MENA Urban Research

Editorial

The term MENA, Middle East and North Africa, designates a region spanning from Morocco across the Arabian Peninsula and up to Iran, and that is characterised by cultural as well as religious diversity. Here you find the world's oldest urban cultures. The rapid growth of the cities in the already largely urbanised region is coupled with societal challenges arising from migration, climate change, youth unemployment, and infrastructure deficiencies. A far-reaching informalisation in the provision of housing and the labour market can be regarded as a result of these processes. The Arab Spring in 2011 has also provided for numerous upheavals. Today, depending on the viewpoint, MENA is either a region of crisis or one on the cusp of democratic transformation.

Against this background, in 2011 the German-Arab master's programme "Integrated Urbanism and Sustainable Design" was instituted. In response to the developments following the Arab Spring, a number of studies were conducted during the first years dealing with the current challenges of urban development in the MENA region. The issue of TRIALOG you have in your hands presents a selection of these studies. The reports reflect the complexity of the urban development issues in the region, and can be regarded as snapshots that both illustrate major local differences and, likewise, base their given thematic focus on the individual, selected locations.

With respect to the urgent necessity of adapting measures responding to climate change, **Franziska Laue** highlights the specific challenges posed by heat stress in Cairo's informal settlements as well as the importance of neighbourhood-based resilience. **Ebithal Zakaria Abbas** takes a look at an attempt at need-based urban planning in the Cairo district of Ard Al Liwa describing the negotiations between civil society initiatives with various state institutions in the wake of the Egyptian Revolution in early 2011. The contribution by **Aya El-Wageeh** takes a look at the introduction of solar energy in a remote desert village in Western Egypt to demonstrate how indigenous knowledge can be included in research. **Jude Zada** investigates the place attachment of Palestinian immigrant groups in Amman, Jordan, and comes to the surprising result that feelings of alienation tend to arise to a greater extent among the second-generation than among the original immigrants.

Within the dense settlement structure of Cairo, as **Mai Marzouk** points out, the rooftop areas have remained largely unused. As of recent, however, these areas have become locations for vegetable-farming and/or solar energy production projects. She explores their acceptance and economic viability in different neighbourhoods of higher and lower income levels. **Teresa Fellinger** looks at urban health risks (such as obesity due to a lack of movement and an unhealthy diet) and shows, by the example of Cairo, that a variety of factors – population density, traffic volume, poor air quality, and the lack of safety in public space – makes physical activities in the city difficult. Looking at the master planning of Rawabi, in the West Bank, **Athar Mufreh** highlights the active role of the real estate market in the propagation of a Palestinian national identity. And to round things off, **Maroua Ennouri** explores the importance of inner-city voids for a sustainable urban development in the Medina of Tunis and sees major opportunities in these spaces for the revitalisation of long-neglected historical quarters.

Despite the economic and social problems existing in the MENA region, which have intensified in recent years, the collected studies presented here, as well as their corresponding diversity of focus, convey some of the hopes and expectations of the young scholars as well as that of the consulted civil society actors: some of the optimism of the years following 2011 continues to live in their visible commitment.

Astrid Ley, Mohamed Salheen, Antje Stokman

Stadtforschung zur MENA Region

Mit „Naher Osten und Nordafrika" (MENA, Middle East and North Africa) wird eine Region bezeichnet, die sich von Marokko über die arabische Halbinsel bis zum Iran erstreckt und durch kulturelle sowie religiöse Vielfalt geprägt ist. Hier trifft man auf die weltweit ältesten Stadtkulturen. Das rasante Wachstum der Städte in der bereits weitgehend urbanisierten Region ist mit gesellschaftlichen Herausforderungen gekoppelt, die sich aus Migration, Klimawandel, Jugendarbeitslosigkeit und Infrastrukturmängeln ergeben. Eine weitreichende Informalisierung der Wohnungsversorgung und des Arbeitsmarktes sind als Folge dieser Prozesse zu verstehen. Der Arabische Frühling im Jahr 2011 hat zudem für zahlreiche Umwälzungen gesorgt. Heute gilt MENA je nach Blickwinkel als Krisenregion oder als Region im Aufbruch zu demokratischer Transformation.

Vor diesem Hintergrund wurde 2011 der Deutsch-Arabische Masterstudiengang „Integrated Urbanism and Sustainable Design" ins Leben gerufen. Geprägt durch die Entwicklungen nach dem Arabischen Frühling entstanden in den ersten Jahren eine Reihe von Untersuchungen, die sich mit aktuellen Herausforderungen der Stadtentwicklung in der MENA Region auseinandersetzen. Diese Studien sollen im Rahmen des vorliegenden Heftes vorgestellt werden. Die Beiträge spiegeln die Vielschichtigkeit der Stadtentwicklungsthematik in der Region wider und sind als Momentaufnahmen zu verstehen, welche die großen lokalen Unterschiede verdeutlichen und jeweils eigene Schwerpunkte anhand ausgewählter Orte zum Thema haben.

Mit Bezug auf dringend notwendige Maßnahmen zur Anpassung an den Klimawandel hebt **Franziska Laue** die besonderen Herausforderungen durch Hitzestress in Kairos informellen Siedlungen hervor sowie die Bedeutung nachbarschaftsbasierter Widerstandsfähigkeit. **Ebithal Zakaria Abbas** beschreibt Ansätze einer bedürfnisgerechten Stadtplanung im Kairoer Quartier Ard Al Liwa durch Verhandlungen zivilgesellschaftlicher Initiativen mit verschiedenen staatlichen Institutionen im Nachgang zur ägyptischen Revolution Anfang 2011. Der Beitrag von **Aya El-Wageeh** zeigt anhand der Einführung von Solarenergie in einem entlegenen Wüstendorf im Westen von Ägypten, wie indigenes Wissen in die Forschung einbezogen werden kann. **Jude Zada** untersucht die Ortsverbundenheit palästinensischer Zuwandergruppen in Amman, Jordanien, und kommt zu dem überraschenden Ergebnis, dass in der zweiten Generation eher Gefühle der Fremdheit aufkommen als bei den originär Zugewanderten.

In der dichten Siedlungsstruktur Kairos blieb der Raum auf den Dächern weitgehend ungenutzt, wie **Mai Marzouk** beobachtet. Erst in jüngster Zeit entstanden hier Projekte zum Gemüseanbau oder zur Gewinnung von Solarenergie, deren wirtschaftliche Tragfähigkeit und Akzeptanz sie differenziert nach Wohngebieten hoher und niedriger Einkommen untersucht. **Teresa Fellinger** beschäftigt sich mit urbanen Gesundheitsrisiken, wie etwa Fettleibigkeit durch fehlende Bewegung und ungesunde Ernährung und zeigt am Beispiel von Kairo, dass eine Vielzahl von Faktoren – Bevölkerungsdichte, Verkehrsaufkommen, mangelnde Luftqualität und Sicherheit im öffentlichen Raum – körperliche Aktivitäten in der Stadt erschweren. Anhand der Masterplanung zu Rawabi in der Westbank beleuchtet **Athar Mufreh** die aktive Rolle des Immobilienmarkts für die Propagierung einer palästinensischen Nationalidentität. **Maroua Ennouri** befasst sich abschließend an Hand der Medina von Tunis mit der Bedeutung innerstädtischer Brachflächen für eine nachhaltige Stadtentwicklung und sieht gerade in den Stadtlücken Chancen für eine Revitalisierung lange vernachlässigter historischer Quartiere.

Trotz der wirtschaftlichen und gesellschaftlichen Probleme in der MENA Region, die sich in den letzten Jahren verschärft haben, vermitteln die hier zusammengestellten Studien mit all ihrer unterschiedlichen Thematik auch etwas von den Hoffnungen und Erwartungen der jungen Wissenschaftlerinnen sowie der befragten zivilgesellschaftlichen Akteure, in deren Engagement etwas von der Aufbruchsstimmung der Jahre nach 2011 weiterlebt.

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MENA Urban Research

Volume editors: Astrid Ley, Mohamed Salheen, Antje Stokman

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Community-Based Climate Change Adaptation Options in Dry Urban Areas – The Special Case of Cairo's Informal Settlements

Franziska Laue

Nachbarschaftsbasierte Klimaanpassungsmaßnahmen in ariden städtischen Gebieten am Beispiel der informellen Siedlungen in Kairo
Der Klimawandel und seine Auswirkungen wurden in den vergangenen Jahren ein zunehmend relevantes Thema in der strategischen Bearbeitung komplexer urbaner Herausforderungen. Anpassungsmaßnahmen reagieren auf immer dramatischere akute oder latente Folgen klimatischer Veränderungen. Genauer gesagt, zielen sie auf die Verminderung der Krisenanfälligkeit menschlicher und urbaner Systeme für Auswirkungen des fortschreitenden Klimawandels und sie zielen auf eine Steigerung der generellen Widerstandsfähigkeit durch Aufbau von Anpassungsfähigkeiten im ländlichen und städtischen Siedlungskontext Für Städte, die in Ländern mit geringem und mittlerem Durchschnittseinkommen liegen, kann dies jedoch eine besondere Herausforderung darstellen, da hier andere Problemfelder – etwa Mängel der Infrastrukturausstattung, des Baubestands, der Verwaltung und der Sozialdienste – damit verschränkt sind. Dieser Artikel, gestützt auf die Untersuchungen zur Masterarbeit der Autorin, befasst sich mit den spezifischen Anfälligkeitsmustern und Anpassungsfähigkeiten informell entstandener Stadtteile der ägyptischen Hauptstadt Kairo, wobei anhand des Stadtteils Ezbet elNasr nachbarschaftsbasierte Maßnahmen und Reaktionen zur Anpassung an die erlebten Klimaveränderungen beschrieben sowie diskutiert werden.

1
According to UNFCCC: "A change of climate which is attributed directly or indirectly to human activity that alters the composition of the global atmosphere and which is in addition to natural climate variability observed over comparable time periods" (UNFCCC 1992).

2
IPCC's 1995 Working Group 2 intensively reviewed the subject of adaptation and its interrelations with mitigation (IPCC 2007 and 2014, Klein 2002).

Climate change in an urban context*

Worldwide, urban areas are being affected by climate change, yet in different degrees of severity. This can include rapid-onset climatic events such as storms and rain, as well as slow-onset climatic events such as increasing heat and rising sea levels. Due to their financial and administrative capacities, cities in low- and medium-income countries are expected to face such impacts more immediately and severely (Moser and Satterthwaite 2008: 5). Nevertheless, urban settlements are functional nodal points due to economic, social, and political concentration. Hence, urban consumption (energy and other resources) and construction patterns, spatial location, size, etc. are claimed to have an essential impact on how anthropogenic climate change is exacerbated (IPCC 2007; Satterthwaite 2008). Furthermore, urbanisation is identified as one "key driver of unsustainable resource demands" (Satterthwaite 2011: 1762). For example, heat stress is assumed to be aggravated by urban population growth, particularly making cities (natural) disaster hotspots (Wamsler 2008: 5, Pelling 2007: 1), and intensifying existing vulnerabilities of urban populations. These findings about the mutual relations between climate change and urban form and development emerged over the past two decades.

The concept of adapting to climate change is now identified as one response to the impacts of climate change,[1] and is complementary to mitigation. Before the Brundtland Report (1987), this response was of secondary importance on the international climate change agenda

(Smit et al. 2000). However, it gained "standing within the international climate change arena" (Ayers and Forsyth 2009: 25) with each subsequent assessment report by the Intergovernmental Panel for Climate Change (IPCC).[2] Adaptation is now aimed to be achieved on the city scale through infrastructure projects, and adequate and flexible planning and regulations. This, however, requires an efficient and responsive public and administrative sector at the ministerial and municipal levels, and wisely allocated funding.

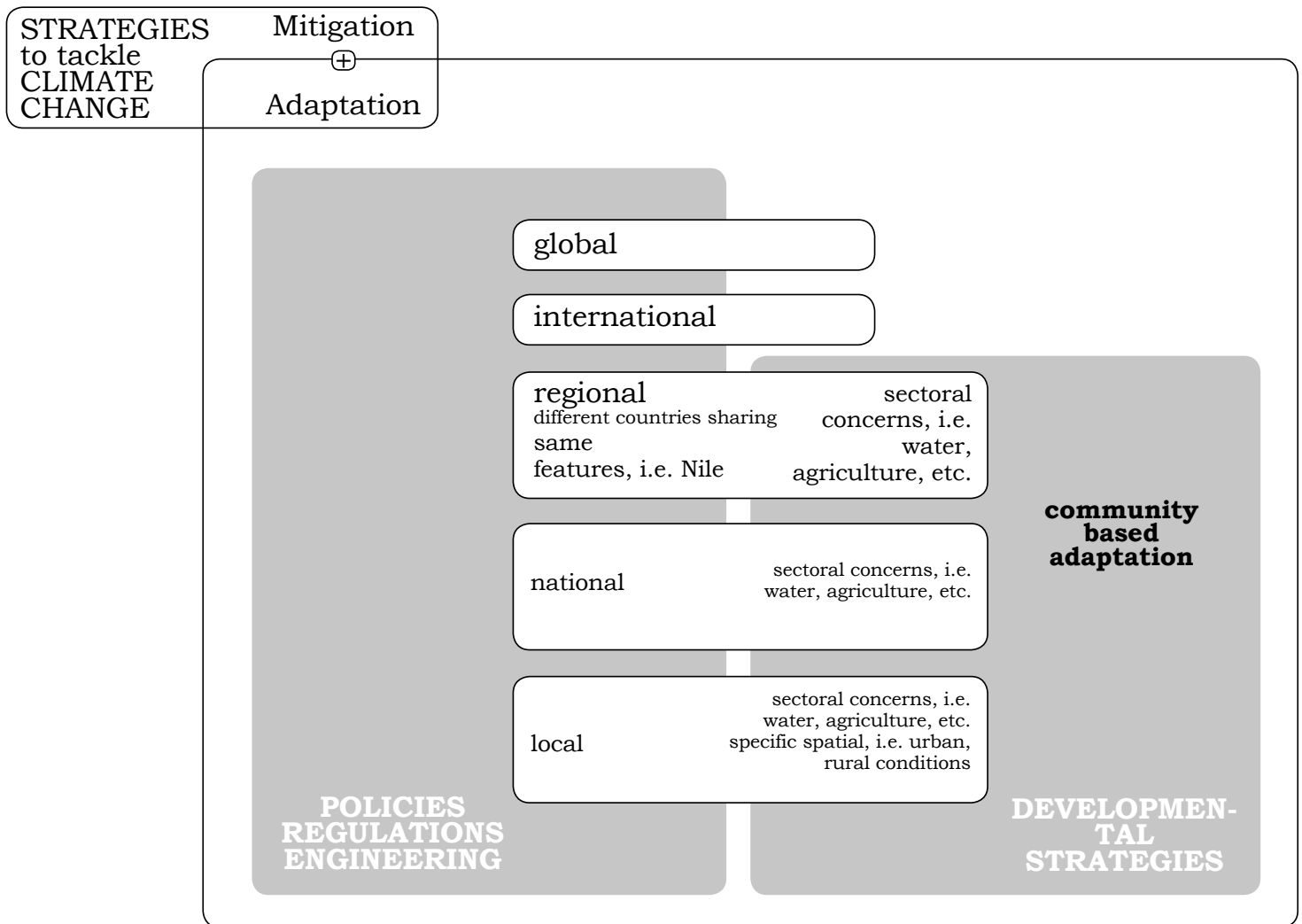## Adaptation to climate change in urban areas

The concept of "adaptation", in the urban context, aims at progressively reducing vulnerabilities of human and urban systems to deal with continuous climate change impacts. The term "vulnerability" refers to the degree of being harmed directly or indirectly through (anthropogenic) climate change (Satterthwaite et al. 2007: 9, Smit et al. 2000: 238). Vulnerabilities may be linked not only to the above-mentioned exposure to climatic stimuli, but also to other determinants such as the location of a neighbourhood or community, the socio-economic situation, infrastructural aspects, etc. (Ayers and Forsyth 2009: 25). Poverty, isolation, insecurity and defencelessness, when dealing with stresses, risks or shocks, can be additional factors. Consequently, vulnerability varies according to an individual's or group's affiliation to age, gender, relation to identity and tradition, health condition, social links, etc. Furthermore, neighbourhoods may already face (urban, industrial) environmental degradations (i.e.,

STRATEGIES to tackle CLIMATE CHANGE

Mitigation ⊕ Adaptation

global

international

regional
different countries sharing same features, i.e. Nile

sectoral concerns, i.e. water, agriculture, etc.

national

sectoral concerns, i.e. water, agriculture, etc.

local

sectoral concerns, i.e. water, agriculture, etc. specific spatial, i.e. urban, rural conditions

community based adaptation

POLICIES REGULATIONS ENGINEERING

DEVELOPMEN-TAL STRATEGIES

▲
Figure 1: Adaptation - scope and extent of measures depend on size and focus. Source: F. Laue (2013)

pollution) which, causing sensitivities,[3] make the neighbourhoods more susceptible to the impacts and stimuli of climate change (IPCC 1995: 28). The term "adaptability" refers to the capability to adapt. Hence, adaptation can be seen as a direct response to vulnerability (Pelling 2011). As a conclusion, adaptation is regarded as response entailing a continuous process that aims at sustained results and empowers a community to recover from shocks and prepare for future inevitabilities (IPCC 2014: 1758).

In the urban context, the adaptive capacities of neighbourhoods vary strongly from one location to the other. Hence, adaptation in cities refers to very localised aspects[4] of identifying adaptive responses to climate change. Furthermore, the balance or imbalance between individual adaptive capacities (i.e., financial resources) and collective capacities (i.e., social networks, mutual help) can play a role, influencing a neighbourhood's or community's overall inherent adaptive capacities (Pielke 1998, IIED 2009, Wamsler 2009, Hallegatte 2011).

Discourse on adaptation is now active in cities across the globe. Yet, the majority of findings refer to cities affected by sea-level rise and disasters (for example: Bangladesh, Benin, India, and South Africa). As of yet, adaptation studies on cities and heat mainly refer to western cities such as Chicago, Lisbon, Athens, Paris, Toronto (Hunt and Watkiss 2011: 10ff), Copenhagen, or Stuttgart (Lourenço and Avelar 2013). Moreover, the majority of

adaptation options discussed for cities in low-income countries start predominantly administrative (top-down) and technical (Satterthwaite et al. 2007, World Bank 2011a, 2011b), partially resulting in dramatic consequences such as urban relocation. Thus, David Dodman (2013) has raised the need to discuss adaptation having a more sensible connection to the urban population. Hence, urban settings require a balanced adaptation strategy considering both top-down and bottom-up approaches.

Community based adaptation (CBA) in urban areas

Scholarly reflections by Ayers and Forsyth (2009) and Satterthwaite (2009) conclude that low-income (urban) neighbourhoods are most likely to have particular vulnerabilities to climate-change-related impacts. The vulnerabilities are likely to be exacerbated by non-climatic factors such as neglect by public authorities (i.e., services and good governance).

Hence, the needed responses may need to be more comprehensive compared to more well-off neighbourhoods. Considering the remarks above, one concept to tackle the above-mentioned vulnerabilities of urban areas and neighbourhoods is that of community-based adaptation (CBA), which has increasingly received attention by practitioners and development agencies as a bottom-up approach. [Figure 1]

3
Sensitivity describes the system's susceptibility of being affected by climate stimuli while vulnerability is the "degree to which a system is susceptible to, or unable to cope with, adverse effects of climate change" (IPCC 2007: 883).

4
Though adaptation can basically take place on all levels playing a crucial role along with national and regional strategies, some scholars see this response as "intensely local" (Huq et.al 2007: 1). Consequently, the scope and extent of measures depend on size and focus.
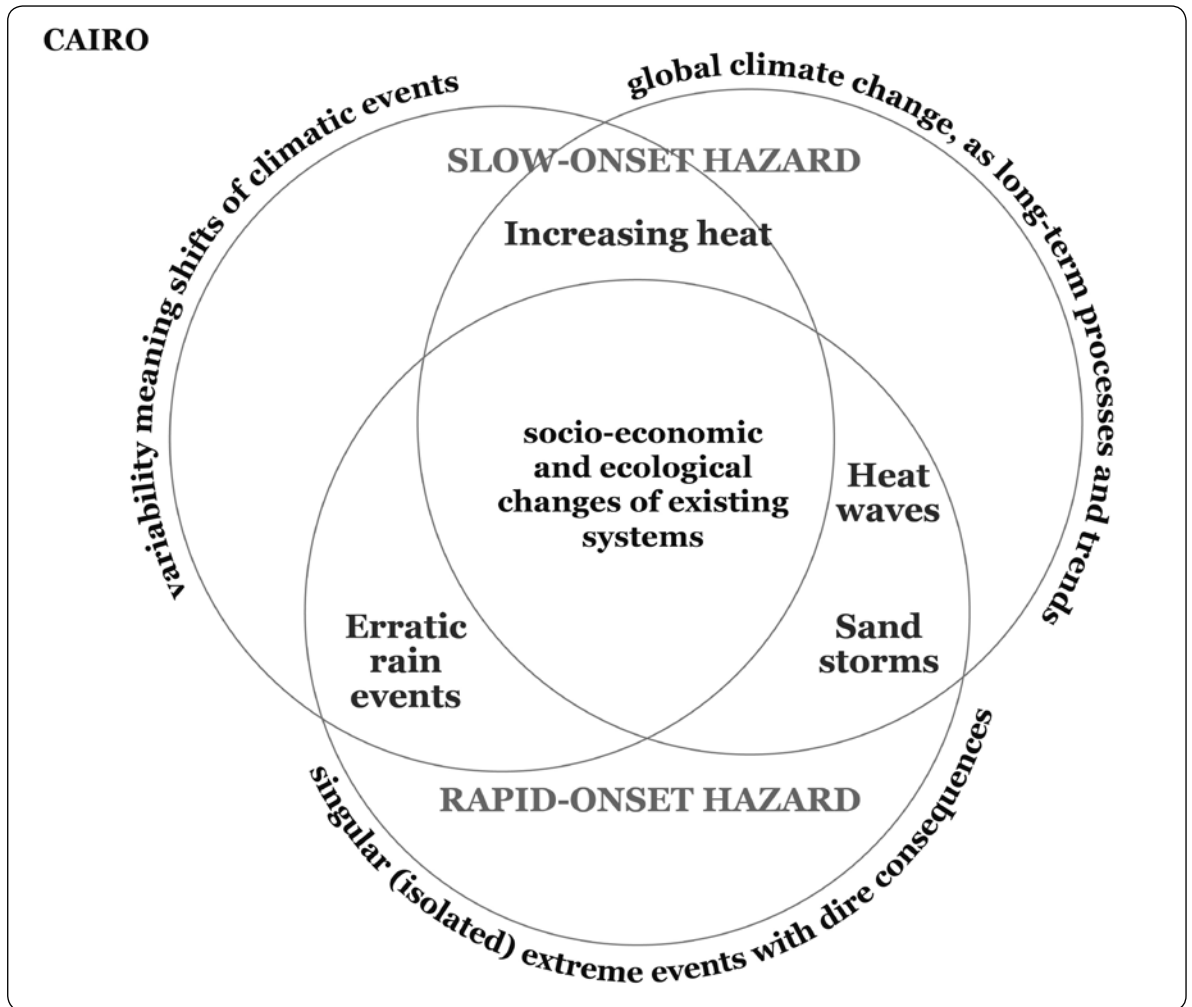
5
The general focus on developmental and community practices in adaptation also appeared with Blanco (2006), Ayers and Forsyth (2009) and Pelling (2011).

6
Average temperatures are projected to increase around 0.8°C in autumn and 2°C in spring within the coming 80-90 years (CSC 2013: 4). Summer temperatures are projected to increase 1-1.4°C (CSC 2013: 25).

