg. 324). Integration is a multi-disciplinary concept and process, yet with a common understating based on a "conceptualised, (re-)organised and governed 'nested system of systems', characterised by a variety of functional, ecological, technological, economic and political inter-linkages" (Macrorie & Marvin, 2018, pg. 5). The authors here, primarily elaborate on ecological and technological frameworks that they are proposing, yet the definition they construct is based on contemporary urban research. The purpose of integration, inevitably, is to weave the complex separated urban systems into a holistic system that addresses the entirety of the urban dynamic, to eradicate the casualties of the isolated functions of the city. This further highlights the fact that social problems in the city are closely intertwined to the entire dynamics and functions of the city, thus could be healed through the city as well.

Leeds (1979) elaborate that each urban society has its own socio-spatial structure, upon which, different forms of societal and spatial integration processes are required to address the specifics of each society. In addition, any proposed integrative frameworks are bound to political and economic decisions for implementation (Macrorie & Marvin, 2018), where "horizontal inter-sectoral integration, [as well as] vertical integration related to planning at various spatial and governance levels" would be crucial (as cited in Milojevic, 2018, pg. 324). Integration, in this argument, act as a tool to deter socio-spatial segregation processes that stem from the need for social differentiation and resulting lack of social cohesion. Nonetheless, within societal frictions, integration has to be proceeded with unravelling core patterns of differentiation that should be initially tackled, to avoid enforced integration that could potentially lead to more resentment.

Social Cohesion

Judith Maxwell (1996) states that social cohesion "involves building shared values and communities of interpretation, reducing disparities in wealth and income, and generally enabling people to have a sense that they are engaged in a community enterprise, facing shared challenges, and that they are members of the same community" (as cite in Stanley, 2003, pg. 7). There are five dimensions that Jane Jenson (1998) have identified based on the evolving principle of de Toqueville and Durkheim (as cite in Stanley, 2003, pg. 7). They constitute 3 spheres: social involvement, political involvement, and economic involvement, which elaborates that social cohesion operates on multiple dimensions of the surrounding environment. Deffner & Heorning (2011) highlight that cities of today produce and reproduce social cohesion in new forms, based on the governing dynamics of the city, and that it is vital to analyse the "forms of association and dissociation" that coexist in the city (pg. 12).

Looking back at global-local dynamics of cities that have been identified earlier in the neoliberal urban age, features such as segregation, economic disparities and hostility towards 'the other' are often exhibited. All are somehow interconnected resulting in the urban phenomenon of non-cohesive societies. Bremmer (2018) elaborated how conflicts arise between the different groups in cities, because they can feel how globalism have failed them in favouring only specific groups of the society. This is a subject of equitable distribution (Narayan et al., 2000; Stanely, 2003; Bremmer, 2018), where, as Stanley (2003) explains, "the willingness to cooperate" as members of the society require the actual capacity to do so (pg. 8). Stanley (2003) further elaborates that an operational model for social cohesion and reciprocal social outcomes, fundamentally constitute equitable resource distribution.

However, there is another vital aspect to social cohesion other than equitable distribution, that which asserts for tolerance towards diversity. It has been repeatedly highlighted that social cohesion does not imply sharing similar values between social groups, in fact, cohesion is ideally exercised in heterogeneous societies where diversity is incorporated and welcomed (Narayan et al.,

2000; Stanely, 2003). Deffner & Heorning (2011) explain how “subtle exclusionary practices” (pg. 9) emerge from the stigmatization of ghettos, instilling ideas of segregation and derogatory group differentiation. On the other hand, superior differentiation through isolating from urban neoliberal disparities in gated communities (Roitman, 2005) to maintain their privileged financial status and aesthetic. Thus exercising exclusion through superior-inferior differentiation.

Multi-dimensional integrative frameworks can indeed facilitate both aspects, equitable distribution and tolerance through socio-spatial exposure and proximity, feeding into societal cohesion. Narayan et al. (2000) elaborately assert that social cohesion does not only retrieve emotional solidarity and “successful social processes” (Stanely, 2003, pg. 10) within the society, but practically as well “state level, cohesive societies are likely to be more efficient and more capital-rich, and hence more productive” (pg. 175). Integrative frameworks, however, require local assessment to address the specifics of the context in question.

3.4 Cognition, Behaviour, and the City

The behaviours and interactions expressed by the society defines the core of the 'social', as Georg Simmel asserts (Krieken, 2016). Simmel explains that the society is but a web of interactions, and that one needs to look deeper into the connections and interactions between one another, upon which social forms are configured (Krieken, 2016). The expressed behaviours, in any given context, account for the intangible aspects of urban dynamics that reflect through the social life and forms of the society. Behaviours are orchestrated by cognitions, the third and final attribute to territorial functioning. This section taps into behavioural sciences and social psychology, to elaborate, for myself foremost and the reader, this intangible attribute that will be approached in the study.

Cognition and Behaviours

Cognition encapsulate, in simple words, "the mental processes involved in gaining knowledge and comprehension" (Cherry, 2019), the science of the mind, as Portugali, (2011) states. Portugali (2011) explains that cognitive science emerged in the 1950s as a counter study that negates that behaviours are solely affected by external factors. The study of cognition asserts that internal works of the mind do affect our behaviours in any given environment. Aaron Beck in the 1960s developed Cognitive Behavioural Therapy, one of its pivotal components is the cognitive triangle (McLeod, 2019). The cognitive triangle elaborates the cyclical process of our thoughts, feelings and behaviour.

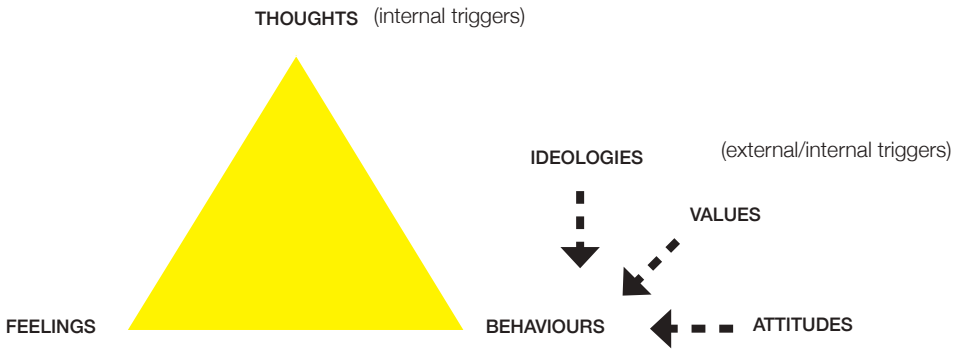

Figure 3.7: Aaron Beck's Cognitive triangle, adapted from McLeod (2019), with an addition of Maio et al. (2006) influencing psychological constructs.

Furthermore, Maio et al. (2006) explain that behaviours are "influenced by three psychological constructs: ideologies, values and attitudes" (pg. 284). The authors further elaborate that psychological constructs are normally formed through several influences, from upbringing, media, experiences and exposure to cultural differences. Inevitably, ideologies, values and attitudes, "influence people's participations and their feelings of connection with society" (pg. 300). The latter associates with Beck's cognitive triangle, both implicating the weight of inner thoughts, reciprocated with external influences of the environment, both concurrently construct perceptions that inevitably affect expressed behaviours. Similarly, territorial cognitions yield territorial behaviours and effect their intensity (Taylor, 1988; Huang et al., 2019).

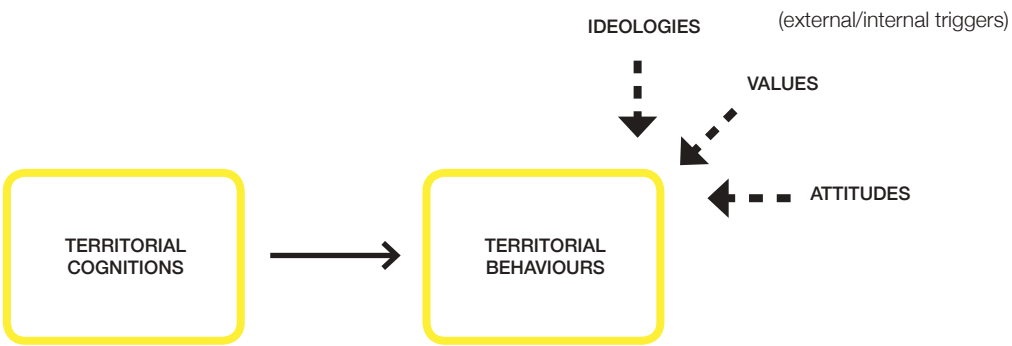

Figure 3.8: Territorial Cognitions & Behaviours

Cognition and the City

The city, and its urban society as per the earlier subsection, have exhibited complex behaviours tangled between the evolving cognition of its society and the containing urban environment; the "swift and continuous shift of external and internal stimuli" (Simmel, 1995, pg.30). Between cognition and the city, a pendulum of behaviours oscillate through an evolving urban society.

This implies that the expressed behaviours in urban settings are affected by two forces; inner cognitive forces of the society that are derived from prejudices of individual cultures, as Redfield and Singer implied in "The Cultural Role of Cities", infused with the surrounding stimulus of the city (Hayes & Wilson, 1995; Portugali, 2011). As well as, the external forces from the surrounding

composition of the city (Durkheim as cited in Wilterdink & Form, 2018, pg.2) in terms of its governing political and economic frameworks (Mommaas, 1996). The following will exhibit, first, the influence of the city on behaviours, and second, the cognitive meanings, encapsulated by the society, that are transmitted through the city.

"The Burden of Space"

While the city as a phenomenon has been growing profusely, multiple studies started paying attention to the altered behaviours of societies associated to this growth. Urban residents experienced noticeable shifts in social interactions, building up to changes in social structures in a given society. In his article on 'Social Interaction and Urban Space', James O. Wheeler (1971) put forward some obstructions that the city has bestowed upon its residents. First is what he stated as "the burden of space", where the geographic expanse of the city becomes a burden. Transportation facilities do not necessarily cover the entire expanse of the city, and even when it is covered, it exposes residents to time and money expenditure, that eventually "impose barriers between all its residents" in terms of social contact and affordability (Wheeler, 1971, pg.201).

The discourse on transportation brings about the point of the different modes of transportation, and how they either facilitate or deter social contact. From public transportation, to private vehicles, te Brömmelstroet et al. (2017, pg. 2) imply how each mode "offer radically different levels of interaction potential" with not only social networks, but the space as well. Public transportation offers a wider range of societal exposure, in contrast to private vehicles, where one is confined to their small space as a transitional point, rather than an experience. Similar is the case of Cairo, yet public transportation in Cairo is a whole discussion by itself, over burdened with the number of population and lack of maintenance. Citizens who have the financial capability opt for private vehicles, not only to avoid the hectic experience of Egyptian public transportation, but often also as a means to isolate from the city and its public.

The discourse further developed towards the scale of studying contextual behavioural alterations due to the different identities and needs of societies. Precisely focusing on the global south, as in for the case of Cairo, where "large conurbations are being relentlessly planned without the feeblest consideration of the people who actually build and inhabit them" (Cassen, etal, 2005 as cited in Khana, 2015). Further highlighting the intricate process of expanding geographies of cities and the encompassing shifts in societal behaviours.

Social Status

Second obstruction, identified by Wheeler (1971) is "status", where spatial organization in neighbourhoods is arranged to differentiate socio-economic class differences, leading to intensified "neighbourhood barriers" to minimize social contact among different classes (Wheeler, 1971, pg.201;). Duncan, Strauss and Giddens, also confirm with the latter, where "class differences are expressed in and communicated through the manipulation of a range of settings" (as cited in, Lawrence & Low, 1990, pg. 467). This, in fact, questions the planning processes of housing settlements in cities and the visions that are carried out.

Altered Social Interactions

Lefebvre (1991) implied that "spatiality can be said to produce our social interactions, while being constantly influenced itself by the socio-political constructs of the inhabitants" (Khanna, 2015). Korte (1980) dove into altered social interaction between urban residents and specific groups: relatives, friends, neighbours and strangers. He exhibited the theories of Wirth (1938), Milgram (1970), and Fischer (1975), where an array of different hypotheses regarding the implications of the city on social interactions and their causes are displayed. Wirth (1938) identified that the spatial organization of the city, regarding its density, size and the heterogeneity of the population, does influence behaviours towards social differentiation.

Milgram (1970) presented the psychological implication of the intense lifestyle of the city, which forces the society to adopt coping strategies to manage their daily affairs. While, Fischer (1975) pointed out that the heterogeneity of the city facilitates room for subculture and the emergence of new behavioural patterns. For Cairo, Wirth's and Milgram's conceptions are most relevant to

the context of the study, where the sudden intensified heterogeneity, in parallel to the psychological implication of the dense and rapid urban lifestyle, did participate into selective modes of isolation and differentiation. The latter also highlights the weighted value of the urban dynamic on social processes while assessing social issues within the studied context.

Transmitted Ideologies

Cities transmit a "number of shared meanings that emerge... provided by the different users of place" (Stokols & Shumaker, 1981, pg. 448). On one hand, reflecting the governing frameworks of the city, on the other, transmitting cognitive processes of its society.

Rapoport (as cited in Altman et al.,1980, pg. 11), emphasized that the built environment encapsulate potential meanings, communicate ideologies, and harbour behaviours that are bound to time, as several studies have put forward. The city as "the initiating and controlling center of economic, political, and cultural life" (Wirth, 1969 as cited in Brenner & Schmid, 2013, pg. 8), have evolved through the preceding different interlocking spheres. Altman et al. (1980, pg. 11) elaborates that a designed environment is an organization of four elements: 1) space, 2) meaning, 3) communication and 4) time. The four elements, not only do they indicate the potential reactive composition of a city, as a designed environment, but also the forces at play and the interrelation of one to the other, similar to that of territorial functioning. The previous authors have commonly highlighted on the communicative value of the built environment, through transmitting meanings.

Cities, accordingly, are often representatives of the governing frameworks. Evidently in Cairo, the ruling ideologies have had quite an impact on the built environment, whether monarchic Cairo, or socialist republican Cairo. Jacobs (1993) in crafting qualitative urban approaches to the city, she points at one approach which is "Representational Cities", reinterpreted from social theories, that the built environment stands as an embodiment of meanings that are communicated. She also points at the significance of the agency communicating meanings. Several authors of which, Knox, Choay and Duncan (1982,

1986, 1988) were cited by Jacobs to further illustrate that the messages communicated through the built environment often reflect specific social groups and interests, upon which power structures and ideologies are at play (as cited in Jacobs, 1993, pg. 831). “Representational Cities” is considered a method to “deconstruct” potential relationships between the spatial elements and governing frameworks of the city, represented through its spatial composition.

On the other hand, the city expresses the social cognition of its society. Lawrence and Low (1990) in their quest to interpret what do built environments mean and what “meanings” do they communicate, they put forward the theories of symbolic approaches and semiotics, where “built forms [stand] as tangible evidence of describing and explaining the often intangible features of expressive cultural processes”. Cultural ideologies, are expressed in several forms, of which, appropriations of space, introducing new norms and festivities to the existing culture. Accordingly, social and cultural processes, in addition to power structures, constitute meanings that are communicated through the built environment of the city.

A specific note on the contemporary city, David Shane (2005) highlights, that it is “a chaotic situation of competing systems, which has an emergent logic of its own, produced by different actors designing systems across vast territories…each adding their own system as a new layer” (Sudradjat, 2012). The aspect of competition appears to constitute a core aspect of our contemporary cities, of which causes are worthy of analysing. The built environment has communicative properties, but what is being communicated can not be fully understood without exhibiting the background logics and frameworks that orchestrate the built environment and communicate through it. This insight unravels layers of the city, not only confined to the ideological concepts behind its dynamic, but also touch upon the evolving behaviours orchestrated by its society. Both hovering between global dynamics and the local specificities of the given context.

3.5 Territorial Functioning as an Analytical Framework

Articulated Theories

The following is an articulation of the previous theoretical concepts, to construct an analytical framework, to approach the context of the study with. A central subject of this study is human territoriality in the urban setting of Cairo. The hypothesis that have been put forward fundamentally expresses a concern of territorial functioning within Cairo, that which erects boundaries between the society and restricts its collective functioning. Upon which, the central analytical lens for this study is territorial functioning, supported with concepts of space, society and cognition, as constituents and influencing factors.

The field of territoriality, as have been previously elaborated, probes an interdisciplinary discussion of its three constituents It enables a scope of assessment that articulates correlated observed urban realities, that have been pointed at in Cairo, and will be further elaborated on. The following analytical framework, accordingly, have been crafted based on extracted keywords and influential factors, put forward through an iterative process between reviewing the relevant theoretical concepts and reassessed with the existing realities of the studied context.

The first diagram figure 3.9, presents the overarching principle of territorial functioning, that assembles the organization of the framework, upon which, the identified influential factors have been laid out, categorized between the three constituting themes of 1. Space, 2. Society, and 3. Cognition. The second diagram figure 3.10, further elaborates territorial functioning implications of the identified influential factors and the interconnectedness of one factor to the other, vertically and horizontally.

Looking at the implications and the affect of each factor over the other, the external factor, highlighted black, of the governing local political and economic frameworks appear to affect all categories of territorial functioning. Especially, the category of space, where the urban development is highly responsive to the ruling agenda, as will be seen specifically in Cairo. Also affecting wealth centers and poverty rates, due to the adopted economic system and the direction of the employment market, which evidently affects social structuring.

There is also a high correlation between social aspects, such as social differentiation and social interactions, with cognitive processes whether internal such as norms or values that have been inherited over the decades or newly introduced with waves of migration, or external such as the promoted lifestyle, that is dependant on power structures and interest groups as well.

Lastly, the category of society, essentially human beings, stand between space and cognition; as the holder ideologies that influence the dynamic of an environment, while also being subjected and responsive to it, as in the case of the urban environment. The previous does not yet value one factor over the other, which will be the task of the following sections for the case of Cairo, but only highlights the dynamic of one factor over the other, as well as the interconnectedness of all aspects together. Due to the limited time of the study, however, before embarking on the case of Cairo, the identified factors and implications will be further subjected to a cause-effect matrix to prioritize the factors and topics through which the context will be examined.

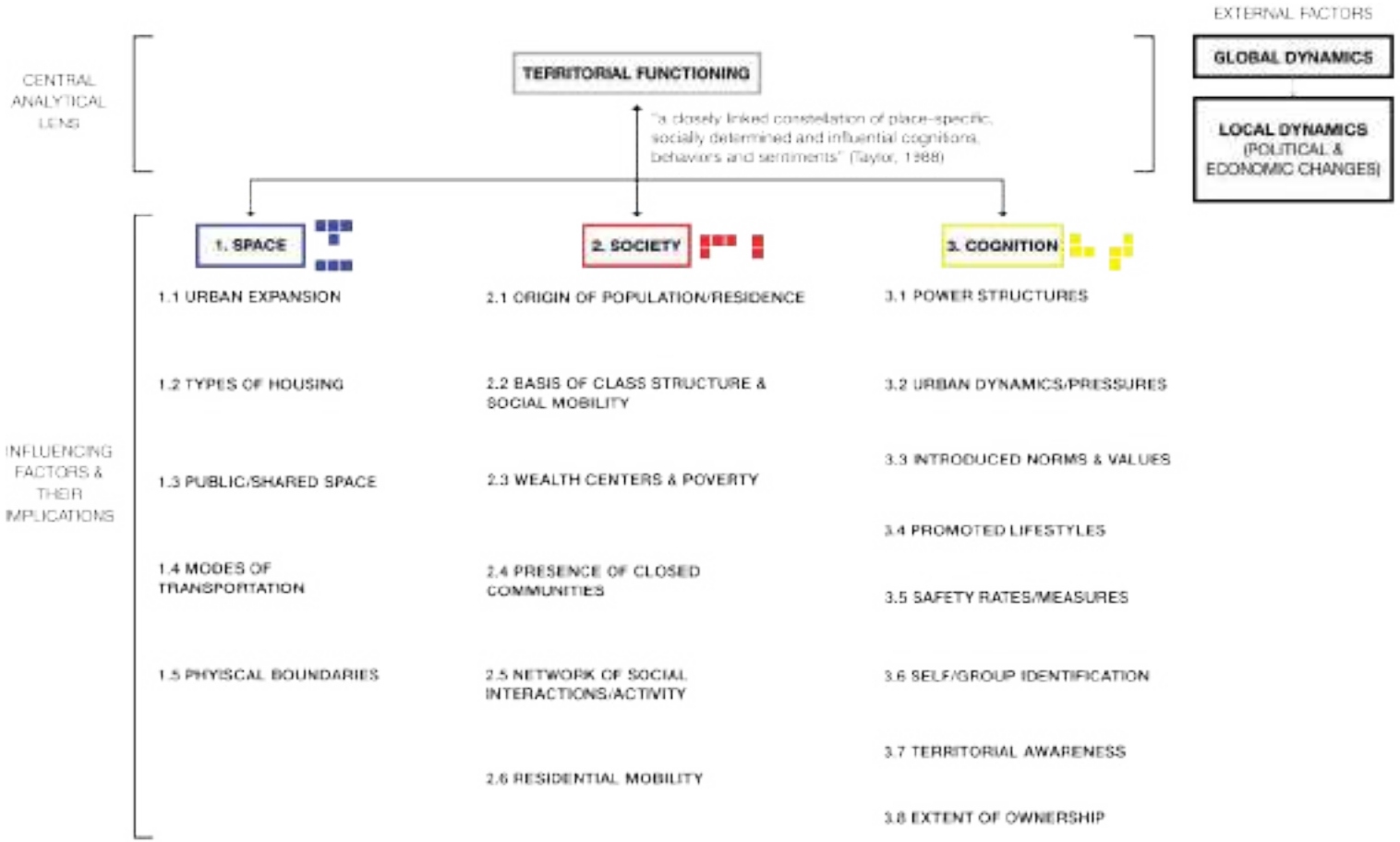

Figure 3.9: Analytical Framework; constituents and influencing factors

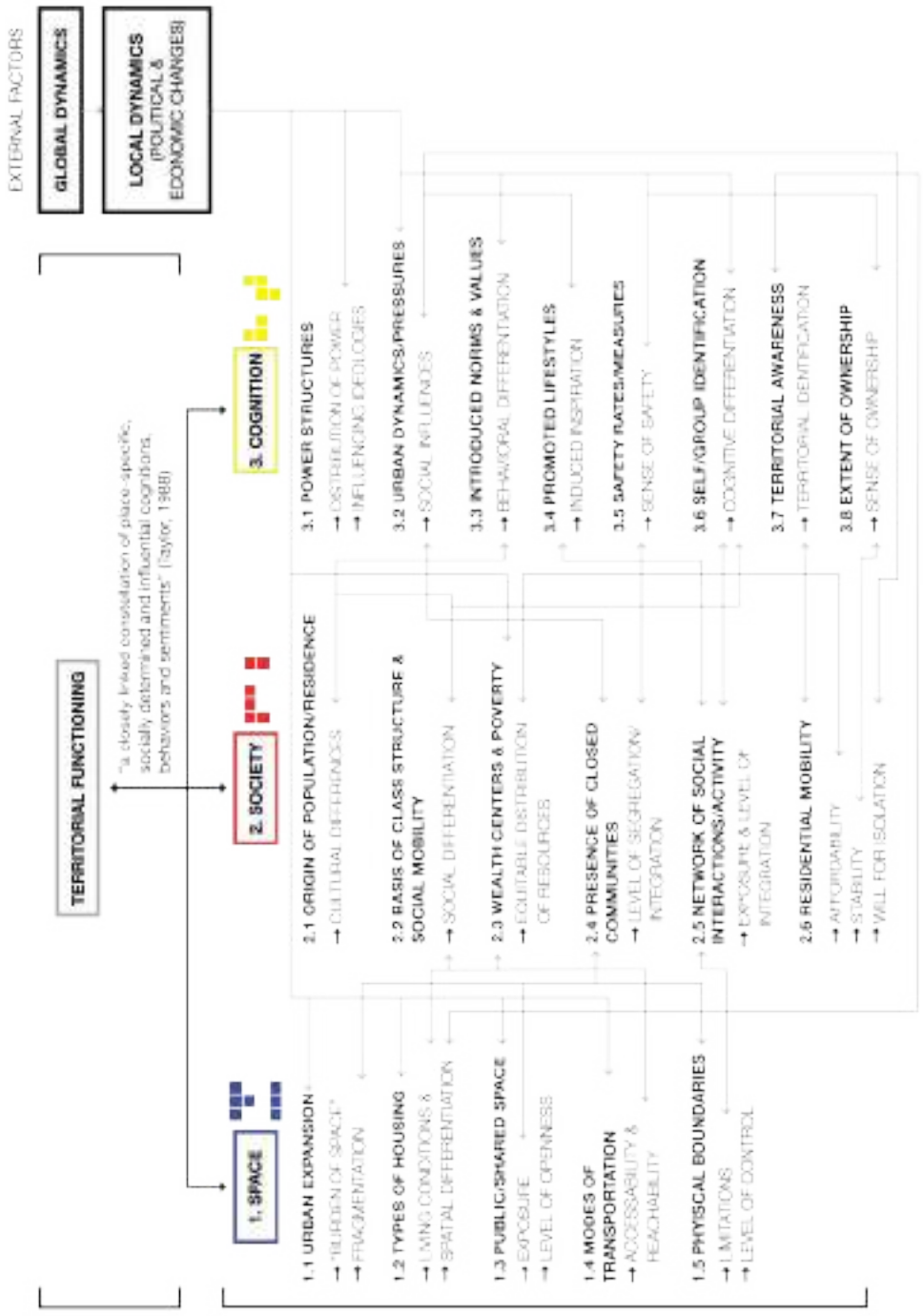

Figure 3.10: Analytical Framework; constituents, influencing factors, implications and connections

Cause-Effect Matrix

Visibly, many factors have been identified, while articulating the relevant theoretical concepts, as potential territorial functioning triggers for the global discourse, as well as the case of Cairo. Therefore, in attempt to prioritize a set of factors for further analysis and a closer look on the case of Cairo, a cause -effect matrix has been adopted.