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CAIRO

global climate change, as long-term processes and trends

variability meaning shifts of climatic events

SLOW-ONSET HAZARD

Increasing heat

socio-economic and ecological changes of existing systems

Heat waves

Erratic rain events

Sand storms

RAPID-ONSET HAZARD

singular (isolated) extreme events with dire consequences

CBA is a strategy that actively refers to the realities of an urban population and introduces measures that locate it between adaptation and development objectives.[5] It can thus be described as a continuum (Bryan and Behrman 2013: 9) or, as IEED calls it, "a community-led process, based on their priorities, needs, knowledge, and capacities, which should empower people to plan for and cope with the impacts of climate change" (IIED 2009: 13) in an unpredictable and riskier climatic setting (Ayers and Forsyth 2009: 24). Whereas the development aspect here predominantly refers to the reduction of poverty and vulnerabilities, the adaptation aspect of CBA refers to creating knowledge on climate change impacts to reduce future risks (Bryan and Behrman 2013).

Other than adaptation on a national scale or across sectors, CBA's distinction is that it provides assistance to self-help (Warwick in IIED 2009: 76). Furthermore, it introduces and empowers actors to initiate and foster the process at the local grassroots level. This helps focusing on a community's priorities and its specific vulnerabilities rather than on climatic threats. The specific challenges, sensitivities and vulnerabilities of urban areas of the African continent or MENA region, facing slow-onset climate challenges such as increasing heat and long heat periods, are gradually becoming the subject of detailed discussion. However, lacking the aspect of disaster-related responses (i.e., flooding, storm surges) but facing latent challenges, such cities might require an inter-

twined set of developmental and climate-change-related approaches.

The specific challenge of dry urban areas – the case of Greater Cairo

Egypt's most fertile part is along the Nile, covering up to 56% of the total, mainly desert land area, and providing about 95% of the country's entire water needs. In this narrow strip, all major urban centers are located along with industry and commercial activities. One key climatic stress on Egypt is the increase of temperatures.[6] Another major vulnerability refers to the country's water resources and coastal zones.

In Egypt, adaptation entered the national policy agenda in the early 1990s, considering vulnerabilities in three major contexts: agriculture, water, and coastal regions (EEAA/UNFCCC 2010, EEAA/MSEA 2010). The country started tackling climate change in its national strategy comprising both mitigation and adaptation (IDSC 2011: 4, EEAA/UNFCCC 2010). However, adaptation still has not entered the overall development discourse in Egypt, particularly at the urban level. The coastal city of Alexandria constitutes an exception to this, being central subject to adaptation strategies.

National research centres acknowledge that Egyptian urban centres are affected by heat-island effects linked to climate change, intensified through hot air

emitted by (unsustainable) energy use in buildings (IDSC 2011: 92). Yet, the Greater Cairo Region (GCR) is not considered as vulnerable as other cities of Africa, so far (Zafarany quoted in CSC 2013: 8). However, the Egyptian capital suffers from manifold pressures, amongst which the impacts of climate change represent just one set within a complex matrix of interrelated problems. While the coastal line of Alexandria is directly at risk to disaster, the Greater Cairo Region faces slow and rapid-onset, direct and indirect risks. [Figure 2] Taken together, these are "less dramatic, but nonetheless serious" (IPCC 2007: 1). Especially, an increasing heat of average 3°C by 2100 (UNDP 2013: 66, CSC 2013: 28) will be a growing burden that requires adaptation in (dense) human neighbourhoods. Further stresses are caused by erratic winds and rain occurrences. Analysis of climatic impacts on cities like Greater Cairo are therefore essential to link with non-climatic stresses in order to comprehend the burden on infrastructure, services, quality of life, etc. Non-climatic pressures include administrative practices (i.e., centralisation) on several levels, changing housing policies (i.e., the liberalisation of the housing market), demographic dynamics (i.e., rural-urban migration, natural population growth), increased inner-urban divide, and on-going informal extension of Cairo's urban borders.

As mentioned above, vulnerabilities in Greater Cairo's low-income neighbourhoods and informal settlements, predominantly termed as "*Ashwa'iyat*" in Arabic, are particularly high. Their gradual, informal formation can be traced back more than six decades. Their development is a result of complex and historically grown policy decisions, detachment from real-time market and population dynamics, economics, regional pressures, and etc. In 2006, up to 70% (GTZ 2009: 15) of Cairo's inhabitants lived in informal urban areas.[7] There are contrasting perceptions of how to deal with informality in Cairo. Insufficient governmental recognition and inflexible responses have been challenged in academic and developmental discourse during the past two decades. Moreover, civil society activists progressively promote informal urban areas as vibrant and economically relevant parts of Greater Cairo. Acknowledging the diversity and the specifics of each neighbourhood itself being highly self-regulating and self-mobilising (Khalifa 2011), international organisations (i.e., UN-Habitat, GIZ, Cities Alliance) started to support the shift of perception from stigmatisation to inclusion through developmental and participatory approaches like urban upgrading and local economic development.

Furthermore, the Egyptian January 25th uprising augmented the inhabitants' call for an improved quality of life "for deprived people who were suffering from bad living conditions" (Hassan 2012: 9). Some neighbourhoods have developed initiatives to improve their neighbourhoods (in some cases the urban microclimate) based on their own mobilisation, liaising with external non-governmental actors. Informal areas, along with deteriorated central urban areas, have increasingly become subject to advocacy and support from urban activists and organisations. Combined, these developments have contributed to a shift of policies and administration, resulting in the creation of Urban Upgrad-

ing Units (UUU) in the Cairo Governorate. In 2012, climate-change-related challenges finally became a subject in developmental cooperation projects with the following case study serving as a pilot area.

From adaptive capacities to CBA measures in Cairo's Ezbet El Nasr

Having existed since around 1977 (GTZ PDP 2009:16) through squatting processes on state-owned land, Ezbet El Nasr experienced consolidation through an increasing influx of residents throughout the subsequent decades, today housing about 60,000 inhabitants (UMP TU Berlin 2010: 31). Despite being a part of the urban sphere for more than 30 years, its legal status is still pending today, resulting in continuous neglect by the area authorities. Ezbet El Nasr faces multiple climate-related and non-climate-related pressures. This includes challenges in terms of the built environment, basic urban services, economic situation, social concerns and social vulnerability. These contribute to the overall vulnerability towards climate change impacts. Analysis and CBA reflections for the site are based on assessments by GIZ (PNA, Baseline Study by Zanaty Group 2013, Laue 2013). Climate-change-related stresses on Ezbet El Nasr were reported to hardly be directly noticeable (Zanaty Group 2013: 48), as the settlement is not located on a particularly disaster-prone area. Consequently, there was little awareness of climate change in Ezbet El Nasr (Zanaty Group 2013: 48). While not using the term "climate change" specifically, inhabitants[8] referred to increasing heat and sun intensity as the strongest weather-related overall pressure on the area. [Figure 3]

Analysis revealed that inhabitants adopted different forms of adaptation actions in different scales. For example, to relieve households from heat, the majority of interviewed households mentioned wearing lighter cloths and using fans (Zanaty Group 2013: 43). Each household displayed individual innovation in finding solutions. Autonomous adaptation (Malik et al. 2010) is observable, but strongly depends on the members' financial means and capacities. Generally, high financial constraints prevented households from investing in physical and spatial adjustments. Households already altered parts of their houses if affordable and feasible. The adjustments (according to the few examples) were based on trial and error. However, these can be regarded as autonomous measures of coping.

Towards a CBA in the Egyptian context

Based on the above-mentioned findings, a list [Figure 4] was developed in cooperation with GIZ containing singular measures that aim at preparing the community, and its spatial and physical organisation. Each measure serves a synergetic or interactive aspect that can be categorised into four adaptation options or policies. These include "no-regret options", "low-regret-options", "win-win options" and "flexible management options" (UKCIP 2007: 15).

The process, scope and success are highly dependent on the involvement of the community of Ezbet El Nasr. Ideally, it should include all social segments as climate change affects each individual with differing vulnerabil-

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SENSITIVITIES AND VULNERABILITIES- CONTEXTUALIZING CBA IN CAIRO_ EZZBET EL NASR

Summarized within the frame for IUSD Master thesis (University of Stuttgart/Ain Shams University, Cairo), authored by Franziska Laue
as of 01 May 2013 (based on literature, reports, etc. see below)
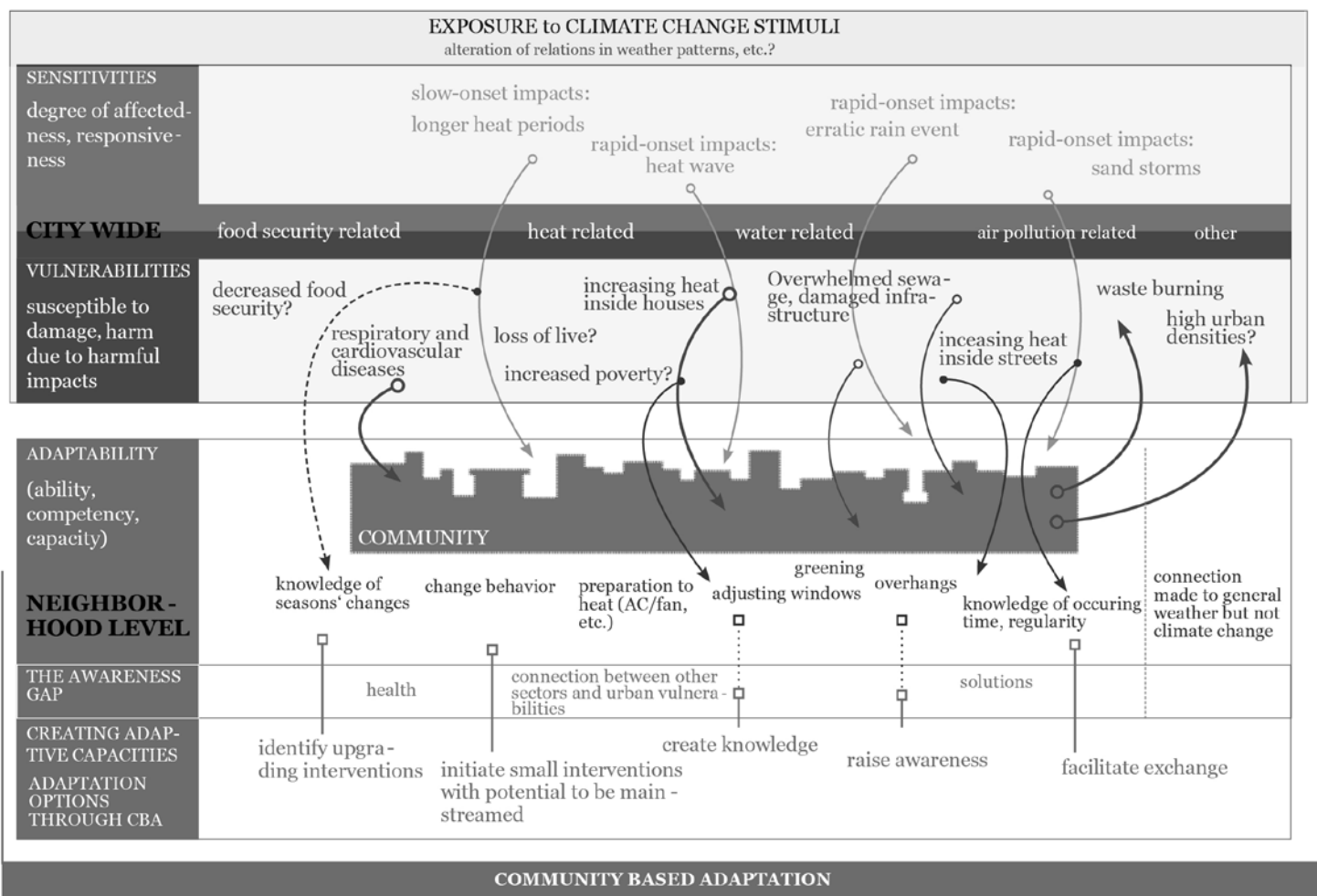
Conceptual framework inspired by Smit et al., 2000: 237
Data on Sensitivities based on PRC and GIZ Sensitivity analysis and impact chains, 2013
Data on vulnerabilities based on GIZ PDP baseline study and PNA
Data on Adaptability based on interviews and observations, GIZ-PNA report and GIZ PDP Baseline study

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Figure 3: Weather related overall pressure on the area, Source: F. Laue (2013)

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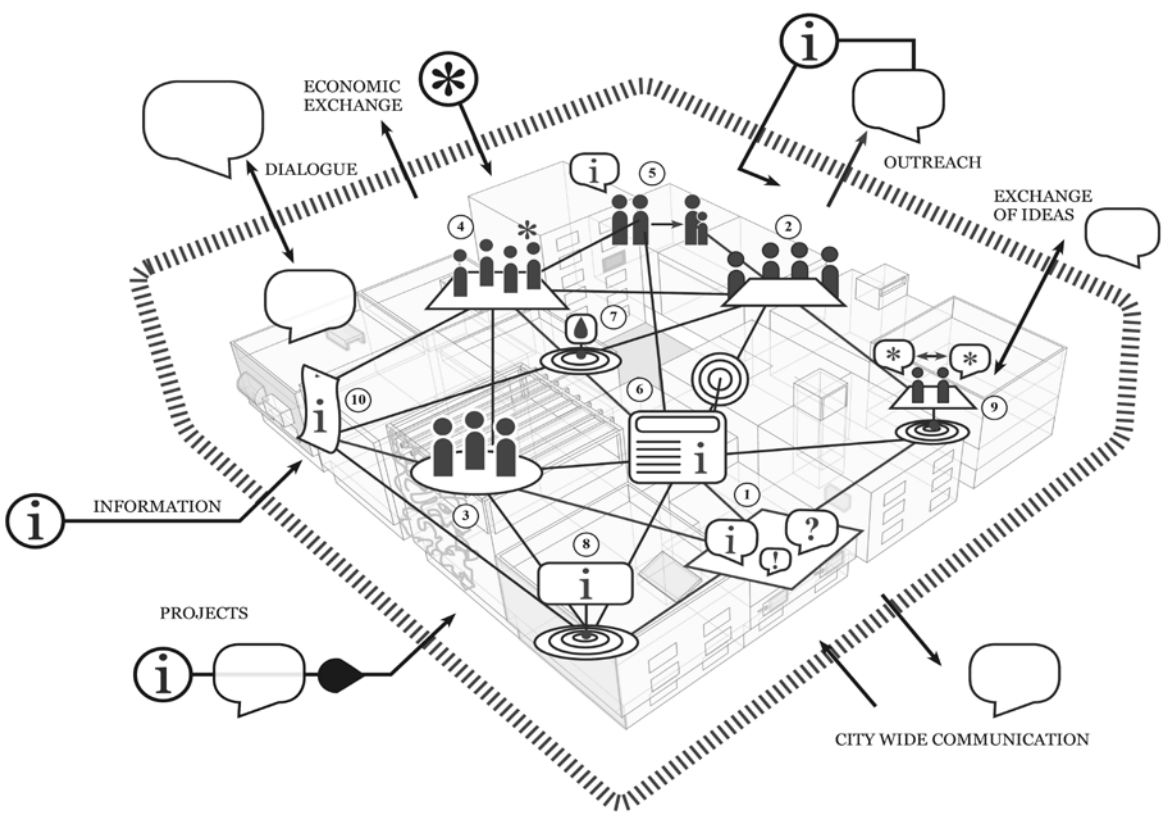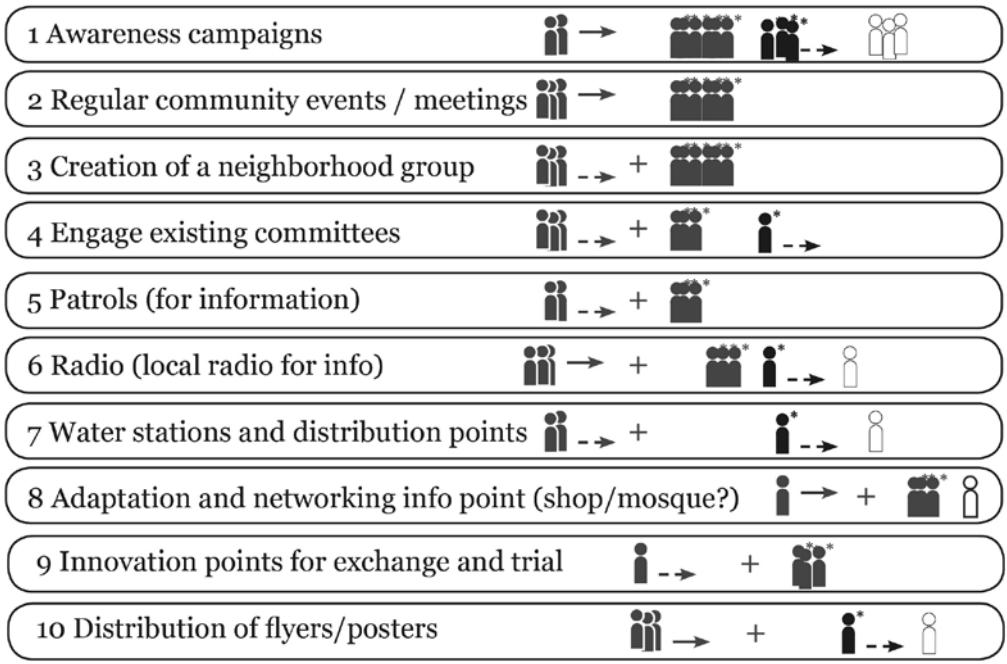
ities. Before 2012, no explicit climate change adaptation strategy was implemented in Ezbet El Nasr, neither through internal organisation nor through external input. Initiatives occurred on the individual level, with selected joint efforts such as a youth centre initiative. As 2012's preliminary analysis revealed, potential actors in Ezbet El Nasr with regard to promoting CBA measures exist in the area. However, to ensure a sustainable process, the involvement of all community segments needs to be guaranteed. [Figure 5]

Based on the surveys and interviews, despite male dominance, female "agents" could be identified as active participants of broader social networks in the neighbourhood (Laue 2013). Hence, women were identified as potential agents to other female community members of different ages. Furthermore, children and adolescents can play a crucial role in disseminating practices and awareness into families and households. This is of relevance as each adaptation measure and strategy may require a range of actors, dependent on how, with whom, and within which scope it is introduced. For example, planting a tree as well as interventions on the building level can be both an individu-

al or collective effort, varying according to who benefits and in what context. However, some measures tackling shared open spaces and soft measures such as organising health and awareness patrols might need more actors to be feasible. In some regards, this requires input from non-community members. However, the illustration also suggests external actors and partners joining an on-going initiative or project, or potentially introducing new methods into the community.

When speaking of CBA approaches, participation plays a crucial role, particularly when it comes to identifying stakeholders and target groups, to discussing issues, ideas, and processes, and to making decisions on needed measures. CBA is inherently dependent on the active contribution of community members. A CBA process can start with the partnership concept (Arnstein 1969) sharing responsibilities in committees and working groups, on an eye-to-eye level between power-holders and community members. This can lead to realistic and well-debated decisions on implementation, priorities, and the funding of measures. This furthermore ensures the involve-

1 Awareness campaigns

2 Regular community events / meetings

3 Creation of a neighborhood group

4 Engage existing committees

5 Patrols (for information)

6 Radio (local radio for info)

7 Water stations and distribution points

8 Adaptation and networking info point (shop/mosque?)

9 Innovation points for exchange and trial

10 Distribution of flyers/posters

KEY

PROCESS

→ continuous maintenance and caretaking

--→ maintenance and caretaking from time to time, incidental visits

LOCAL COMMUNITY MEMBERS

Local community member - «active

Local community member - joining force *

Local community member - joins the discourse, reflection use expertise and concerns

EXTERNAL ACTORS

Technical and practical support

Technical input and training *

Decision maker/ administration

ECONOMIC EXCHANGE

DIALOGUE

OUTREACH

EXCHANGE OF IDEAS

INFORMATION

PROJECTS

CITY WIDE COMMUNICATION

Figure 4: CBA suggested soft measures, Source: F. Laue (2013)

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Figure 5: Actors' graph for Ezbet El Nasr. Source: F. Laue (2013)
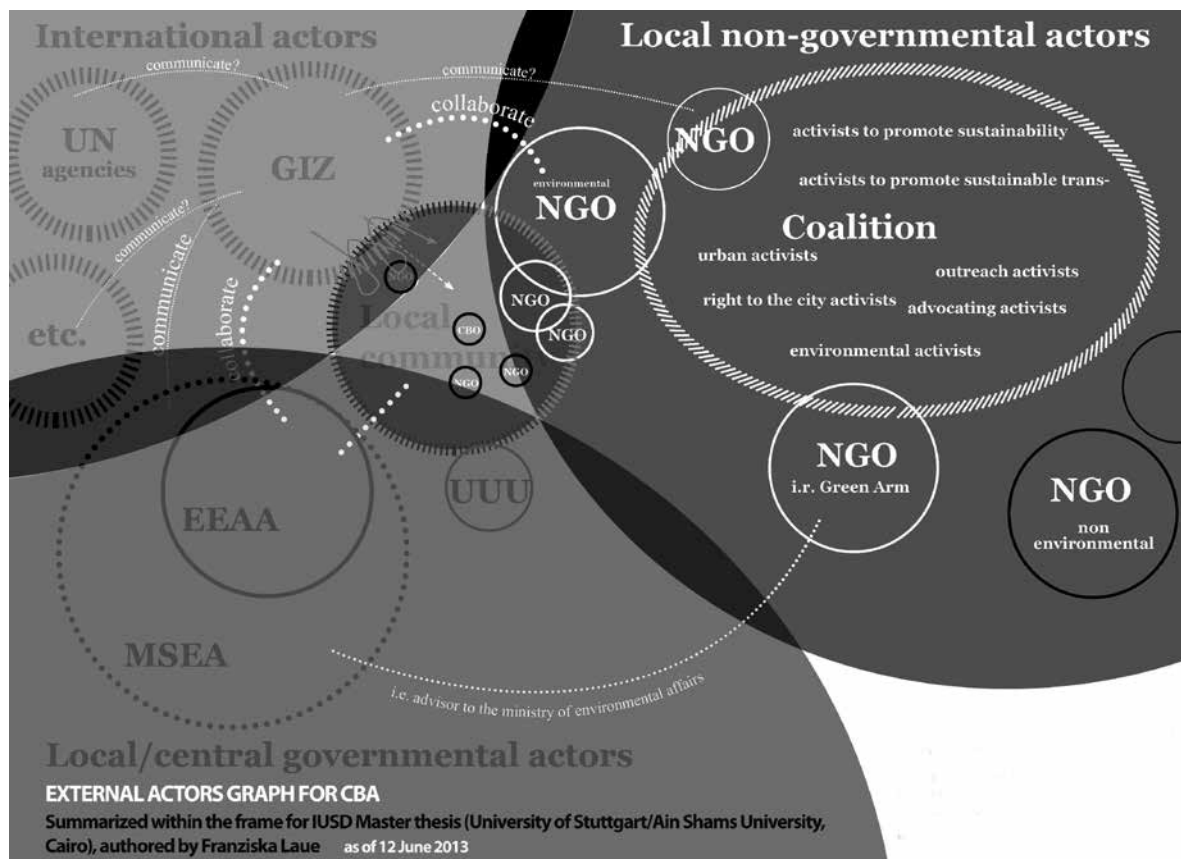
9
UUU - Urban Upgrading Units.

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EXTERNAL ACTORS GRAPH FOR CBA
Summarized within the frame for IUSD Master thesis (University of Stuttgart/Ain Shams University, Cairo), authored by Franziska Laue   as of 12 June 2013

ment of different target groups (i.e., gender, age). This is of relevance to any actor continuously developing and introducing an integrated, ideally synergetic nexus of participation tools and actors on the community level in an urban (informal) neighbourhood in Egypt.