The factors are laid down horizontally against territorial implications, vertically, and the matrix correlates and prioritizes the factors for discussion, elaborated in figure 3.11, based on their frequency to yield the listed implications. It is vital to highlight that territorial functioning is not dependent on one influencing factor and its implication, but an interplay of factors and implications, "a closely linked constellation" as Taylor (1988, pg. 1) states, and therefore, potentially one factor can project several implications.

Influencing factors are categorized between 1. Space, 2. Society, and 3. Cognition, distributed horizontally against their corresponding territorial implications. The rating scale utilized is nominal, where only two scales are used to measure whether factors correspond to the stated implication or not.

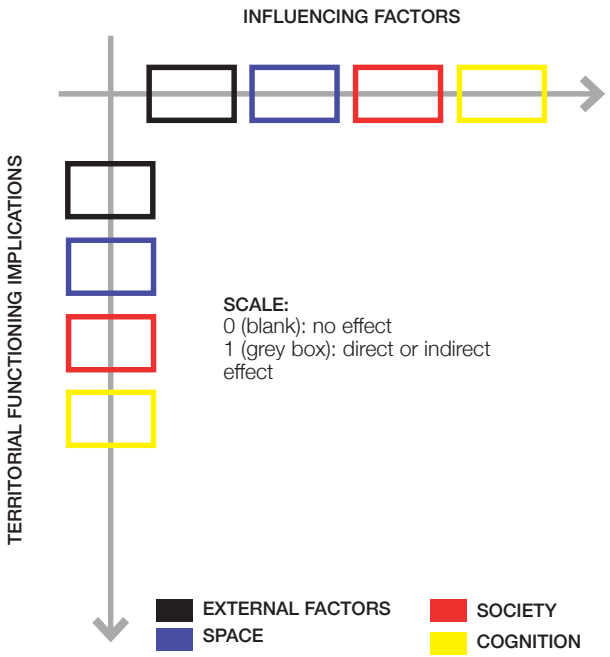

Figure 3.11: Cause-Effect Matrix Tool adopted to assess Territorial Functioning

The factors with no effect equal = 0 (left blank), and factors that have a direct or indirect effect equal = 1 (grey box). The scale does not rely on numeric values since it is a qualitative study, but merely a binary code, 0 and 1, to calculate the tendency of effect for each factor . The higher the number of the factor, the most common its tendency for territorial functioning, due to the multiple implications it results with.

Factors have been prioritized based on the mean value of the resulting number of implications, where the most number of implications of a factor is twelve implications, and the least number is four implications. Based on which, the mean bar has been set to be minimum 8 implications, above which, factors have been selected for further analysis and discussion. The framed factors in black represent the highest impacting factors deduced from the cause-effect matrix tool.

One of the highest impacting factors identified from the territorial cause-effect matrix is 1.2 'Types of Housing: Spatial Features'. As have been portrayed in the preceding literature, spatial features are often representative as well as contribute to the quality of life. Both scales that have been appointed to the analysis of the study assert the latter, from the scale of the city itself as a context and its urban composition, to the scale of residential neighbourhoods that effectively participate in shaping the perceptions and life opportunities of its residents. Thus far in Cairo's context as well, as observed and hypothesized, communities are disintegrating into their spatial and social enclaves, indicating and contributing to the urban realities of Cairo, as will be further elaborated in the following sections.

Other factors with high tendencies of territorial implications will be stated here separately, yet, will be correlated and analysed thoroughly within each scope of analysis in the proceeding sections. The factor of 'Local Dynamics' of political and economic agendas yielded several territorial implications as an external factor, shown in table 3.1. Arguably, due to the several aspect affected by the governing agendas, as previously illustrated in figure 3.10.

The highest implicating factors in the category of space are: 1.2 Types of Housing, and 1.5 Physical Barriers. The category of society has the higher number of influencing factors with high implicating tendencies. The highest influencing factors are: 2.2 Basis of Class Structure, 2.3 Wealth Centers and Poverty, 2.4 Closed Communities, and 2.5 Network of Social Activity. Finally, the highest implicating factors in the category of cognition are: 3.6 Self/Group Identification and 3.8 Extent of Ownership. Those factors, not only have their territorial implications, but are also horizontally linked to one another, showing how weaved territorial urban dynamic thus can be.

Essentially, the purpose of the preceding diagrams is to display the influencing factors and their territorial implications within one framework that will be addressed accordingly while approaching the two scopes of analysis of the study; the historical analysis and the case study. Meanwhile, each scope of analysis will expand further on the constituents of the diagram depending on the scale of analysis. Based on the objectives of the study, the historical analysis will assess the scale of Cairo's society as a holistic entity, meanwhile, the case study scales down to the level of residential neighbourhoods for a closer look on different community groups of Cairo. Thus building a momentum of understanding of the studied topic from a generic overview of Cairo, to the territorial units of communities, within Cairo, and their residential settlements.

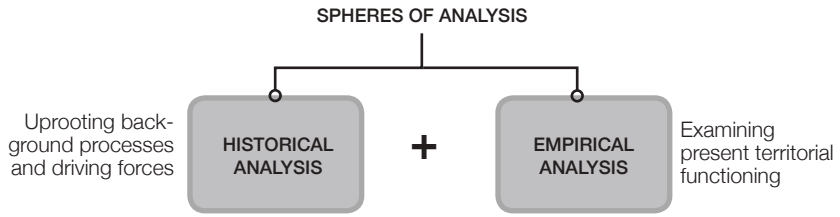

Figure 3.12: Spheres of assessment for territorial functioning in Cairo

	GLOBAL DYNAMIC	LOCAL DYNAMIC (POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC)	1.1 URBAN EXPANSION	1.2 Types of Housing: Spatial Features	1.3 Public/Open Spaces	1.4 Modes of Transport-ation	1.5 Physical Boundaries	2.1 Origin of Population/ Residence	2.2 Basis of Class Structure	2.3 Wealth Center & Poverty
Global Influence	1									
Influencing Ideologies	1	1								
Burden of space/ Fragmentation			1							
Spatial/ Aesthetic Differentiation		1		1						1
Exposure & Level of Openness				1	1		1			
Accessibility & Reachability			1		1	1	1			1
Limitations & Level of Control		1		1	1		1		1	
Cultural Differences	1							1		
Social Differentiation				1		1		1	1	1
Equitable Distribution/ Affordability		1		1					1	1
Levels of Integration/ Segregation			1	1	1	1	1			
Resident Stability		1								1
Will for Isolation				1			1			
Distribution of Power	1	1					1		1	1
Social Influences				1				1	1	1
Behavioral Differentiation								1		
Induced Inspirations	1	1		1					1	1
Sense of Safety		1		1			1			1
Cognitive Differentiation				1		1		1	1	1
Territorial Identification			1	1			1		1	
Sense of Ownership		1			1		1			
	5	8	4	12	5	4	9	5	8	10

Table 3.1: Cause-Effect Matrix Tool for Territorial Functioning (Part 1)

2.4 Closed Communities	2.5 Network of Social Activity	2.6 Residential Mobility	3.1 Power Structures	3.2 Urban Pressures	3.3 Introduced Norms & Values	3.4 Promoted Lifestyles	3.5 Safety Measures	3.6 Self/Other Identification	3.7 Territorial Awareness	3.8 Extent of Ownership
			1							
				1						
1						1		1	1	1
1	1							1		
1				1			1		1	
			1				1			1
					1			1		
	1	1			1	1		1		1
	1	1	1							
1	1							1	1	1
		1		1						1
1	1	1		1	1	1	1	1		
			1			1				
	1	1		1	1	1		1		
	1			1	1			1		
	1	1	1		1	1				
1			1	1			1	1		1
1	1		1		1			1	1	
1							1	1	1	1
1		1							1	1
9	9	7	7	7	7	6	5	11	6	8

Table 3.2: Cause-Effect Matrix Tool for Territorial Functioning (Part 2)

4. Exploring History: Cairo between Past and Present

The historical analysis is structured to uproot the background processes that cultivated a heightened sense of territoriality among the society. To put this data forward, the historical background serves to display the multi-dimensional dynamics of the city for the past 60 years that have contributed into the making of how Cairo stands today. Thus putting forward the backdrop story of the present dynamics, and accordingly facilitate examining the case study at hand. In advance, an overview of metropolitan Cairo will be briefly displayed, followed by the methodology of analysis for the historical background.

4.1 Contextualizing: Cairo of Egypt

Territorial functioning essentially is an expression of identity and self or group differentiation, manifested through an urge of establishing and maintaining controlled environments. Understanding expressions of identity and differentiation within the Egyptian society would be a task that dives into centuries of history to unravel the multitude of cultures that have had presence and influence over Egypt. Least to put forward for this argument is the acknowledgment of the historically weaved identities. There on, the task of this study is perhaps to highlight the weighted differences between the present-day Egyptian society, standing as territorial boundaries against the possibility of a cohesive strong society.

Why Cairo? Because “Cairo is Egypt and Egypt is Cairo” as David Sims says. As a centralized country (Denis, 1997; Boex, 2011; Tonsy, 2017), Egypt’s capital Cairo is the “melting pot” (Schechla, 2014, pg. 5) of Egyptians and the “engine” for Egyptian economy (Sims, 2012, pg. 1). In addition, an infusion of a multitude of cultures, where the capital have witnessed eastern and western hegemony over its lifetime.

Geographically, and socially, the city have restructured and evolved according to its ruling civilization over time, and till this day the city withholds and embodies the relics of each era; Pharaonic, Greek, Roman, Coptic, Islamic, and European. Most relevant, however, is the making of modern Egypt led by Mohamed Ali Pasha’s monarch and his successors, that was influenced by European cities and culture. This era witnessed an influx of European nationalities that infused within the culture and social stature. Up until 1952, when a concrete shift marked Egypt’s recent history, transforming from a kingdom into a republic, carrying along economic and societal repercussions.

Ever since, the city have been witnessing a geographic expansion, most relevant to present day Cairo, with an ever growing administrative boundary towards what has become the Greater Metropolitan Region of Cairo (GMC). Constituted of three governorates, Cairo, Giza, and Qalyubia, GMC’s geography is till this very day in expansion, with the persistent promise of opportunity centralized in the expansive capital. Despite being subjected to several political and economic tensions throughout, Sims (2012) states however, that Cairo has managed “its own logic” to reassemble into its own order and dynamic.

The urban development that have embarked profusely since the republican history of Cairo in the 1960s (Abdel-Kader & Ettouney, 2009), have been consistently pointed at in literature as fragmented, (Koning, 2006; Yousry & Mekawy, 2012; Mahmoud & Rashed, 2016) potentially due to the rapid changes and shifts in political agendas. The experimental dynamic of the early republican era of Egypt subjected the city to a “continuous and rapid process of internal change” that, slowly but surely, inflicted spatial and social divides (Yousry & Mekawy, 2012). Visibly, the Cairene society in parallel have been developing into a status of “segregation extreme” (Mohamed, 2015) surfacing with behavioural divides and community alienation (Attia, 2011; Wanas et al.,2014).

The following section narrows down history to take a deeper dive into Cairo's republican history, while briefly touching on its predecessor, being the most relatable to the present dynamic of the city. To avoid potential biases in history, a wide variety of academic and non-academic mixed media sources will be utilized to uproot turns in history that have shaped processes of territorial functioning among the society.

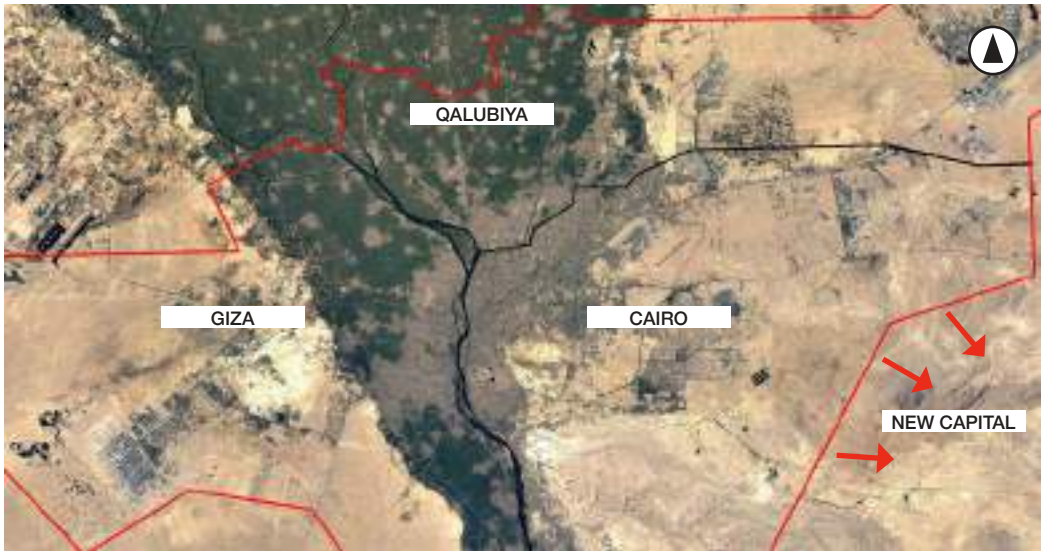

Figure 4.1: Administrative Boundary of Greater Metropolitan Cairo; three governorates (adapted from Ghoneim and Elewa, 2013)

4.2 Uprooting Territoriality in Cairo

4.2.1 Methodology

History is utilized as a sphere of analysis for territorial functioning, due to the processual nature of the latter. It is a status that develops based on triggers, spatial, social and cognitive, that are bound to time. This section adopts the analytical framework presented in sec. 3.5, and expands on it to for a methodological concise process to explore the relevant turn of events in Cairo's republican history, that have participated in the making of the present formation of Cairo's urban society and composition. As presented earlier, there are several root causes that correlate and participate in the activation of territorial function, refer to sec. 3.5. Therefore, the discussion will mostly focus on the attainable factors with the highest number of implications, highlighted earlier, contextualized in Cairo's republican history. Meanwhile, leaving room for emerging factors from history, that present significant added value for the discussion.

One of the highest impacting factors identified from the cause-effect matrix, table 3.1, is the 'Local Dynamic' of the political and economic agendas of the country, due to its direct influence on the dynamic of the city. Ruling ideologies effectively participate in shaping and structuring cities, as have been elaborated in theoretical concepts. Thus far in Cairo's context as well, as will be displayed elaborately, the local political and economic dynamic have influenced its geographical and societal structures. Accordingly, the timeline presented in figure 4.1, that the analysis will be articulated through, organizes the analysis according to the major political transitions that the country, and thereby the city, have undergone during its republican history in the past 60 years. The following analytical sections will be presented accordingly.

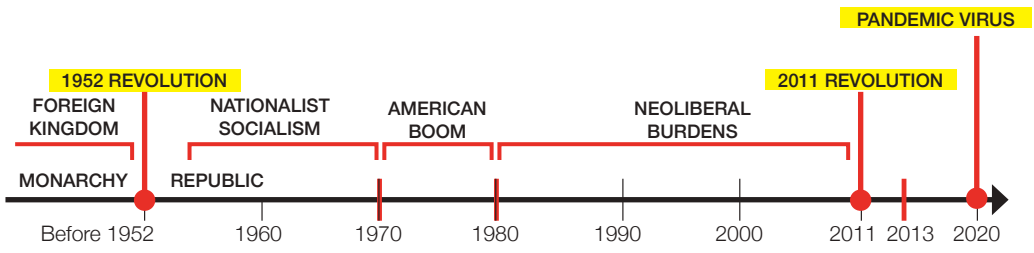

Figure 4.2: Timeline of major political transitions in Egypt and Cairo since 1952

Exploring Cairo's republican history uproots several causes that have potentially activated territorial functioning in the city among the society. Nonetheless, while local political and economic agendas in Cairo, have disseminated influencing ideologies that impacted the structure of the society and their urban space, Amin (2012) however, postulates that political and economic laws, or changes, do not enforce societal behaviours, but only allow them. Meaning, that behaviours are altered only if there exist societal and psychological motives that comply with the promoted political ideologies. From the preceding postulation history will be explored.

Before embarking on the historical details, an important remark must be put forward. The information below is a personal attempt of reading through available history, passed along through an array of media, from literary and scholarly articles to movies and stories. The following represent dominant ideas the studied eras have been portrayed with, yet without doubt, exceptions existed from the dominating impressions. The following depictions withholds no specific bias, but an attempt of articulating processes that could have participated in the present inhibited behaviour of territorial functioning.

4.3 Before 1952: Foreign Kingdom

The reign of Ismail Pasha, son of Mohamed Ali Pasha, "founder of Modern Egypt", embarked upon the making of European Cairo (Scham, 2013). Mohamed Ali Pasha was of Albanian origin, infused with Turkish descent, he established an Ottoman rule in Egypt, with a European vision of modernity. His European vision not only dominated the aesthetic of the city, but its culture and public life as well, with the prevalent presence of Europeans in the city. In addition to the British occupation and influence on the political landscape then (Zohny, 2019), the city paraded "imperial domination", as characterized by Edward Said (as cited in Scham, 2013, pg. 314). The monarchy crumbled towards King Farouk, the last ruler of the monarchy, midst global and local political turbulence, unleashing local discontent with the dominating foreign hegemony (Cavendish, 2002).

While the era of the monarchy is, still, a subject of Egyptian nostalgia due to the aesthetic charm of the kingdom and the European architecture that composed the city (Sims, 2012), the urban realities of the time is a subject of debate. It was a prolonged era that participated in intricate basis of differentiation, yet existing, among the present day Egyptian society. Looking into Cairo's monarchic history, before 1952, the following pivotal points emerge.

Figure 4.3: Downtown Cairo in the 40s (unknown source)

Figure 4.4: Islamic Cairo in the 40s (source: Life Magazine)

The society had an existing base of foreigners ever since Mohamed Ali's vision for modernizing Egypt and the concurrent European hegemony, where they had economic and cultural footprints in the city "to coalesce as a self-conscious *haute bourgeoisie*" (Tignor, 1980, pg. 416). European culture was infused with what the elites of the society presented as an Egyptian culture, it was subconsciously an expression of class (Tignor, 1980; Amin, 2012), not a tool to express class, unlike what will be exhibited in the following eras.

For a long, seemingly continuous time period, the society was mostly structured between a small percentage of aristocrats and royalty (1%), a limited number of bourgeoisie (19%) with a dominating foreigners base (Tignor, 1980), upon which family names were important for social and economic identification. Meanwhile, the majority of Egyptians (80%) were at the bottom of the social ladder as labour and peasants (Amin, 2012). Wealth centers, and land distribution were structured accordingly. A dominant ethnic territorial boundary persisted, framing Egypt between European and Orientalist stigmas.

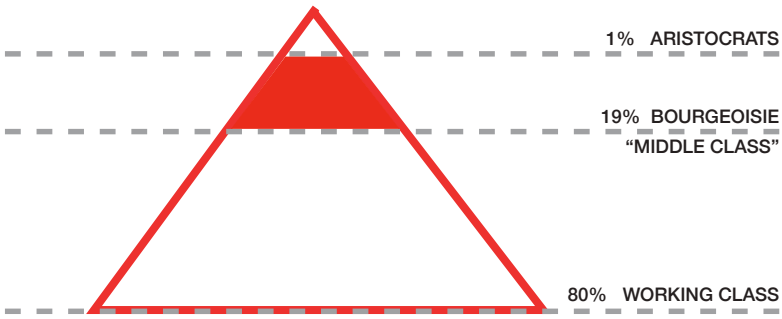

Figure 4.5: Socio-economic structure and land distribution of Egyptians in the 50s (adapted from Amin, 2012)

Boundaries between social classes were relatively strong, with low rates of social mobility (Amin, 2012), in addition to limited access to education, that was improvised by British occupation intervention to merely secure "the vocational goal of preparation for [middle and lower level] government service" (Galt, 1936 as cited in Hollingsworth, 1986, pg. 247) . That which eventually paved the way for some Egyptian to join the army carrying out the coup d'etat in 1952 (Amin, 2012). Despite Egypt's strong global position at the time, benefits were allocated to a select few. Meanwhile, the rather rigid class structure confined the majority of Egyptians, for a long period of time, to very limited opportunities of development.

Based on this persisting social and economic structure of the society, the city, as well, had two concurrent realities, the modern European downtown aesthetic for the elites, and the poor, slightly deteriorated, old Islamic core (Salheen, 2019) as shown in figure 4.2 and 4.3. Even the spatial development of the city reinforced physical differentiation and identity. The city extended its development corridors, from old Islamic Cairo to the new nucleus of downtown Cairo, to integrate select social groups while excluding others, based on economic capacities (Mohamed et al., 2014). Territorial boundaries were rigid and evident, socially and spatially, dividing the society between elites and laymen.

While societal boundaries limited the majority of Egyptians, the concrete discontent, however, was directed mostly against the British presence and political influence in Egypt. The latter fuelled the 1919 revolution, and later the revolution of 1952 to oust the British and everything that accompanied or tolerated their presence; “British rulers, corrupt monarchs, feudal overlords,[and] a non Egyptian ruling class” in the words of Nasser (Nasser, 1955, p. 199), one of the main initiators of the coup and the first pioneering Egyptian president of the republic.

Cairo’s monarchy exhibited clear territorial functioning based on ethnic distinction between the few aristocrats and bourgeoisie against the majority of Egyptians. The kingdom then represented everything that was foreign, yet superior, to the average Egyptian; politically, socially and spatially. Thus establishing a cognitive base of differentiation, according to the social structure that persisted then. The sense of ownership that reciprocates “belonging, invoking ideas of attachment, identity, connection to place and to community” (as cited in Thorpe, 2017, pg. 32) has been compromised for the majority of Egyptians within their own lands. A cognition that eventually fuelled the 1952 revolution as an opposition to the latter, with the purpose to break this rigid boundary and let the Egyptian masses prevail.