CBA in reality check – as part of development cooperation practice

Since the elaboration of this master thesis in 2013, selected measures became subject to review and implementation within the above-mentioned Egyptian-German cooperation project. The following brief update illustrates to what extent the collaboration between academia and practice resulted in fruitful outcomes. The above-presented study results were compiled in two contexts: Firstly as part of the master thesis (Laue 2013), and secondly in collaboration with the Egyptian-German Participatory Development Programme and its consultants Plan+Risk Consult (2013).

Since 2011, the PDP (Participatory Development Programme) by GIZ and the Egyptian Ministry of Housing, Utilities and Urban Communities (MoHUUC) includes a component (C2) dedicated to climate change adaptation and urban resilience, involving a variety of local counterparts in the Greater Cairo region. In the course of the past years, nine urban areas became locations for various interventions, including Ezbet El Nasr. The team led by Dortmund's consultants Plan+Risk Consult undertook technical (computer-based) analyses as well as empirical analyses with stakeholders from different levels (from local to national) to identify options that foster a "participatory climate change adaptation process" (Lückenkötter et al. 2016: 2). A 2016 report summarises nine strategic

goals (and sub goals), ranging from architectural interventions on the local level to mainstreaming efforts on the national level.

Accordingly, goal 1 is described as "changing physical conditions; retrofitting to reduce urban heat-island effects [and] increase ventilation inside buildings; reduce solar radiation on rooftops, facades, streets; [and] increase cooling effects with rooftop farms, green walls, green spaces, street trees". Goal 2 is described as "to raise awareness of policy makers, local authorities, [and] residents about climate change impacts and adaptation in order to act and change their behaviour; campaigns, office posters and manuals for UUU[9] study tours, workshops and meetings for policy makers and UUUs" (Lückenkötter et al. 2016: 3).

The master thesis focused on Ezbet El Nasr, suggesting hard (i.e., strategic goal 1 - "Architectural adaptation measures") and soft (strategic goal 2 - "Awareness and information measures") adaptation measures. These were reviewed by the Plan+Risk Consult team (Lückenkötter et al. 2016: 6) for their final list of measures to be considered for implementation by the PDP programme throughout Greater Cairo. This list contains two larger categories. The first category refers to "Building-related architectural measures" and subcategorises into ventilation, insulation and shading/gardening measures. The second category, "Environmental and open-space-related measures", subcategorises into street and open-space measures (Lückenkötter et al. 2016: 7).

A selection of measures is currently being implemented, and collaborations are being created. For instance, urban agriculture is a measure that has multiple synergetic benefits from improved microclimate to local economic

benefits. It became subject to pilot implementation by local partners in several districts.

In 2013/14, the PDP collaborated with Schaduf for rooftop farming in Ezbet El Nasr. After this initial success with six households, the PDP component considered scaling up the measure "to 100 rooftop farms in 3 informal areas" (Osman 2015: 12 ff.) in 2015. Consequently, another example for rooftop farming is being coordinated by RISE[10] and CLUSTER[11] in the Cairene neighbourhood of Masaken Gezeret El-Dahab (Lückenkötter et al. 2016). This includes planting "eggplants, strawberries, cabbage, arugula, jasmine, mint, and rosemary" (Lückenkötter et al. 2016).

CBA – a no-regret option?

CBA is not a novel approach on the international development agenda, but remains novel on the local urban level in Egypt. The case study, however, illustrates that adaptation can and needs to be incorporated and mainstreamed into projects and initiatives. Hence, the more features of an adaptation measure or strategy that match with other developmental, technical and strategic aims, the more beneficial the incorporation of the adaptation measures on the local level will be for both the beneficiaries and the supporting side. With CBA acting as a "corrective" to shortcomings of regular urban management, it can be an inclusive aspect of solutions that previously appeared as not interconnected, pushing them into the right direction. For instance, thanks to its climate-change-impact-related focus, CBA can drive usually marginalised (economic, location-based, health-related) matters of vulnerable urban groups into the centre of attention and activate funds.

CBA can be placed under the umbrella of income generation, community mobilisation and other developmental aspects, for instance linking to urban upgrading efforts, which can be further supported with the help of soft and hard CBA measures. Yet, done sensibly, it will contribute to increased awareness of the impacts of climate change on lives and cities. Furthermore, already-established actors engaged in developmental cooperation can be linked to actors of climate change initiatives, and jointly build upon existing ideas, mechanisms, projects.

The intrinsic adaptive capacities also differ among newly built areas (where regulations and building codes can achieve climate proofing) and long-term, consolidated urban areas. In the scope of existing urban areas, formally planned districts might require a different set of adaptation measures than an informally grown neighbourhood.[12] Use (mixture and distribution) and scale as well as size, density and social strata also play a role. Consequently, each neighbourhood itself is a uniquely composed entity that requires a more- or less-complex set of adaptation measures and strategies and that is capable of developing its own adaptive capacities (through joint of individual efforts).

Particularly hard adaptation measures in informal urban areas can crosscut with the upgrading of buildings and infrastructures, creating a visible result in short and mid-term. CBA, along with upgrading, can reinforce networks through active community involvement and built capacities. David Satterthwaite, for instance, considers urban upgrading as one of the major experiences to reduce the climate change vulnerabilities of populations in urban, low-income settlements, referring to 40 years (Satterthwaite et al. 2007: 62) of lessons learnt through "development assistance" (Satterthwaite et al. 2007: 85) from upgrading experience worldwide. He continues considering the "best 'slum and squatter' upgrading programmes as excellent examples of community-based adaptation". While they mainly tackle "everyday" hazards and provide protection against extreme weather events, "addressing climate change is often simply an extension to this" (Satterthwaite et al.2007: 62).

This is applicable to the realities and upgrading efforts in Egyptian neighbourhoods. The country's local governments, including the local administration of Cairo and the Giza Governorate, have started partially recognising the benefits from supporting upgrading in general for years, as institutions with funding are increasingly being allocated.

Yet, local communities in the Egyptian urban context are strongly differentiated, shaped by their internal socio-economic settings and the interaction with adjacent and broader urban environs. Hence, their role needs to be that of a critical, transparent and constructive reflector of to what extent what adaptation mechanisms are feasible within and by the given community.

Conclusion

To conclude, as vulnerabilities to climate change in low-income urban neighbourhoods may overlap with non-climatic externalities, conventional developmental cooperation projects and initiatives can create an enabling environment for CBA. In addition to that, the right type of participation (Arnstein 1969) needs to be considered and applied. Once this is achieved, adaptation can be viable, contributing to increasing resilience[13] of natural and human systems (Bryan and Behrman 2013: 2). However, the different urban realities in a city like Cairo and other cities with comparable settings and challenges need to be carefully considered. Consequently, CBA makes sense as it has the potential to respond to the real constraints of urban populations. It should actively acknowledge socio-economic constraints and develop concepts to gather internal and external capacities to facilitate adaptation. This can be in combination with urban initiatives such as comprehensive upgrading. Here, collaboration between academia and practice may result in fruitful outcomes, as illustrated with the PDP project.

As CBA does not constitute a welfare aspect but tackles vulnerabilities that the entire urban population is facing (in different grades), it can be an intermediary step between the improvement of living conditions and (legal) recognition. Hence, urban informal neighbourhoods such as Ezbet El Nasr and other areas may receive attention beyond their stigmatised image, and be seen as locations of innovation and resilience. Moreover, with recent projects linking this fairly academic discourse to urban realities, competence and lessons learnt for future projects increases.

10
RISE - Research Institute for a Sustainable Environment.

11
CLUSTER - Cairo Lab for Urban Studies, Training and Environmental Research.

12
Differing indicators are types, location, materials, spatial organisation of buildings, and their urban location and relation to other buildings and open spaces.

13
Resilience, in this regard, refers to "the ability of a social or ecological system to absorb disturbances" (IPCC 2007: 880). It maintains self-determination and capacities to adjust to changes and impacts.

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Negotiating Needs – State and Civil Society in Egypt

Ebtihal Zakaria Abbas

Verhandlung des Notwendigen – Staat und Zivilgesellschaft in Ägypten

In den letzten Jahren hat die Anzahl von ägyptischen Nichtregierungsorganisationen, die sich mit Fragen der urbanen Entwicklung beschäftigen und Expertise im Bereich der Stadtplanung anbieten, stark zugenommen. Zentrale Charakteristika dieser Organisationen, ihre Beziehung untereinander sowie ihre Beziehung zum Staat haben sich dabei kontinuierlich gewandelt. Diese Entwicklung wird unter anderem beeinflusst vom Stadtplanungsprozess, veränderten politischen Rahmenbedingungen, Förderrichtlinien internationaler Geldgeber sowie von der ägyptischen Gesetzgebung. Der Artikel untersucht die sich wandelnde Beziehung zwischen Zivilgesellschaft und Staat in Ägypten am Beispiel dreier zivilgesellschaftlicher Initiativen im Bereich der Stadtentwicklung nach dem Ägyptischen Frühling 2011. Die Analyse konzentriert sich dabei auf unterschiedliche Muster in der Beziehung zwischen Staat und Zivilgesellschaft. Ergebnisse der Untersuchung zeigen, dass widersprüchliche Gesetzgebungsinitiativen auf nationaler Ebene die Arbeit der Initiativen stark beeinträchtigt haben. Zu den größten Hürden für ihre Arbeit zählen Einschränkungen in der Zulassung, in den Kontakten mit internationalen Organisationen, mangelnde finanzielle Unterstützung und die daraus resultierenden Schwierigkeiten in der Umsetzung von Projekten. Insgesamt verdeutlicht die Analyse, dass die jüngste Gesetzgebung in Ägypten die Kontrolle des Staates über die Zivilgesellschaft ausgebaut hat und nichtstaatliche Organisationen daran hindert, den politischen Prozess in Ägypten mitzugestalten.

Introduction

The proliferation of civil society tackling urban issues and providing hands-on professional expertise in the built environment has been increasing in the last few years. The nature with which civil society deals with urban issues in Egypt is dynamically changing, as is civil society's interaction within, and its relation to the state (Abdelrahman 2004). This has been influenced by a number of factors, such as the urban planning process, the changing political situation, the policies of international funding agencies, and Egyptian laws. This article focuses on the interchanging relationship between state-society dichotomies in Egypt over the past decades in the context of urban development while examining three urban initiatives carried out by civil society that took place directly after the 2011 uprising in Egypt. However, it does not touch upon the classification of the civil society organisations in Egypt. Their classification
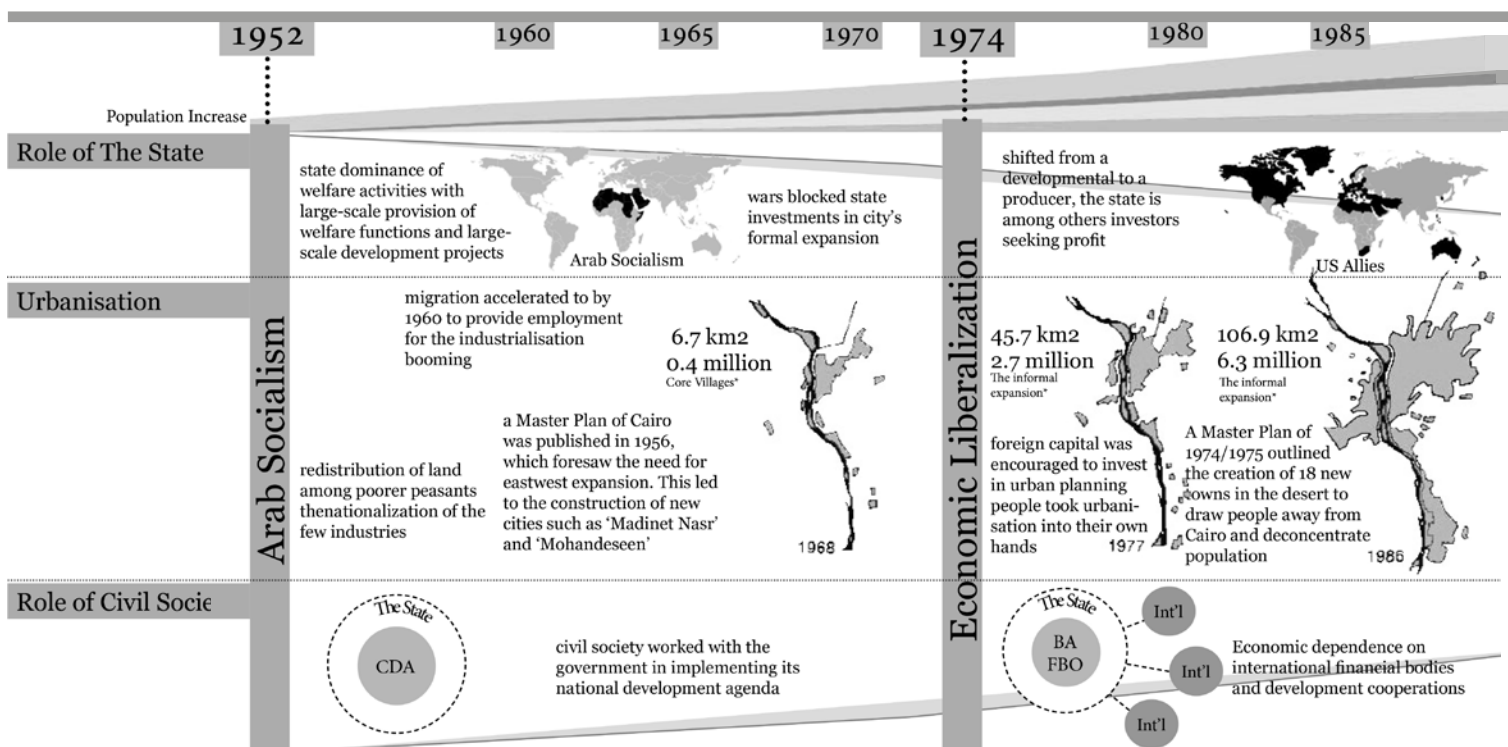
and historical development has been discussed extensively (Abdelrahman 2004, Pioppi 2004, CIVICUS 2005, Kandil 2008, Kandil and Ben Nefissa 1999, Sullivan 1994, Abbas 2013). Different patterns of the state-society relationship will be identified in these initiatives.[1] Since 2011, recent contradictions between regulations drafted and approved by the Egyptian parliament, including the NGO Law 70 for the year 2017, have restricted civil society. Obstacles in licensing, contact with international agencies and receiving funding, and difficulties in implementing projects and field research, have tightened the state's grip on civil society (NCVO 2013, MadaMasr 2016). In addition, civil society remains an absent partner in the political processes and changes. However, Egypt still has a large civil society sector with an estimated 40,000 registered organisations in 2014 (ICNL 2016). The answer to the question whether all this civil society is effective and actively working remains vague.

1. Relation between state and civil society in literature

Different understandings and debates for the term civil society exist within different theories for their relationship to the state. As a theoretical concept, the two basic theories of state-civil society relation are either: complementary to the state, or an independent space autonomous from the state where citizens oppose or accept state hegemony (Bratton 1994, Leubolt and Novy 2005). The idea of civil society is defined by time, history, culture and economy in different contexts (Lewis 2002). In Greek philosophy, Socrates (470-399 BC) perceives civil society as a place in which different individuals exist together to bring collectively similar needs and pursue similar objectives in a rational dialogue. For Plato (428-348 BC), civil society was a just society where citizens were committed to the common good under the power of knowledgeable, civilised leaders. Aristotle (384-322 BC) states that civil society is by nature a participatory one in which citizens contribute to produce a form of governance for the common good (Ehrenberg 1999, Broekhoven 2009, Abbas 2013).

In classical political philosophy, Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679) perceives the natural state of men as violent and always at war, a condition which necessitates the dominance of a powerful state; in the absence of a power to hold society accountable, there would be no laws and hence no justice (Hobbes 2001, Chakraborty 2016). John Locke (1632-1704) regards civil society and political society as complementary, being organised by the right of law as a foundation for a democratic state (Chakraborty 2016). Friedrich Hegel (1770-1831) sees civil society and state existence fundamental to each other, and that civil society needs to be shaped by the state to ensure that citizen participation and common interest prevails (Lewis 2002). Karl Marx (1818-1883) distinguishes civil society as a sphere for the elite society autonomous from state power to fulfil the interests of the bourgeois (Chakraborty 2016).

Alexis de Tocqueville (1805-1859) views civil society and democracy as complementary to each other in a natural relationship between civil and political associations. Civil society is the balancing stone that holds the state and market accountable for their roles. He emphasises the existence of voluntary associations to promote democracy and resist state despotism (Chakraborty 2016, Edwards 2009). Michel Foucault (1926-1984) considers civil society as a dependent sphere of social creativity in an existing hegemonic social order (Flyvbjerg 1998). Jürgen Habermas perceives civil society as a strong, autonomous space in which public opinion is formed and revolutionises politics through pressure, communication, and action (Leubolt and Novy 2005).

2. The state, civil society and urban development in Egypt

This part provides an overview of the relationship between the state and civil society in light of the changing development paradigms in Egypt since the first republic. [Figure 1] It further examines the response of diverse political actors towards civil society and vice versa.
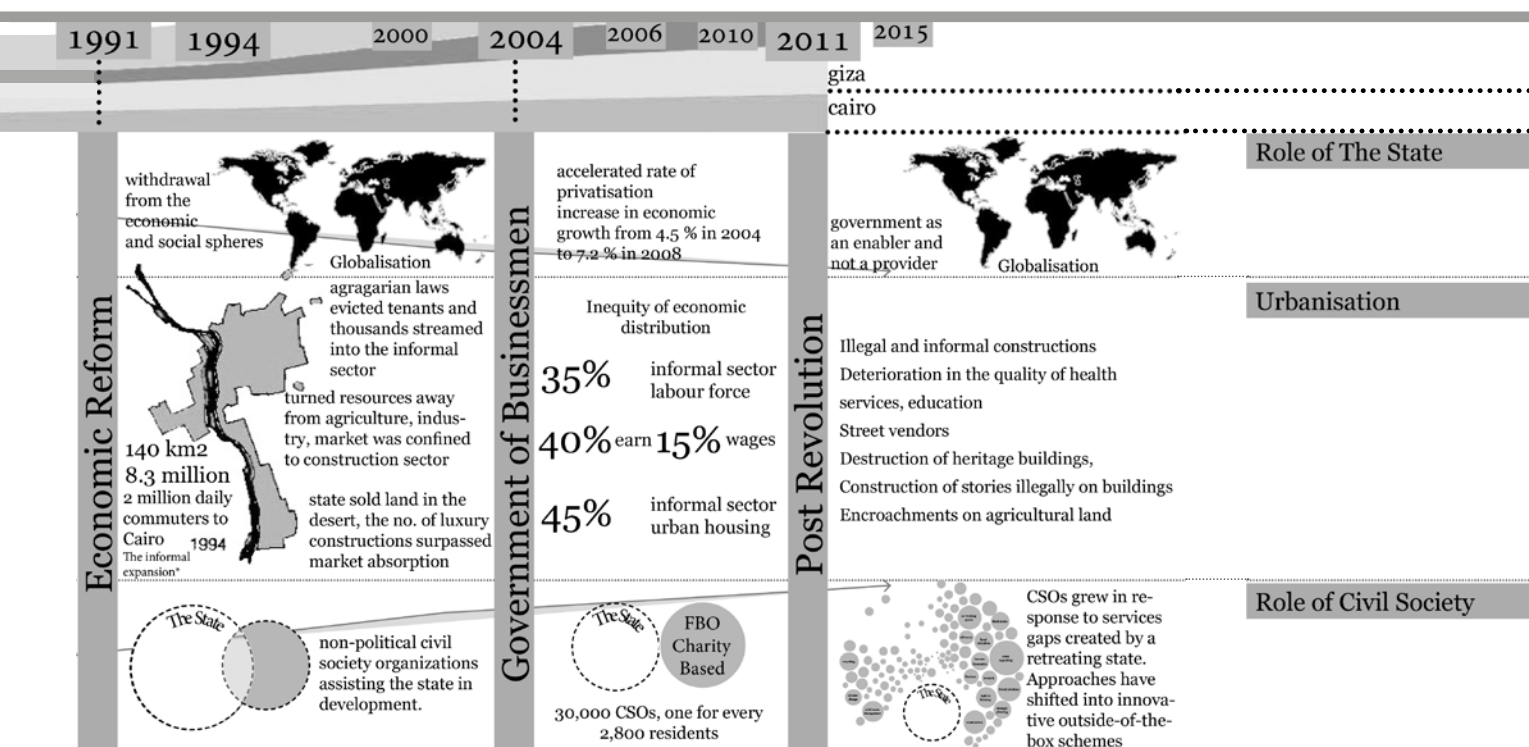
Figure 1: State - civil society and urban development timeline. Source: Adapted by author from Abbas (2013)
▼

Arab socialism: 1956-1967

Gamal Abdul Nasser's state (1952-1970) was a socialist regime with one legitimate political party, the Arab Socialist Union (ASU). Most of the urban development was carried out by the state, which was the sole provider of services, housing, and social welfare to society. In line with this approach, a massive move was made towards state-subsidised public housing and apartment cooperatives governed by laws such as Law 206 (from 1951), and the creation of public companies to construct them in areas of Cairo, such as Zeinhom, Helwan, Imbaba and Shubra al Khima (Stewart 1999, Sims 2012). New suburbs endorsed by the 1956 Master Plan of Cairo spread out from east to west of Cairo, such as Madinet Nasr [Figure 2] and Mohandeseen. By the 1960s, industrial projects such as the cement factories in Helwan and textile industries in Shubra Al-Khyma were booming, and the resulting job opportunities accelerated migration from rural areas to Cairo.

2
The principles for the "Open Door Policy" were put by Sadat in the "October Working Paper" in 1974.

The relationship between state and civil society was characterised by state dominance of all welfare activities and the regulation of civil society organisations through issuance of laws that gave more control to the state, such as Law 32 from 1964 and the 1956 Decree. In this context, the Ministry of Social Affairs was founded with an objective to license and regulate all civil society organisations (Hassan 2010, Abdelrahman 2004, Abbas 2013). All political parties were dissolved and replaced by the one-party state. This narrowed down activities for civil society and there was almost no space for community participation in either politics or urban development (Dunne and Hamzawy 2008). Certain civil society, such as Local Social Units, was sanctioned by the Ministry of Social Affairs so as to assist the state to implement its na-

tional development plans in healthcare, education and social development, currently more active in rural areas (Sullivan 1994, LaTowsky 1997, Sims et al. 2003). The state dominated all urban development through nationalisation, land reform, and enormous projects such as the Aswan High Dam and massive housing projects.

In this scenario, the state carefully chooses which civil society to sanction and implement its plans and projects. Hence, civil society ensures the existence of a certain state-civil society model imposed by the state and, contrary to Hegel's argument, not necessarily the prevalence of the common interest.