4.4 1960s-1970s: Nationalist Socialism

The 1952 revolution invoked an era that was fuelled by an opposition to what the monarchy represented, to the detail of renaming most areas and streets in the city to nationalist/Arabic names. The independent republic of Egypt was inaugurated briefly with president Mohamed Naguib, then passed on to Gamal Abdel Nasser. Nasser's regime was the epitome of Arab patriotism, and a quest to handover power, that has long been centred around a few aristocrats, to the wider public. The process was carried out through a tight socialist, local-based ruling model .

Primarily, wealth, and agricultural land, was reallocated, forcefully and hastily, to fund public enterprise, facilities and services, and local industrial production. Eventually expelling the foreign and the bourgeoisie strata of the society from the front lines of the city (Tignor, 1980). The attempt was to break the solid class boundary, and provide the space for the wider public to rise. This created an unprecedented surge of inner migration towards the capital (Harris & Wahba, 2002; Sims, 2003), mostly labour, tagging along their rural cultures to the city. The cultures were introduced to the urban life through the emerging public life and spaces in Cairo, refer to figures 4.5 and 4.6. Visible in media productions of the 60s in movies like 'Between Heaven and Earth' by Salah abo Seif, the new mass society, different from the monarchy's established urban society, comprised a new public.

Figure 4.6: Community centers in the 1960s, written in Arabic "a picture on the new socialist society" (Source: Cairo Observer Magazine)

Figure 4.7: Cooperative beach town of Baltim (Source: Cairo Observer Magazine)

The demand of urban population was met by urban expansion and residential settlements to house the aspiring population, from middle income housing suburbs, to low income housing (Harris & Wahba, 2002; Sims, 2003). Yet the rural-urban migration exceeded the supply of low income housing, invoking a rise of informal settlements, almost 70% of the new housing introduced, mostly on peripheral agricultural lands adjacent to Cairo (Sims, 2003; Ismail, 2019) or deteriorated old housing in the city's historic core (Abu-Lughod, 1961 as cited in Harris & Wahba, 2002; Sims, 2003). Informal settlements emerged rapidly composing a dominant aesthetic in the city, and developed its own culture, which introduced new territories and a new factor of differentiation in the city.

The revolution suddenly shattered all territorial boundaries within the society, allowing for social mobility through free education, bureaucratic governmental jobs, and the opportunity to reside in the capital (Amin, 2012). Class, then, was determined based on education and occupation (Harris & Wahba, 2002). Somehow, however, socio-spatial segregation continued but with a different spatial distribution, while new middle to high income settlements were being developed like Mohandesein and Nasr City, the inner core of the city was vacated for the low income residents to reside in, supported by rent control (United Nations, 1990; Ismail, 2019). Suddenly contrasting cultures, rural and urban, were at close proximity without a supporting infrastructure or a smooth transition into a new order of the city. The stark differences between the variety of social cultures and classes that arose were unwelcomed, and induced the need for differentiation (Sims, 2012) .

On the other hand, there was a visible economic boom that emerged following the revolution, evident in the production and spatial development of the country and the city, bringing prosperity on the vast number of working class Egyptians. Suddenly, however, it was halted with all funds directed to several Arab wars (United Nations, 1990), serving the overriding nationalist pan Arab vision of the ruler . Meanwhile, the population surge to the city continued to quench their thirst moving to the capital, but without a supporting infrastructure, and hence informally paving their paths in the city. Poverty was not confined to isolated areas in the city like before, it surfaced around every corner.

What appears to have happened at the early years of the republic was that the once one large territorial boundary broke into smaller but several territorial boundaries between the new different groups of the society. The republic initiated with a haste opposition of the past, ousting a chunk of the society that had acquired economic wealth, allowed for vast numbers of population to emerge in the city, that was evidently unsupported due to limited resources.

The revolution did ignite aspirations and allow for possibilities that were once unquestioned for the majority of Egyptians. This resulted with a heightened sense of ownership in most Egyptians, to support Nasser's pan Arab visions, despite the economic turbulence it brought. Yet, somehow the social and psychological urge of the majority of Egyptians to rise from the bottom of the social ladder, ever since allowed for, kept lingering and subconsciously nurtured the need to differentiate from one another and express superiority. Ultimately, Nasser's aspirations to upgrade social levels through a socialist approach were stepped aside, as will be seen in the following era, swiftly responding to capitalism.

Figure 4.8: Social Housing in the 1960s (Source: Cairo Observer Magazine)

Figure 4.9: Tahrir Square in 1960s (Source: Midan Masr Magazine)

4.5 1970s-1980s: American Capitalist Boom

The heightened patriotism during Nasser's era was getting several hits with each defeat in the Arab wars that Egypt have been partaking then, eventually losing the area of Sinai to Israel in 1967. In addition, the feigning economy due to excessive war funds have subjected the society to psychological tensions between their nationalist compulsion and their survival needs (Ibrahim, 1998). But Nasser had an undeniable patriotic charm, evident across the Arab world, that held people together and urged them to persist as have been portrayed in several of his speeches. Nasser's death, however, sparked all hits of defeat within the masses, and left Sadat, his successor, with the burden of compensation and the challenge to defeat the enemy and take back Sinai.

Sadat's rule embarked with the triumphant victory of the Israeli war in 1973, this date marked the peak of the preceding nationalist era, and restored patriotic comfort to the mass society. However, this date also marked the beginning of a new era for Egypt and the urban dynamic of its capital, where Sadat unveiled his own vision to liberalize the country under the flag of the American dream.

Figure 4.10: Egypt-Israeli peace treaty 1978 (Source: Ahram Online)

Figure 4.11: 'Provocative Consumption' 1977 headline in Al Ahram Newspaper (Source: Cambridge University Press)

It was a critical state between healing the casualties of the preceding era and the burdens of a developing country, along side "the delicate international position that Egypt occupies in the efforts to establish peace with Israel and achieve harmony within the region" (Bruton, 1983, pg. 681). Perhaps Sadat's American capitalist strategies for the local affairs of the country was the attempt to align with the latter (DAI, 2012). Nevertheless, Camp David peace treaty, and the country's approach towards all things American, was hitting the once patriotic, Arab solidarity, psychology of the Egyptians (Ibrahim, 1998).

The country retracted from its closed socialist pattern of life and opened its doors wide open to the capitalist American culture (Abd-Alla & Kamel, 2010; Ismail, 2019). Privatizing businesses and services, opening the market for imported goods along with its consumerist culture, figure 4.10. As Amin (2012) had elaborated, political changes do not alter behaviours, but allow for it. Upon which, there was a visible consumerist cultural burst that emerged in the urban life of Cairo (Ibrahim, 1998; Amin, 2012). The socialist restricted life had become a restraining image of the past.

Similar to Nasser's sudden socialist opposition to the lavish monarchy, the open-door policy and liberal vision was abruptly reversing socialist Egypt. Privatization, however, fuelled the declining GDP growth (Tanding Economics, n.d.), but toppled the existing dynamic of the economy. De-industrialization was commencing, which expelled a huge chunk of labour (Amin, 2012; Ismail, 2019), in addition to privatization shifts in the economy, resulting with high inflation rates (Tanding Economics, n.d.). This sudden shift had embarked on an already turbulent economy, and high poverty rates. Economic gaps started to prevail profusely, erecting social boundaries highly dependent on financial capability (Ibrahim, 1998; Amin, 2012).

Most of the expelled blue-collar workers found refuge in the neighbouring gulf booming economies (Bruton, 1983), where educational requirements were bare. This phenomenon had multiple impacts; of which, workers would send chunks of their income to their families residing in Egypt, which caused an indirect influx in the Egyptian economy but concentrated within the working class strata (Amin, 2012). Some of this influx was directed to the scarce urban commodity of low income housing, "for many the choice of investment was land, bricks, and mortar" who were "commonly attracted to living in informal areas" (Sims, 2003, pg. 12). Upon which, a spike of informal housing surfaced, almost 80-90% of the new housing in the city (Ismail, 2019), most of which was vertical extensions to existing buildings, contributing to "social mixing, blurring the lines between low-income settlement at the core or the fringe" (Harris & Wahba, 2002, pg. 69).

Meanwhile the government have been investing in satellite cities for low income housing, to accommodate the population (Abd-Alla & Kamel, 2010), which proved impractical due to accessibility issues, some of which ended up deserted. Public transportation witnessed unprecedented pressure and traffic, lacking maintenance figure 4.11, upon which investing in a private car was a fancied commodity (Ibrahim, 1998). One's mode of transportation emerged as a factor of differentiation. Private car riders had their own territorial spheres, against the mass riding public transportation.

Culturally, the city witnessed two types of cultures and consumerist behaviours, "elements of 'modernism' exist side-by- side with elements of 'traditionalism'" (Bruton, 1983, pg. 682). One was the American, government supported, consumption following the Open-Door Policy. The second belonged to the existing traditions, in addition to the new Arab-Gulf culture and behaviours tagged along with the returning workers, one of which is lavish consumption (Ibrahim, 1998; Amin,2012). American non-conservative aesthetic was promoted through media, away from existing traditional customs. Where as the introduced Arab-Gulf culture and aesthetic, from the working class segment of the society was questionable. Both introduced cultures were superficially utilized as edges of identification and differentiation, upon which, social networks would identify and segregate themselves (Harris & Wahba, 2002).

Wealth had become the prominent basis of social mobility, stepping aside education and occupation (Amin, 2012), which led to merging and overriding opposing cultures and customs, under the umbrella of wealth. Territorial boundaries were utilized by some groups to identify and differentiate from the washed aesthetic and blurry culture of the city that was solely based on fortune. Higher socioeconomic groups, that still acquired levels of education and prominent occupations, opted for closed clubs instead of public parks (Battesti, 2004), to reserve their westernised aesthetic unapologetically, and avoid what they called the "nouveau riche" meaning the newly rich.

Meanwhile, the originally low income groups who acquired unprecedented wealth, craved for edges of differentiation within the rising classicist territorial society, so they opted for superficial adaptations of western or gulf culture to surpass any cultural boundaries (Ibrahim, 1998; Amin, 2012).

The clash of cultures was fierce, fought with monetary measures; between regressing middle (white collar) class (Yousry, 2018), and the rising working class, all ultimately aiming for maintaining or claiming social stature (Bruton, 1983; Ibrahim, 1998; Amin, 2012). Furthermore, the once binding patriotism was feigning against the Americanization of the city, and the diminishing pubic realm, all affecting the sense of ownership and familiarity towards the city. Social status was undefined, but highly aspired for, where factors were many and varied to obtain all at once. Territorial boundaries were vague, despite being haphazardly many.

Figure 4.12: Bursting public bus in Shubra, Cairo in the 1970s (Source: unknown)

Figure 4.13: Downtown Cairo in the 1970s (Source: unknown)

4.6 1990s- 2011: Neoliberal Burdens

Sadat's camp David peace accords with the middle east's sworn enemies, infuriated the Arab masses that emotionally adjoined under Nasser's pan Arab, nationalist virtues. That which eventually led to Sadat's assassination, and a turbulent political atmosphere. The latter was coupled with the challenges of the new liberal economy, and the cultural clashes of the society. Alongside feigning patriotism and traditionalism, due to the American dominated political, economic and cultural dynamics. Mubarak, Sadat's successor, initially continued Sadat's American dream, but later expressed his vision to partake in the neoliberal global wave.

The 80s was a transitional phase, to level the difficult economic situation, due to the drop in world oil prices and other factors, several economic reforms took place (United Nations, 1990). In addition, attempts to stabilize the political atmosphere, and address the intricate social problems of the preceding era. The city had reached a peak of bursting population, diminishing public services and realm, withered infrastructure and public transportation.

Figure 4.14: Public Transportation, Cairo in the 1990s (Source: El-Konafa)

Figure 4.15: Central Cairo in the 1990s (Source: Britannica)

One of the persisting problems at the time was the housing supply in the city, which was met with a second generation of satellite cities directed to relief the center of its density and informality, offering middle to low income housing (Ismail, 2019). Meanwhile, the wave of informal housing lowered relatively to 75% of the new housing (Mayo et al., 1982: 26 as cited in Harris & Wahba, 2002), partially, however, due to the decrease in population increase in the city (Sims, 2003). Informality, however, continued to dominate full zones of the city, like Helwan and Mansheya (as cited in Harris & Wahba, 2002).

By the 90s, the fog had lifted from the transitional, economic and social, phase of the 80s. Cairo had exposed by then certain realities that the government decided to work on accordingly. Mubarak's reign primarily adopted a neoliberal agenda, shifting to a private sector dominated economy igniting yet another social and cultural enviornment in Cairo (Abd-Alla & Kamel, 2010). Privatization did not only acquire the housing market, but most basic services, like education and health, expelling public facilities to limited government spending, and guaranteeing basic qualities of life to those who can afford.

Two decades after the phenomenon of informality , the government had finally admitted to the existing situation, where 45% of Cairenes resided in informal/illegal housing (Harris & Wahba, 2002). There still persisted a desperate need for low income housing in the city that the government could not keep up with (Abd-Alla & Kamel, 2010), in addition to the realization that relocation to satellite cities was not economically feasible nor practical for low income social group from previous failures. So the government passed a law in 1992 to improve the quality of existing informal settlements (Schechla, 2014). An attempt to face facts and release the stigmatized threat from the closed communities of informal settlements.

In parallel, the third generation satellite cities were re-planned to cater for the wealthy class of the society (Abdel-Kader & Ettouney, 2009; Schechla, 2014). Hence, passing along development plans to the private sector, to shift the perception of satellite cities into the wealthier extensions of the capital, catering those who opt for cultural and spatial isolation from the dense, mixed-income, city core (Abd-Alla & Kamel, 2010; Sabbour, 2018). This move allowed for the mixed territories of central Cairo, between the different groups, to fragment and visibly re-identify separated territories in the desert (Yousry & Mekawy, 2012).

Figure 4.16: Informal areas, Cairo (Source: Urbz)

Figure 4.17: Katameya Heights, Cairo (Source: Aqarmap)

Territories have become spatially and socially isolated, based on the financial means and capabilities. The ring road that commenced construction in the 80s was an attempt to belt and contain the core of the city from expansion, which later became a major artery to connect the peripheral developments, and a physical boundary between the urban pressures of the city and the new suburban communities.

Privatization, specifically of the housing market, had a bifold objective, economic growth for the country, but also addressing social and cultural frictions in the city, through spatially separating group territories (Denis, 1997). The latter occurred through directing wealth centers, that either acquired the will for isolation or the desperate need for exclusivity, to establish their territories away from the exploding center (Abd-Alla & Kamel, 2010).

Soon enough territorial boundaries were erected to organize the city socially, through fenced open spaces, closed leisure facilities, and the prime of all, fortresses of residential communities. In addition, a supporting infrastructure for mobility was commencing to support the urban expansion through the construction of the metro lines for the inner city to relief some traffic, and highways to reach the new residential and commercial destinations at the peripheries (Abd-Alla & Kamel, 2010; Dessouky, 2017). The latter, however, participated in introducing a set of physical boundaries in the urban fabric of the city, impeding a sector of mobility, disintegrating the ever growing city (Dessouky, 2017).

Within the realm of gated residential settlements, not only lied residential privacy and isolation, but the promoted lifestyles of the western lush greens and open, but isolated, areas, in addition to bluntly feeding into the psychological need for social exclusivity and differentiation (Abd-Alla & Kamel, 2010; Mahmoud & Rashed, 2016). This evidently, lead to a heightened sense of differentiation and segregation, because it was not only socially visible, but also spatially emphasized and physically evident. The common social question of ‘where do you live?’ instead of ‘where do you come from?’ had become more significant than ever, now that rural generations have bred and grew in specific parts of the city, and where one grew up is a testament of their social status. Residence had become a visible territorial boundary.

It is vital to highlight that not all spatial and social isolation was made by choice, but some residential mobility was enforced as well. The 90s featured two earthquakes, that forced the government to provide alternative emergency housing at the peripheries of the city, such as the one that will be discussed in the case study. In addition, several slum evictions took place due to the new rent law in 1996, decades later however, to save the city's heritage from controlled rents, relocated as well at new peripheral settlements (Schechla, 2014; Nasreldin et al., 2016). Relocations to the peripheries of the city were inconvenient for the population dependent on public transportation. Modes of transportation yet persists as a point of social identification. Based on which, the replanning of some peripheral settlements, such as New Cairo, to primarily accommodate middle and upper income classes was supported by the latter's dependence on private vehicles to overcome the lack of proximity.

Soon enough, however, satellite cities became an attractive destination for the same target group due to its proximity to lavish and upper middle class housing, which offer service job opportunities. Somehow, as Amin (2012) had highlighted, the monarchy's social structure of elite and laymen, had gotten re-identified into master and servant. Inequitable distribution of wealth was rampaging (Abd-Alla & Kamel, 2010; Schechla, 2014) and the wealthy needed a supporting class, whom were highly abundant in number.

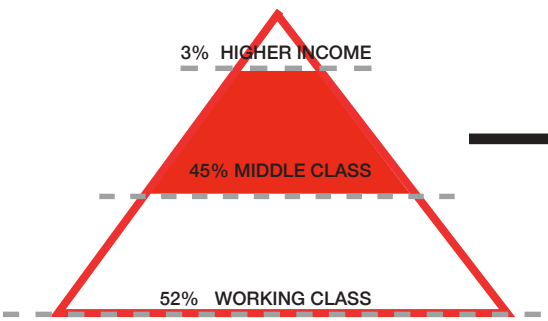

Figure 4.18: Socio-economic structure of Egyptians in 1991 (adapted from Amin, 2012 as cited in DAI, 2012)

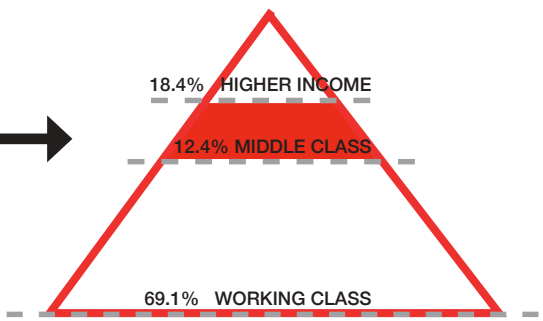

Figure 4.19: Socio-economic structure of Egyptians in 2006 (adapted from DAI, 2012)

The society in 1991 had established a structure of 3% high-income upper class, 45% middle class, 52% low-income class (Amin, 2012 as cited in DAI,2012). In the following decade, reaping the effects of privatization, the society restructured into different classifications, yet close to what was abolished at the start of the republic; "in 2006, the upper class accounted for 18.4%, the middle class 12.4%, and the lower class 69.1%" (DAI, 2012).

All in all, social inequalities had become too evident, and observed in daily life. The privatized economy was supporting those who can afford, spatially and socially. Limited public spending have withered the city's infrastructure and its core, where at the time most of the society had been living, except the select few who afforded to flee the rampaging center. Political grips were too tight against any riots and political expressions (El Shaded, 2013), meanwhile, the urge to acquire wealth as a means to establish stature, pushed for unethical behaviour and corruption that was peaking day by day (Ibrahim, 1998; Amin, 2012). Wealth and power had become the tools through which territorial boundaries were being drawn, and the aspiration for the underprivileged masses to claim survival rights, and tag along the race of stature. Neoliberalism have burdened the wider masses of Cairo.

2011: The Revolution

While the public realm was non existing, the internet age have agglomerated the masses to expose the inequalities and express their dissent. The global Arab spring had ignited in Egypt as well, the 2011 revolution was a call for "Bread, Freedom and Social justice", the slogan that pretty much summed up all things that have gone wrong the past decades. The tightening poverty,

Figure 4.20: Egyptian Revolution in 2011 (Source: Geographies of the Middle East Wordpress)

Figure 4.21: Egyptian Riots in 2013 (Source: DW)

the constrained politics and social inequalities . Perhaps what was triumphant in this revolution, was that it was a moment when most social classes relieved them selves, momentarily, from their differences and discarded their territorial boundaries for the collective greater good (Attia, 2011). Then again, of course, there were factions that have nurtured upon corruption and letting go of the ruling regime meant letting go of secure wealth and stature.

The fleeting moment of January 2011 had lifted up many curtains off intricacies in the system and social life as well (DAI, 2012). It resumed a transitional phase with minimum control that reflected suppressed needs, through yet another round of informal housing vigorously taking over agriculture lands (Abd-Alla & Kamel, 2010), societal fractures, cultural and political debates.

This date marks a proceeding period of transitions, uprising in 2013, governed by uncertainties and structural identification and adjustments (Zohny, 2019). When in transition, “political alliances are formed and dissolved or changed rapidly and unexpectedly” (O’Donnell & Schmitter, 2013 as cited in Zohny, 2019). Such has been the case in Egypt, lacking a defining vision for the country’s future. The latest appointment of Abdel Fatah El Sisi as president in 2014, and the buffering few years after, Egypt has been in a state of reforms, that which results are yet to be reaped.

Since 2014, however, plenty of economic reforms have taken place, directed at supporting foreign investments and expanding the real estate scene. A 4th generation of new cities is already commencing, including mega projects such as the New Administrative Captial, further expanding the boundaries on Cairo, the New City of Alamein at the North Coast of Egypt, in addition to several public housing projects distributed around the capital. Egypt is at the crossroads of development, with heavy burdens of urban pressures, socio-economic disparities, global pandemic, and political threats at the border.

4.7 Findings: Progression of the Society in Cairo and the accompanying Territorial Boundaries

What seems to persist until today is the evident socio-spatial fractures between the society (Yousry & Mekawy, 2012). Territorial boundaries have culminated throughout the preceding 60 years, weaving into an intricate status of conscious acts of differentiation and separation in Cairo.

The ethnic social structure during the monarchy established a rigid territorial boundary between the different classes. The classification of the society did not only organise social groups, but also wealth, land and occupation were distributed accordingly, limiting possibilities of social mobility. The city itself was organized and developed based on a European vision that catered its aristocrats and bourgeoisie, that it reflected two realities, traditional decaying Islamic Cairo for the poor, and modern European Cairo for the upper classes. Thus, a heightened sense of inferior differentiation and territoriality persisted.

The monarchy stripped the majority of Egyptians from their sense of ownership, which ultimately provides sentiments of "inclusion, community, power and political voice" (Thorpe, 2017, pg. 26). Meanwhile, members of the commoner Egyptian class had found admittance to the army during the expansion of education at the end of the monarchy, from where they were able to gather on the suppressed voice of almost 80% of the society (Amin, 2012), rallying the revolution in 1952.

The revolution was fuelled by opposition, breaking boundaries fast and abrupt. Embarking on the independent republic of Egypt, Nasser socialist regime cleared the passage for an influx of population to agglomerate in the capital, tagging along their rural cultures. On the other hand, marginalizing the existing base of the society in Cairo, and expelling many. The ambitious nationalist prelude of the republic subjected the city to urban pressures to support the vast reformulated society.

Education and occupation allowed for social upgrade and the capital held the promise of opportunity for all Egyptians. The socialist regime aimed at levelling the society, but the abrupt changes and the influx of population were supported by limited resources. In addition, the inferior differentiation of the monarchy lingered within the majority of Egyptians, feeding the urge for superior differentiation among the society, regardless of the means to do so.

The casualties that arose with sudden political changes, in the proceeding eras as well, were met with slow responses. For example old rent law, introduced by Nasser, that ensured stability, yet drained the value of the city's heritage and core. Also, informality that was acknowledged decades later after the emergence of the phenomenon. The urban development of the city was similarly transitional, unequally catering the existing socio-economic classes, and resulted with a fragmented, incoherent city fabric that emphasized the gaps between the society.

The historical background have explored through and uprooted layers of the identified issue, yet have raised more questions. The timeline below in figure 4.21, compiles the progression of the structure of the Egyptian society in Cairo and the accompanying territorial boundaries, since 1952 until 2014. From there, a representative case study have been adopted to continue the investigation on the present territorial functioning in Cairo.