Economic liberalisation: 1974-1990

A shift from the welfare state model occurred in the 1970s and 1980s, known as the Open Door Policy.[2] The state encouraged foreign investment and withdrew from providing basic services to a wide segment of society by replacing welfare provision with policies of privatisation. This pushed individuals to be responsible for their own social welfare, education, healthcare, and pensions (Brenner and Theodore 2002, Larner 2003, Barnett 2009). The state became a producer like any investor seeking profit, and opened up to foreign investment in the fields of industry, construction, agriculture, and housing (Abbas 2013). During the same period, and due to the consequence of neoliberalism policies and the end of employment in state jobs because of privatisation, a lot of Egyptians headed for jobs in rich Gulf countries and placed their remittances in housing construction, the only means of investment for an ordinary Egyptian with some imported capital. This created a gap between the demand and the supply of housing for the regular Egyptians who were unable to afford, for themselves, such means of housing (El-Batran and Arandel 1998). On the other hand, those who lacked that financial surplus from the Gulf started to look for another alternative of housing themselves. Agricultural land and vacant sites around Cairo were illegally occupied and later developed into housing units (El-Batran and Arandel 1998, Deboulet 2009, Sims 2012). These self-built types of housing were constructed spontaneously, without any legal recognition, and lacked the provision of basic services and infrastructure. [Figure 3]

To overcome such an influx of informal urbanisation and to provide assistance to impoverished areas, international financial bodies and foreign assistance and develop-

1968   1977   1986   1994
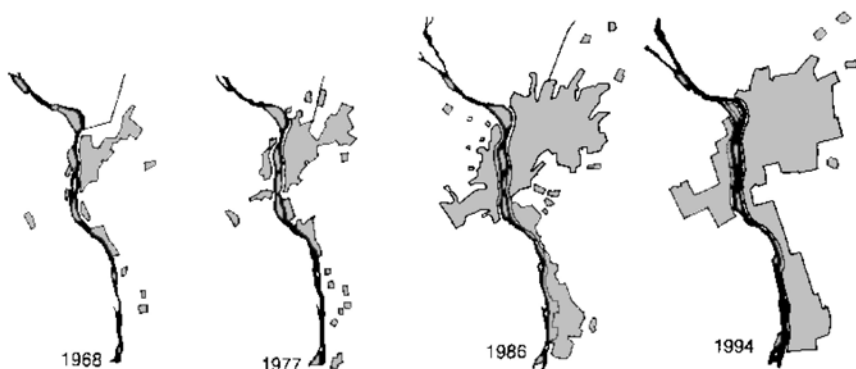
ment cooperation agencies (such as the World Bank) got engaged in urban upgrading development projects in, for example, Helwan (1978) and/or Manshiet Nasser (1979) (El-Batran and Arandel 1998, Dorman 2009). In parallel and in response to this neoliberal change, communities produced a form of self-governance known as *al-majhud al-dhati'* (self-help) to gain legal recognition and obtain access to public services such as healthcare, water, and mosques (Pioppi 2004, Ben Nefissa 2009).

Charitable civil society (*al-jama'iyyat al-khayriyya*)[3] associated with Islamic fundamentalism started to provide social services, especially in the health and education sectors, in many informal areas. In addition to Sadat's making peace with the Islamists and his opposition of communist/leftist parties, which were quite alarming to him, acts like instituting *Sharī'ah* (Islamic) law in the Egyptian constitution (Jreisat 1997, El-Batran and Arandel 1998, Pioppi 2004) encouraged Islamists to take more power than was intended for them, which led to the crackdown on Islamists in the late 1970s.

Political decision-makers foresaw tremendous responsibilities for civil society in the provision of social and even infrastructural provision. At the same time, political power was centralised and autocratically enforced. Criticism on political matters and opposition was not allowed and, in the case of any civil society organisation breaching this tight corset of action, the organisation was then suspended and withheld from practicing any activity. This was obvious in the food riots[4] of 1977, after which civil society was held back through laws such as Law 95 of 1980, which suppressed civil society (Peck and Tickell 2002, Dunne and Hamzawy 2008, Singerman 2009). The era of economic liberalisation was characterised by political decision-makers who prevented the development of

a critical civil society in the sense of Habermas (Leubolt and Novy 2005). Civil society stayed at the level of Foucault's understanding (Flyvbjerg 1998) of it being a dependent sphere, one being deprived of its social creativity in a strict hegemonic order.

Economic reform: 1991-2004

Egypt was in a severe debt crisis from 1982 to 1990, and the state was not able to overcome the loss of public sector to privatisation, nor cover budget gaps and foreign debts in the Egyptian economy (Mitchell 1999). The state was forced to adopt the economic reform and structural adjustment programme of the International Monetary Fund (IMF)[5] in 1991, through Law 203 of 1991. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) set in place a neoliberal structural adjustment programme that further reduced state spending in health, education, and other social services. This weakened the state (Mitchell 1999, Bayat 2000, Maher 2011) and raised the percentage of population below the poverty line from 40% in urban and rural areas in 1990/91 to around 45% in urban areas and 50% in rural areas in 1995/96 (Mitchell 1999). Informal urbanisation was aggravated by laws such as the agrarian reform law, which raised agricultural rents, and laws that authorised the privatisation of urban development [Figure 4] through the sale of public land to investors to construct luxurious housing on the desert edges of Cairo (ElAraby 2003).
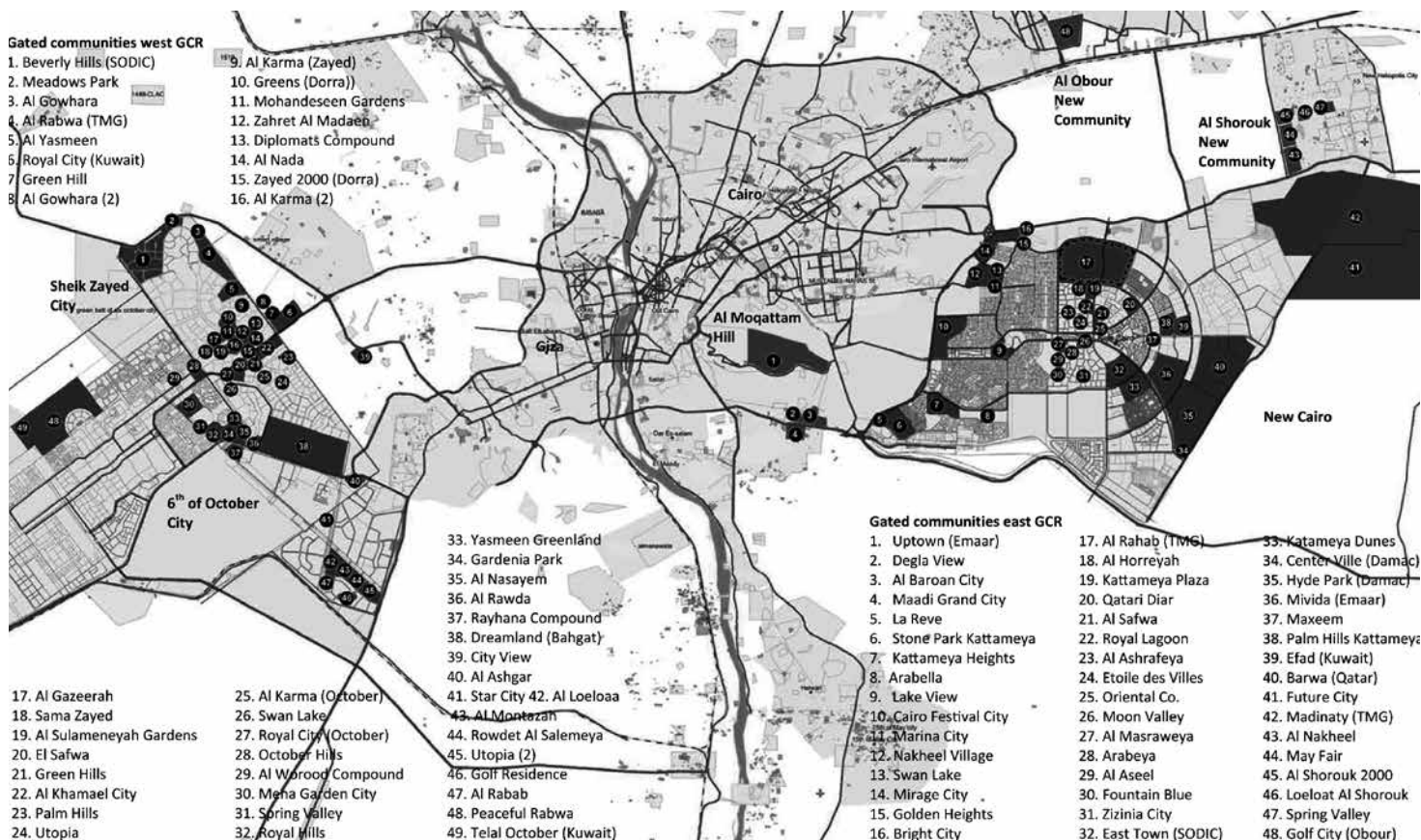
Parallel to the main policies mandated by the IMF and the World Bank in their neoliberal structural adjustment programme, they also advocated for civil society to assist the state in some urban development projects. This marked the beginning of the concept of bottom-up participatory approaches with local communities in Egypt as
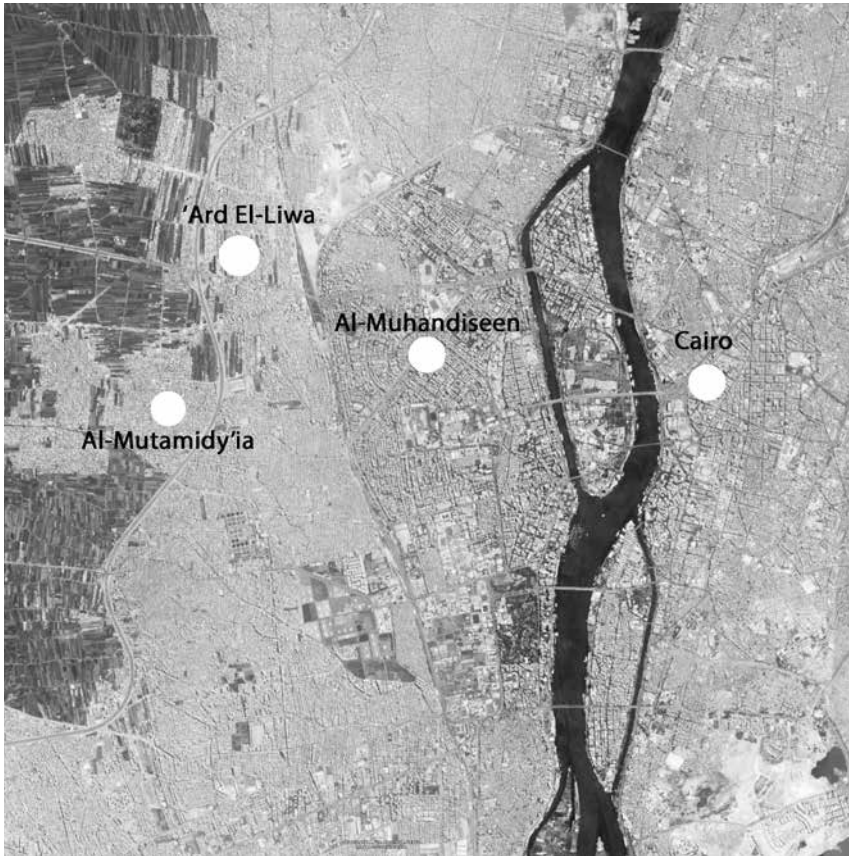
Figure 4: Privatization of urban development: gated communities on the desert edges in the East and West of Greater Cairo Region (GCR). Source: Yousry (2009) ▼

Gated communities west GCR
1. Beverly Hills (SODIC)
2. Meadows Park
3. Al Gowhara
4. Al Rabwa (TMG)
5. Al Yasmeen
6. Royal City (Kuwait)
7. Green Hill
8. Al Gowhara (2)
9. Al Karma (Zayed)
10. Greens (Dorra)
11. Mohandeseen Gardens
12. Zahret Al Madaen
13. Diplomats Compound
14. Al Nada
15. Zayed 2000 (Dorra)
16. Al Karma (2)

17. Al Gazeerah
18. Sama Zayed
19. Al Sulameneyah Gardens
20. El Safwa
21. Green Hills
22. Al Khamael City
23. Palm Hills
24. Utopia
25. Al Karma (October)
26. Swan Lake
27. Royal City (October)
28. October Hills
29. Al Worood Compound
30. Mena Garden City
31. Spring Valley
32. Royal Hills
33. Yasmeen Greenland
34. Gardenia Park
35. Al Nasayem
36. Al Rawda
37. Rayhana Compound
38. Dreamland (Bahgat)
39. City View
40. Al Ashgar
41. Star City 42. Al Loeloaa
43. Al Montazah
44. Rowdet Al Salemeya
45. Utopia (2)
46. Golf Residence
47. Al Rabab
48. Peaceful Rabwa
49. Telal October (Kuwait)

Gated communities east GCR
1. Uptown (Emaar)
2. Degla View
3. Al Baroan City
4. Maadi Grand City
5. La Reve
6. Stone Park Kattameya
7. Kattameya Heights
8. Arabella
9. Lake View
10. Cairo Festival City
11. Marina City
12. Nakheel Village
13. Swan Lake
14. Mirage City
15. Golden Heights
16. Bright City
17. Al Rahab (TMG)
18. Al Horreyah
19. Kattameya Plaza
20. Qatari Diar
21. Al Safwa
22. Royal Lagoon
23. Al Ashrafeya
24. Etoile des Villes
25. Oriental Co.
26. Moon Valley
27. Al Masraweya
28. Arabeya
29. Al Aseel
30. Fountain Blue
31. Zizinia City
32. East Town (SODIC)
33. Katameya Dunes
34. Center Ville (Damac)
35. Hyde Park (Damac)
36. Mivida (Emaar)
37. Maxeem
38. Palm Hills Kattameya
39. Efad (Kuwait)
40. Barwa (Qatar)
41. Future City
42. Madinaty (TMG)
43. Al Nakheel
44. May Fair
45. Al Shorouk 2000
46. Loeloat Al Shorouk
47. Spring Valley
48. Golf City (Obour)

Figure 5: Ard Al-Liwa location map. Source: Google Earth, adapted by author

Figure 6: Location of civil society initiatives in Ard al-Liwa. Source: GIS Map GOPP 2006, adapted by author

Government of businessmen: 2004-2010

Before the uprising in 2011, the "government of businessmen", which supported the privatisation of public-sector enterprises as part of their political programme, came into power in July 2004. A major move in that direction was the privatisation of water utilities and transforming them into a profitable corporate (Piper 2012). Even though Egypt's economic growth increased during that time, the benefits of economic success failed to trickle down to the poor, widening the inequality between the segments of the Egyptian society (Schenker 2012). The rate of informal settlements exploded, and almost 45% of the housing stock in Egypt was built informally to meet demands of lower income groups (World Bank et al. 2008). Multiple upgrading programmes involving civil society with foreign agencies, such as the Participatory Development Programme in Urban Areas with the German Technical Cooperation (GIZ) in collaboration with the Egyptian Ministry of Planning, were launched. At the same time, the highly disputed "Cairo 2050" development plan, which was set in place without any resident consultation, was launched in 2008. During that phase, labour protests against low wages and private investors' exploitation, and the demand for social benefits (especially in Egyptian industrial towns such as El-Mahalla El-Kobra) rose sharply all over Egypt. This continued to build steam, culminating in the uprising in 2011 (Maher 2011). In that sense, an active and strong civil society that holds the state and the market accountable for their actions is a necessity for an effective and capable state, according to Tocqueville's argument (Edwards 2009).

The uprising 2011

The uprising on the 25th of January 2011 ended Hosni Mubarak's 30-year reign, was followed by Mohamed Morsi, who was elected in 2012, and was superseded by Adly Mansour in 2013. Later, after Morsi's ouster, Abdel Fattah el-Sisi, Chief-of-Staff of the Egyptian Armed Forces, won the presidential election. By then, urbanisation encompassed informal housing and illegal occupation of public lands as well as forced evictions, destruction of heritage buildings, construction of illegal additional stories on existing buildings, and encroachments on agricultural land (MENA 2013, Abbas 2013). Civil society, in the form of community initiatives, flourished significantly directly after the uprising in 2011. The security vacuum left by the state's apparatus gave most community initiatives considerable freedom to emerge and work in deprived areas. People formed coalitions and civil society was empowered to innovate and re-invent the city outside the specific path mandated by the state. Rights-based civil society, policy think-tanks (Lewis and Opoku-Mensah 2006), space re-use schemes (Koolhaas 2012), advocacy and research for issues such as the right to housing and the expropriation of lands to the public benefit (Abbas 2013), rehabilitation of heritage, and platforms of communication between civil societies, private and public institutions and academics (CEDEJ et al. 2013) are all among the approaches taken by civil society after the 2011 uprising.

3. Civil society initiatives in Ard Al-Liwa'

Ard Al-Liwa' is an informal neighbourhood belonging to the Al-Agouza district located in the west of Cairo.

a tool to assist local development in response to a failed top-down model (Piffero 2009). Hence, an increase in the momentum of civil society activity and urban movements was witnessed, with the number of organisations rising from 7,593 in 1985 to 16,000 by 1999 (Institute of National Planning 2008). Donor funding towards civil society working on ground in a diversity of areas also gathered pace after the UN's "International Conference on Population and Development", which was hosted in Egypt in 1994 (Abbas 2013).

[Figure 5] It is a residential area of 470 acres built informally on former farmland, and houses 300,000 inhabitants with a density of 638 persons per acre (Elgendy 2012). People started constructing their own houses in Ard Al-Liwa' in the 1970s during the "Open Door Policy". The area is separated from the east by a regional railway to Upper Egypt, and from adjacent farmland on the west (such as the village Al-Mi'timidiya) by the Cairo Ring Road, which was built in the 1990s as a containment strategy for Cairo's agglomeration. Three urban interventions carried out in Ard El-Liwa' in Egypt during and after the uprising of 2011 were selected by Abbas (2013) to track the mobilisation patterns, social processes, and power structures of three encounters of state-civil society confrontation. The illustrated case studies were selected to gain insights into the search for new models for state-civil society relation. [Figure 6]

Basic services: railway crossing

Several fatal incidents occurred on the railway crossing because it had no control mechanisms to alert the people and vehicles crossing it. An urban intervention was initiated by the Freedom and Justice Party, which was the governing party representing the Muslim Brotherhood at that time, to solve the issue. Based on an interview with Shalaby (2013), the advisor to the Minister of Housing and Construction during Mohamed Morsi's presidency, and Youssef (2013), an officer in the Urban Upgrading Unit - Giza Governorate, the initiative was carried out with the Giza Municipality and the Syndicate of Giza Engineers in collaboration with the Freedom and Justice Party. Two million Egyptian pounds were dispatched for this project. A participatory approach was carried out by holding a workshop in the area to invite all interested stakeholders and civil society in the area to take part and produce alternatives for the railway crossing. Most of the civil society organisations that showed up had a similar religious affiliation to the Freedom and Justice Party. The initiative stopped due to the change in regime after 30 June 2013, and a new stakeholder appeared in the process three years later: the Emirati government assistance to Egypt, in collaboration with the Egyptian army, took the project forward and constructed a pedestrian stairway and bridge that passes over the railway with a flyover for motorised traffic that connects Ard Al-Liwa' with a neighbouring residential area called Nahiya. [Figure 7]

This pattern was a social mobilisation triggered by the governing party in an effort to replicate a model of a decentralised bottom-up participatory approach complementary to the state. The main factors that characterised this process were the political and religious affiliation of the civil society involved. Such effort to produce a certain model is always in question as to whether it directly responds to the community needs or not. In this case, the need of the community was a mechanical system to control pedestrian and vehicles passage over the railway level crossing (Abbas 2013). A lot of money, which could have been used for the construction of the controlling system, was spent on lengthy participatory workshops that didn't meet the objective of the projects. [Figure 8]

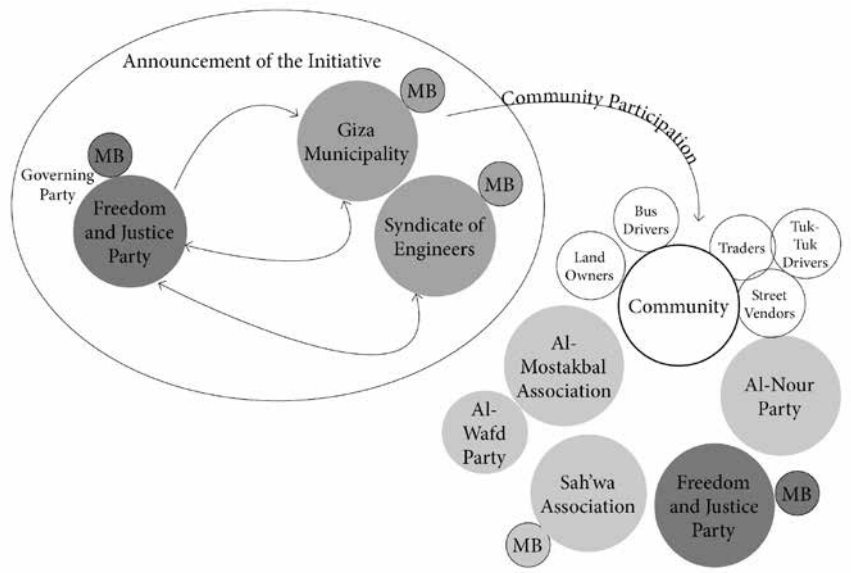### Environmental equity: Ard Al-Liwa' undevelopable land

A large area of 14 acres of undevelopable green land exists between Ard Al-Liwa' and Al-Muhandiseen. Based on an interview with Gad (2013), one of the Founders of the Popular Coalition of Ard Al-Liwa', a resident there as well and an urban planner and Nagati (2013), the founder of CLUSTER,[6] this land belongs to the Ministry of Endowments, which is trying to assist the state by creating housing projects on endowment lands (waqf[7]) in collabo-

8
The coalition started as one of the many popular committees that formed organically during the revolution and later transformed into a community group that upgrades and develops the services in the area (Tadamun 2013).

9
The Shura Council was the upper house of the formerly bicameral Parliament of Egypt, and was abolished by the 2014 constitution.
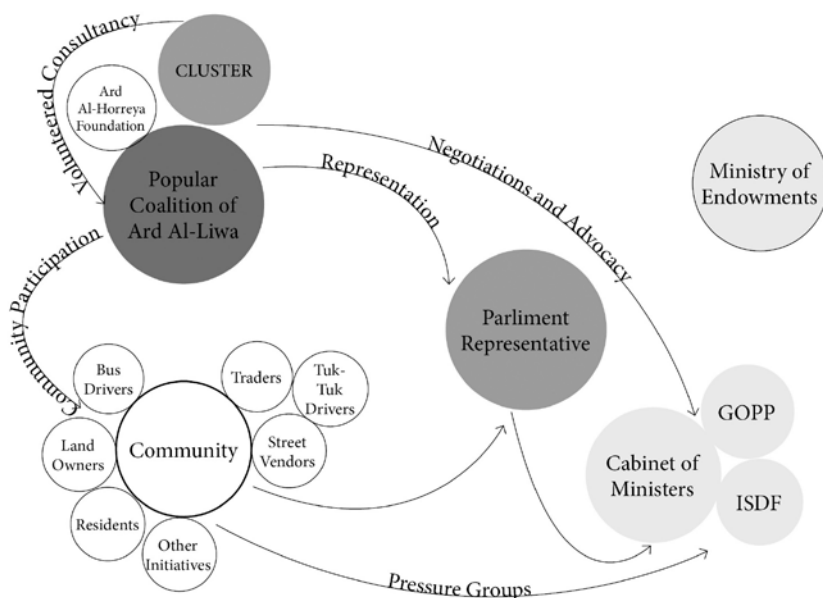
ration with the Ministry of Housing, Utilities and Urban Development, the Ministry of Agriculture, and the Ministry of Local Development. They planned to establish nine residential buildings for investment and 14 others as youth housing. In 2011, the Popular Coalition of Ard Al-Liwa'[8] advocated for the establishment of basic services (such as a health unit, a police unit, an outlet for bread distribution, and an open recreational space) in the area. They proposed the utilisation of this vacant land to provide such amenities instead of housing, which, in their opinion, was not needed. The Popular Coalition involved the community and campaigned for their vision with other political groups. However, the project is not moving further because the Cabinet of Ministers needs to compensate the Ministry of Endowments with another parcel of land equal in size and value, and which the Ministry of Endowments need to approve. The Ministry of Endowments has not approved that parcel of land that has been offered to them. [Figure 9]

This second pattern was initiated from the community. There was no channel for the civil society to voice their demands to the state, especially in the absence of a parliament that doesn't represent the community. In this scenario, civil society was self-regulated and autonomous from the state (Leubolt and Novy 2005), with no power to change at a political policy level. They had to

approach several state institutions to give their project legal recognition due to the numerous urban development institutions in Cairo, sometimes with overlapping roles, according to Singerman (2009). In this case, the institutions were Giza Governorates, the General Organization for Physical Planning, the Ministry of Housing and Urban Communities, the Informal Settlements Development Fund, local municipalities, and other entities such as the Ministry of Religious Endowments (Abbas 2013). Hence, it was difficult to focus on one state entity and progress with it. [Figure 10]

Security of tenure: the ring road ramps

The informal area of Al-Mi'timidiya on the west edge of Ard el-Liwa' was totally excluded from inner Cairo because of the Cairo Ring Road, which was constructed to limit the urban sprawl of informal areas but acted more like a social-exclusion boundary than a growth-containment buffer and made it difficult for people to commute to the city centre. According to an interview with Abou-Musa (2013), the initiator of "Al-Mi'timidiya Baladna", the community decided to connect to the city centre with four asphalt ramps ascending and descending from the Ring Road. In collaboration with a local civil society coalition "Al-Mi'timidiya Baladna", a paid contractor was hired to carry out their project. The coalition explained the project's benefit to the residents and called out for donations in the area, which they managed to collect. No legal approvals were taken at that time to construct the ramps, but no state institution stopped the project. The ramps were constructed in three months and cost around 1 million Egyptian pounds. At first, the General Authority for Roads, Bridges and Transport disapproved of the ramps construction and denied giving it any formal recognition. "Al-Mi'timidiya Baladna" raised the issue to the media and the Shura Council,[9] which later convinced the General Authority for Roads, Bridges and Transport to approve and legalise the ramps. [Figure 11]

The third pattern was quite centralised since it was mobilised by one coalition that also handled all the processes, including collecting donations, implementing the project, and struggling to acquire legal recognition. The state institutions that gave them legal recognition were limited in number, too: Firstly, there was an

entity to represent them and voice their demands, the Shura Council; secondly, the entities that gave approval were the Giza Governorate and the General Authority for Roads, Bridges and Transport. This initiative was successful within the small context of Al-Mi'timidiya. The implications of such a big construction project were not regarded, such as the pressure on the existing infrastructure, traffic impacts, risk of accidents, informal urban sprawl that will now further extend onto agricultural land near the ramps, and the increase in land prices due to the high connectivity with the city centre for the surrounding neighbourhoods, which are mostly of lower income. [Figure 12]

3. Reflections

This paper sheds light on different possibilities for state and civil society to co-exist. There is no doubt about the significant role civil society plays and the potentials it holds, as a separate sphere distinct from either social or political spheres, in urban development. In addition to being the dimension that receives information from other spheres and holds them accountable for their decisions (Alexander 1997), in the Habermas notion, it can be the tool to form pressure groups to collectively voice the common interest of a public mass versus the individualistic interest of certain civil society groups. Ideas and projects arising from civil society within their own communities are usually the most realistic and demand specific needs, but sometimes civil society projects are often isolated from one another and from planned government interventions (Sims 2013). Hence, one cannot ignore the fact that civil society and state are fundamental to each other, as in Hegel's argument. The state is the only institution capable of financing and constructing big urban development projects, which sometimes do not respond to a dynamic ever-changing context like the Egyptian one (Abbas 2013). A framework of institutionalised participation for groups of civil society working in ground can be set in place to facilitate the proper coordination with relevant projects surrounding their neighbourhoods in the wider context, and with other civil society groups working on similar or conflicting projects. Different complementary roles for civil society, market, and state in their own spheres can be identified within their respective spheres. Numerous state institutions with duplicate and overlapping roles make it extremely difficult for civil society groups to progress with their projects or obtain approval for them, hence the necessity of a representative to voice their demands, be it an individual or an entity. Even though civil society is self-regulatory, it may need to frequently assess and evaluate its work, perhaps through an authorising body, to ensure that civil society projects achieve the desired results and avoid any waste of resources (Abbas 2013). This could be achieved by bringing together of a number of public, private, and civil society groups to work in cross-cutting frameworks towards a common goal (Cook 2004). Civil society provides an alternative, yet contested, sphere of innovation in urban development; therefore, to elaborate an alternative model of governance that mobilises the potentialities of civil society could be of a true benefit to urban development in Egypt.

▲
**Figure 11:** Ring Road ramps after construction. Source: Abbas (2013)

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Figure 12: Process of the civil society initiative for the Ring Road ramps. Source: Abou-Musa (2013), Abbas (2013)
▼
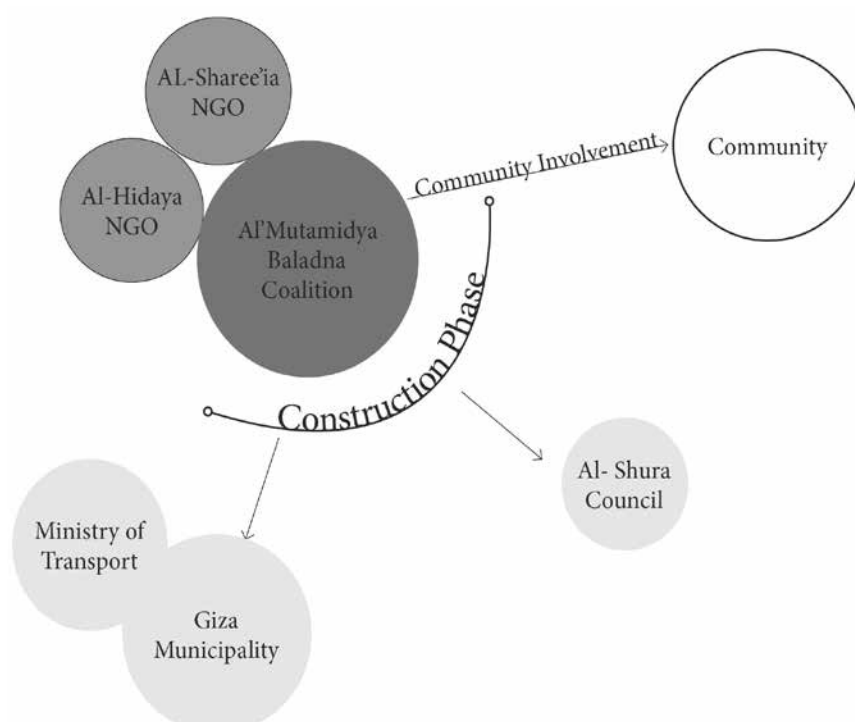
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A Research Method Shaped by the Indigenous Context of Qarat Um Elsaghir Village in Egypt

Aya El-Wageeh

Modifikation einer Forschungsmethode im indigenen Kontext des Dorfes Qarat Um Elsaghir in Ägypten

In indigenen Gemeinschaften Forschung durchzuführen, ist eine Herausforderung, bei der ein Ausgleich zwischen wissenschaftlicher Forschung und Werten der Gemeinschaften wichtig ist. So können übliche Forschungsmethoden im Kontext von indigenen Gemeinschaften unangebracht sein (Cochran et al. 2008). Vor diesem Hintergrund beeinflussen indigene Gemeinschaften mit ihren Eigenarten in Bezug auf Umwelt, Kultur sowie ihren sozialen und religiösen Merkmalen die Anwendbarkeit und Validität gewählter Forschungsmethoden. Beteiligungs- und konsultationsbasierte Forschungsmethoden sind wesentlich, um indigenes Wissen in den Forschungsansatz einfließen zu lassen und damit kulturell angemessene Vorgehensweisen zu entwickeln. Der Beitrag zeigt auf, wie indigenes Kontextwissen einbezogen werden kann, um ein Forschungsinstrumentarium situationsgerecht weiterzuentwickeln. Dies wird anhand der Masterarbeit der Autorin beleuchtet, welche in Qarat Um Elsaghir, einem entlegenen Wüstendorf im Westen von Ägypten, den Wandel der visuellen Präferenzen der Bewohnerschaft in Bezug auf die Ästhetik der Wüstenlandschaft nach Einführung verschiedener Photovoltaikanlagen zu bewerten versuchte.

The need for context-based research methods[1]

Research methods respecting the contextual characteristics in terms of settings, time, and culture are essential in indigenous communities. For instance, Miller (2004) emphasised on the cultural differences shaping the community background, knowledge and experiences, and thus impacting their understanding of a research method. She pinpointed that a community would react negatively to an unfamiliar research method, leading consequently to poor results. Different approaches and paradigms were developed in response to this dilemma, such as "Participatory Research" and "Cultural Sensitive Research Methods", addressing how researchers could design non-static research methods based on the context. According to Cochran et al. (2008), this challenge is highly crucial in indigenous communities where inappropriate, practiced research methods fail to meet the community needs and traditions.

In response, many scholars have discussed the rationale of "indigenous research methods" to facilitate the process of acquiring knowledge in such communities. The official webpage of the American Indigenous Research Association (AIRA) defines indigenous research methodologies as "place-based methods of gathering and disseminating data with attention to the paradigm (world view), and cultural values of the researcher, and the community where the research is taking place" (AIRA 2017).

Building on this, researchers should understand local community values and the corresponding research methods should be concretised by indigenous knowledge and protocols (Johnston-Goodstar 2012). In order to achieve this, Porsanger (2004) stated important issues to

be considered: adopting the indigenous perspective while looking at research and theory, consulting the indigenous community as participants, communicating in appropriate language and form, and reporting back the results as part of sharing and protecting the knowledge. Louis (2007) discussed that the utilised research methods and tools in researches conducted by non-indigenous researchers should be tailored in a respectful, sensitive way from an indigenous perspective.

Reflecting on the conducted research, the New and Renewable Energy Authority (NREA), funded by the Italian Ministry of Environment, Land and Sea, implemented a rural electrification project with photovoltaic solar panels at two remote villages, including Qarat Um Elsaghir, in 2010 (NREA 2010). The project aimed at introducing a hybrid system combining photovoltaic solar panels with diesel generators. Such new technologies would alter the physical landscape of the remote areas and thus affect the visual image of the desert landscape aesthetics (El-Wageeh 2014). Accordingly, the questionnaire was chosen as the research method to collect the data needed for evaluating the change in the visual preference of the desert landscape aesthetics after introducing different alternatives of photovoltaic solar panels in the context of the village. The planning, testing and design of this research method was developed, in close relation to the indigenous context, to be an indigenous-responsive research method. The next section introduces the context of Qarat Um Elsaghir village.

The context of Qarat Um Elsaghir village

Lying in the Egyptian Western Desert, Qarat Um Elsaghir is a small, remote village that is part of Siwa Municipality within Matrouh Governorate. The village is only reachable by an unmaintained road branching from the Matrouh-
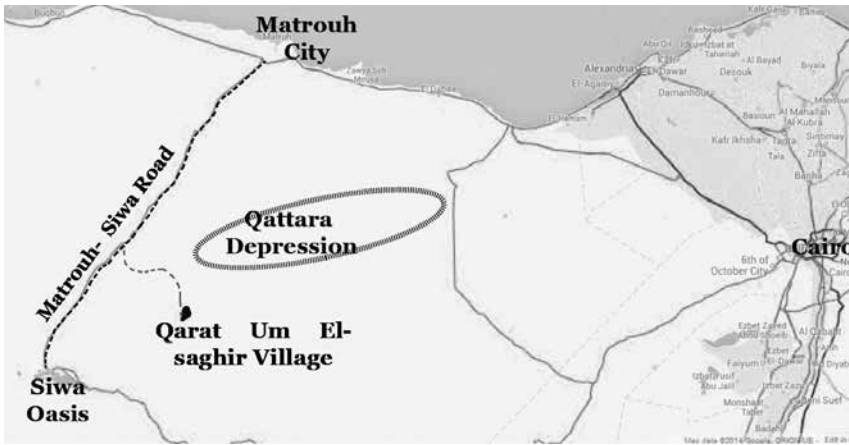
Interviews

- Amna et al. (2014) Group of young women ranging from 18-24 years old from Qarat Um Elsaghir village. Interviewed by: Aya El-Wageeh (25/02/2014).

- Bakr, M. (2014) Qarat Um Elsaghir Municipality Official. Interviewed by: Aya El-Wageeh (24/02/2014).

- Hamza, M. (2014) The Village Leader, Interviewed by: Aya El-Wageeh (25/02/2014).

Siwa road, with a distance of 270 km from both Siwa and Matrouh (as shown in Figure 1).

According to the village's municipality official, Bakr (2014), the population of the village was just 568 persons until 2014. The residents have a Berber origin from a Siwan tribe called Al-Hamudat, which settled there 1200 years ago (Shell Middle East 2008). In this regard, they have the same Siwan culture and speak the original Berber language, Amazigh.

As the community is indigenous to the lands they inhabit, their social and tribal bonds are strong, which has maintained their culture and traditions. For instance, gender mix in schools occurs till the age of 13, whereupon females leave school and stay at home. Meanwhile, males either work in farming or finish their education (Amna et al. 2014). Females are only allowed to go out for home visits of other females, or to help their family in the harvesting season; however, in all circumstances they should cover their faces and follow a specific dress code (El-Wageeh 2014). According to Hamza (2014), the majority of males in the village work in farming and raising livestock, while females may work from home. Additionally, the village has a leader whose decisions are respected and is considered the entry point for any visitor (El-Wageeh 2014).

In the past, the lifestyle was a simple one in which residents burned wood and agricultural waste for heating and cooking while oil lamps were used for lighting after sunset. They used to ride donkeys for 3 days in the desert to reach Siwa, and no telecommunication tools were known to them (ibid). Since the 1980s, however, the village has gone through a process of modernisation and change in the community's lifestyle (as shown in Figure 2) due to a set of interventions by the government, including: availing diesel generators, provision of housing, and introducing photovoltaic solar panels. Accordingly, the village expanded horizontally, as shown in Figure 3.

Nowadays, the younger generations can speak Arabic fluently, as it is taught in school. With the presence of electricity, the residents could stay awake longer after sunset. Also, they are now exposed to new cultures through watching television. The presence of a partially paved road enables a weekly public microbus that facilitates the residents' travel to Siwa to buy their needs.

The previous description of the context within the village pinpointed the presence of different aspects related to culture, traditions, location, lifestyle and knowledge as multilayers. The questionnaire should crosscut with each of these layers along the design and implementation stages. The next part discusses the rationale behind choosing the questionnaire as a research tool and how it was shaped by the context of Qarat Um Elsaghir.

Questionnaire as a research method

As the focus of the research was to assess and evaluate the landscape aesthetics after introducing the photovoltaic panels in the village, different landscape aesthetics assessment approaches were reviewed. According to the Macaulay Land Use Research Institute (2013), visual landscape aesthetic assessment is based in principle on the comparison of what is seen in reality and what is perceived as ideal in the beholder's mind. Landscape aesthetics assessment has gone through multilayers of approaches ranging from objective to subjective ones. Based on literature, four main
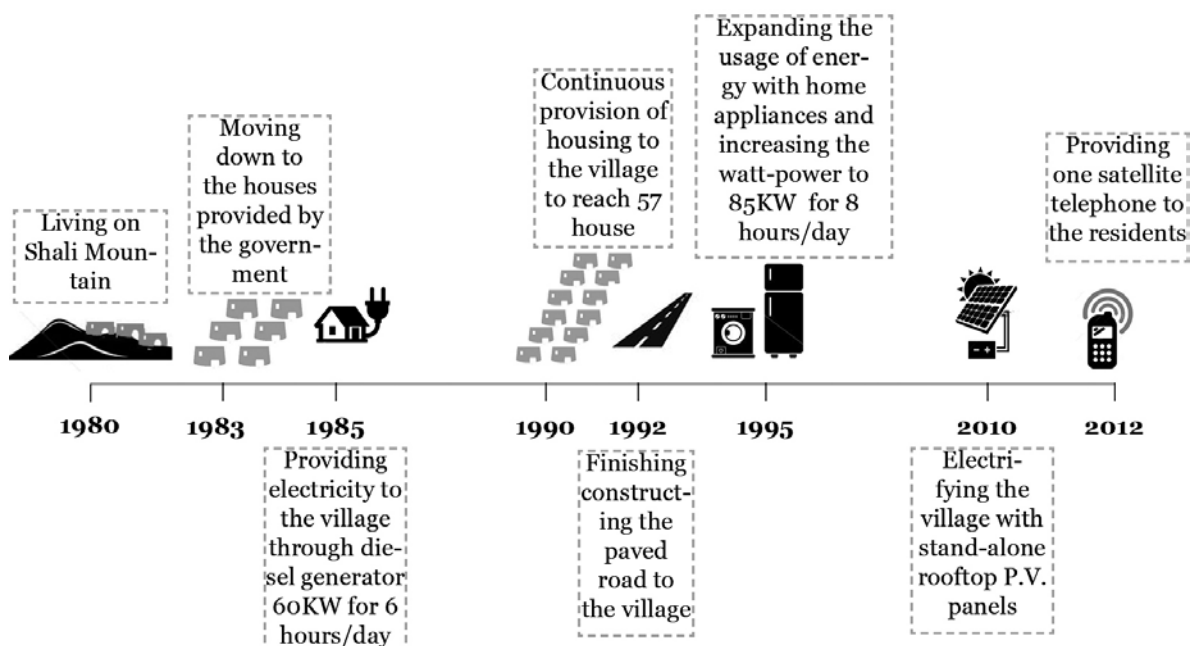
Figure 2: Timeline of the village's physical change. Source: El Wageeh (2014)

approaches have been introduced and discussed (Daniel 2001, Kaymaz 2012, Lothian 1999), which are: the objective, the subjective, the cognitive and the experiential approach. The subjective and experiential approaches were combined in this research to merge between the applicability of the public preference assessment in the subjective approach and the better understanding to the unique culture and lifestyle of the remote area of Qarat Um Elsaghir (El-Wageeh 2014). In the subjective approach, landscape quality is assessed based on the viewer's perception of the holistic landscape scene, and thus the viewer is a reactor who is stimulated by introducing different features to the same landscape scene to measure his assessment of them. Meanwhile, the experiential approach is concerned with the interaction between the landscape features and the human perception that creates the scenic experience. Accordingly, the viewer's needs, knowledge and abilities as well as the settings of the experienced landscape are influential in such an assessment (Daniel 2001, Kaymaz 2012, Lothian 1999).

After reviewing different researches that adopted these two approaches, the questionnaire was the dominant research method used. According to Brancato et al. (2004), questionnaires are developed through a strategic planning as shown in Figure 4.

Different methods and tools can be applied to achieve each of the aforementioned strategic planning stages and which can be influenced by various factors dependent on the context and recipient. The next section traces the development of the designed questionnaire along the conceptualisation, questionnaire-design, testing, revision, and data-collection stages.

Conceptualisation

This stage focused on the conceptual basis of the questionnaire and depended mainly on literature review of reports and previous researches in the field of combined subjective and experiential landscape aesthetics assessment. Concerning the context of the village, available documentation and phone interviews with officials from the village were used as a research base. The questionnaires had two parts: a textual-based part concerned with measuring and linking the different factors shaping the visual perception of the sample, and a photographic-based part related to comparing the visual ranking of different scenes with photovoltaic panels and the original status of the scene.

Questionnaire design

In this stage, the first draft of the questionnaire was designed, the structure, flow and wording of the questionnaire were developed, and preliminary decisions were taken concerning the following aspects:

Way of communication

In the textual part of the questionnaire, the Arabic language was used for the residents with clear simple terms. The questions intentionally cascaded from general questions to specific visual-ranking ones in order to not influence the participants by the visual scenarios. In the photograph-based part, photo-edited panoramic scenes were rendered. These scenes were of locations that the residents frequently pass by. After developing different scenarios of photovoltaic systems at different sites inside the village, the photos were rendered in high quality on A4 sheets, adding the photovoltaic panels. Meanwhile, an English version of the questionnaire was developed to fit the visitors' version of the questionnaire.

Questionnaire setting and location

Since the research aimed at assessing and evaluating the visual preference, most of the literature on previous assessments showed that questionnaires were held individually, which was then the technique used in this research initially. Since the total number of population was small, no specific location inside the village was specified for conducting the questionnaire. It was designed to be randomly conducted through transect walks and door-to-door questionnaires.

Testing

In this stage, the assumptions acting as the foundation of the questionnaire were either to be proved or modified to finalise the questionnaire. Two types of tests were undergone: firstly, testing the structure, wording and translation; and secondly, testing the data collection manner and participants' involvement in the questionnaire. Regarding the first test, the subject for that were peers and professors. The second test was the crucial one for the questionnaire's implementation manner. In this regard, on-site observations and community discussions were the tools adopted for testing. Based on this, the contextual considerations were pinpointed in terms of way of communication, setting, and location.

Way of communication

It became clear from the community discussions that depending only on a written questionnaire would fundamentally flaw the results and the whole research. On the

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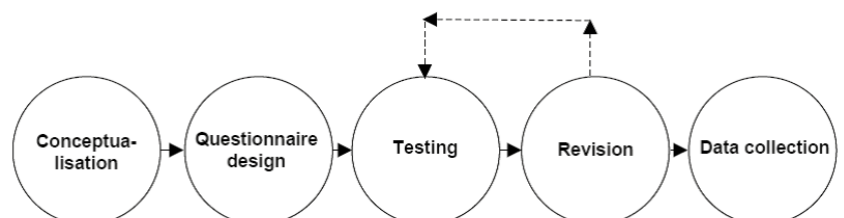
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one hand, even though there are relatively high levels of education amongst the younger generation, a significant number of elders cannot read and, even if able, they would be reluctant to respond to a written questionnaire. On the other hand, if oral communication were adopted among elder female residents, it wouldn't be successful, since many of them speak only in the Amazigh language. Based on this, proposing another mode of communication aside from the oral one was essential to proceed.

Questionnaire setting and location

In the community consultations, the researcher noticed that the residents were not active in individual discussions. In this regard, it was argued that individual surveying would imply an intimidating impact on the participants and thus their active participation would diminish. Concerning the questionnaire location, the remote location of the village as well as security issues led to limit the visitors' accessibility to the village. For instance, the author was provided a day-by-day security permit and wasn't allowed to stay in the village at night. These limitations made the transect walks and door-to-door questionnaires unrealistic for attaining a representative sample. Moreover, the number of visitors who would be available at this limited time wouldn't be sufficient.

Revision

The aforementioned contextual challenges in Qarat Um Elsaghir concerning time, location and community knowledge were the main drivers in which the questionnaire was revised as follows:

Way of communication

The questionnaire text version was kept to be disseminated among the participants as a sample that they can keep for themselves; however, the main way of collecting the answers was through oral discussions. This was supported by Louis (2007), who argued that oral communication with indigenous community is more efficient than written texts, which may imply the researcher's superiority over the communication. For female residents, translation support was offered by younger females.

As some of the questions were designed to explore the residents' present perception and future image of their village, the presence of another method for the residents to express themselves beside oral discussions was required to allow for self-expression. By investigating conventional research methods, a photo-voice method was found as a participatory action research method where the participants could describe and represent their community through taking photographs (Lavallee 2009). Similarly, an indigenous research method was developed called "Anishnaabe Symbol-Based Reflection" (ASBR). It is an art-based method where the people reflect on their origin, community and perception using creative art experiences such as symbols, paintings, poems, songs, etc. (Lavallee 2005). This method enables the community to reflect on their indigenous knowledge and encourages community dialogue (Lavallee 2009). Based on this, A1 paper sheets and colouring pencils were distributed among the participants for them to visualise the present and future image of their village beside the oral communication.