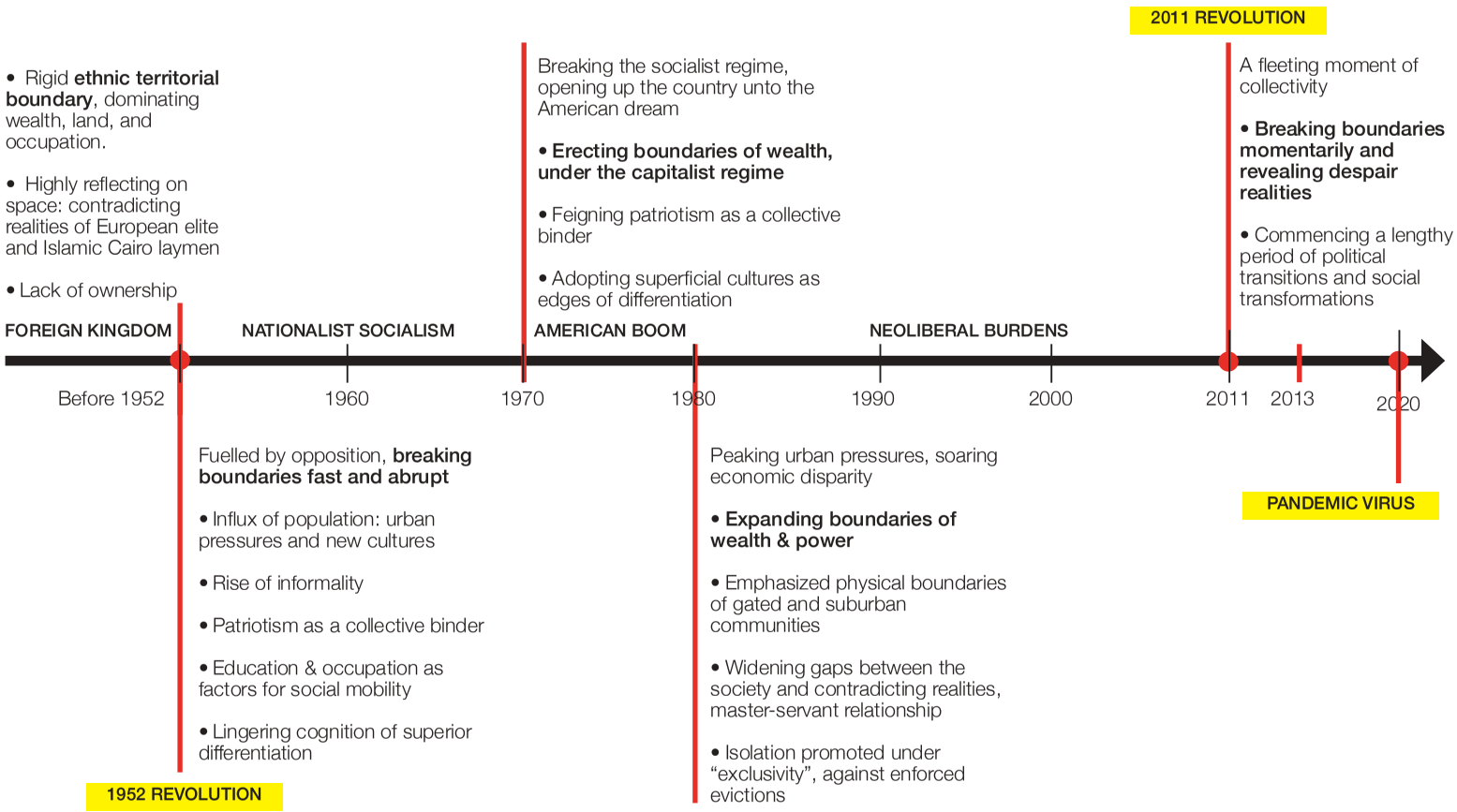

Figure 4.22: Progression of Territorial Boundaries in Cairo since 1952

5. Examining Reality: New Cairo as a Case Study

5.1 Present Reality: Examining Territoriality in New Cairo

History explored several backgrounds that have potentially heightened the sense of differentiation and territoriality within Cairo. Where questions have opened up, an empirical assessment has been adopted to further examine the present reality, through selecting a representative case study of the present dynamic of Cairo's urban environment. The purpose of the case study is bi-fold, first to examine the reality of territorial functioning in Cairo today. Second, take advantage of the direct contact with participants to tap into cognitive processes of differentiation, where perhaps some questions can be answered for what has been and is being observed.

The following case study has been selected based on a checklist fit for territorial functioning assessment:

a) A location that contains visibly different neighbouring communities, economically, aesthetically and spatially , within one geographic zone.
b) Clear, physically identified territories.
c) Representative of the present/recent urban planning development in Cairo.

Accordingly, four adjacent residential settlements has been selected as the case study, situated in the context of New Cairo.

5.1.1 Context: New Cairo, the “new” Cairo

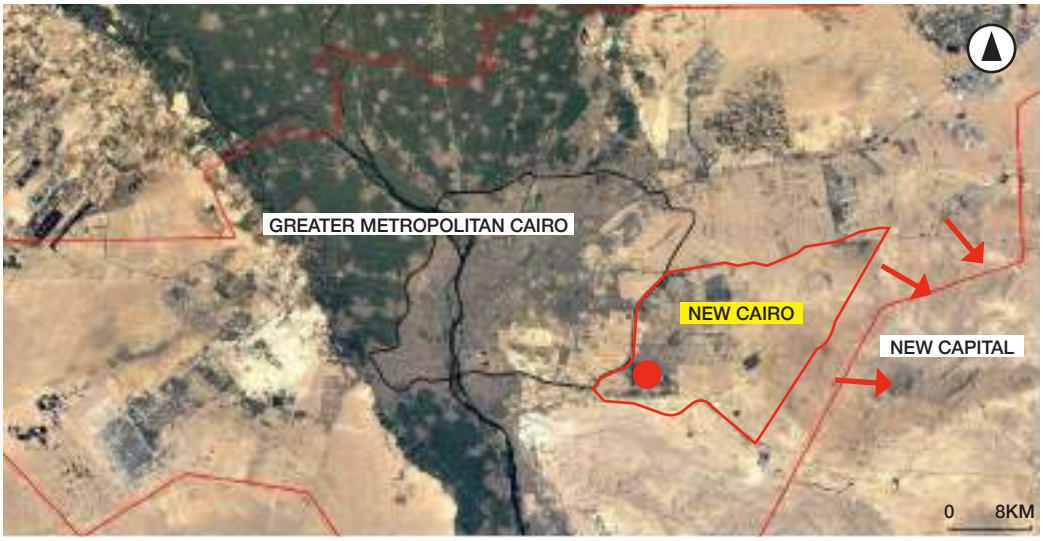

Figure 5.1: New Cairo within the administrative boundary of Greater Metropolitan Cairo

Before presenting the selected case study, a brief background on the making of New Cairo will be put forward. New Cairo is a dominantly sub-urban development located in the Eastern desert from Cairo, developed in the late 90s part of the 3rd generation of new cities in Egypt. “New Cairo was a new attempt to get out of the Egyptian capital with all its troubles” (Mahmoud and Rashed, 2016).

Initially the plan was to provide middle and low income housing, planned to relieve the pressure off the center (El Khorazaty, T., 2006, as cited in Mahmoud & Rashed, 2016), however, the neoliberal government arrived to the conclusion that the overhead costs of infrastructure in the desert was not attainable from public housing (Sabbour, 2018). Upon which, the government decided to pass on the flag of development to private investors, offering high income residential settlements, supported with few economic housing by the government.

Capitalizing on the proximity to central Cairo, yet only accessible through highways, investors held a grip on most lands, figure 5.2, to introduce suburban gated housing in the private market for the financially capable. The values promoted in those private settlements, however, solidified differentiation within the society, promoting exclusivity and the promise of a “better life”, yet only for those who can afford.

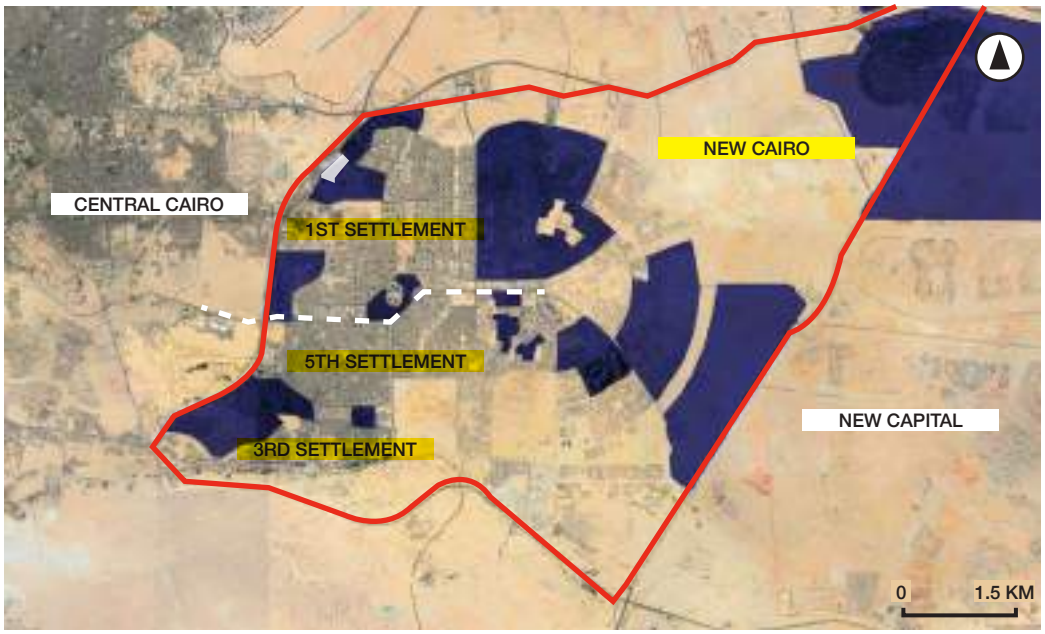

Figure 5.2: Private gated residences in New Cairo (Source: adapted from Mohamed, 2015)

The 4 selected territories, are located by the red dot highlighted in figure 5.1, at the intersection between the 5th settlement and the 3rd settlement in New Cairo. They contain 4 different socio-economic classes, visible from the typology of housing and the built environment, also the accompanied social aesthetic, figure 5.3. The zones have been classified according to the approximate property value of the standing housing units. Zone A named 'Tatweer Housing', categorized as a middle income class territory, zone B named '5th District Private Buildings' categorized as an upper-middle income class territory, zone C named 'Katameya Heights Compound' categorized as an upper income class territory, and finally zone D named 'Zelzal Emergency Housing' categorized as a low income public housing territory. A brief background on each zone will be elaborated in table 5.1, highlighting the date of development, the developing entity, the intended plan alongside the forces that shaped the existing plan as such, and finally the target user, as well as, the existing user.

Figure 5.3: New Cairo within the administrative boundary of Greater Metropolitan Cairo

Looking at the development background, each zone have affected one another, due to their physical proximity. In the early 90s, when New Cairo was yet planned as settlements for the middle and low income class, when the 1992 earthquake struck in Cairo, an emergency housing was developed in the current location of zone D to host the victims. In the words of one of the interviewees from zone D, *"the area was deserted, it didn't have an identified name, nor supporting services, we would go back to 'Sayeda Eisha' [their previous residence in the center] to get our groceries"*.

Zone	Name	Date of Develop -ment	Developer	Plan	Target User	Reality	Actual User	Forces that Changed the Plan
A	Tatweer Housing	2001	Government	Economic housing	Working class	Premium housing	Middle class	Mubarak's regime (Ibrahim Sulaiman): Increasing land value after the development of KH
B	5th District Private Buildings	2004	Government-Private Plots	Buffer between KH and economic housing	Upper middle class	Private plots sold to upper middle class	Upper middle class	Mubarak's regime (Ibrahim Sulaiman): Increasing land value after the development of KH
C	Katameya Heights (KH) Compound	1994-1997	Private Developer	An exclusive community at the extension of the city	Elite	An exclusive community in the extension of the city	Elite	Mubarak's regime (Ibrahim Sulaiman): Shifting the plan of New Cairo to host high income settlements
D	Zelzal Emergency Housing	1992	Government-Housing Cooperatives	Housing the victims of the Earthquake	1992 Earthquake victims	The western side was squatted in 2011, got evicted in 2019 and torn down afterwards	Earthquake victims and squatters	The development of KH and increase in land value

Table 5.1: Development background of the settlements selected for the case study in New Cairo.

Towards the end of the 1990s, a number of new communities were re-planned to cater for upper middle and high income classes (Abd-Alla & Kamel, 2010; Sabbour, 2018) as previously mentioned. Upon which, the development of one of the first exclusive gated communities in Cairo Katameya Heights, zone C, which is composed of stand-alone villas, a central huge golf course, and supporting services. Mohamed Salheen, professor of urban planning and head of IUSD program in Ain Shams University in Cairo, was one of the architects on the team responsible for the project. He stated that the properties were not offered for the public, but circulated among a closed network of potential owners.

The development of this exclusive gated residence toppled the neighbouring initial land value, and accordingly shifted the plan of the surrounding area, as shown in the table. Zone A, was initially planned to be an economic housing for the supporting class of Katameya Heights, in the words of Salheen, and zone B, a green buffer between Katameya Heights and the economic housing in zone A. Unfortunately, there aren't any official records for the latter, other than the general change in plan for New Cairo to host higher property values. Yet, from another angle of investigation, the geographic development of both zones was observed in a time lapse, cross cut with the information provided by the residents in the prescribed zones participating in the interviews, all to construct an image of the described change in plans for zone A and B.

Zone B specifically, where till this very day is valued, and promoted for, based on its "golf view" of the adjacent Katameya Heights residence, as seen in the photo figure 5.4. Zone A was executed as a middle-income premium residence, composed of prototype buildings and shared green spaces and services. According to the words of one of the earliest residents in zone A, there was an appointed security company to guard the zone, where the surrounding area was deserted, *"it was like the present-day compound [gated residence] with all its qualities, but without the fence"*.

Figure 5.4: A private building in zone B, overlooking Katameya Heights residence with a sign stating "Golf View", zone C.

Figure 5.5: Zone A, Tatweer Housing in New Cairo.

5.1.2 Methodology

Process

The purpose of the case study is to examine the current status of territorial functioning within New Cairo, through deducing patterns of behaviours in the studied communities. This is a qualitative study, that adopts a phenomenological approach, upon which the purpose is to understand an essence of a lived experience (Creswell, 2014), from which one could draw patterns of territorial functioning to be addressed and negotiated.

Based on the three constituents of territorial functioning, space, society and cognition, the study has been composed into two main parts, figure 5.6. First a site visit for each zone, to note down the composition of the space; the types of housing, dominant aesthetic, main features, and the physical boundaries between the territories. This was conducted on several phases, initially a non-purposeful walk within and between the different territories based on their accessibility. Then a purposeful, observational visit for each territory to note down their spatial attributes.

Second part is composed of a set of semi structured interviews with residents of each territory. The purpose of the interviews is to socially profile the residents of each territory based on their perspectives and statements. In addition, tap into their cognitions by asking specific questions that allow them to elaborate on their perceptions of societal differentiation, as well as the subconscious processes upon which they identify them selves against others, within their space and externally as well.

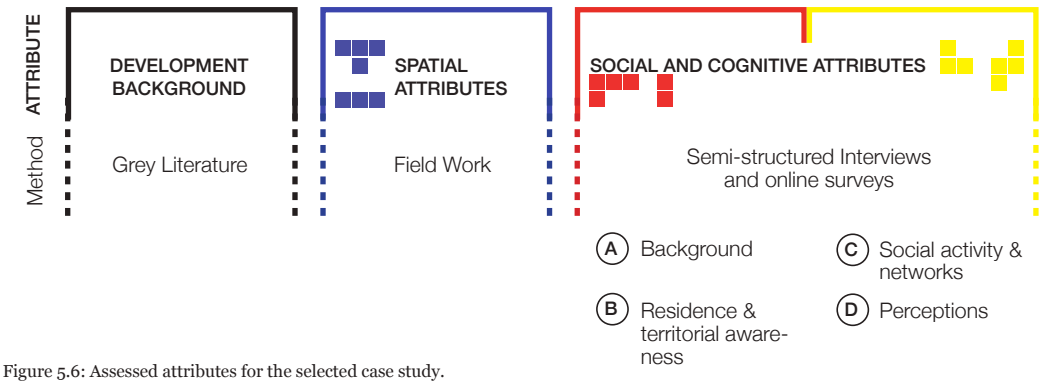

Figure 5.6: Assessed attributes for the selected case study.

Initially, the intention was to conduct semi-structured interviews with a random sample of residents. This was fulfilled successfully, in the early stages mid February, covering at least 2 participants of each territory,through reaching out for people whether through social media platforms, or through my personal networks and their networks as well. However, following the emergence of corona virus, that emerged in Egypt mid March, people were hard to reach, physically and at some point even by phone.

Accordingly, an online survey was drafted based on the findings of the interviews, and put online on social media platforms, upon which more participants were able to engage. Some of the survey participants, however, reside in different zones in New Cairo than the studied zones. Nonetheless, their responses were valuable to the research as will be highlighted later.

The questions have been divided as such [a sample is attached in the appendix]:
a) First, identifying their background in terms of age group, origin, education, and whether they are the primary guardians of their residence.

b) Second, a set of questions about their residence/territory and their territorial awareness. They were asked primarily about their previous residence to reveal their previous environments, from which one could understand their social background, as previously highlighted in literature. How the latter has affected their behaviours and their exposure, as well as the driving factors for their residential mobility. Afterwards, they were asked about their current residence in terms of ownership, territorial awareness, safety and comfort levels, revealing their sense of ownership and identification of space.

c) Third, assessing their social activities and networks, familiarity and relationships within their residence and outside, revealing their integration levels and exposure.

d) Lastly, tap into their perceptions in terms of how they identify the community they belong to, “us”, and how do they identify others who they see themselves different from, “them”. Lastly how do they perceive the physical boundaries between spaces, and whether they acknowledge them or not.

Limitations

The field work was met with some limitation that affected the process. Primarily, my position as the researcher of a study that explores and dissects issues of class structure and differentiation within the Egyptian society of Cairo, of which I am a member of. I claim to position myself as the following: privately/internationally educated, resident of upper-middle class suburbs in New Cairo, whose social network is mostly confined to middle and upper-middle class neighbourhoods located in the eastern-western corridor of the city. My status in the society, regardless of the perspective through which one might view it as, has definitely affected the network of participants that I could reach out for my study. In fact, the latter underpins the hypothesis of the research which highlights and questions the existence of territorial boundaries between the different social groups and classes in Cairo.

Second, the case study acquires the gated residence of Katameya Heights zone C as one of the studied zones. As a gated residence, Katameya Heights is not accessible, except for the club house area, which is located on the periphery of the residential compound, or for a personal visit, upon which the security would allow you in. Accordingly I could not conduct the purposeful visit initially before reaching out to interviewees, and later due to the corona virus situation, meeting the participants in person was not possible anymore. Reaching out for participants in zone C was quite challenging as well due to the willingness and approachability of participants.

While the study has been set as a qualitative study to extract general patterns and expressed meanings, without depending on statistical data, the number of participants were slightly limited. The initial plan was to interview similar number of participants in each zone, yet the participants were unevenly distributed between the zones. Primarily due to my social position within the society, that limited my outreach for groups of zones A and D particularly. But also, the corona virus situation challenged further efforts to communicate with people.

Finally, each zone had further particularities and limitations, that will be discussed in the elaborated analysis of each zone in the following sections. The articulation and correlation of the information of each zone will be elaborated separately and in reference to its adjacent territories.

Overview

Total number of participants were 30, distributed between the studied zones and other territories in New Cairo, as figure 5.7 below shows. 2 participants zone A, 11 participant zone B, 5 participants other private buildings, 4 participants zone C, 4 participants other gated residence, and 4 participants in zone D.

The general background of all participants are presented in the following pie charts, figures 5.8-5.13. The specified attributes are: gender, age group, place of origin, education, ownership of residence and the accompanying residents. The majority of the respondents were female, of age group 25-35 years old, born in Cairo, acquired higher education from public and private universities, own their houses, and either live with their parents or their smaller families.

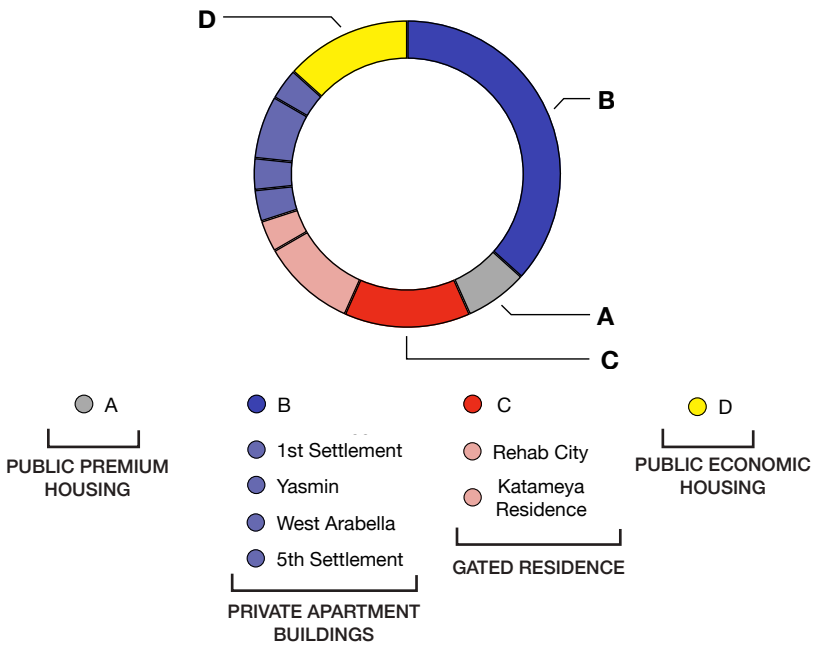

Figure 5.7: Distribution of the participants based on their territories and types of housing

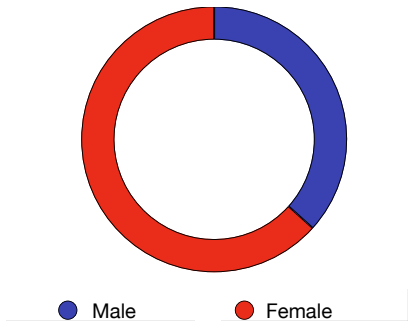

Figure 5.8: Participants gender distribution

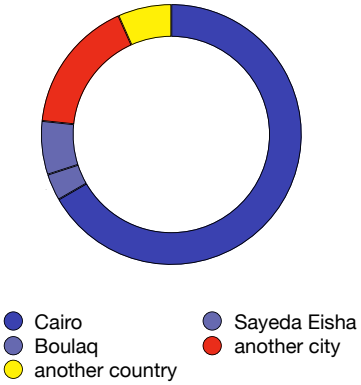

Figure 5.9: Participants place of origin distribution

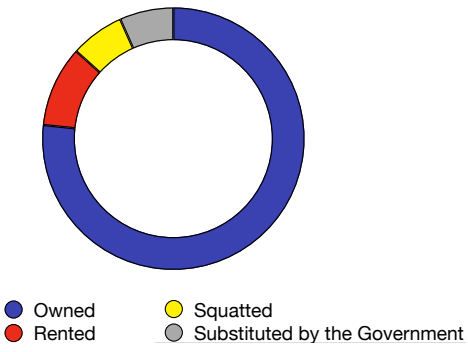

Figure 5.10: Participants residence ownership distribution

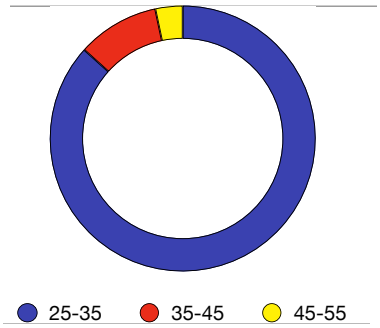

Figure 5.11: Participants age distribution

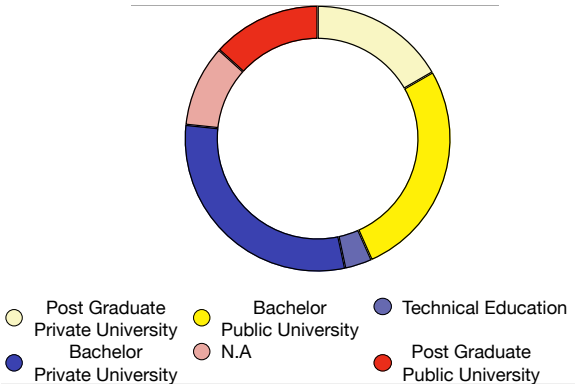

Figure 5.12: Participants education distribution

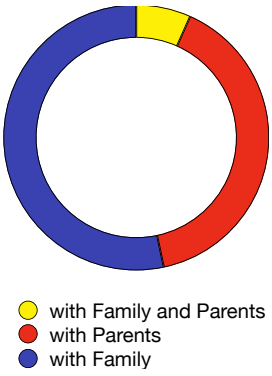

Figure 5.13: Participants accompanying residents distribution

5.2 Zone A: Tatweer Housing

Zone A is a very intriguing territory, it is a premium public housing, and considered one of the earliest residential areas in the 5th settlement of New Cairo, dating back to 2001. It has prototype apartment buildings, spacious shared green spaces and supporting services. It even used to have its own security, at its earlier years, when the surrounding area was yet deserted, making it as one of the participants stated "*almost a compound [gated residence] but without the fence*". The "compound" being the most aspired type of gated residence currently in Cairo. Yet, somehow, due to the deteriorated aesthetic in most parts due to lack of maintenance, the area is stigmatized as a poor quality neighbourhood, as described by residents of adjacent areas.