Questionnaire setting and location

To encourage an active participation of the sample, the questionnaire mode was shifted from individual to group discussions. According to Wilson (2001), "focus groups" as a conventional research method fits within the indigenous research paradigm and was further developed to become "sharing circles". This data collection method views all the participants and the researcher equal in terms of knowledge, and thus empowers the participants to share their knowledge and opinions in a stress-free setting. Meanwhile, an online questionnaire setting would provide

Figure 5: Roundtable discussions in the first part of the questionnaire in the village guestroom. Source: El Wageeh (2014)

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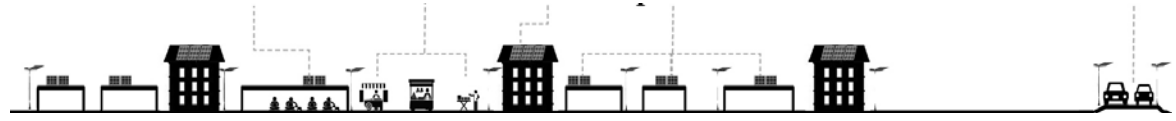
sufficient outreach in response to the visitors' limited number at the time available on-site.

By adopting a group discussion method in the questionnaire, it was decided to have separate workshops for the males and females where different sharing circles would be conducted. In this regard, when the researcher set out to find a place to host these workshops, the village leader suggested the guestroom beside the mosque for the males' workshop and the midwife's house for the females' workshop.

The next section highlights the community response during conducting the questionnaire in which the community responses and active participation are thoroughly reviewed.

Data collection and community response

Male residents

The village leader announced the males' workshop in the mosque after prayer. The residents grouped themselves freely in groups of 5-6 members and were accompanied by a facilitator to moderate and document the group answers to the questionnaire. For that matter, two colleague researchers accompanied the author to simultaneously run the group discussions. As shown in Figure 5, the first part was conducted on sharing circles where the participants were handed a copy of the questionnaire and questions were raised for discussion.

The residents actively participated and were involved in the group discussions, expressing their opinions and knowledge. Afterwards, blank paper sheets and colouring pencils were distributed for the participants to visualise their image of the village through art and paintings. However, the males were reluctant to participate using this tool and preferred a verbal description. The visual assessment part of questionnaire was printed on A0 sheets instead of A4 ones to allow the participants to discuss it as a group, as shown in Figure 6. The participants were happy to view their village in panoramic scenes and were encouraged to critically assess them.

Female residents

The females' workshop was held in the midwife's house, as she is highly connected to the females of the village. Generally, the females were highly motivated to attend in numbers from different ages and accompanying their children. They refused to be photographed unless their faces were covered and looking away from the camera. Despite the availability of a translation, elder women were reluctant to participate and most participants were young females who communicated in Arabic. The young females reacted positively to the request to sketch on the paper sheets; they even brought magazines to help them describe how they would aspire for the future image of the village, as shown in Figures 7 and 8.

Aya El-Wageeh

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(1989) graduated from Ain Shams University, Department of Urban Planning and Design, in 2011 and worked as a teacher assistant at the same university. In 2014, she obtained her MSc. in Integrated Urbanism and Sustainable Design (IUSD) from Stuttgart University in Germany and Ain Shams University in Egypt, with special focus on development in remote areas. Since then, Aya has been working again at Ain Shams University and has joined the IUSD-Cairo team as a teaching assistant and researcher. Contact: <aya.elwagieh@eng. asu.edu.eg>

The rest of the participants expressed themselves verbally, whereby the researchers attempted at visualising them schematically, as shown in Figures 9 and 10.

The visual part of the questionnaire was appreciated by the females, and they were keen to identify the location of the panoramic scenes and where they live in relation to the scenes. Additionally, they requested to keep the large A0 sheets in the village.

Visitors

The researcher managed to conduct the questionnaire with three visitors on-site. The online questionnaire version was shortened from the original version in order to be easier as an online survey. The questionnaire circulated online through social media. 36 questionnaires were collected from people of various origins, backgrounds and purpose of visit. The dominant purpose of visit was tourism , but the majority had either an architectural or nature-conservation background, which may impose an expert visual preference to the results (El-Wageeh 2014).

Conclusion

Embracing indigenous ways of research by the author, who represents a non-indigenous researcher, was a decision to not only aim for the destination but to learn from the journey itself. In this regard, the implementation of the conventional research method that was recommend-ed in literature for this research scope did not always co-incide with the indigenous context of Qarat Um Elsaghir in terms of individuals, groups, places, activities, culture, knowledge and perception. For that matter, the research methods and their implementation tools were contextualised to bridge between the conventional research principles and the indigenous knowledge. To achieve this, various site visits including community consultations and on-site observations were the basis for the questionnaire development, as the main research method. Based on this, the way of communication, the questionnaire setting and its location were the main aspects revised and modified as shown in Figure 11.

Reflecting on this experience, the road for the community to actively participate, steer the research method, and express themselves was paved; however, having more time to diversify the ASBR tools and to dedicate sharing circles for elder females would have enriched the research. Generally, the community interacted positively to the context-tailored questionnaire. The consultation process managed to stimulate their sense of ownership towards the image of the village's landscape and, thus, they became responsive towards the research's main quest. Furthermore, exploring the indigenous knowledge of Qarat Um Elsaghir contributed in documenting this unique, yet undocumented, community. Finally, the community, which often feels unconsidered by non-indigenous researchers and practitioners, highly welcomed being an influential actor.

Questionnaire Design — Questionnaire Testing (superimposed layers from the context) — Questionnaire Revision
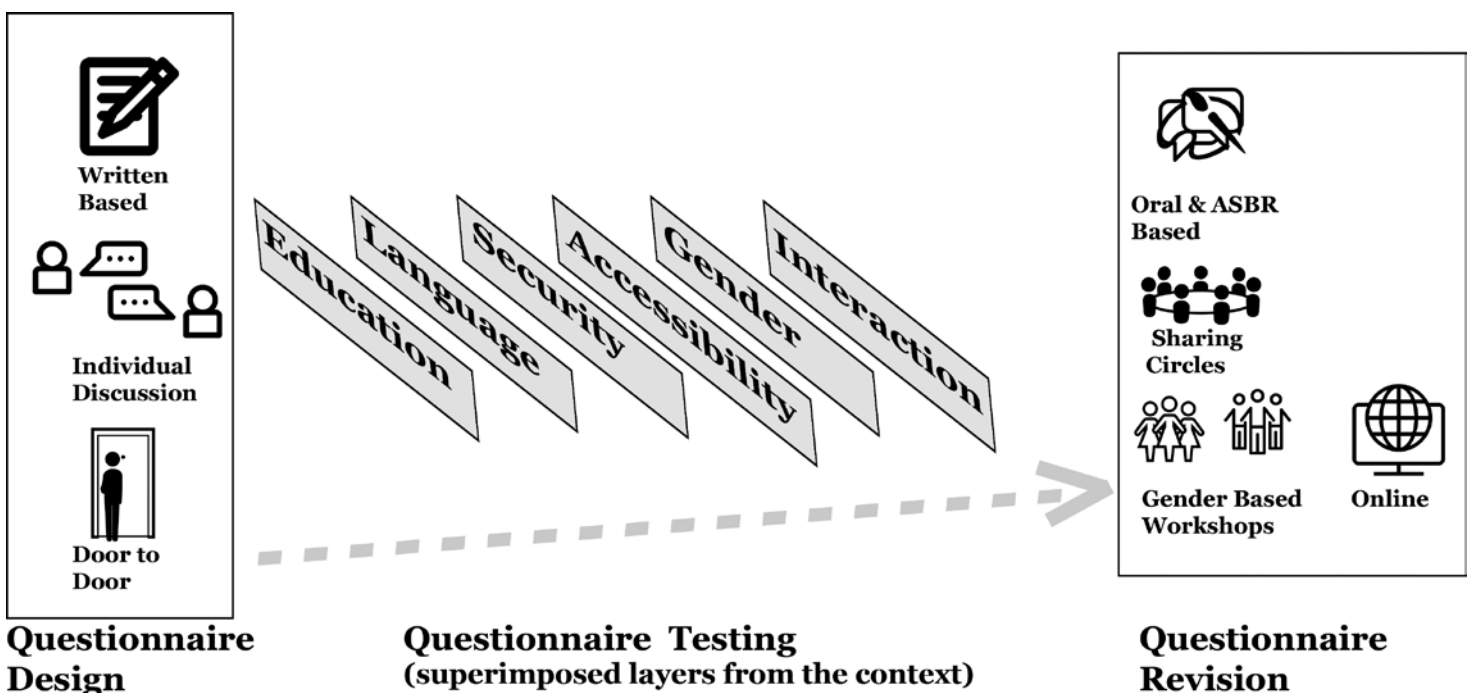
Feeling at Home or Alien?
Place Attachment among Migrants in Amman, Jordan

Jude Zada

Sich daheim oder fremd fühlen – die Ortsverbundenheit von Zugewanderten in Jordanien

Die Untersuchung konzentriert sich auf drei Gruppen von Zugewanderten in Jordanien: im Jahr 1948 aus Palästina vertriebene jordanische Staatsbürger, im Jahr 1967 aus der Westbank vertriebene jordanische Staatsbürger, sowie irakische Geflüchtete aus den Jahren 2003 bis 2007. Dem Beitrag liegt die Masterarbeit der Autorin zugrunde, welche zum Vergleich auch die Ortsverbundenheit junger Einheimischer, die in Jordanien geboren und aufgewachsen sind, untersuchte (Zada 2015). Ein überraschendes Resultat zeigt auf, dass sich die im Lande geborenen palästinensisch-stämmigen Jordanier der jüngeren Generationen weniger einheimisch fühlen und stärker dazu tendieren, Amman zu verlassen als ihre Elterngeneration, welche aus politischen Gründen unfreiwillig nach Amman zog. Dieses Phänomen wird einer genaueren Betrachtung unterzogen, dem dreigliedrigem Rahmenkonzept nach Scannell and Gifford's (2010) folgend, welches sowohl Charakteristika der Person als auch des Prozesses und des Ortes als Aspekte der Ortsverbundenheit betrachtet.

Introduction[1]

The political security of Jordan in its geographical context has induced several major waves of immigration flows into the country in the past decades. Although many of the immigrants (influx groups) initially intended Jordan to be a transit station, a considerable number of them still reside there (Chatelard 2010). The majority of these influx groups settled in the capital, Amman, causing quick changes in the city's demography at a large scale and in social and community ties on a smaller scale. The assumption is that, with each of these diverse influx groups arriving at different points in time, they have developed different attachment levels with their host environment on the emotional, cognitive and behavioural level. Meanwhile, as Amman becomes increasingly diverse, several critics claim that Amman's residents do not have a strong sense of belonging to it, and accuse Amman of lacking an identity of its own (Daher 2011).

With the tendency of the influx groups to stay permanently, it seems important to investigate the validity of the critics' claims through studying the relationship that these influx groups have attained with their new environment. The focus is the place attachment of three of the influx groups in Amman: Jordanian nationals who were displaced from Palestine in 1948, Jordanian nationals who were displaced from the West Bank in 1967, and Iraqi refugees who were displaced as a result of the Iraq War between 2003 and 2007. And for comparison, the investigation was extended to Jordanian natives (born and raised in Jordan), leading to a quite unexpected result: It turned out that the relative attachment level of native Jordanians is lower than that of the influx groups, and so is their willingness to stay in Amman.

Place attachment

The relationship between the influx groups and their host environment can be studied in terms of place attachment, according to Scannell and Gifford's (2010) tripartite framework. Their tripartite framework (**PPP**) aims to study attachment according to the **p**erson, **p**rocess and **p**lace dimensions.

Place attachment is a theory concerned with the relationship between person and place. In the past decades, there has been an increasing interest in this relationship in several divisions of social science, which has led to a wide spectrum of terms for this relationship, namely: place attachment, place identity, place dependence, place satisfaction, sense of place and rootedness. Here, the entity under investigation is "place attachment", due to the fact that attachment has been the object of investigation in situations of immigration, mobility, displacement and disaster psychology, which are similar to the objectives of this research.

As much as there is a confusion of terms, there is also a wide spectrum of definitions. Regardless of these differences, several authors agree on the definition that place attachment is the bond that people develop with places (Low and Altman 1992, Hidalgo and Hernandez 2001, Hernandez et al. 2007, Lewicka 2008). Due to the overlap of terms in the course of literature, this study takes Scannell and Gifford's (2010) tripartite framework for place attachment because it structures the scattered definitions in one comprehensible framework.

The Tripartite Framework (PPP)

The **person** signifies the one who is attached, and is studied on two levels: individual and collective. The individual level describes the personal bond that a person develops with a place and can be matured through personal memories and experiences that give the place a meaning. The collective level involves the shared symbolic meanings that are developed through experiencing the same history, culture, religion and values. Factors that could affect the person's dimensions are age, sex, cultural background, re-

Table 1: The profile of the persons investigated in the study. Source: Zada (2015)

2
1948 Palestinian exodus, also known as the Nakba.

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Influx groups	Influx group 1 [IG1]	Jordanian national	Born in Palestine	Moved to Amman after 1948
	Influx group 2 [IG2]	Jordanian national/ yellow card holders	Born in Palestine/ West Bank	Moved to Amman after 1967
	Influx group 3 [IG3]	Iraqi national	Born in Iraq	Moved to Amman between 2003 and 2007
Native groups	Native group 1 [NG1]	Jordanian national	Born in Jordan/ Amman	Descending from a family with Jordanian origins
	Native group 2 [NG2]	Jordanian national	Born in Jordan/ Amman	Descending from a family with Palestinian origins

ligion, personality, or other psychological factors that might affect their perception.

The **process** is the psychological process through which a person is attached: affection, cognition and behaviour. Affection means the emotional involvement to a place, which includes love, pride, fear, satisfaction, hatred, and happiness. Regarding the cognitive aspect, it refers to the meanings that a person formulates from perceiving its physical and social environments and, consequently, strengthening its bond with a place. The meanings are derived through the cognition of the surroundings, familiarisation with features in the environment, and accumulation of memories. As for the behavioural aspect of process dimension, it is an interpretation of actions. Actions such as maintaining proximity to a place, attempting longer residency, or displaying effort to return to a place show high levels of attachment.
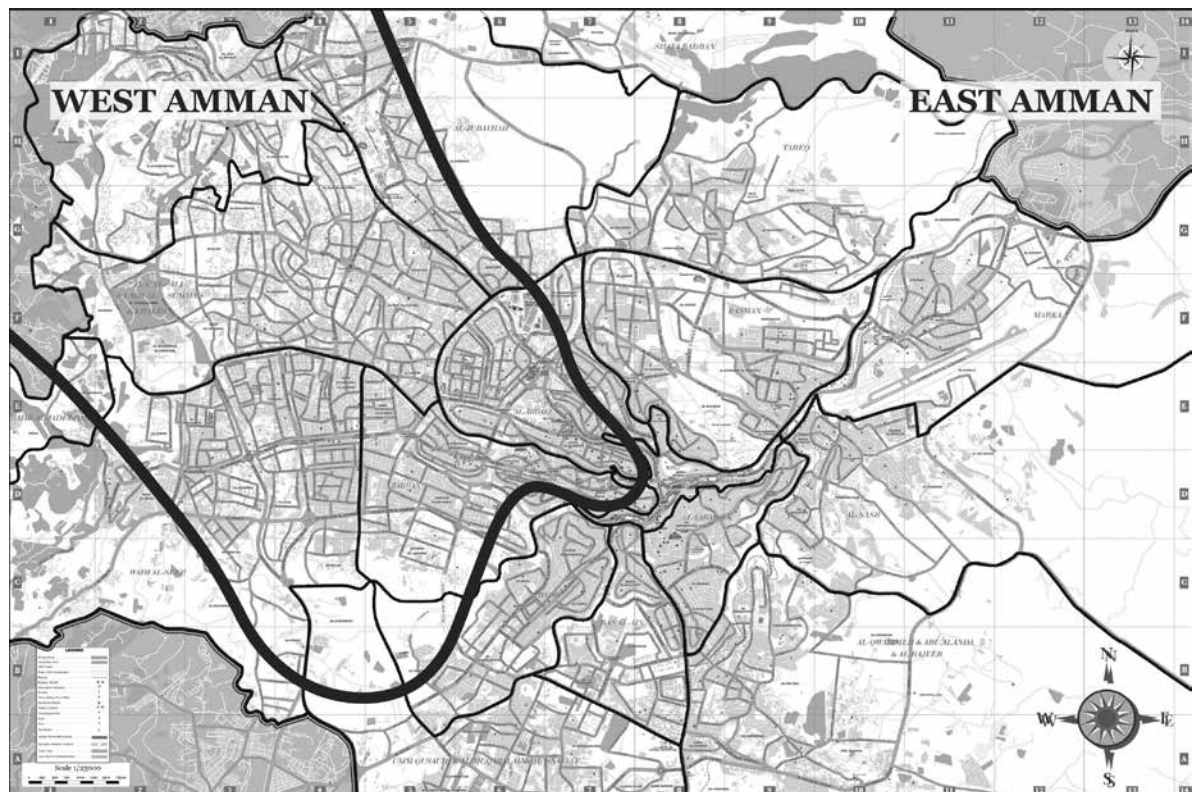
The **place** is the place to which these persons are attached. It can be characterised according to its social and physical aspects. They refer to Riger and Lavrakas's (1981) categorisation. The social aspect (bonding) is represented by social relationships, feelings of belonging, and acquaintance with the neighbours, while the physical aspect

(rootedness) is represented by the length of residency, ownership, and attempts not to leave.
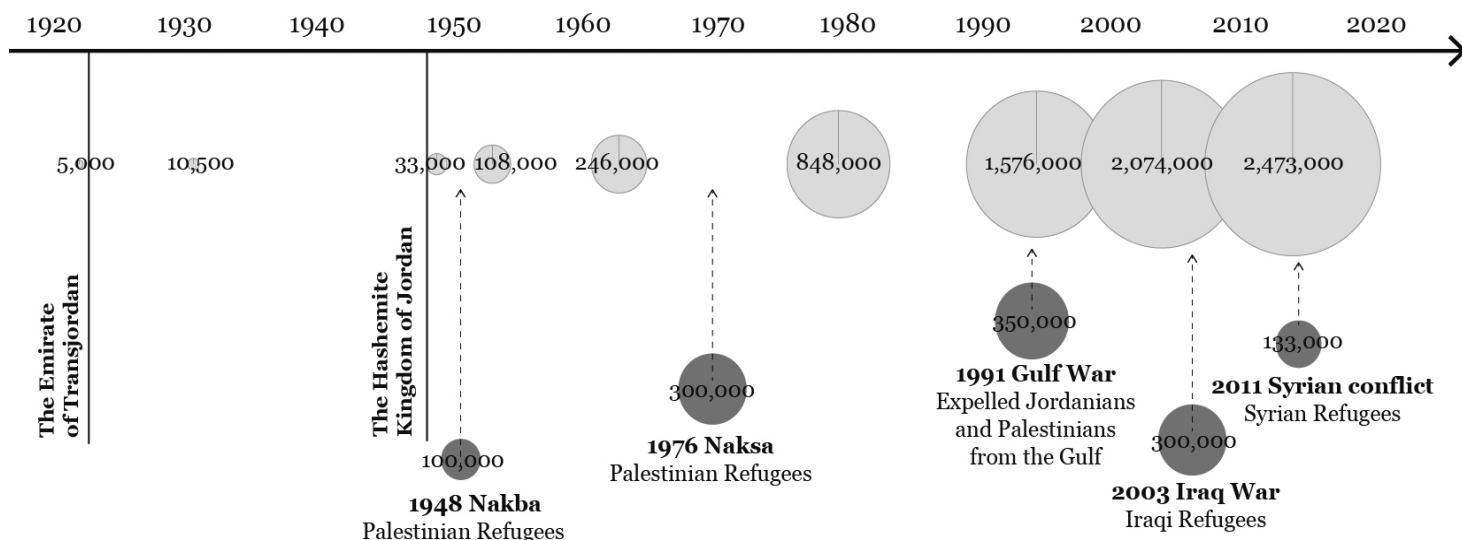
With regards to the research the tripartite framework was applied accordingly: **The persons** are the focus influx groups, which are Jordanian nationals who were born in Palestine and moved to Amman after the 1948 Nakba[2] (influx group 1 [IG1]), Jordanian nationals who were born in the West Bank and moved to Amman after the 1967 Naksa (influx group 2 [IG2]), and Iraqi nationals who moved to Amman after the invasion of Iraq between 2003 and 2007 (influx group 3 [IG3]). For comparison, the investigation was extended to native groups: Jordanian nationals born and raised in Amman and descending from a family with Jordanian origins (native group 1 [NG1]), and Jordanian nationals born and raised in Amman and descending from a family with Palestinian origins (native group 2 [NG2]). [Table 1]

The process under investigation is the emotional, cognitive and behavioural aspects of attachment as described by Scannell and Gifford (2010).

The place of the investigation is West Amman according to Ababsa's (2011b) boundaries. [Figure 1]

Figure 1: Virtual line that separates east and west Amman. Source: Ababsa (2011b)

The Emirate of Transjordan

The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan

5,000   10,500   33,000 108,000 246,000 848,000 1,576,000 2,074,000 2,473,000

350,000

100,000

300,000

300,000

133,000

1948 Nakba
Palestinian Refugees

1976 Naksa
Palestinian Refugees

1991 Gulf War
Expelled Jordanians
and Palestinians
from the Gulf

2003 Iraq War
Iraqi Refugees

2011 Syrian conflict
Syrian Refugees

Place attachment: the case of Amman

a. The person dimension

With the establishment of Jordan in 1921, Amman's population initially did not exceed 5,000 inhabitants (Findlay & Samha 1985). The population then increased gradually to reach almost 40,000 inhabitants by 1947 (Kadhim & Rajjal 1988). Due to Jordan's political stability and its "open-door policies", the country received several waves of immigrants and refugees from the neighbouring Arab countries (De Bel-Air, 2007: 2-3). This resulted in a significant growth in the capital at a pulse-like pace. According to Ababsa (2011b), 100,000 Palestinian refugees immigrated to Amman in the first wave in 1948, 300,000 in the second wave in 1967, 350,000 Jordanians with Palestinian origins returned after the Gulf War in 1991, and 300,000 Iraqis immigrated in several waves between 1991 and 2007 due to the Iraqi War. Since 2011, the most recent crisis in Syria has led to the influx of significant numbers of Syrian refugees. [Figure 2]

Palestinians:

The influx of Palestinian refugees in two waves in 1948 and 1967 affected the political, societal and economic status of Jordan significantly (Chatelard 2010). The number of displaced Palestinian refugees in 1948 was 700,000 (UNRWA 2015), with a huge number arriving to Jordan. Another major displacement in 1948 was to the West Bank, from which around 300,000 were displaced again to Jordan in 1967 (Ababsa 2011a). Some refugees stayed with their families and friends in Jordanian cities and towns. The rest lived in camps provided by UNRWA in different towns in Jordan and the eastern parts of Amman (Ababsa 2010), with 60% in the capital (Abu-Dayyeh 2006). [Figures 3 and 4] Palestinian refugees arriving in the West Bank and Jordan in 1948 received the Jordanian nationality and a national number/national ID in 1949 (Ababsa 2011b), and the ones displaced from the West Bank in 1967 were given extra yellow documents to smoothen their crossing of the River Jordan. The groups' settlement in Amman led to an exponential growth in terms of population, economy and construction. Those living in west Amman are, in general, completely integrated in the work force (especially the private sector), highly educated and receive quite similar opportunities as any Jordan nationality holder.

b. The process dimension

The interviews with the influx groups showed that the psychological changes that cause attachment are different according to their experiences and memories of the place.

The first influx group, Jordanian nationals displaced from Palestine in 1948, seem to have confusing feelings. On the one hand, they show great contentment to Jordan for offering a secure home, show feelings of satisfaction and pride in Amman, and use the word "home" when talking about Amman, which indicates their feelings as natives. They indicate their desire to go to their previous city to visit only. A large number of this group also mention that they have forgotten how they lived in their previous city because they were young when they were displaced. On the other hand, some indicate feelings of frustration from the quick-changing physical and social setting and dissatisfaction with the rapid increase in population.