Unfortunately, the number of participants of this zone was quite little, only 2 direct interviewees, and 1 indirect through a family member living else where. The background of the development, the observed site and the responses of the participants, from the zone itself and the adjacent zones, was quite insightful however.

Figure 5.14: Zone A Tatweer Housing in New Cairo and the surrounding areas

Background:

Due to the limited number of participants in this zone, the participants background will be simply stated without any analytical charts. The interviewees profiles are as follows:

- An old lady, who's living alone and it was an indirect interview through a relative, who lives elsewhere.
- 2 adults, male and female, in their mid 20s, who live with their parents. Both hold a bachelor degree from public universities.

Spatial Features:

As previously mentioned, Tatweer Housing is composed of prototype apartment building clusters, with open green spaces, and supporting amenities. Lack of maintenance is visible in the area on some buildings and in the green spaces as well. However, some buildings show to have been invested in to upgrade the buildings façades.

Figure 5.15: Zone A Tatweer Housing apartment building prototypes

Figure 5.16: Zone A Tatweer Housing parking areas

It has a clear spatial identification, due to its urban plan and architectural prototypes. Thus achieving a clear territorial boundary, as identified by its residents and the neighbouring areas, despite having a porous spatial boundary. The intersection between the adjacent areas is often composed of green spaces or parking pockets. Nonetheless, little interaction occurs in those shared spaces between the residents of both sides, as have been observed and revealed through the participants interviews.

Figure 5.17: Zone A Tatweer Housing green spaces

Figure 5.18: Zone A Tatweer Housing intersection with Zone B

Residence and Territorial Awareness:

Participants identified their territorial boundary as the entire planned zone of Tatweer. The 2 adults had no reference of their previous residence, since they grew up in Tatweer. Their clear territorial awareness of Tatweer appears to be the product of several factors; 1) the identifiable spatial aesthetic of the area, on the urban and architectural space (Sirgy & Cornwell, 2002), 2)the factor of growing up in the area (Krysan & Crowder, 2017), and 3) the presence of shared community space, where as kids growing up they spent most of their time there, with their neighbours' kids (Sirgy & Cornwell, 2002).

Their sense of ownership and safety was correlated to the sense of community established throughout their years of upbringing supported by the availability of shared community spaces, upon their words.

> *"Everyone know each other and we love the area, even when the municipality stopped maintaining the area (4 years ago), residents joined together to renovate some buildings".*

They elaborated that the livability associated with the community presence and interaction established a secure space. Both have highlighted however that a lot of residents were moving out to either gated residence or private properties in New Cairo. Where one participant pointed out on the value of having a fenced

area to establish a sense of security for his prospective family. He elaborated that it is currently the better model for a residential space, despite his comfort with his existing residence. In fact, the latter highlights the weight of social influences and induced inspirations.

Social Networks & Perceptions:

The two participating adults relied on private cars for mobility, upon which their social activity stretched to their social network. Their social network is related to the locations of their universities and their social circle, which lied in the integrated east-west corridor (Mohamed et al., 2014), from 6th October and Mohandesein to Heliopolis and New Cairo, figure 5.19 . Their identified social network indicates higher exposure to the center of the city and its different social groups, in contrast to groups such as in zone B that are mostly restricted to New Cairo.

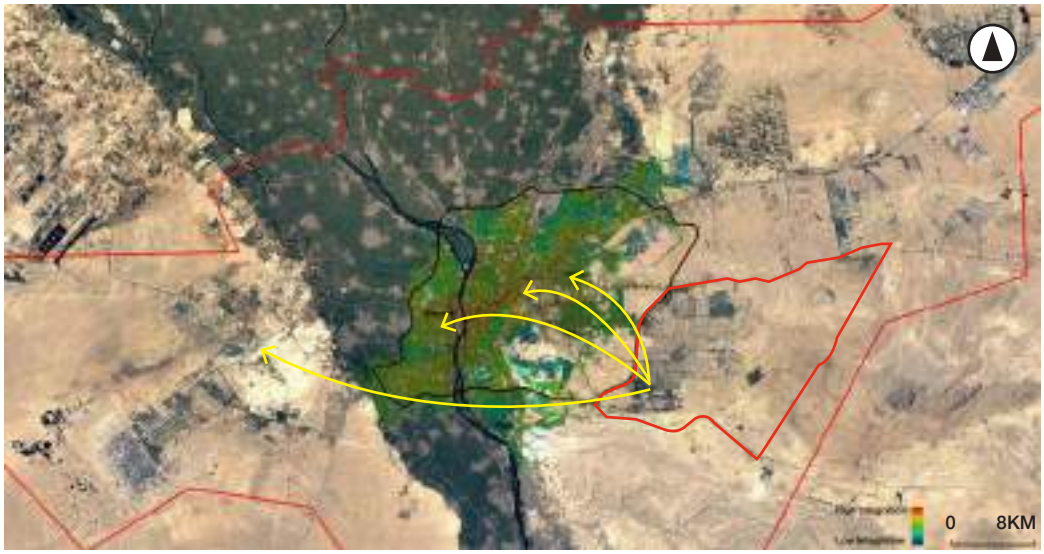

Figure 5.19: Social network map for participants of zone A, overlaid with urban integration map adapted from: Mohamed et al., 2014

They identified the community they belonged to based upon levels of education, lifestyle and morals. When referring to the neighbouring communities, the surrounding belt of zone B and the private properties of the 5th district, both felt integrated with the surrounding and could identify with the community. *"Having a different type of residence doesn't make us different"* as one participant stated. Both only acknowledged the different features of the housing typology, not even the property value.

On the contrary, most residents from zone B identified the residents of Tatweer, zone A, as a different community from themselves, mostly basing their opinions on the property value of the area. The latter is a classic scenario of categorizing social groups based on the aesthetic of the area of residence and the fact that it is a governmental housing project.

5.3 Zone B: 5th District Private Buildings

Zone B is a strip of 5-storey apartment buildings, sold as plots by the government to be developed privately. This strip was initially a green buffer zone between Katameya Heights Residence, zone C, and zone A ,when the latter was developed to be an economic public housing, according to one of the experts who worked on the development of Katameya Heights.

Following the change of development plans of New Cairo, during Mubarak's regime, to host mostly upper-middle socioeconomic classes, the strip was considered a prime location. Specially, following the development plans of Katameya Heights. Zone B, thus, is only a zone based on the housing typology and not its urban plan, being only "*a street*", as one interviewee highlighted. Nonetheless, a prime location overlooking the golf course of Katameya Heights from one side, and from another side overlooking the expensive, upper-income development of Choueifat, named after an international prestigious school that is situated there. In addition, an expensive private property, catering upper-middle socioeconomic class.

Figure 5.20: Zone B 5th District Private Buildings in New Cairo and the surrounding areas

As previously mentioned, being member of the studied society, the boundaries of the society were at play in the process of reaching out to participants as well. Based on which, among the 4 studied zones, I was able to reach the highest number of participants from the zones that hosted social groups similar to my own. Zone B had the highest number of participants.

Background:

The number of participants from zone B are 9, and the following charts represent the general background of the interviewees: gender, age group, education, ownership and accompanying residents.

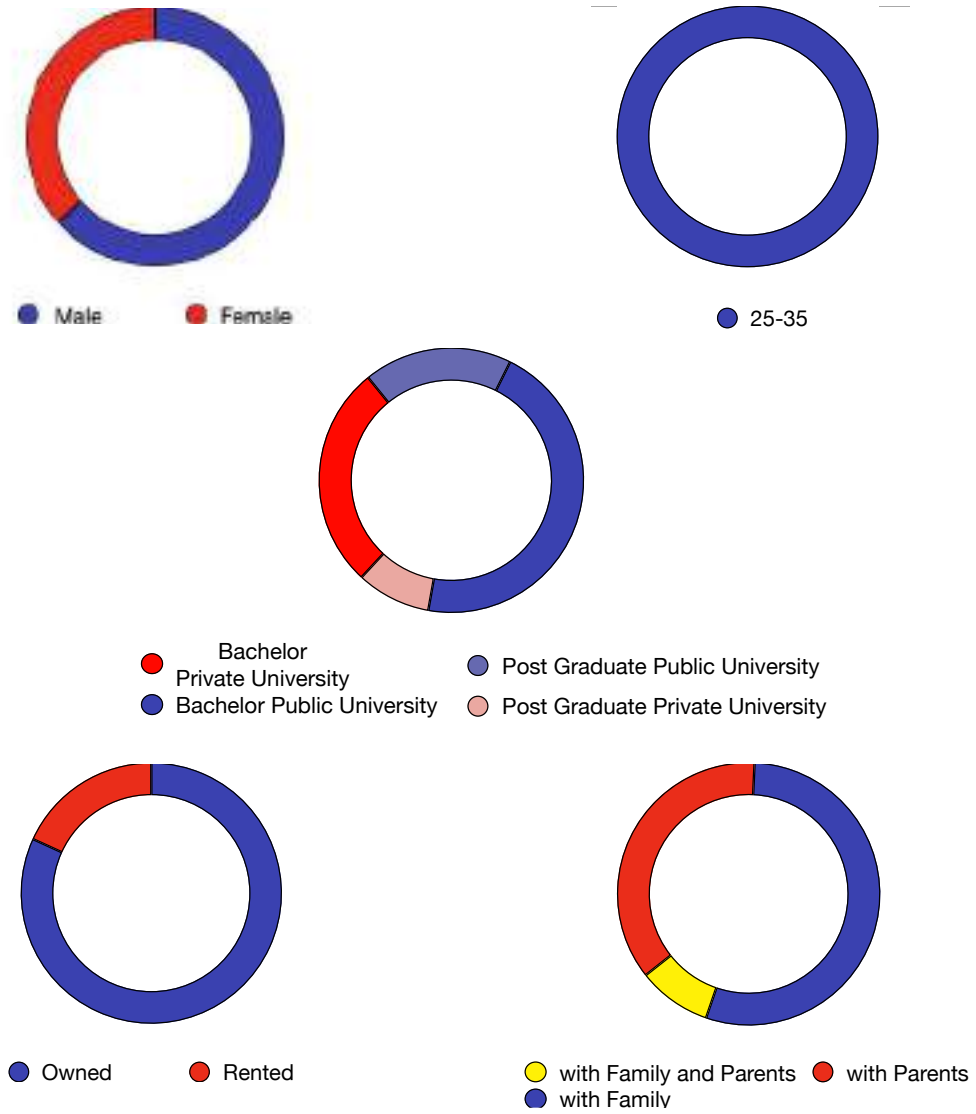

Figure 5.21: General background of participants in zone B

Spatial Features:

Zone B is observed and identified by the residents as a street. As mentioned before, it does not have an urban boundary or plan. It is composed of private properties hosting 5 story residential buildings, with front yard private gardens. Residents either own the entire building, or buy or rent an apartment from the owner of the property. The apartments have high property value, over looking premium views.

The buildings have a cutting boundary from the eastern side, which is the major road between Katameya Heights and Choueifat, almost impossible to pass on foot as seen in figure 5.22. The walking experience for passers by at this intersection is almost non-existent, also due to the lack of any destination in the immediate surrounding that is accessible on foot. In addition, the fenced front yards of the private plots to shield the private gardens, and the adjacent major road, demotivate any walking experience.

Figure 5.22: Zone B, 5th District apartment building, and Eastern boundary on a major road

Figure 5.23: Zone B, fences of private plots

On the other western side, figure 5.24, adjacent to zone A, Tatweer Housing, there exist a porous boundary composed of a local road, sidewalks and gardens that were planned part of zone A. Thus, accessible by foot if required, where a few participants mentioned they walk their dogs through this intersection. Nonetheless, scarce activity and interaction, exist in this boundary for two reasons: unmaintained infrastructure, sidewalks and gardens, and social prejudices of residents from zone B, as have been stated.

Figure 5.24: Intersection between 5th District Buildings, zone B, and Tatweer Housing, zone A

Residence and Territorial Awareness:

Since zone B does not have an identified boundary, only a strip/street identifiable with its type of housing, participants, inherently, do not identify with a wider residential boundary. They only identify with the physical boundary of their own properties, followed by the wider 5th district which they are assigned to. Based on which, their activity within their immediate residential area was almost none.

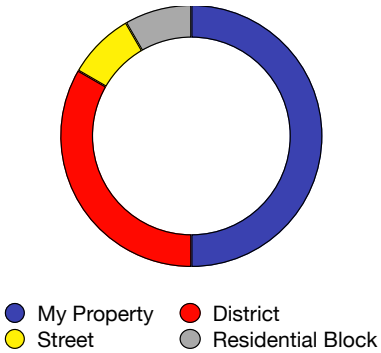

Figure 5.25: Territorial identification in zone B

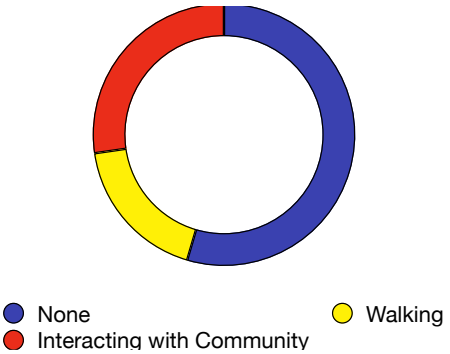

Figure 5.26: Social interaction within zone B

As have been pointed out in the literature of Krysan & Crowder (2017, pg.42), residential neighbourhoods have an integral role in one's social outlooks, which happens to be relevant to the society in Cairo as well. Particularly to residents of new cities, such as New Cairo, participants of the age group 25-35 have commonly had their upbringing in central Cairo.

Participants of zone B have mostly relocated from Heliopolis, as shown in figure 5.27, which is a historical neighbourhood in Cairo with its own peculiarities and heritage. Perhaps, standing now as a mixed social income group settlement, yet dominantly considered as an upper-middle and middle class neighbourhood. Generally, when people of the same age group consider changing their residence, as in the study's case mostly for marriage or upgrading their living conditions, they opt for the geographic extension of their original settlement in central Cairo, east to New Cairo, or west to 6th of October, to maintain proximity.

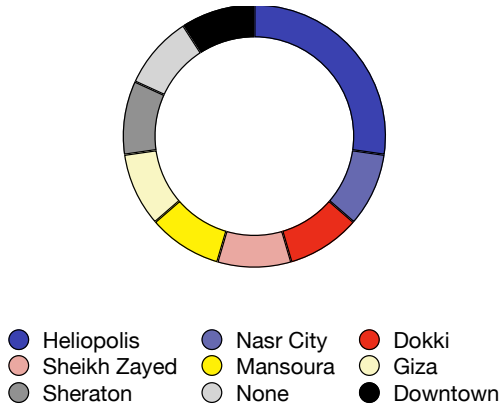

Figure 5.27: Previous residence for participants of zone B

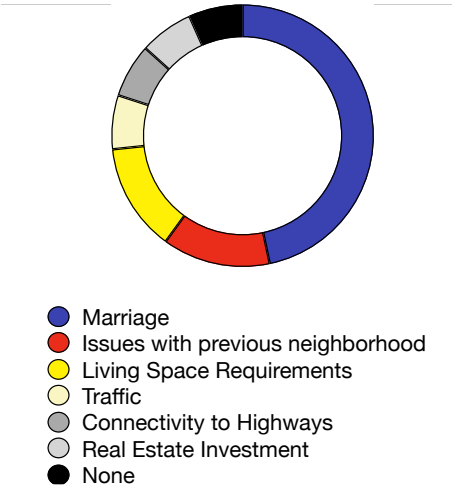

Figure 5.28: Reasons for relocation for participants of zone B

To reveal the cognitive processes behind the choice of their current residence, participants were asked a bifold question: what made them leave, and what were they looking for in their choice of residential space. The responses were mostly constituted in safety and quietness, but also green spaces and social status. Corresponding to what they have identified as the most disadvantages of their previous neighbourhoods being crowdy and noisy, along others. Respons-

es indicate the persisting urban pressure in central Cairo, in addition to the urge to escape the “crowd” of mixed social groups dominating the center. Many opt to escape from and relocate in the neighbouring suburban communities, upon affordability, to upgrade their living conditions, including their status, or start their new lives with their families, for young couples.

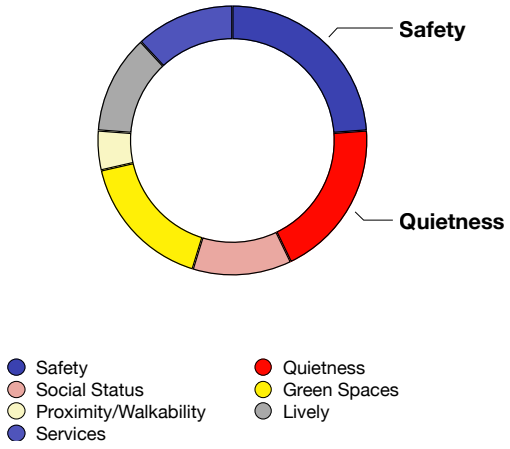

Figure 5.29: Aspirations for residential areas for participants of zone B

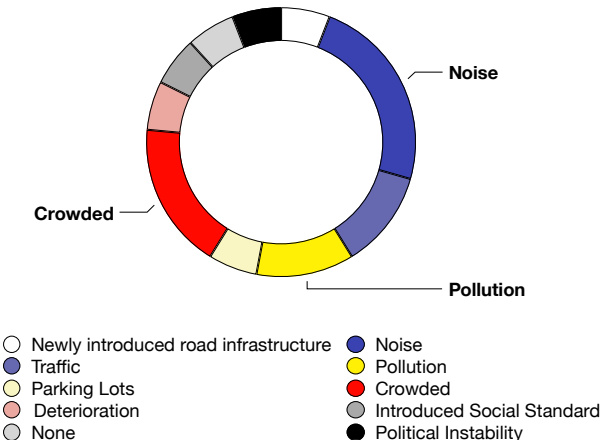

Figure 5.30: Problem with previous neighbourhoods for participants of zone B

In contrast to their current territorial identification of zone B that was mostly limited to their private properties, when at their previous residences they identified with the entire neighbourhood as their territory. This, in fact, reflected on their sense ownership, and their sense of safety as well, that expanded and contracted according to their identified territorial boundaries then and now.

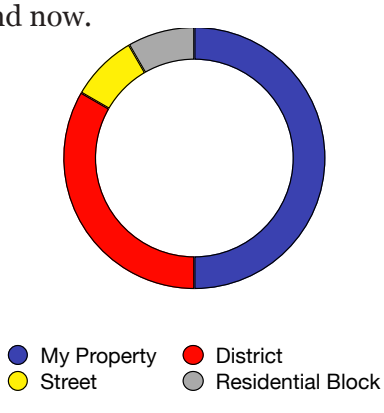

Figure 5.31: Territorial identification in zone B

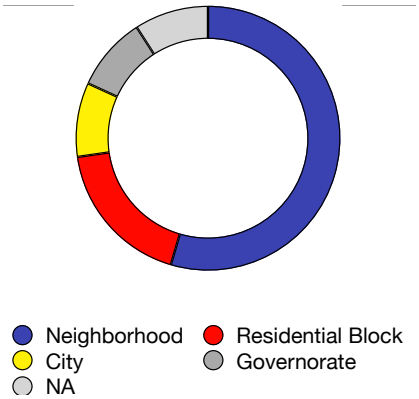

Figure 5.32: Territorial identification in previous residential neighbourhoods for participants in zone B

Regarding their sense of safety, participants identified their most desired measures of safety to be liveability, community and security, all which they lack in zone B. Yet somehow, the points referred to are similar to the points that initially repelled them from their previous residence. Thus highlighting a fine border between the crowd in central Cairo that is mixed and reorganized, and the filtered community of their desired characteristics. Also the distinction between noise and livability that repels and attracts residents to places. The latter, thus far, highlights points of community distinction based on which groups erect territorial boundaries among each other.

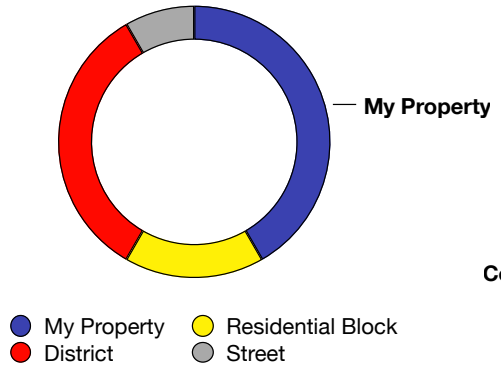

Figure 5.33: Limits of safety & ownership for participants of zone B

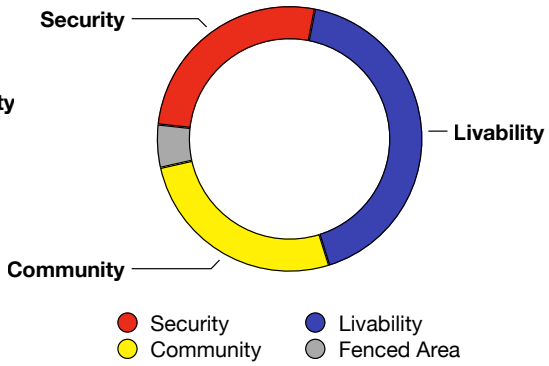

Figure 5.34: Required safety measures for participants of zone B

Social Networks & Perceptions:

Capitalizing on the weight of community among participants, and from the general hypothesis of the study, at the end of the interview/survey participants were asked directly to describe the community as which they see themselves part of; “Us”. Most participants acknowledge shared morals and lifestyle. While when asked about the other neighbouring communities; “them”, they were between ‘similar’ and two sectors of ‘different’ lifestyle and financial capabilities. It has to be pointed out that perceptions are subjective, nonetheless, there is a tendency to refer to lifestyle as an aspect of similarity and difference.