The second influx group, Jordanian nationals who moved from the West Bank in 1967, seem like they have two homes. The interviewees mention the word "home" while describing both cities. As yellow cardholders,[3] they seem

Figure 2: The influx groups in Amman over the past century and the impact on population growth. Source: Zada (2015)

3
Yellow cards were given by the Jordanian government to Palestinians – who became Jordanian in 1948 – who had left the West Bank and had settled in Jordan, in order to facilitate crossing the Allenby Bridge to the West Bank (Ababsa 2011a).

Figure 3: Street in Talbiyeh Refugee Camp in the eastern part of Amman, Jordan. Photo: F. Laue, 2012

Figure 4: Back lane in Talbiyeh Refugee Camp in the eastern part of Amman, Jordan. Photo: F. Laue, 2012

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to visit their relatives in both cities frequently, making their adaptation easier. In general, they show great contentment with the security and safety of Jordan, and are satisfied with their lives in Amman. Nonetheless, they state their desire to go back to the West Bank if the security status changes.

The place dimension

Amman is a very young city, and since its establishment it has gone through exponential urban reformation and major changes in its physical setting in a very short time. In the 50s and 60s of the past century, Amman's residents were one big community living together with different religious, ethnic and/or economic backgrounds. The urban setting also encouraged these values because, as narrated by educator and community organiser Samar Dudin (Ababsa 2007), neighbours lived close to each other and had strong social ties. After the 1970s, modernity started invading the city and the physical and social structure of the city started to change with the introduction of modern architecture, cinemas, and cafes. The social fabric started disintegrating bit by bit with the increase in population (influx of 1967 Palestinians), urban growth, and the civil war. The civil war, which took place between the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) and the Jordanian national army, lasted only a few days but had a huge impact on the social ties in the community. Later, during the era between 1973 and 1983, which is considered by Kadhim and Rajjal (1988) as the decade of the "boom", Palestinian migrant workers in the Gulf would send money to their families in Jordan who, in return, contributed to the economic growth of the country by building and sprawling to newer areas in Amman. But this was soon to be followed with a recession period (Kadhim and Rajjal 1988), because of the expulsion of a significant number of Palestinian workers who returned to Jordan due to the Gulf War. Later, due to the influx of Iraqi refugees, wealthy Iraqis started investing in Amman, causing inflation. Con-

sequently, with the money pumped into the city by Iraqis and Gulf investors, gated communities and towers started emerging, bringing with them consumerist ideologies and setting the road to a future of "major neoliberal urban restructuring", as named by Daher (2011: 83). This transformed Amman from an inclusive city to a socially and physically exclusive one.

Such urban transformation naturally changed the character and spirit of the city in a relatively short time, during the lifespan of its residents, which might have affected their relationship with the city. According to Daher (2011), people disagree on their opinions towards Amman. On the one hand, some see it as a huge tank of memories where its residents' memories are collected and accumulated through their social interaction with each other and their environment. On the other hand, others view Amman as a young city that lacks history and suffers from an identity crisis, allowing its residents to have weak attachment to it (Daher 2011).

Findings

In general, the influx groups that are the most attached to Amman are Jordanian nationals displaced from Palestine in 1948. This group comprises the eldest members, who have lived in Amman the longest and had the upper hand in developing the physical and social structure of the city. They are as attached to Amman as the ones who were born there and descend from Jordanian families, and feel as much as natives as they do. This group would not leave the city as they are strongly attached to it, feel highly secure living there, and are very appreciative of their situation. [Figure 5]

Regarding the second group, which is Jordanian nationals displaced from the West Bank in 1967, they are attached to the city but are less attached than the first group. The reason for this is that this group is multi-locational and has the ability to commute between their cities in the West Bank and Jordan, which gives them the ability to have family and friends in both cities, and thus be less attached to one city and more to both. This group also feels safe and satisfied, and is not keen on leaving Amman.

The most surprising finding is that the group that was born and raised in Jordan with Palestinian origin are less happy and satisfied in Amman, know their city less, have a low evaluation of the availability of public facilities, have a stronger will to leave, and do not feel as secure as the other mentioned influx groups. They are also less attached and feel less like a native than influx group 1. These large differences between first generation and second generation displaced Palestinians will be discussed further in the following section.

The phenomenon

A very surprising result is the clear difference between influx groups 1 and 2 (displaced Palestinians) and native group 2 (Jordanian nationals with Palestinian families). In reality, native group 2 is the second generation of influx groups 1 and 2, but they are, as was clear in the results, less happy and satisfied in Amman, know their city less, have a low evaluation of the availability of public facilities, and show a higher will to leave Amman than the first gen-

erations. They are also less attached and feel less like a native than influx group 1.

These results contradict Boğ̃aç's (2009) conclusions on first and second generation involuntary displaced persons. In her research on Turkish Cypriots who relocated involuntary to the northern part of the Cyprus island, the first generation settlers were still not attached after 34 years, while the second generation who were born and raised in the new settlement had developed much higher attachment as they had no memory of their previous cities and had only accumulated new memories in their current one. Although the situation is similar in both cases, opposite results appear. In terms of memory, the second generation seem to share their parents' memory of the physical structure of city as is clear in their high appreciation of historic districts, which comes from their memories while their parents or grandparents lived there. However, there still is a great gap between the generations in terms of their relationship with the city.

An attempt to explain this gap is to try and understand the groups' evaluation on their feeling of security in Amman. The results show that the influx groups feel much more secure in Amman than those who were born and raised in Amman. A possible explanation for this is the fact that the influx groups are first generation displaced people who have experienced insecurity before and compare their current status with their previous unsafe status, and thus feel relatively secure in Amman. While the native group, who experienced insecurity for the first time in Amman during the civil war, feel relatively less secure in Amman. The civil war that took place in 1970 between the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) and the Jordanian national army was a huge turning point in the history of Amman. Before this point, Amman was very safe and calm, but for the first time Amman was not safe for a few weeks, which was a shock for those who had never experienced political instability before. This might have rendered this group feeling relatively unsafe in Amman and more willing to leave it.

Furthermore, before this point, native Jordanians with Palestinian origins [NG2] and native Jordanians with Jordanian families [NG1] coexisted and had very strong neighbourhood ties, which slightly changed after the civil war as Palestinians in Jordan were sometimes blamed for the actions of the PLO. This created mild conflicts that have stayed under the surface even until our day. This divergence is further observable in the unwillingness of [NG2] to participate in political activities. This group is the least keen to be involved, which could be due to the fact that they do not enjoy the benefits of tribal support like their fellow native Jordanians with Jordanian families [NG1], and thus avoid voicing their political opinions out of fear.

Another explanation to this gap is the fact that the histories that brought the parents [IG1 + IG2] to Amman – and made them appreciative of the city – are forgotten by the second generation [NG2]. And since the second generation have not experienced them hand-on, their parents' displacement-related emotions were not successfully transferred to the second generation, resulting in a less emotional relationship with the city.

The native group [NG2] also seem to have higher expectation of their city and await more public facilities such as
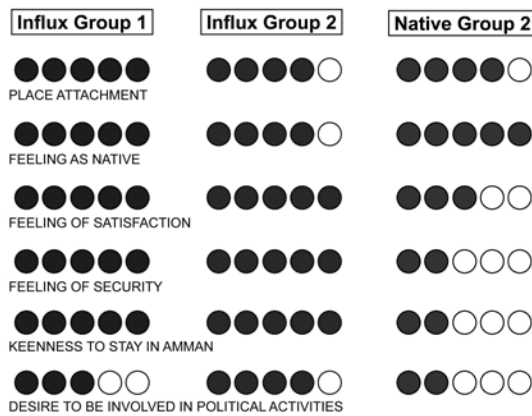
public parks, public spaces, cultural centres, and etc., contrary to the influx groups that are more appreciative of what already exists. This is clear in the native groups' lower evaluation of public facilities and higher desire to leave the city in order to look for better opportunities abroad.

Conclusion

The city of Amman faces diverse challenges due to its rapid development and increase in population caused partially by the several influx groups that have entered the capital at different times for almost a century. The paper reflected on three of these influx groups and their relationship to their new environment followed by deeper investigation into a surprising phenomenon: that the native Jordanians who were born and raised in Amman but descend from a family of the Palestinian influx group are less attached, feel less like a native, and are more likely to leave Amman than their parents who moved into Amman involuntary due to political reasons. Explanations for this phenomenon are given based on evaluation of the group's feeling of security, political activity, descriptive memory and appreciation of existing facilities.

This finding contradicts previous studies on place attachment of first and second generation involuntary displaced persons such as Boğ̃aç's (2009) study on Turkish Cypriots who relocated involuntary to the northern part of the Cyprus island. In this research, the second generation turned out to be more attached than their parents due to the accumulation of memories in their new host environment. This contradiction shows that Amman might have not succeeded in providing such positive memories in its citizens' minds. At least not to the minds of the citizens who have not experienced insecurity before and are therefore not as unconditionally grateful for this city as the first generation of involuntarily displaced persons. This, by default, renders this influx group more critical of their living environment and more demanding of its infrastructure.

Here, an intervention is clearly needed by urban decision makers and planners as the young generation, which embodies the future of Amman, is planning to leave it. Huge attention should be given to the image of the city and the availability of public facilities. Not to mention the importance of involving this group in the process of decision-making in order to enhance this relationship and opt for a city that speaks the same language as its inhabitants.

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Harvesting Crops versus Solar Energy on Cairo's Residential Rooftops – Status-Quo Analysis

Mai Marzouk

Ernten versus Solarenergie auf den Dächern der Wohngebäude in Kairo – eine Status-Quo-Analyse
Kairo ist nicht nur eine der am dichtesten besiedelten Städte der Welt, sondern zugleich durch eine starke Expansion des Stadtgebiets gekennzeichnet. Hier darüber nachzudenken, wie sich ungenutzter Raum auf den Dächern nutzen lässt, ist ein notwendiger und ernstzunehmender Schritt. Dabei sind zwei vielversprechende Ansätze zu nennen, die zunehmend auf Kairos Wohndächern Verbreitung finden: sogenannte „rooftop"-Landwirtschaft sowie Energiegewinnung durch auf den Dächern installierte Photovoltaikanlagen. Der Beitrag vergleicht den Status Quo dieser Ansätze und zeigt ihre gegenwärtige Verbreitung, die sich vor allem in Vierteln mit entweder niedrigen oder hohen Einkommensschichten konzentriert. Darüber hinaus bewertet der Beitrag, welcher der beiden Ansätze im jeweiligen Kontext ein größeres Anwendungspotential aufweist.

1
FIT: A policy where the electricity company buys the generated electricity from the installer's PV-system for a specific period of time (price/ kWh) (Cory, et al. 2009).

2
FAO: Food and Agriculture Organisation
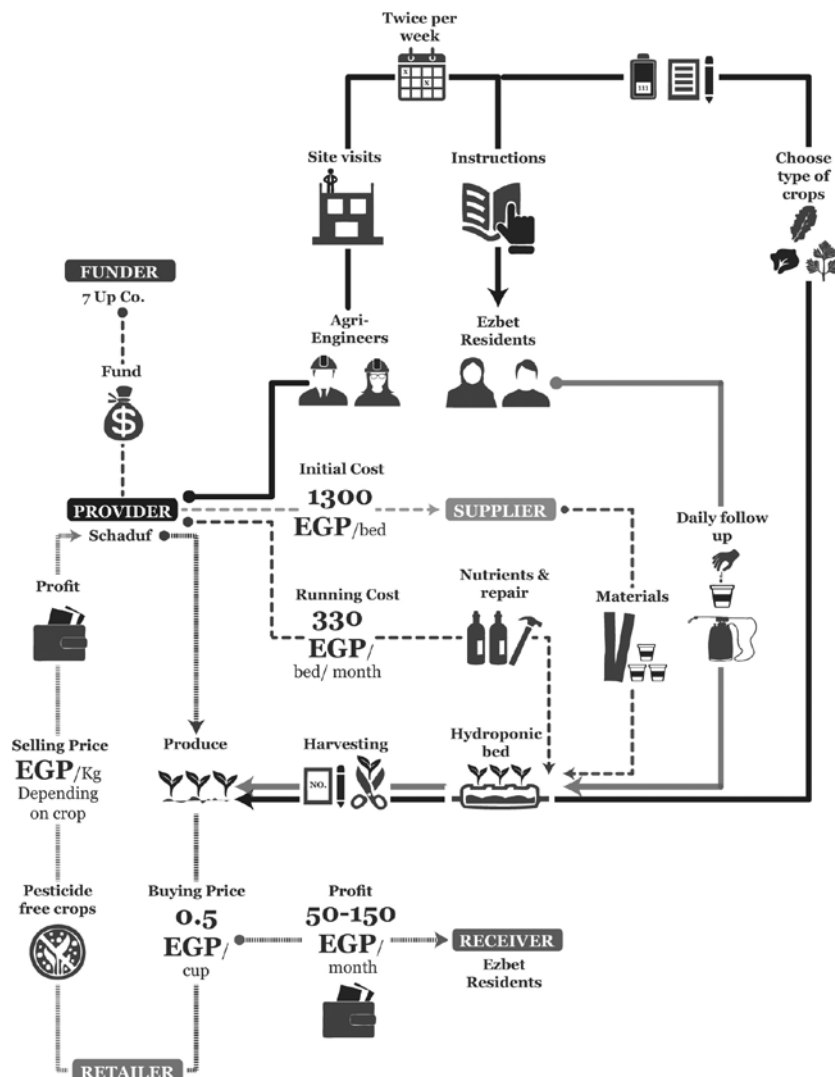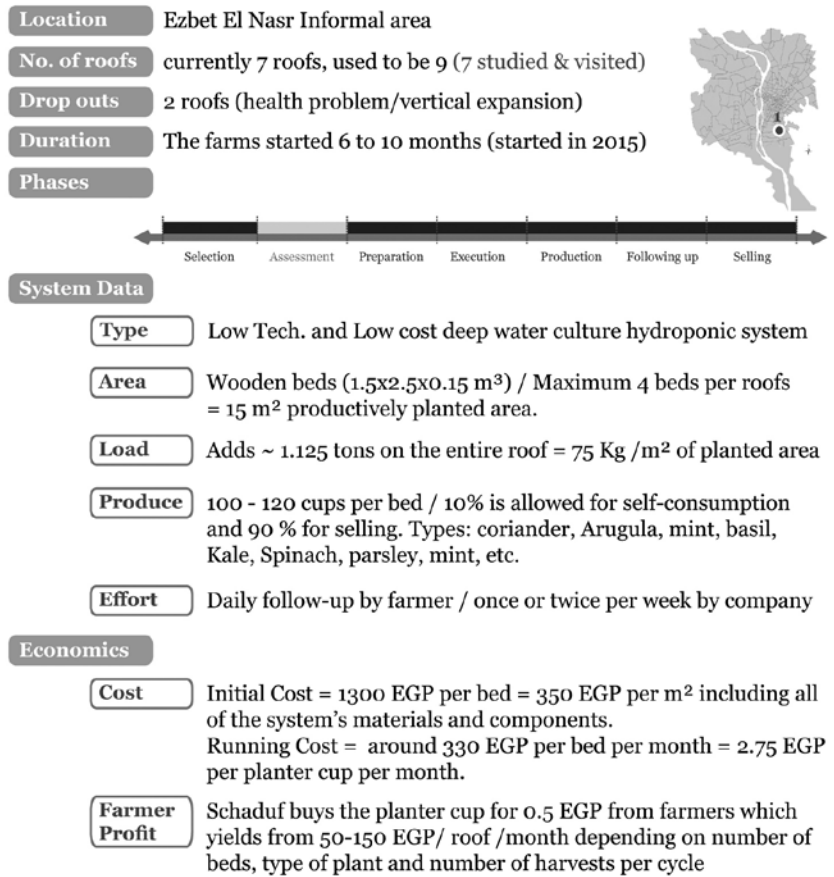
3
CLAC: Central Laboratory for Agricultural Climate

4
GIZ : The German Society for International Cooperation

It has long been inherent in the culture of Cairenes that the rooftop is a left-over space conquered only by clutter and satellite dishes. Only recently have we started seeing the potential we have on top of our dense fabric: the buildings' roofs. This space is finally being perceived as a potential resource for new functions such as crop harvesting by agri-rooftop technologies that make use of the inevitable expansion of urban areas to compensate for the loss of agricultural land by producing healthy and affordable crops. Also, there is solar energy harvesting by PV-rooftop technologies that utilise the same resource but for renewable energy generation.

As a matter of fact, these two technologies are not completely new to the Egyptian context. According to Mandel (2013), the country had one of the earliest rooftop agriculture research initiatives in the world back in 1990. However, it was only after 2011 revolution that this technology gained momentum in Egypt, motivated by the willingness to improve the built environment. At that time, several companies started to implement agri-rooftops in both low and high-income residential communities.

Egypt was also a leader in the field of solar harvesting when, in 1913, it hosted the first commercial solar plant in the world in El Maadi, highlighting the country's enormous solar potential that had remained underutilised for so long (Comsan 2010). The year 2014 marked the rigorous appearance of PV-rooftops, mostly in high-income residential communities, coinciding with three decisions taken by the government. The first was the removal of subsidies for electricity over the course of 5 years, from 2014–2019. The second was the setting a target for generating "2% of electricity" from solar resources (NREA Authority 2013). The third was the Feed-in-Tariff (FIT)[1] scheme devised to help achieve this target.

This article[*] aims at providing a comprehensive understanding of the status-quo of agri- and PV-rooftop technology adoption in the context of residential buildings in Cairo through a critical analysis of on-ground implemented projects. Two cases for each technology are purposively selected so that they represent the two targeted contexts, the low and high-income residential communities. The four cases are then qualitatively analysed based on empirical knowledge collected mainly from primary data sources. These include site visits, semi-structured interviews, observations, conference and lecture documents, publications, and mass media. The analysis is culminated by a holistic illuminative evaluation of the adopted implementation models (IM) highlighting four main aspects: the efficiency of the adopted system itself, the effectivity of the IM in achieving the targets of the provider and the receiver, the sustainability potential of the project, and the transferability potential of the adopted models to other contexts. The sustainability aspect, being the most crucial in the determination of the actual success of the project, will be discussed in more detail for each case. This evaluation is then used to evaluate the adoption potential of the agri and PV technologies in the two targeted communities.

Agri-rooftops: Cairo's sky farms

The first introduction of the agri-rooftop concept to Cairo's residences was through projects funded by international agencies in cooperation with governmental entities (e.g., *FAO*[2] and *CLAC*[3] projects). However, there was no long-term plan from the government's side for supporting the technology's implementation whether by incentives, subsidies, or any kind of regulations or codes. Accordingly, its current key promoters are private companies pursuing the aim of commercialising the technology, focusing on its profitability. As for civil society, despite the large number of initiatives, only a few have managed to leave an imprint.

Agri-rooftops in low-income communities

The first agri-rooftop case is a project implemented by Schaduf, a private company, in Ezbet El Nasr, a low-income informal area. It was started in 2015, funded by a private sector company, 7Up, as part of its corporate social re-

sponsibility (CSR). The analysis encompassed 7 rooftops that were functioning at the time of the study. The company had already participated in an earlier project in the same area under a funding scheme by the GIZ,[4] which encouraged companies like 7Up to start supporting the project. [Figures 1 and 2]

In the implementation model (IM) adopted by the current project, the provider, Schaduf, plays the key role in what the article calls the "IFM model" (implement, follow-up & market). What is different about this model is Schaduf's attempt to commercialise the project by buying the produce of the Ezbet El Nasr rooftop farms and marketing it to high-end retailers as a pesticide-free product, thus generating profits for the farmers and itself. This model can be seen successful not only as a social model but as an economic model that provides a win-win situation for all the involved actors. It is a form of rooftop leasing in which the company rents the rooftop space for setting up a farm in return for the price (50-200 EGP/month) they pay to the residents. The company provides weekly technical support and has the residents as on-site farmers for daily tending; in return, the urban farmers learn a new income-generating skill and get the advantage of using up to 10% of the produce for self-consumption.

From the interviews, contrary to expectations, it became evident that economic profitability was not the only target

Location — Ezbet El Nasr Informal area

No. of roofs — currently 7 roofs, used to be 9 (7 studied & visited)

Drop outs — 2 roofs (health problem/vertical expansion)

Duration — The farms started 6 to 10 months (started in 2015)

Phases

Selection — Assessment — Preparation — Execution — Production — Following up — Selling

System Data

Type — Low Tech. and Low cost deep water culture hydroponic system

Area — Wooden beds (1.5x2.5x0.15 m³) / Maximum 4 beds per roofs = 15 m² productively planted area.

Load — Adds ~ 1.125 tons on the entire roof = 75 Kg /m² of planted area

Produce — 100 - 120 cups per bed / 10% is allowed for self-consumption and 90 % for selling. Types: coriander, Arugula, mint, basil, Kale, Spinach, parsley, mint, etc.

Effort — Daily follow-up by farmer / once or twice per week by company

Economics

Cost — Initial Cost = 1300 EGP per bed = 350 EGP per m² including all of the system's materials and components.
Running Cost = around 330 EGP per bed per month = 2.75 EGP per planter cup per month.