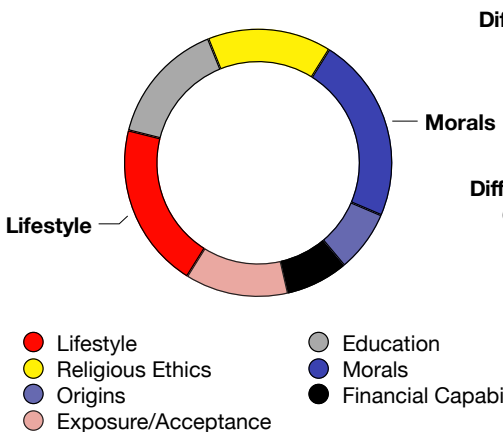

Figure 5.35: Defining characteristics of community group for zone B

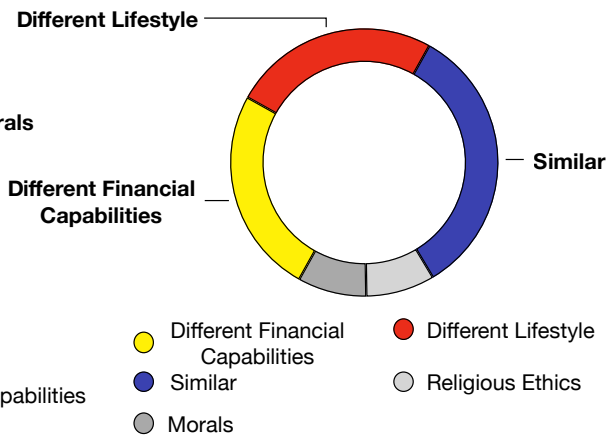

Figure 5.36: Defining characteristics of neighbouring communities for zone B

Lifestyle in this argument, and in Cairo precisely or neoliberal consumerist Egypt, often depends on affordability. For residents of zone B, lifestyle and social networks comprise a major factor upon which they develop their sense of differentiation and accordingly their territorial boundaries. Most have identified their territory to be confined to their property, where they would have the control over their space and lifestyle as well. Given their mode of accessibility being private vehicles, and the limited time spent in their zone, mostly at their private properties, their houses are mere transitional points for their social lives. Their community is identified by their non-spatial social networks. Proven as well by the social networks of the participants, almost the majority, have identified their social activity confined to New Cairo.

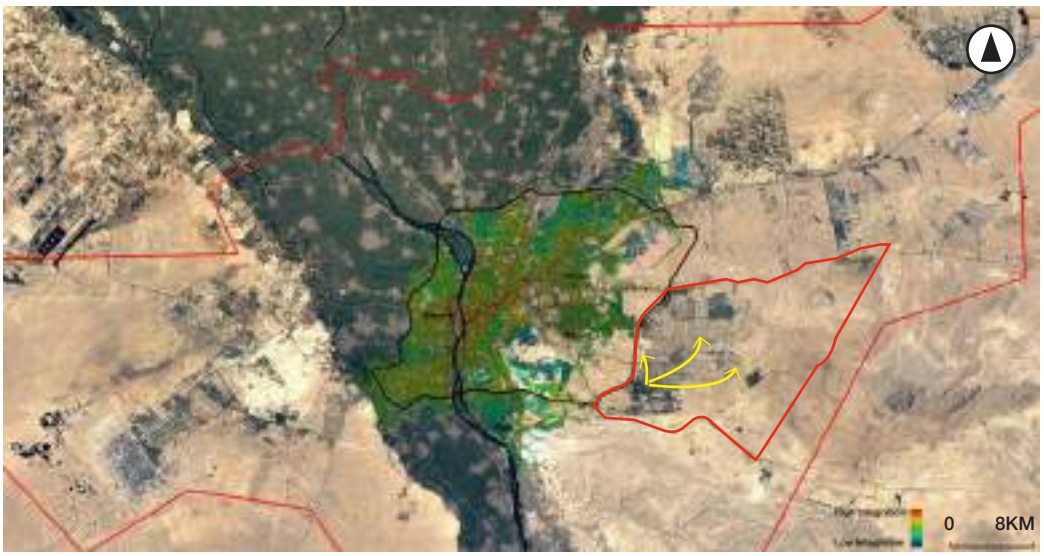

Figure 5.37: Social network map for participants of zone B, overlaid with urban integration map (source: Mohamed et al., 2014)

However, it is vital to highlight that the spatial distribution of zone B, hardly forms any spatial territory due to its spatial configuration and lack of open spaces for outdoor activities. Ultimately, it is a street, with individual territories of private properties, demotivating any community or shared activity.

The previous partially explains the aspiration behind gated communities. According to their statements, the physical boundaries that gated settlements erect, is a mere representation of a sense of safety, good services and infrastructure, and privacy, figure 5.38. *"It is more relaxed"*, as one participant stated, "*but isolating*". In addition, they praised the privacy offered in gated residences, essentially 'community' privacy, where often community screening processes occur by the developers when residents purchase their units. Several participants have actually capitalized on the limits enforced by the physical boundaries of gated residences, but were willing to endure it for the sake of the benefits offered within the gates.

"Against the concept- but still they offer benefits compared to non-gated".

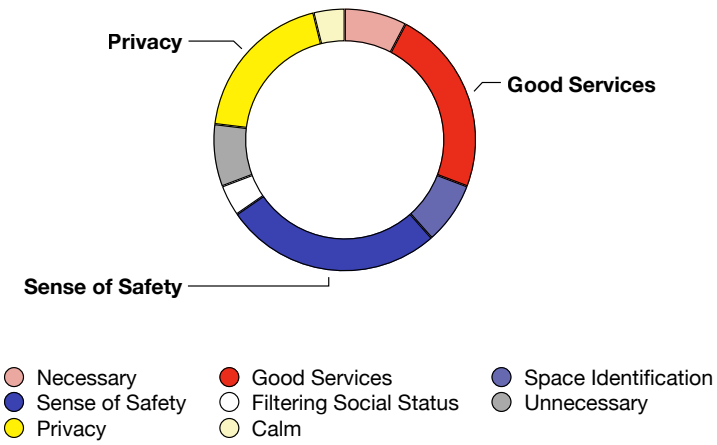

Figure 5.38: Perception of physical boundaries of gated communities for participants of zone B

5.4 Group C: Katameya Heights and Gated Residences

Zone C initially referred to Katameya Heights gated residence 'KH' of the case study. Yet, two limitations hindered a wide coverage of participants, where only four participants agreed to participate in the study. First, approachability, as a matter of fact, barely 9 participants were contacted from Katameya Heights, yet only 4 were willing to respond. Second, the emergence of the pandemic hindered my own capability to approach the territory itself, even the publicly accessible area, and perhaps manage to approach more respondents.

Figure 5.39: Zone B 5th District Private Buildings in New Cairo and the surrounding areas

When the data collection method was shifted from direct interviews to an online survey, due to the limitations previously mentioned, the area coverage for potential participants was expanded from the four zones, described earlier, to the entirety of New Cairo. From the total number of respondents, there were few who reside in gated residences. Accordingly, zone C became group C, which not only examines Katameya Heights, but generally residents who reside in gated residences. The clarification will be made clear nonetheless.

In addition to participants from Katameya Heights, three other participants reside in Rehab City, an expansive gated settlement in New Cairo, developed in 1997 as a 'comprehensive city' by one of the major private developers in Egypt Talaat Mostafa Group. Unlike KH, where it is mostly a luxurious residential and tightly exclusive community, Rehab City has a wider scale of social groups, land use, and housing prototypes. It was developed right after the development of KH. Another participant reside in Katameya residence, which is a smaller scale gated residential settlement, hosting upper-middle to High income social groups.

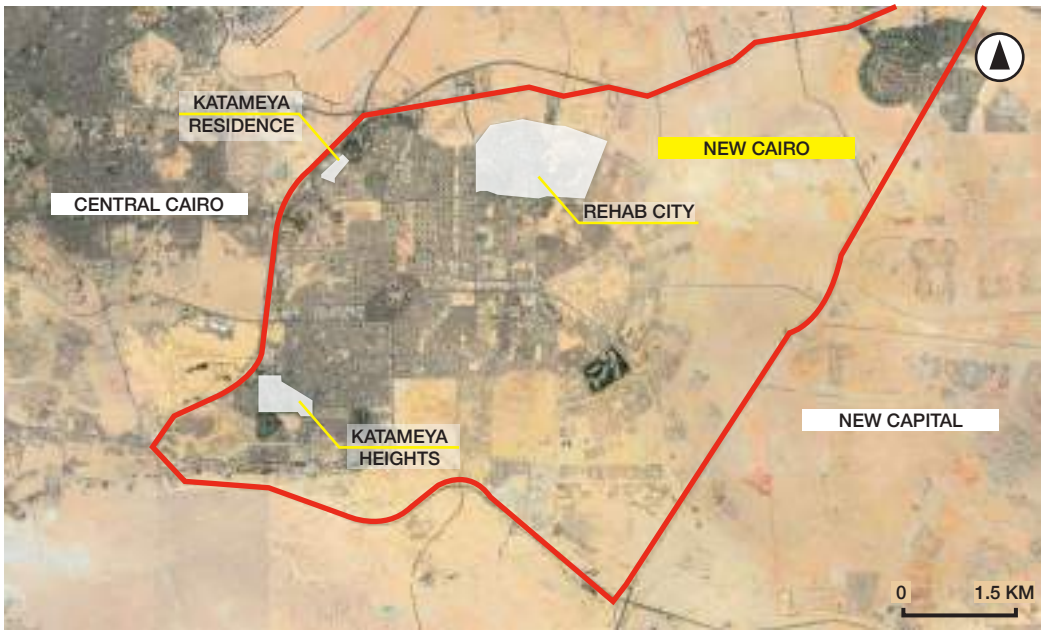

Figure 5.40: Map of New Cairo showing the locations of the three gated residences where participants for group C reside

Background:

The number of participants in group C are 8, 4 from Katameya Heights, 3 from Rehab City, and 1 from Katameya Residence. The following charts represent the general background of the interviewees: gender, age group, education, ownership and accompanying residents.

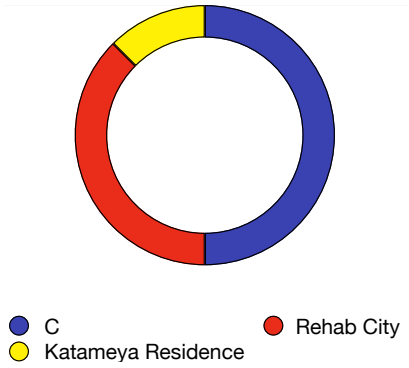

Figure 5.41: Group C participants distribution according to their residence

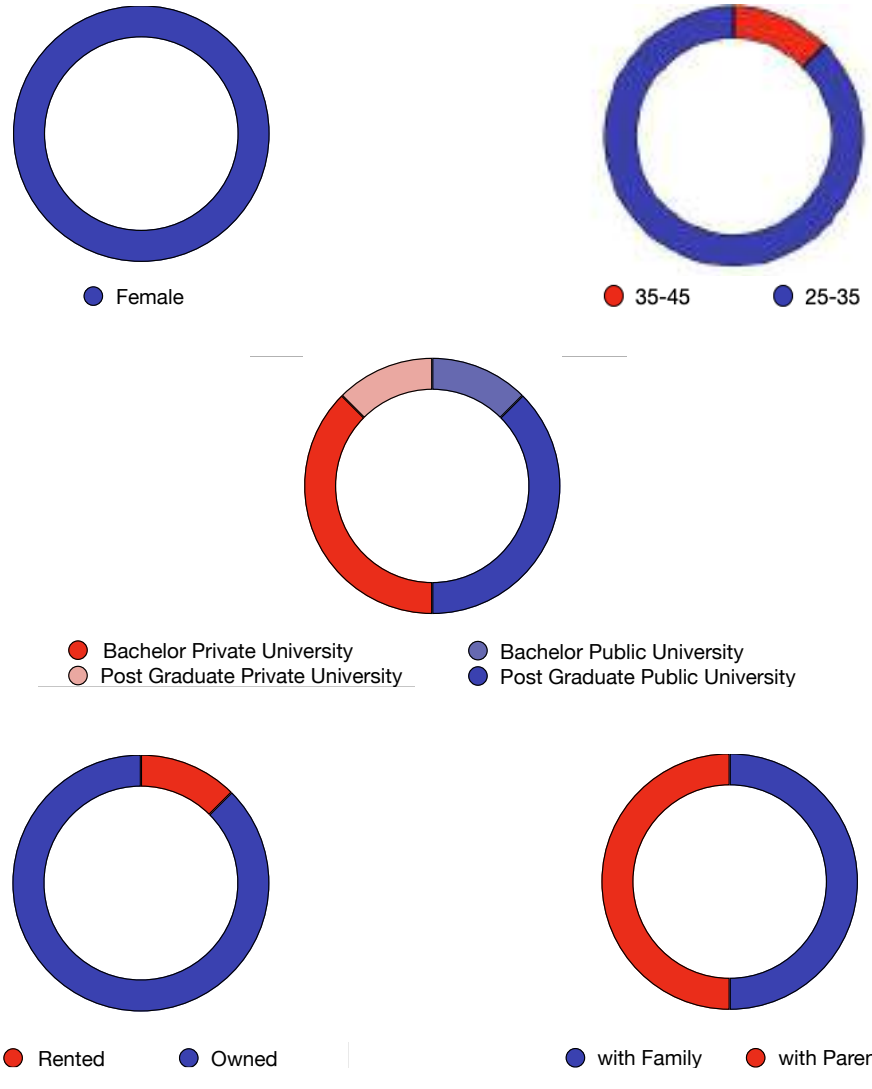

Figure 5.42: General background of participants in Group C

Spatial Features:

Katameya Heights compound is composed of single unit villas with open spaces and a huge golf course, only the club house area is accessible to the public. Whereas Rehab City is more of a complete 'city', given the name, with a vast area coverage, has a variety of housing units from villas to apartment buildings, with supporting services, schools, clubs, commercial areas and more. Recently it has confined public access to few gates, where as the rest is dedicated for private residents. Katameya Residence, on the other hand, is a small compound comprised of diverse housing units and a club house area that is accessible to the public. The common identifying factor between the three residences is the surrounding fenced boundary, with security gates for access.

Figure 5.43: Katameya Heights Villa (Source: Katameyaheights-villas)

Figure 5.44: Katameya Residence (Source: propertyfinder)

Figure 5.45: Rehab City (Source: alrehabcity)

Residence & Territorial Awareness:

Participants of group C have mostly identified their territory as the entire fenced area of their residence, what is commonly referred to as the "compound". Having a clear boundary for the residential area clearly instils a cognitive territorial boundary for residents. Responsively, most respondents partake in some activity within their territory, utilizing the availability of facilities, open space and supporting infrastructure of sidewalks and more.

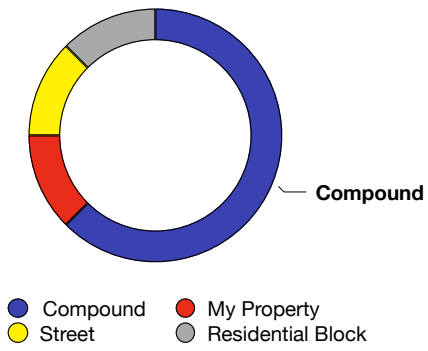

Figure 5.46: Territorial identification for group C

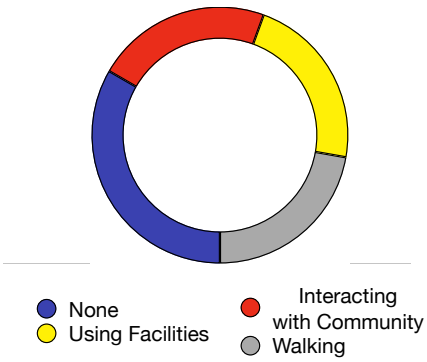

Figure 5.47: Social activity within the territory for group C

While the participants identified their current territory based on the rigid boundary of their gated residence, they identified still, like most residents of central Cairo, the entire neighbourhood as their territory. The latter indicates the effect of urban space and its distribution on the sense of territoriality, against the physical boundary that implicates more than territorial identification.

The majority of participants have relocated form Nasr City and Heliopolis, middle to upper-middle income neighbourhoods, which extensions' are New Cairo. Unlike zone B, participants of group C have relocated to gated communities for mostly residential space requirements and upgrade, in addition to other factors, but specially the factor of social standard. Social status has been commonly identified among the participants of group C as a requirement for residential space, in addition to quietness, green spaces, and safety. Evidently that which "compounds" stand to offer, for the financially capable group.

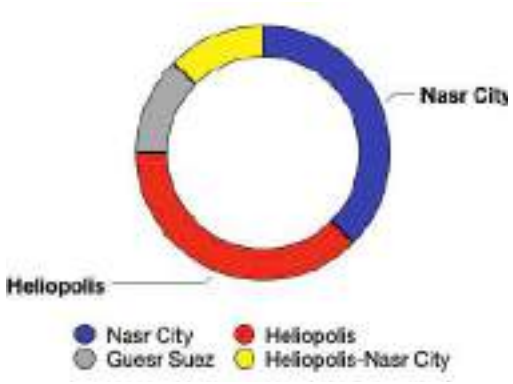

Figure 5.48: Previous residence for participants of group C

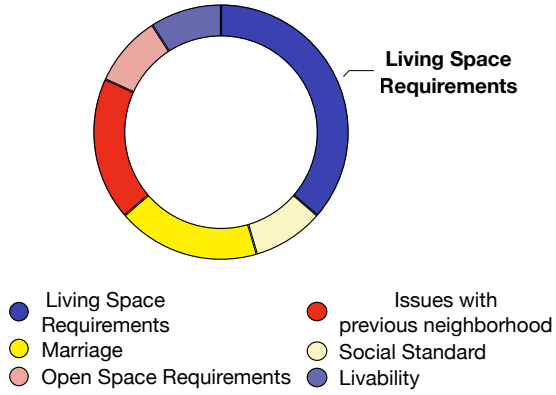

Figure 5.49: Reasons for relocation for participants of group C

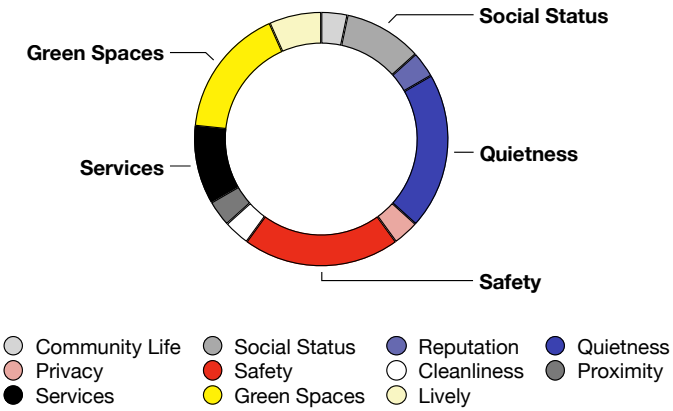

Figure 5.50: Requirements for residential space according to participants of group C

Similarly, their sense of safety and ownership was confined to the same identified territorial boundary of their gated residence. The appointed security at the gates, and the fenced boundary were identifiable factors for required measures of safety.

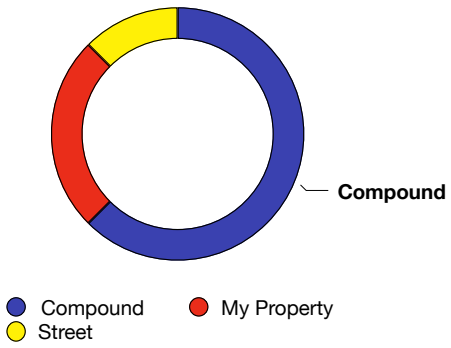

Figure 5.51: Limits of safety & ownership for participants of group C

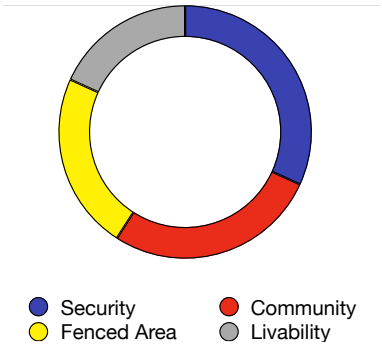

Figure 5.52: Required measures of safety for participants of group C

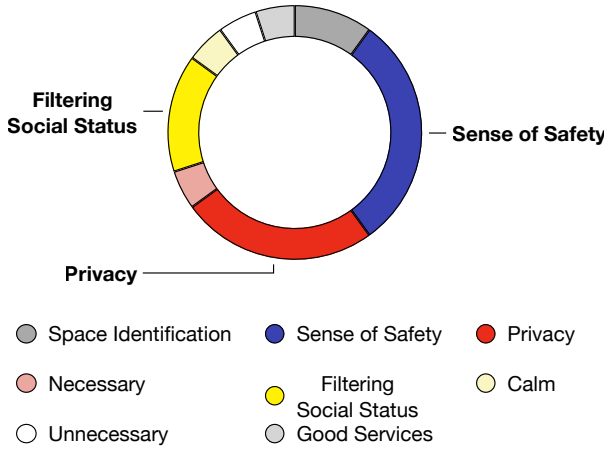

Figure 5.53: Value of gated communities for participants of group C

To further clarify the value behind gated communities, participants were asked the latter directly. Responses clarified the sense of safety instilled by the fence and the security, and concurrently, 'community' privacy that is guaranteed with the social filtration process run by developers, based upon customer needs. Clearly, the boundary erected with gated communities is a threshold for a desired social status, beyond any safety measures.

Social Networks & Perceptions:

Social status has been a consistent remark by the participants regarding the value of gated residences. When participants were asked on their perception of what they consider as their own social status and how they see themselves, "Us", factors were almost equally divided between morals, education, lifestyle and financial capability. The number and combination of factors impose a higher filtration process, nonetheless, than the previous groups. Their social networks, similar to participants from zone B, is confined to New Cairo, from one gated facility to the other by private vehicles, deeming even less exposure due to the limited social groups of their closed residence.

On the other hand, on their perception of the neighbouring communities, "Them", the consistent keyword is 'different', and what appears to be the insistence to set apart the other, who's lifestyle and financial capabilities are 'different'. Even though, aside from zone D, most neighbouring districts

are upper-middle income residential areas. The gated residence, in their case, manifests the boundaries and the urge to exclude from the different other, in addition to a social status upgrade from all areas that are not gated.

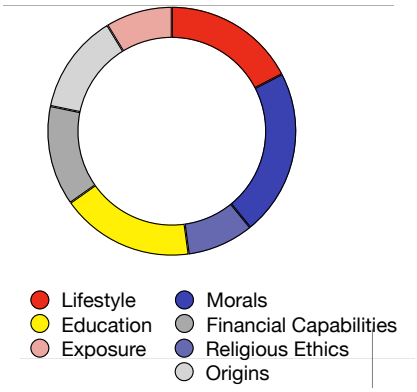

Figure 5.54: Defining characteristics of community group for Group C

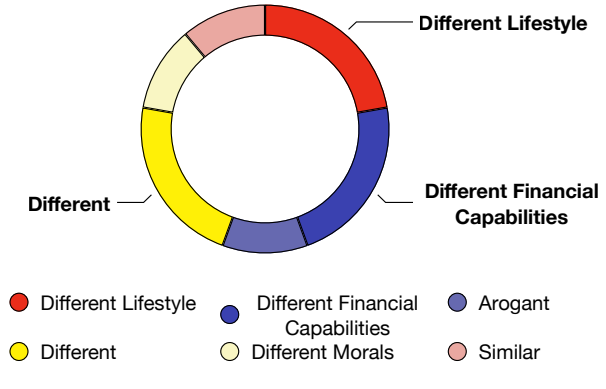

Figure 5.55: Defining characteristics of neighbouring communities for group C

Gated residences seem to represent and enforce the territorial boundaries of differentiation, through its filtration process, and rigid physical boundaries that willingly isolate its residents. As a type of residence, it affects social and spatial dynamics beyond establishing secure environments for its residents, where it visibly and cognitively instils sentiments of superior differentiation for their residents and the outsiders. Marketing strategies, in fact, capitalize on the latter as a selling point. That which was evident in the responses of the participants from both sides of the boundary. Nonetheless, aside from the latter, it does offer qualities of space that agreeably everyone strives for, yet only the select few could afford, stressing on the weight of wealth aside from any other factor.

> *"It [gated residence] has become necessary, specially that I have lived in it... it is a controlled space"*

5.5 Zone D: Zelzal Emergency Housing

Zone D lies adjacent to the wall of Katameya Heights, it has been developed as an emergency housing for the victims of the 1992 earthquake. It was composed of two parts, the original phase, on the Eastern side, which is still present today, that hosted the first wave of victims following the earthquake. The Western side was built as well but vacant until 2011, then became a squatter zone following the revolution (Abotawila, 2016), and has been evacuated in 2019. Those who had legal documents were substituted with rented apartments in a peripheral neighbourhood called Asmarat.

Zelzal Housing is one of the earliest developed settlements in New Cairo, residents moved in when New Cairo was still deserted. *"We had no identification",* one participant stated. New Cairo's change in development plans, altered the face of its surrounding consecutively. Until the rise of Katameya Heights, the elite gated residence, that affected the dynamic of the existing settlements.

Walking towards the area, for the first time, approaching from the deserted, walled scene of the major roads cutting through the fabric of the studied area in New Cairo, suddenly appeared a busy, highly informal, street life at the edge of the wall of KH. The boundaries of my social identification that I subconsciously held, immediately stood out against the closed familiarized community of the area. I stood as an outsider, and had to find an acquaintance who lived within the community to be able to approach any potential participants. Consequently, only four participants were reached, nonetheless their participation contributed to rounding the understanding of the dynamics of the society from a different perspective.

Questions in the interviews were tailored for the participants in a format of a casual conversation in consideration to the subjected struggles some of them faced. Therefore, only pivotal points that emerged in reference to the studied topic will be elaborated.

Figure 5.56: Zone D Zelzal Emergency Housing in New Cairo and the surrounding areas

Background:

The number of participants in zone D are four. The following charts represent the general background of the interviewees: gender, age group, education, ownership and accompanying residents. A specific note about the origins of the participants from zone D, all of them responded with a specific zone in Cairo that contains their community. Unlike other participants from different social groups who grew up in Cairo as well. Common to the social group of zone D, participants do not relate to the collective urban capital, but to their community territories, which hosted their predecessors wave of rural migration, such as Sayeda Eisha and Boulaq, as identified by the participants.

Figure 5.57: General background of participants in zone D

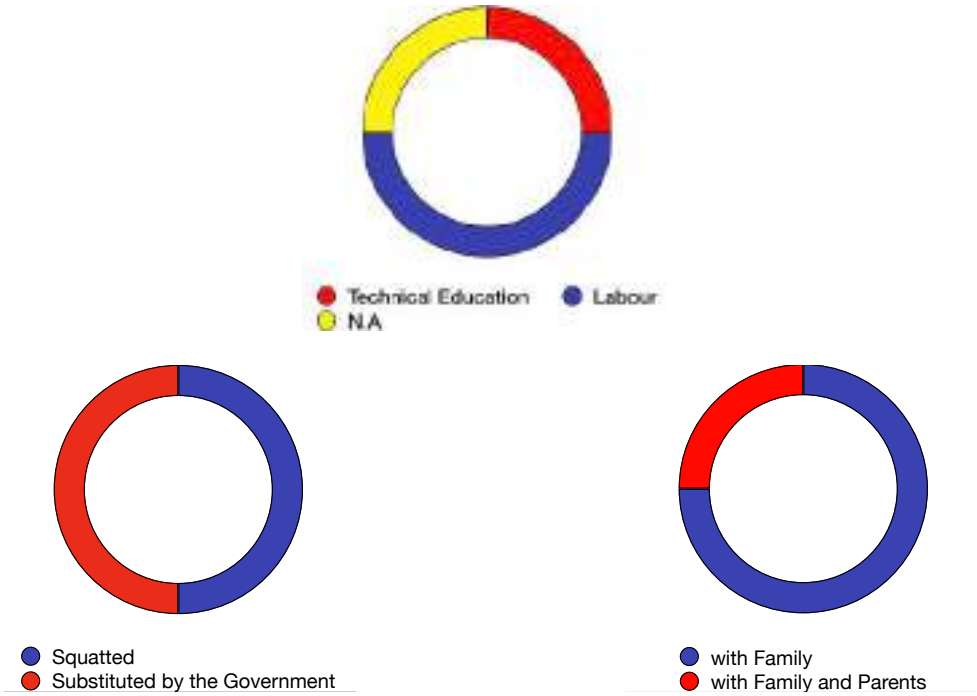

Figure 5.58: General background of participants in zone D, contd.

Spatial Features:

The original Zelzal, currently remaining, is highly appropriated, with a village like aesthetic, raising farm animals in the green areas. It is composed of a housing prototype arranged in clusters, supporting services and pockets of green areas. The area in totality lack maintenance, and seems to be forgotten by the municipality. As for the evacuated area, it had vacant buildings, with no infrastructure, and the squatters had collectively installed all basic services informally, thus having a high sense of ownership and territoriality.

The area itself does not have physical boundaries with its neighbouring zones, except for Katameya Heights zone C, a fortressed fence, due to topographical differences, but also wired, which indicates security reasons. Based on the statements of 2 participants from zone C, Zelzal housing happen to host the supporting working class for Katameya heights from servants and other help. Thus an opening in the fortressed fence has been created, as a back secured entry for the “working” visitors, figure 5.59.

Figure 5.59: Service back entrance to KH from zone D

Figure 5.60: Pockets with farm animals in zone D

Figure 5.61: Building cluster in zone D

Figure 5.62: Informal commercial activity in zone D

Residence and Territorial Awareness

They referred to their current territory as the specific zone of 'Zelzal' that hosts their identified community. The community that establishes their sense of safety, and with whom they spend their time with. An observed fact as well, during the site visit, Zelzal Emergency Housing had the most lively atmosphere.

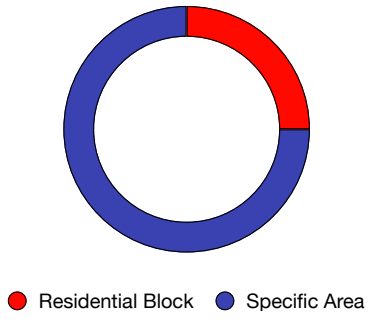

Figure 5.63: Territorial identification for participants in zone D

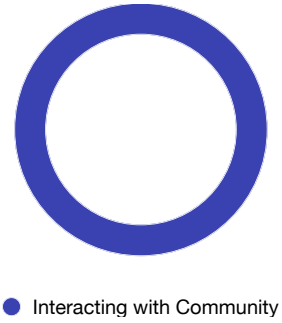

Figure 5.64:Social activity within territory for participants in zone D

The participants were divided between two families who were victims of the earthquake and were substituted by the government in the original zelzal, but later in 2011, as the family grew they required more space so they squatted in the neighbouring vacant building on the western side. The other two families had lived in other neighbourhoods, and came to Zelzal with the squatting wave in 2011, similarly because they needed bigger affordable living space and to avoid uncontrolled rents in their previous residence.

"It was next to us and for free, bigger space for my family"

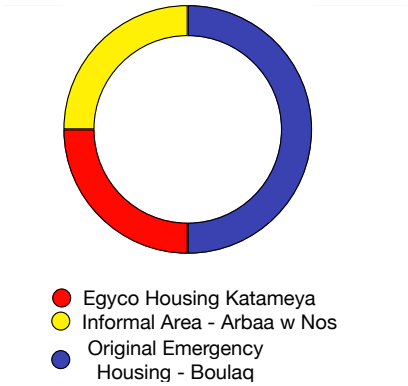

Figure 5.65: Previous residence for participants in zone D

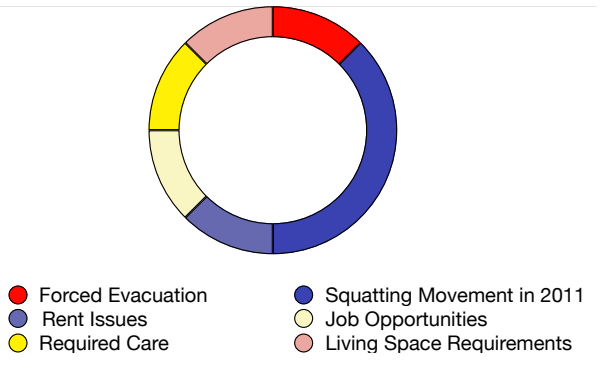

Figure 5.66: Reasons for relocation for participants in zone D

Social Networks & Perceptions:

When asked about how they identify their community, they mostly elaborated on *"shared struggles"*, highlighting the consistent struggle, of finding living space let alone decent living conditions. A struggle they have faced even in their popular/informal areas in central Cairo. Same struggle that relocated them after the earthquake in a then peripheral, "*unidentified, desert area*" as one participant stated. And later, when generations bred in the limited space they were offered, they were forced to squat in the neighbouring abandoned buildings, when they were not provided the low income housing they needed, and again got evacuated from. Two families are currently staying in tents near the evacuated site, until the government resolves their evacuation status.

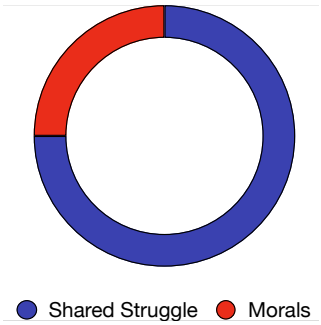

Figure 5.67: Defining characteristics of community for participants in zone D

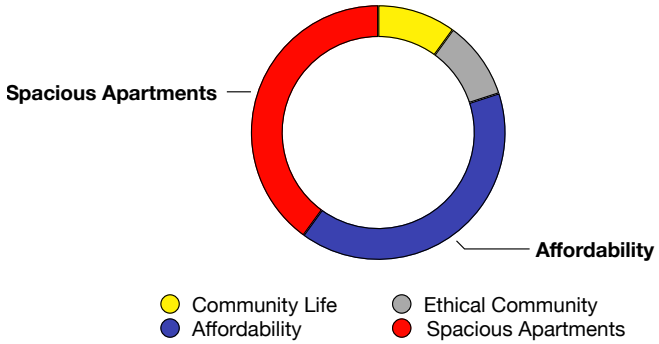

Figure 5.68: Requirements for residential space for participants in zone D

On the other hand, when asked about how they identified other different neighbouring communities, with a specific attention to the neighbouring community of Katameya Heights, they simply acknowledged the different financial capabilities, nothing more. Surprisingly a few said that they have lived in harmony and faced no troubles at all, the fence was "*insignificant*".

> *"We had good relations with them, no one bothered the other, we minded our own business"*

Unlike a few respondents from Katameya Heights who elaborately stated they had "*no relationship with them (Zelzal) whatsoever*", completely detaching themselves from their neighbouring existence. Clearly, the territorial boundary between group D and others is simply the financial capability, not education, not well-being, but wealth that hinders their capability from affording life in the city.

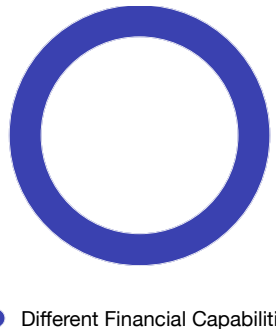

Figure 5.69: Defining characteristics of neighbouring communities for participants in zone D

5.6 Findings: Triggers and Dynamics of Territorial Boundaries among the Society

Spatial Features & Configuration

The spatial configuration of an urban setting either contribute or eradicate an individual's sense of territory. It is visible in the participants' cognitive identification of territories between their previous residences in central Cairo, and their new settlements in newly planned cities. New cities, as the case of New Cairo, have not been planned as a walkable city, which eventually detaches citizens from the urban experience. The "burden of space" (Wheeler, 1971) erects territorial boundaries that limits group exposure due to dependency on private vehicles. Select groups hover the city from one territory to the other based on their community selection and needs.

The following charts show the change of behaviour experienced by participants from zone B and group C upon relocation to New Cairo, with reference to their limited social networks confined to mostly New Cairo, as have been shown in the previous detailed sections.

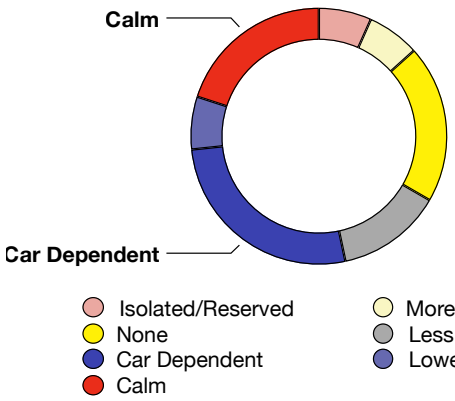

Figure 5.70: Change in behaviour upon moving to New Cairo for participants in zone B

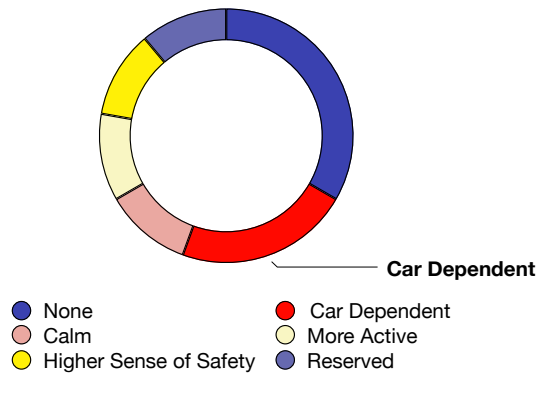

Figure 5.71:Change in behaviour upon moving to New Cairo for participants in group C

The role of shared spaces have been pointed out in literature as a facilitator for group exposure and social familiarity. Nevertheless, in the case of zone A and B, where a shared space exist, communities do not interact. Thus due to the social stigma attached to zone A as public housing, identified by lower unit prices and the deteriorated aesthetic, as have been identified by few respondents from zone B. The territorial boundary is rather cognitive based on social prejudices.

Gated residences, has been agreed, aside from the sense of safety they contribute to due to the visible boundaries they erect, they happen to be the sole type of residential settlements that offer supporting basic and leisure services, decent infrastructure, and maintained green open spaces. Hence positioning them as the attractive, aspired for type of residence, regardless of the fence that appear *"unnecessary"* to some. Gated communities stand as the guarantee for a "better life", as being promoted.

"Against the concept- but still they offer benefits compared to non-gated."

Figure 5.72: Gated residence advertising billboards on highways in Egypt, (source: left unknown, right Insight OOH)

Physical Boundaries

Physical boundaries such as highways and major roads immediately cuts the fabric and the cognitive identification of a territory. The major roads running through New Cairo, on the basis of facilitating traffic, disintegrate the city and its experience. Similarly, the case of Heliopolis and the new infrastructure introduced, again to facilitate the traffic, it cuts through the neighbourhood's fabric, compactness and walkability. Nevertheless, while Cairo is continuing to expand with ever-growing extents, highways and mobility infrastructure seem to be an unavoidable casualty.

As have been deduced from the participants responses, collectively from different social groups, the physical boundaries such as fenced areas and security on gated residences perhaps may instil a sense of safety. However, they are mostly social boundaries that filter communities residing within gated settlements', securing community privacy from the threat of the different other (Brower, 1980). In addition, ensuring a quality of life away from the burdens of the city.

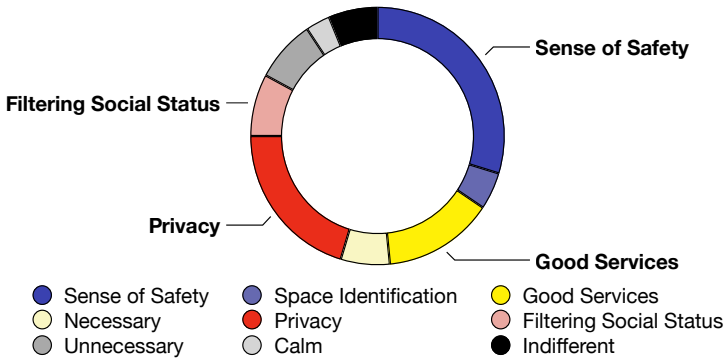

Figure 5.73: Perception of physical boundaries of gated communities for all participants

Community and Childhood Neighbourhood

Across the different participating social groups, the factor of childhood and the memories of growing up in a neighbourhood elevates ownership, and a sense of community that participates in a sense of safety. As the individual grows the identification of community becomes selective. The early years of social exposure and neighbourhood experiences shapes the adult perceptions of social groups and aspired environments (Hayes & Wilson, 1995). One participant from zone B referred to the latter elaborately stating:

> *"I grew up in Nasr city in a residential cluster, my experience with the neighbourhood walking around, playing with kids, or going to buy groceries, is very different from my younger brother, who is growing up in New Cairo, he is entirely dependant on us [his older siblings or parents] to do anything or move , it has to be by car".*

Even relocating residence is often socially and geographically linked to childhood neighbourhoods. Generally, when people consider changing their residence, they opt for the geographic extension of their original settlement in central Cairo, east to New Cairo, or west to 6th of October. The explanation was gathered from two different questions but implied the need to maintain proximity with their social networks, but away from the stressful living conditions of central Cairo.

Furthermore, the selective community persist in what instils a sense of safety. Across the different social groups, most participants acknowledged the residing community as the major factor to establish a safe environment. For groups, community is the ultimate solidarity, for others it is an expression of class.

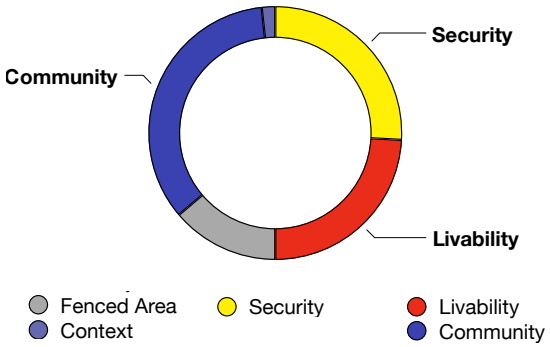

Figure 5.74: Desired safety measures for all participants

Finally, Looking into group perceptions of “Us vs Them”, an initial peculiar remark is that the majority of people, even through random conversations with people other than the main participants, when asked this specific question of how do you identify your community, they reply with “normal people”. People normalize their own selves, and subconsciously the opposing differences, from behaviours, to education, to financial capability, are not normal.

The following question was necessary, “what is normal?”, upon which they had to elaborate. And the results were mostly, morals, education and lifestyle figure 5.75. Again stressing on the fact that good quality education, lifestyle and social activities in Cairo are more or less financially dependent. Which actually shows in the opposing majority of responses regarding the identification of the “other” communities “them” as having different financial capabilities and life style, figure 5.76. A point which creates an intangible territorial boundary, on one hand financial capability is not directly prejudiced, even though a few stated the fact upfront. On the other hand, financial capability is directly linked to the standard of living and the quality of life offered in neoliberal Cairo.

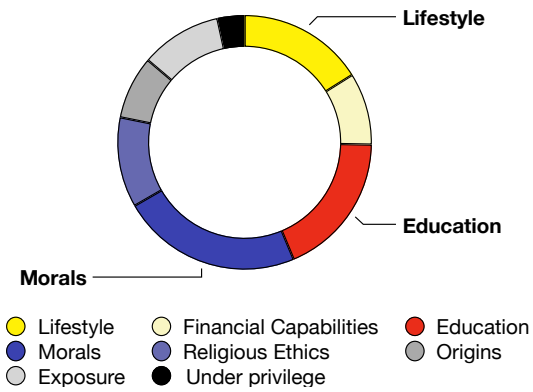

Figure 5.75: Indicators of community group, 'Us', for all participants

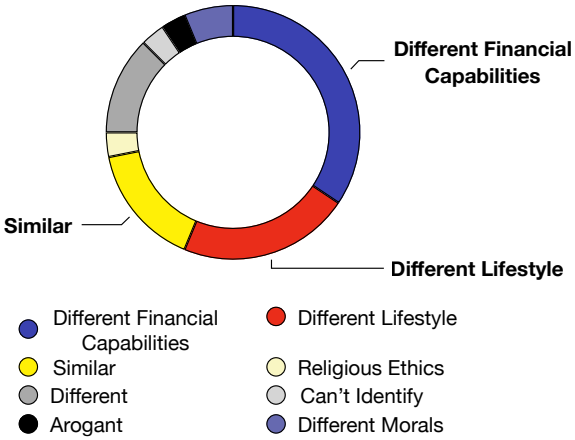

Figure 5.76:Indicators of differences between community group, 'Them', for all participants

6. Discussion & Recommendations: Negotiating Territorial Boundaries

> *"Territoriality occurs to varying degrees in numerous social contexts. It is used in everyday relationships and in complex organizations. Territoriality is a primary geographical expression of social power. It is the means by which space and society are interrelated" (Sack, 1986, pg.1).*

Territoriality as an urge to identify and control environments, whether spatial or interactional, often constitute driving motives. The latter could stem from psychological, cultural or political frameworks, upon which the degree of establishing boundaries vary from one context to the other. Thus yielding social segregation through practices of separation and isolation. The purpose of the study was to thoroughly investigate the case of Cairo as a context that exhibits multidimensional territorial boundaries. The process of examining how and why territorial functioning exist relied on a historical and empirical investigation to reveal meanings and points of negotiation.

Territorial functioning, as a phenomenon, is global, expressed across many and different contexts. It is embodied through the different practices of territorial boundaries; material and psychological. After studying the case of Cairo, several points emerged as influencing factors of territorial functioning, opening up a discussion for the local discourse, while touching upon issues related to the global dynamics of cities today. A series of questions, thus far, emerge:

1) How are territorial boundaries being practiced in other contexts?
2) Are there common factors, or overarching global dynamics localized differently?
3) What are potential remedies to address the effect of territorial boundaries, all the more eradicate them?
4) How to practically negotiate territorial boundaries?

The following section draws upon the case of Cairo, from where the discussion can be expanded to the global discourse.

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6.1 The Case of Cairo: Suppressed Past & Unconfronted Present

"The proliferation of practices of segregation invariably intertwine with other processes of social transformation" often linked to political transitions (Caldeira, 2000, pg.1). Such has been the case of Cairo, during the monarchy that lasted for almost 100 years, before 1952, the society have been rested in an ethnic social structure that limited the capacities of the majority of Egyptians. Indeed the latter have often instilled suppression, which eventually culminated into the opposition of the 1952 revolution, and resonated for quite sometime after. The transitions the revolution have unravelled the following 60 years, one shift after the other, triggered processes of social transformation that have been embodied in practices of territoriality and segregation.

Lingering Suppression

The lingering sense of inferior differentiation tangled the society of Cairo through each transition. Nasser's socialist regime, despite breaking all boundaries that faced the majority of Egyptians through expanding public services, education and occupation, the population surge deemed the equalizing strategy insufficient. Suddenly privileged groups were expelled, and while the middle class expanded visibly, economic disparities prevailed in parallel to the nationalist expenditure on wars.

When Sadat revealed his American dream, opened up the economy, again fast and abrupt, capitalism allowed for new centers of wealth and edges of differentiation among the society. Thus establishing territorial boundaries, based on wealth, independent of true value, leaving aside education, occupation and real culture.

Urban Disparities

The urban disparities that exacerbated during the capitalist era of Sadat, due to diminishing governmental funding to public infrastructure, peaked in the 80s. The capital had been bursting at its seems, spatially and culturally. Wealth and authority have become primary factors for social mobility. Yet, up until the 90s, the city's dense core have infused the differences between the society in its compactness. Mubarak's neoliberal regime however, paved the way ,literally, to spatial differentiation through the introduction of suburban communities and gated residences. The urge to differentiate from the society was fed spatially, catering only those who can afford.

The private market of real estate lured their target groups with the promise of "exclusivity", escaping the troubles of the city and offering parallel realities (Abotera & Ashoub, 2017). Exclusivity became the watchword of every billboard on the newly paved highways that connect the city center to the new peripheral suburban developments. Centers of wealth, and power, were able to physically erect territorial boundaries at their gated communities. Visibly identifying their turf and their stature.

Figure 6.1: Real Estate marketing billboards (Source: Abotera & Ashoub, 2017)

Continuous Transitions

50 years of social transformations, midst political transitions, left no room for stability for the different agendas of economic and social progress. The peaking life pressures and lack of stability, triggered by the Arab spring and the hope for change, released the masses into the revolution of 2011. This moment of transition broke all boundaries to expose what have been behind the walls

of power and wealth. Despite the revolution having one concise objective for social equality, the transition from the preceding 30 years of Mubarak's regime perhaps have been more challenging than transitioning from a clear system to another.

2011 released more intricacies than solutions, political alliances formed and dissolved rapidly (O'Donnell & Schmitter, 2013 as cited in Zohny, 2019). Up until 2013, when the army took a grip of the country, again, almost an attempt to reset the creation of the republic in 1952. While the government is still passing law reforms and economic reforms, heightened by the emergence of Corona, the case study took a closer look at Cairo today, examining how territorial functioning was being practised midst the transition. Two emerging factors exercise and enforce territorial boundaries within Cairo; community and space, both closely connected.

Territorial Communities

Between the 4 different studied zones and socio-economic groups, the highest number of participants I could reach belonged to the zones that hosted the socio-economic classes similar to my own. *"They are known from the way the speak"* one participant stated referring to the different communities in Cairo. Homogeneous communities are the identifiable territorial units of the society in Cairo, a status that dates back to the monarchy, in fact, only reorganizing differently with social transformations. Communities are grouped in Cairo as Park and Hillery Jr. identifies, "geographically rooted, adopting a "totality of attitudes and a common life style", and sharing common possessions (1936, 1955). The latter further commodified by the neoliberal regime, centers of wealth have guaranteed that quality of life would be afforded only by a faction of the society, to exclude themselves from the realities of the city within social and spatial boundaries.

As have been mentioned earlier in the case study, when interviewees were asked on which factors provide them with a sense of safety at the early stages of the spread of the virus, almost 65% of the responses referred to the surrounding community, in addition to the livability of the space. Thus, further capitalizing on the value of community as a territorial unit upon which even the sense of safety is established. Ironically, similarly while facing the pandemic,

communities retracted further from the wider public within their enclaves, even though individual safety, not group safety,is the required prevention measure. Gated settlements would host the prohibited social activities in public, such as food and beverage carts, and private beaches operating normally.

Territorial Space and Urban Planning Concepts

Communities in Cairo are geographically rooted, where the question of "where do you come from?" is a social identification among the communities of Cairo. Primarily, in the early years of the republic, it was a verdict on whether the individual was a bred Cairene, or originally a rural and newly urbanized. Later the question had become "where do you live?", to identify from which neighbourhood in the capital you grew up in, and hence revealing your socio-economic status. Downtown Cairo initially targeted the Europeans and bourgeoisie of Cairo, similarly following up with Heliopolis. Later, the occupational developments of Nasser, such as Al Mohandesein and Nasr City, up until New Cairo's suburban community.

The latter capitalizes on the urban planning concepts of Cairo. The often disintegrated development, starting from the monarchy's Downtown that expelled Islamic old Cairo, later with the republic's ever changing master plans, that disintegrate from the preceding developments, leaving vulnerable pockets of infill and informal settlements.

Residential neighbourhoods in Cairo have been developed separately across the past 60 years capitalizing on integrating the wealthy socio-economic groups, while excluding the working class either to peripheral public housing, decaying historic centers, or informal infills (Sims, 2003; Mohamed et al., 2014). Until the neoliberal regimes, when suburban developments emerged, the wealthy classes were the ones offered isolation, yet still integrating with the wealthier parts of the city through an expansive infrastructure that bridges over decaying areas.

Urban planning in Cairo has been exclusionary and territorial in itself. Where the majority of the society, the diminishing middle class and the working class, trapped in the pressurized center upon affordability, meanwhile the select groups hover the city, from one boundary to the other, contactless from its

urban realities. The urban have lost "*movement of identification… self in reference to others*" (Sansot, 1976). Upon which, scarce shared spaces stand as hesitant boundaries, often unapproachable by the different neighbouring groups, as the case between Tatweer Housing and the 5th District Private Buildings strip.

Territorial Boundaries in Cairo

Territorial boundaries in Cairo today stand upon the foundation of a commodifying neoliberal system, and the inherited sense of inferior differentiation. They are socially exercised, and spatially enforced, through limited social networks, that mold based on edges of differentiation. The heightened urge for differentiation and "exclusivity" within the Egyptian society appears to have been born out of the prolonged era of marginalization during the monarchy. The methods have only taken different shapes and formats based on the overarching factors of social mobility enabled by the governing regime. Whether education and occupation during Nasser's, wealth during Sadat's, wealth and power during Mubarak's. As for today, wealth still constitute a primary weight under the burdens of the neoliberal system. Yet, with the concurrent restructuring of the governing dynamics, boundaries are still being reshaped, specifically with the emergence of the corona pandemic, where all boundaries are being subjected to safety measures.

The pandemic have seeped through all boundaries and reached all enclosed and exposed groups of the society. Economic disparity, however, have forced underprivileged groups, depending on daily wage, to be on the front line for survival, while other had the privilege to 'stay at home'.

6.2 Reincarnated Boundaries

Territorial Boundaries in Global Contexts

Aside from the emergence of the pandemic, that essentially restructured both global and local dynamics of all nations, territorial boundaries have been, and are still exercised through different motives and practices. Motives, thus far, have been either racial such as that in South Africa, religious such as the case of India, lifestyle as the case of USA and Southeast Asia, exclusivity in parts of Spain and France, ethnic politics as the case of Palestine, even gender and privacy as the case of Saudi Arabia, and wealth, most common in the neoliberal age across several nations, (Webster et al., 2002; Geoghegan, 2015).

One of the cities identified with concrete territorial boundaries is the "City of Walls" Sao Paulo in Brazil. The dominant motives for territorial boundaries in Sao Paulo, however, are fear of violence and crime (Caldeira, 2000). The author elaborates that processes of social change have "entangled violence and fear... justifying new techniques of exclusion" (pg. 1). However, as Brower (1980) elaborated, fear is not only confined to physical safety against crime, but also identity. Both constitute the case for Sao Paulo, where "class prejudices, and references to poor and marginalized groups" persist (Caldeira, 2000, pg.1).

The practices that have been utilized is the symbolic and physical walling off of one group to the other, utilizing instruments of wealth to create fortified gated communities. Thus, clearly marking territories and identifying differences. The rigid territorial boundaries fortifies prejudices between groups, ultimately solidifying stigmatized conceptions of one group towards the other, slum "favelas" against gated communities "condomínio fechado". The latter, as has been the case of Cairo, establishes what the author states a state of "estrovo [in Portuguese] meaning hindrance, obstruction and inconvenience" (Caldeira, 2000, pg.256), in the everyday life of a society.

Another infamous example on cities of boundaries, is Los Angeles in the U.S., where "gated communities are an extreme embodiment of communitarianism" (Wojicik, 2013). The development of suburban gated communities in Los Angeles were allocated to private developers to offset the costs of urban sprawl (Le Goix, 2005), similar to Cairo. They are marketed by the "community life" they offer, in addition to privacy and security (Le Goix, 2005). The fact that

Los Angeles hosts a base of celebrities, private estates are aspired for and they stand as the embodiment of self fulfilment (Wojicik, 2013). Wealth, yet again, stands as the primary territorial boundary. The physical boundaries erected by gated communities have “hazardously” materialized differences, into a “new threshold of segregation” (Wojicik, 2013).

Across the United States today persist the inherited struggle of race between white Americans and black African Americans. Racial segregation in the states have a prolonged history, and have been eradicated from the front lines ,only, after intense struggles. Nonetheless, it appears to be a lingering psychology that haunts both groups. The consecutive racial incidents of death of several African Americans sparked riots that emerged midst the heat of the pandemic in 2020. All cries refer to systematic racism, that the superior group still act upon. Superiority instil cognitions of differentiation and territoriality to both sides, where black neighbourhoods are a retreat for a group, and an unsafe territory for others, and vice a versa. Cognitive processes and historical reflections on societal conflicts and backgrounds are pivotal to uproot social processes that instil territorial cognitions and behaviours. As have been referred to in literature, the social, cognitive constructs of the society have to be analysed to approach territorial functioning at its core.

Territorial boundaries emerge in different contexts with a variety of motives and manifestations. The factors that have been laid down in sec. 3.5 identify several triggers to territorial functioning, from a theoretical perspective. The most common factor has been the physical features of space, specifically residential neighbourhoods. Across the case of Cairo and the brief global examples showcased above, qualities and boundaries of space highly contributed to territorial functioning. Excessive dualities between ghettos/informal areas and gated communities trigger psychological unrest due to commodification of quality. In addition to the physical boundaries that fortifies gaps between groups and represent disparities.

A non spatial factor, that had high tendency for territorial implications, is the distribution of wealth, which reflects on space in one way or another. In the neoliberal age of cities today, wealth distribution is the biggest casualty of

the capitalist system. Participating in widening gaps between socio-economic groups and diminishing middle classes. Wealth, in Cairo and across the world have erected unprecedented territorial boundaries.

6.3 Overarching Global Dynamics

The Face of Globalization

The face of globalization within cities represent fragmentation and social segregation. In fact, gated communities represent the material territorial boundary of wealth (Wojicik, 2013). Bremmer (2018), have thoroughly discussed in his book "Us vs Them: The Failure of Globalism", how inequitable distribution has become the "watchword" of our age. In fact, not only the inequitable distribution of wealth alone, but resources, land and opportunities, which triggers a heightened psychology of differentiation; Us vs Them. The author painted an elaborate picture of the latter through explaining why Palestinians throw rocks, Palestinians and similar oppressed groups throw rocks when they feel unheard, and suppressed. It is a metaphor for violence in the face of suppression and inequality.

Concentrated wealth and inequitable resource distribution is the calamity of the globalized neoliberal system, that "generates path-depenent outcomes" (Brenner & Theodore, 2005, pg. 102). Thus inducing psychologies of "othering", when qualities of lives are unevenly distributed, and financially determined.

Quality of Life

"The newest kinds of walls are those that will separate people within societies" (Bremmer, 2018). One aspect of walling in and out is shielding the unattainable commodity of well-being, a common act in the aforementioned contexts that utilize boundaries. Thus, raising a question regarding the effects of privatizing quality of life as a commodity, subjecting the wider public to urban pressures and compromised well being. Olfaty & Garavand (2014) elaborate that the quality of life is different from the standard of living, where the latter is mostly based on income.

Quality of life, however, constitute, in addition to wealth, "the built environment, physical and mental health, education, recreation and leisure time, and social belonging" (Husseini, 1999 as cited in Olfaty & Garavand, 2014, pg. 316). The commodification of the aforementioned under neoliberal governance subjects the society to "disruptive dualities" (Amin, 2012, pg. 137). In fact, disruptive dualities often validate exercising territorial boundaries in space as a political meditative procedure (Denis, 1997; Caldeira, 2000), which inevitably nurtures a broken society.

Us vs Them

Nevertheless, territorial boundaries are erected for societal reasons as well, such as race, religion and culture. Processes of differentiation and segregation reside in all different formats in cities. Ironically, the project of the city has presented the world with unprecedented heterogeneity, yet segregation appears to be an "inevitable truth in multi ethnic cities" (Geoghegan, 2015). Would equitable distribution resolve the urge to erect territorial boundaries in multi-ethnic cities? Or systematic racism is built upon foundations of superiority, and resource distribution only follows?

The analogy between communitarianism and the society raises several points of discussion. On one hand, territories earlier in history have been formed based on communities, whereas the rise of mass societies have been attached to the evolution of cities (Lyon & Driskell, 2011). Robert Park in the 'Human Ecology' explained, that the organization of communities express a human's nature for supremacy, where as, societies formulate to reflect a collective consensus of purpose among social groups. Which means, perhaps forming communities is an inherent nature for people. Therefore, the formation of a society does not negate the presence of communities, as long as there exist a collective consensus among communities for the greater purpose of the society.

6.4 Ethical Orientations & Practical Remedies

Between equitable distribution and processes of superior-inferior differentiation, is a debate on value systems and ethical orientations. Boundaries are often erected spatial but they are reflections of cognitive ideologies, "artefacts act exclusively as a physical support for the different representations that humans attribute to them" (Sferrazza Papa, 2018, pg. 6). Boundaries only exist between two sides, two perceptions and two justifications, thus, they can be negotiated.

Channels instead of Walls

Grassroot movements, community participation, are all remedies that act upon establishing communication channels to voice needs. The topic of Urban Communication thoroughly discusses "the ways in which people in cities connect (or do not connect) with others and with their urban environment via symbolic, technological, and/or material means" (Aiello & Tosoni, 2016, pg. 1254). The latter can be capitalized on to crack communication codes and build transparent channels of communication between all groups, upon which a collective value system can nurture within a society.

The Virtue of Collective Responsibility

Building upon the emerging pandemic, in economically challenged countries, such as Egypt, and even other established economies, successful preventive measures against the virus were aided by public responsibility and responsiveness, which stems from "the ability to relate emotionally to other human beings – their hopes and fears, their pain and suffering" (Bajde, 2020). Visibly manifested in contexts where a high sense of collective responsibility, ownership and belonging reside, orchestrated by an enabling informative governing system (Davenport et al., 2020), such as Senegal, Jordan, New Zealand and others (Dhahri, 2020).

The city can begin to nourish when excessive dualities, that disrupt psychologies of the average citizen, seize to exist, and physical boundaries will be deemed unnecessary. While the collective responsibility constitute a pivotal role in social cohesion and a protective shield against shared struggles and pandemics, governing frameworks are vital, to enable and govern political transitions and support processes of social transformation.

6.4.1 Onwards for Cairo: Practical Interventions

In an age when the world has become highly connected, every action triggers a domino effect, thus a small reflection on the global spread of the pandemic, previous financial crises and what yet to unravel as a repercussion of the economic halt of the world. An integrated world requires integrated actions.

On Urban Development

One major lesson learned from the context of Cairo is that sectoral paths of development result with casualties affecting the most vulnerable, whether vulnerable social groups, or even vulnerable spaces, such as decaying historic quarters. Egypt as a country, burdened with global threats, and local pressures condensed in the capital, have been in a race of economic and social development for the past 60 years. While urban development have been commencing, little attention have been paid to the social transformations happening midst the change. The previous government of Mubarak have addressed the latter, but through abruptly building spatial boundaries to avoid conflicts and tensions (Dennis, 1997). Evidently, physically reinforcing differences and inducing even more hostility towards differences. On the other hand, slowly diminishing contact with the city and its realities.

The viewing lens of social sciences has to be fully integrated with any projects of urban development. Where the intricate societal relations and aspects could be understood and addressed, upon which developments would proceed, bearing in mind struggles, perceptions and foremost actual needs. This brief research, had perhaps arrived to insights and raised more concise question primarily based on attention to social dynamics, embedded within space, and constructive conversations between different and opposing social groups. There exist massive research on community participation and involvement that essentially capitalize on the latter.

While the private sector is highly embedded in the market of real estate, ministerial decrees issued for urban masterplans have to not only run quantitative analyses of footprint ratios and so forth, but also measures of qualitative analyses that address social equities, environmental strategies, and methods of

spatial urban integration. The action of selective walling out and walling in has to be monitored. Boundaries need to be reconsidered, to establish a sense of comfort and security for all social groups. The “edge environment” as an “interface between the build form and the public realm… centered around the role of human agency” (Mohammed & Mahmoud, 2013, pg. 228) plays an important role in addressing social needs and facilitating integrated environments.

The virtue of public space has been flagged so often in urban discourses, yet within the local discourse, while often demanded it is yet questionable. NextARCH Lab, a research lab at the American University in Cairo had arranged an open platform for discussion regarding the future of built environments late 2019.One of the discussed topics was public space, and the responses considerably drew the attention towards the different social groups and cultures in Egypt that could hardly share one space. I believe that the lack of communication, yet again, disables any potentials to share spaces when cultures have been enclosed and isolated for a long time. Nonetheless, communication channels and public conduct guidelines, in a space that is socio-economically neutral can be a starting point.

On Human Development

The habitat has an undeniable value in sustaining people’s lives, nonetheless, the development of space cannot exceed thus far without human development. Cairo inarguably accommodates a wide percentage of social groups suffering from economic disparity and compromised well-being. Heightened due to neoliberal calamities, the gap between social groups are expanding, diminishing the balancing middle class. Besides economic disparity, basic services of public health and educational facilities lack maintenance and are unsupported against the massive population of the cities. Only the private facilities are thriving, expelling the wider population from similar opportunities. The centralization of the capital does not facilitate resource distribution either. .

In addition to public infrastructure upgrade, the government with the cooperation of grassroot movements, could facilitate social development supporting entities, where disparities would be monitored, documented and addressed. Within a private market driven economy, potentially establish a net-

work of governmental and non-governmental practices for social development programs. Thus not only offering charity and financial support, but social and occupational support with the prime objective of human development. The purpose is to establish a public discourse on social equity, where all stakeholders can partake in, to create a momentum of active involvement; socially, politically and economically (Jane Jenson, 1998 as cited in Stanley, 2003, pg. 7).

7. Interlude: Concluding Remarks

As an Egyptian, and a member of the Cairene society, I have been immersed in the city as an inhabitant primarily, then as a researcher. From both seats the phenomenon of territorial functioning often presented itself, in simple words, as social and spatial limitations subconsciously practiced between the different groups of the society. Whether in the form of social prejudices in the simplest encounters on the streets, merely due to the aesthetic of the individual, or *"the way they speak"*. Or more deliberate limits of accessibility to places, due to unwritten rules that a few groups of the society have silently established. A series of tangible and intangible boundaries obstructed the societal life in Cairo, and fragmented the city into clusters of urban realities that are strikingly contradicting. This was the starting point of the research, and the quest to unravel unspoken processes in the everyday life of Cairo.

The primary objective has been to reveal the boundaries erected between us as a society in Cairo, from where they can be negotiated. Thereby start a conversation with the different groups of the society and experience the different lens through which the city is lived. Eventually, arrive at a base where, perhaps, the right questions can then be put forward to negotiate our position as a society in and for the city.

Exhibiting Cairo under the lens of territorial functioning directed the research to two sets of analysis, the historical background and the empirical analysis, to articulate a full understanding of a topic that has a processual nature. Ever since the revolution of 1952 that toppled the monarchy in Egypt, the

country and its capital has been through a series of major political and economic transitions and societal transformations. Core transitions in a relatively short period of time, alongside an influx of population, left little time for comprehension and adaptive response on behalf of the society, and the government as well.

Indeed "Cairo has its own logic", as Sims (2012) states, yet between global tensions, local shifts, and excessive urbanization, the society of Cairo has been subjected to battles of power, resources and culture. The city and its people grew in fragmentation, spatially and socially (Yousry & Mekawy, 2012; Mohamed, 2015), against the race of urbanization. Territorial boundaries appear to have been erected against the excessive dynamic of life in the city, in attempt to gain momentary control, and shield from the struggles of the city, within selective environments. Thus diminishing societal exposure, solidarity and "the willingness to cooperate with each other to survive and prosper" (Stanely, 2003, pg.8).

The latter, in fact, is a recurring scene and behaviour across several cities around the world, strangled between the race of the global city and local disputes. Boundaries are erected across the globe in all scales, for different motives, taking different forms, standing to redeem a sense of control. "It is estimated that in the last decade almost 40,000 km of walls and fences have been built in 65 majors projects" (Brighenti & Kärrholm, 2018, pg.1) What remains consistent with boundaries is the superior-inferior differentiation they establish, based on obstructive divisions.

Figure 7.1: Different boundaries around the world, Palestine-Israel, Netherlands-Belgium, and USA-Mexico (Source: Yeshiva World, and Bored Panda)

While the world has been functioning with unprecedented speed, a pandemic virus emerged at the turn of the year 2020, seeping through all boundaries, hitting cities the hardest, where agglomerations reside, affecting all nations and all social groups, despite how financially guarded they may be. Nonetheless,

those exposed the most to urban struggles, the working class , daily wage labour, immigrants, refugees and more, have been affected the most. The connectivity that has established in the neoliberal age on multiple scales, while economically “rewarding”, it did not serve the containment of the virus. The virus had surfaced ferociously, but on the other hand forced a truce with the universe; our environment that has been battled for the past decades, and our sanity that has been feigning midst the acceleration of life. All nations have paused, even momentarily, to reassess their visions, their methods and their outlooks, for a reconciliation.

Figure 7.2: Vulnerable groups affected by the Corona pandemic (Source: Deccan Herald, Spencer Platt/Getty images, and Plan International)

Interlude

This research has been a quest to reveal the boundaries that are erected between the society in Cairo, and presumably across the world. To decipher the foundation behind their existence, and exhibit potential entry points for negotiation. While several aspects have been revealed, the study stands as an interlude to further investigation on the methods and possibilities of life across boundaries.

Figure 7.3: Belfast Peace Wall (Photographed by Antonio Olmos/The Observer, Source: Geoghegan, 2015)

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نجلاء الخريبي

الحدود بيننا
محددات اجتماعية مكانية في البيئة العمرانية للقاهرة

ملخص
أقيمت الحدود وهدمت، عبر التاريخ، بإسم الصراعات ومعاهدات السلام، والفصل والحماية، والمزيد من تضادات وجهات النظر. وهذه فقط الحدود المرئية المتنازع عليها، بينما هناك المزيد من الحدود التي تتخلل النفسيات البشرية، والتي ربما تكون أكثر إثارة للانقسام من الحدود المرئية. مصر أيضا كان لها نصيبا من تلك الحدود. بينما حافظت الحدود الوطنية على الاستقرار السياسي الخارجي في تاريخ مصر الحديث، نمت الحدود المجتمعية الداخلية علي الصعيد الآخر. في مقتبل نشأة جمهورية مصر المستقلة، منذ أكثر من ٦٠ عامًا، ظهرت تحولات سياسية ومجتمعية غير مسبوقة .مركزية القاهرة، جعلتها تتشكل وتتوسع لتحتوي التعداد السكاني المتزايد.

أدى التحول الحضري المرئي للمدينة إلى عمليات اجتماعية معقدة من الانفصال والعزلة. وبالتالي، تفكك المجتمع إلى فئات اجتماعية مختلفة، مفصولة بحدود ملموسة وغير ملموسة، بجانب تجزأ المدينة في شقوقها. تقف الحدود ثابتة بين مختلف الفئات الاجتماعية في القاهرة، ومع ذلك، لا يزال هناك مجال للمصالحة. Territorial Functioning بمثابة عدسة، يمكن من خلالها تحليل العمليات المترابطة للمكان والمجتمع والإدراك، لإيجاد أسس لمناقشة عمليات التباعد والبيئات المنغلقة. هذا البحث هو محاولة لكشف الحدود التي أقيمت بين المجتمع في القاهرة، و الإشارة إلى الخطاب العالمي. لفك شفرة الأسس وراء وجودهم، وعرض نقاط المناقشة المحتملة للتفاوض بشأن مستقبل المدينة.

الكلمات المفتاحية: الحدود، الحدود الحضرية، Territorial Functioning، التجزئة الحضرية، الفصل العنصري، القاهرة، المجتمع المصري، الحدود العالمية

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 الإسلوب العلمي السليم في الإشارة إلى المواد المؤخوذه من المراجع العلمية كلٌ في مكانه في مختلف أجزاء الرسالة..

وهذا إقرار مني بذلك،،،

التوقيع:

الباحث: نجلاء الخريبي

التاريخ: ٢٠٢٠/١٦/٨

الحدود بيننا

محددات اجتماعية مكانية في البيئة العمرانية للقاهرة

مقدمة للحصول على درجة الماجستير في العمران المتكامل والتصميم المستدام

أعداد: نجلاء الخريبي

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تاريخ المناقشة:.....

الدراسات العليا

ختم الإجازة

أجيزت الرسالة بتاريخ:.....

موافقة مجلس الكلية .../.../...

موافقة مجلس الجامعة .../.../...

جامعة عين شـــــمس

جامعة شتوتجارت

08/16/2020

جامعة عين شـــــمس

جامعة شتوتجارت

الحدود بيننا
محددات اجتماعية مكانية في البيئة العمرانية للقاهرة

رسالة مقدمة للحصول على درجة الماجستير في العمران المتكامل والتصميم المستدام

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