Farmer Profit — Schaduf buys the planter cup for 0.5 EGP from farmers which yields from 50-150 EGP/ roof /month depending on number of beds, type of plant and number of harvests per cycle

Legend:
- Line type indicates the phase

- - - Execution
⎯⎯ Production / following-up
⫶⫶⫶ Selling

- Line color indicates the actor
⎯⎯ Funder
⎯⎯ Provider
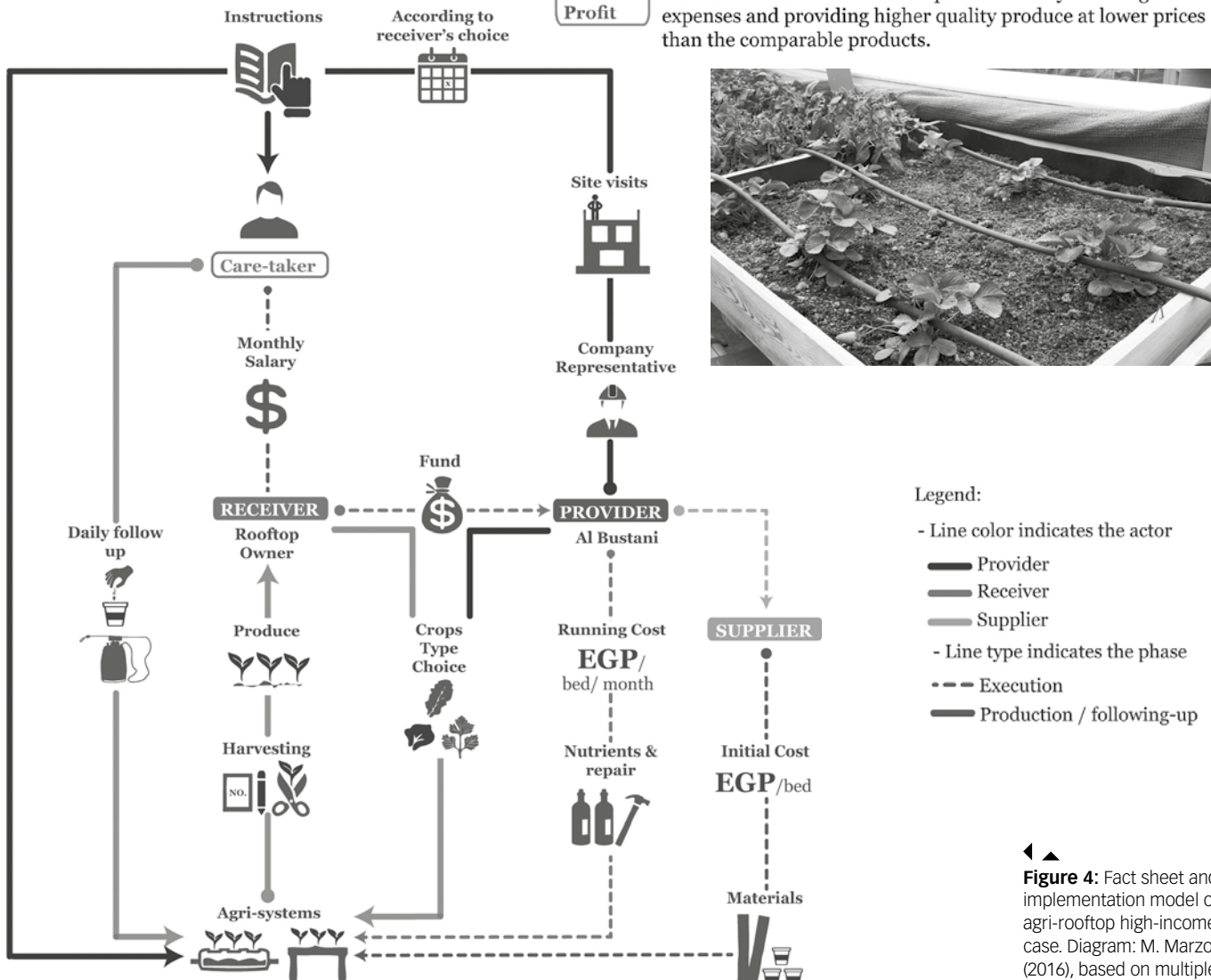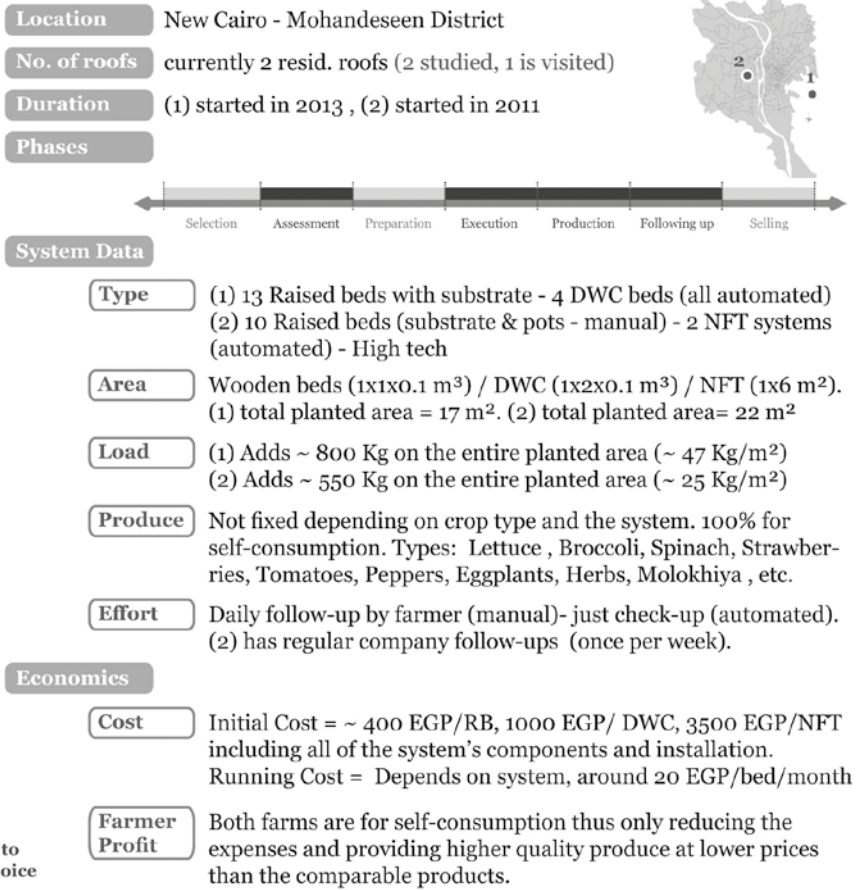⎯⎯ Receiver
⎯⎯ Supplier
⎯⎯ Retailer

Figure 1: Fact sheet and implementation model of agri-rooftop low-income case. Diagram: M. Marzouk, (2016), based on multiple data sources

Figure 2: Roof garden in Ezbet El Nasr, a low-income community in east Cairo. Photo: Mai Marzouk

Figure 3: Roof garden in New Cairo, a high-income "new urban community" east of Cairo. Photo: Mai Marzouk

of the receivers. The social benefits were also identified by 70% of the current farmers as one of the main motivators. These include enjoying the view of the greenery and practising their passion for agriculture (due to either an agricultural background or a personal interest as a hobby). [Figure 2] When it comes to the evaluation of the agri-rooftop sustainability potential, the potential is strongly bound to the continuation of the funding because of the incapability of most residents to finance the project costs on their own, as shown in Figure 5. The analysed project still lacks a clear financial exit strategy that can guarantee the project's sustainability after the funding stops.

In this particular case, not only the economics act as a barrier to sustainability; there is also a social barrier, represented in the lack of full knowledge transfer to the rooftop farmers. The strict follow-up of the company improves the produce quality and consistency, and magnifies the farmers' economic benefits. However, it also diminishes their ability to grasp all the needed technicalities that would allow them to continue the project after the company leaves. Thus, even though the adoption of agri-rooftop projects in the low-income communities might prove successful, their sustainability remains highly threatened.

Agri-rooftops in high-income communities

The second case includes two small-scale roof farms implemented by the Al Bustani Company in single-family houses in high-income urban communities. Farm 1 is in New Cairo, and Farm 2 is in El Mohandeseen in Giza; the roof farms started five years ago. These farms are self-funded by the rooftop owners, unlike the previous case that depends greatly on the external funds. [Figures 3 and 4]

The IM is similar to any relationship between a service provider and a client. When the Al Bustani Company is approached by an interested receiver to implement the system, the firm offers a price for the system including its transportation and implementation costs. The provision of follow-up services is optional and the receiver's decision. However, in the two analysed farms, follow-up services are provided by the company, so they follow the "IF model" (implement & follow-up). The difference here is the receivers' tendency, in most cases, to depend on their house caretakers to follow-up on the system due to their own lack of time and energy. The caretakers are usually from agricultural backgrounds, so they have the needed technical knowledge. With the help of the automated systems, the effort of these larger farms is manageable by an experienced person. The model is expected to render high results in terms of productivity and quality since an on-

Location	New Cairo - Mohandeseen District
No. of roofs	currently 2 resid. roofs (2 studied, 1 is visited)
Duration	(1) started in 2013 , (2) started in 2011
Phases	Selection · Assessment · Preparation · Execution · Production · Following up · Selling

System Data

Type	(1) 13 Raised beds with substrate - 4 DWC beds (all automated) (2) 10 Raised beds (substrate & pots - manual) - 2 NFT systems (automated) - High tech
Area	Wooden beds ($1 \times 1 \times 0.1$ m³) / DWC ($1 \times 2 \times 0.1$ m³) / NFT (1×6 m²). (1) total planted area = 17 m². (2) total planted area= 22 m²
Load	(1) Adds ~ 800 Kg on the entire planted area (~ 47 Kg/m²) (2) Adds ~ 550 Kg on the entire planted area (~ 25 Kg/m²)
Produce	Not fixed depending on crop type and the system. 100% for self-consumption. Types: Lettuce , Broccoli, Spinach, Strawberries, Tomatoes, Peppers, Eggplants, Herbs, Molokhiya , etc.
Effort	Daily follow-up by farmer (manual)- just check-up (automated). (2) has regular company follow-ups (once per week).

Economics

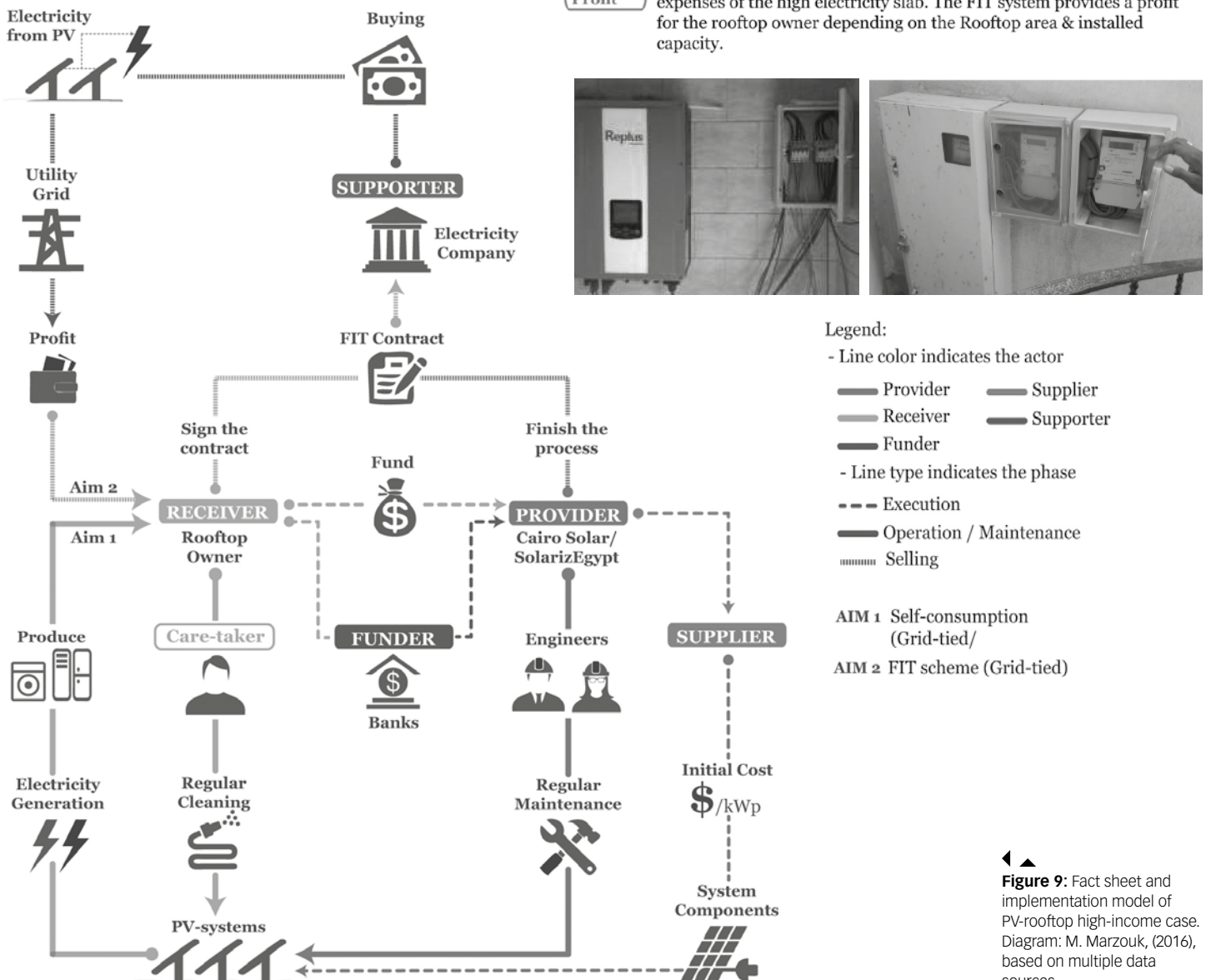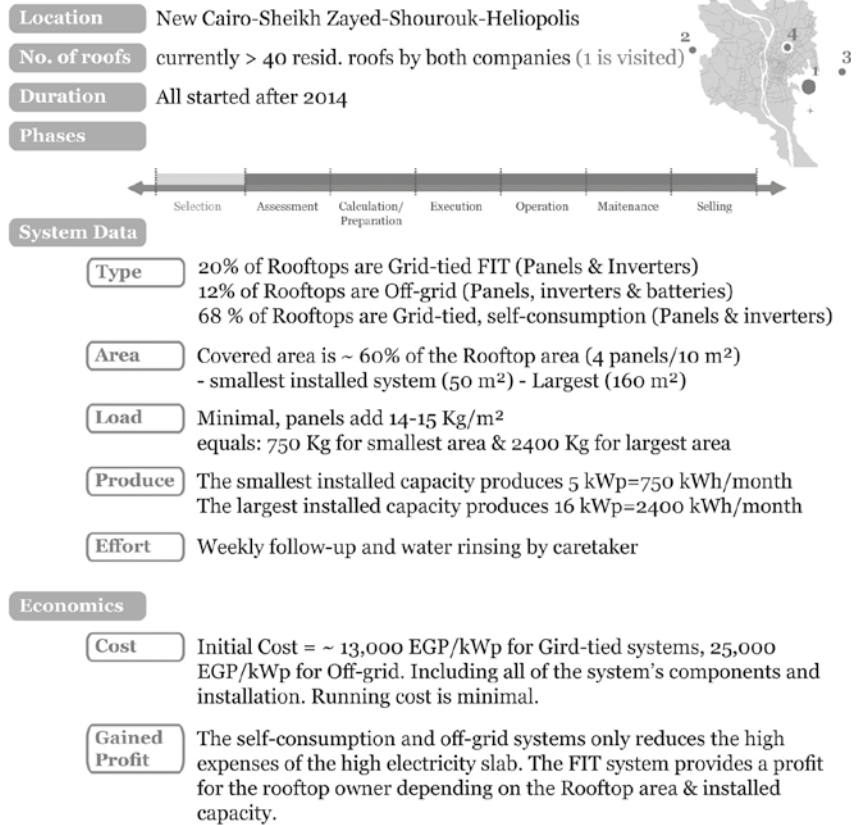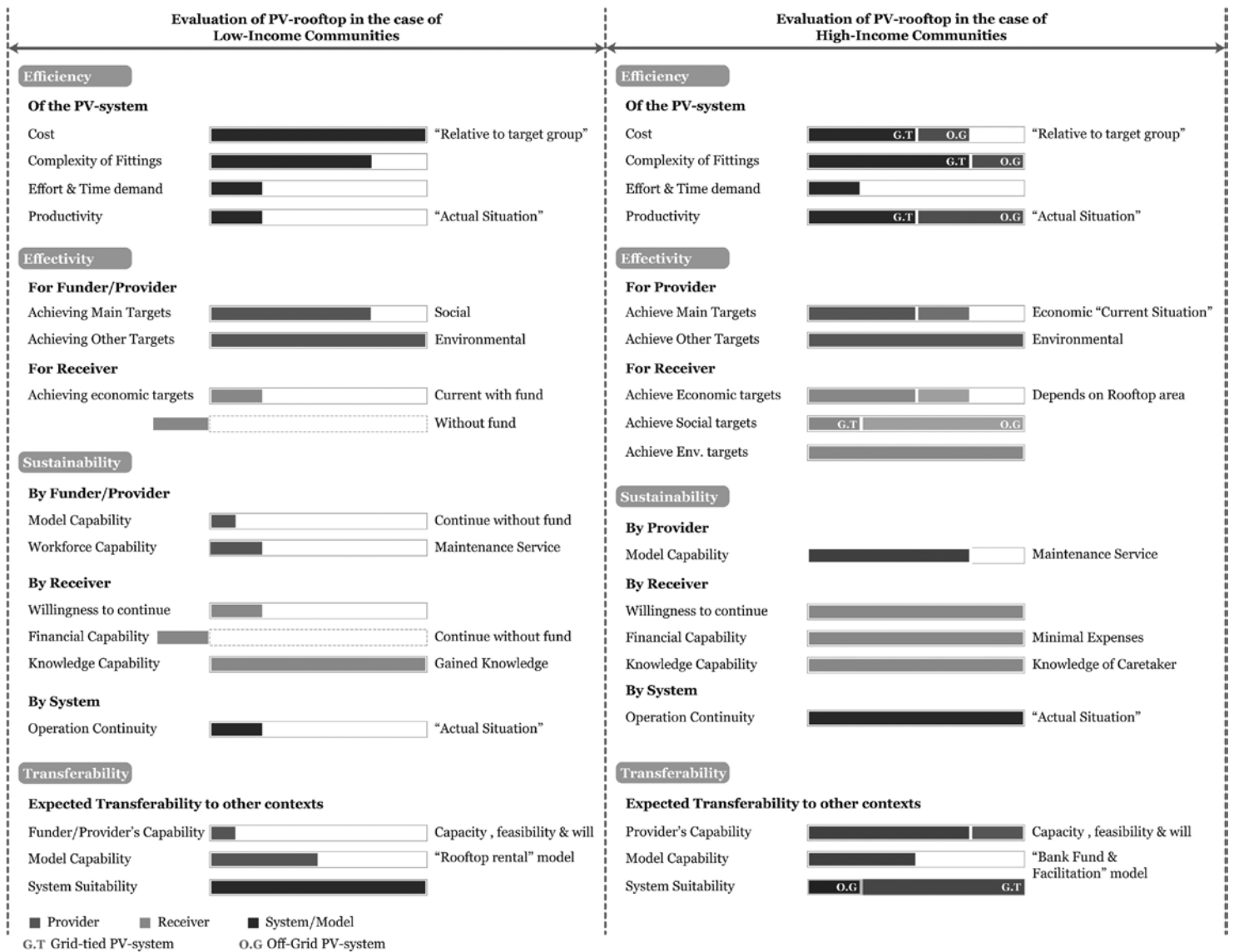| Cost	Initial Cost = ~ 400 EGP/RB, 1000 EGP/ DWC, 3500 EGP/NFT including all of the system's components and installation. Running Cost = Depends on system, around 20 EGP/bed/month
Farmer Profit	Both farms are for self-consumption thus only reducing the expenses and providing higher quality produce at lower prices than the comparable products.

Figure 4: Fact sheet and implementation model of agri-rooftop high-income case. Diagram: M. Marzouk, (2016), based on multiple data sources
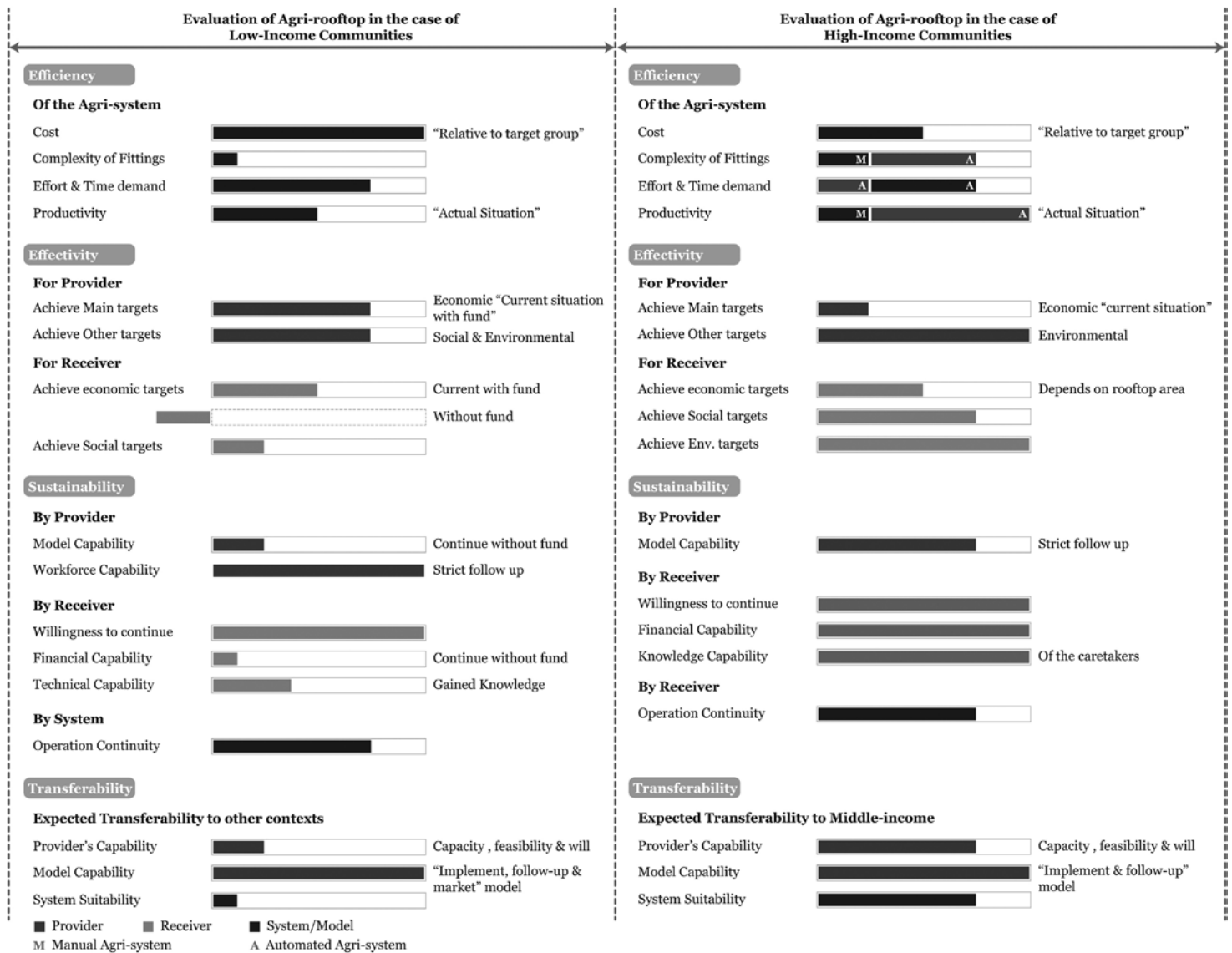
site expert maintains it and there are regular follow-ups by the company. Nevertheless, the IM seems to fail in creating the targeted connection between the residents and their farms. Selling the produce is not part of the model offered by the company, nor is it part of the owners' targets. For them, above all due to the new "healthy food trend", these farms are mainly for the self-consumption of healthy, pesticide-free crops, a target that isn't present in the first case. However, they share an interest in agriculture and willingness to own their own mini-farm with the first case, especially when having agricultural roots. Facilitated by the financial and technical capacity of the receivers and the caretakers respectively, the potential of the project's sustainability is expected to be much higher than that of the previous case, as shown in Figure 3. Also, the provider of this case offers follow-up services for their rooftop farms, a thing that further guarantees the sustainability of the farms while maintaining a high quality of produce. [Figure 5]

PV-rooftops: Cairo's elevated solar farms

The PV-rooftops have attracted the government's attention more, especially in view of the energy crisis that Egypt has faced. A number of protocols were signed by governmental entities to support the implementation of solar en-

ergy projects. Nevertheless, none of them are identified as focusing on the implementation of PV-rooftops in the residential sector, except for the FIT scheme issued in 2014. The rest are more oriented towards other sectors, such as public buildings, or other technologies, such as the implementation of solar water heaters (SWH), or at other scales, such as large-scale solar farms.

Accordingly, it is left for the private owners to adopt the system, depending mainly on incentives like the FIT scheme and soft loans by public banks (unimplemented yet), and on the promotion and marketing of the thriving private companies. The civil society has a weaker impact owing to the difficulty of funding the large-scale implementation of such costly systems, therefore the majority of NGOs and NPOs play the role of awareness raising and training.

PV-rooftops in low-income communities

The first PV-rooftop case is a project carried out by the LOCUS foundation in Manshiet Naser, in the El Zabaleen informal area. Based on a student project tackling the area, residents identified the need for proper street lighting. Accordingly, an innovative design was made for recycled street-lighting units powered by PV-panels mounted on

the rooftop of one of the residential buildings. The panels do not power the building itself, but they do utilise its roof. Therefore, the project is interesting in regards to revealing the dynamics of the PV-rooftops when introduced to this context, especially since it is the only identified project that has implemented a PV-rooftop in such a low-income area. [Figures 6 and 7]

The key player in this IM is the LOCUS foundation, the project's funder and organiser, which cooperates with a large number of local and international actors. There are two beneficiaries of the system: first, the street residents, who receive the street lighting as a collective good. The second is the rooftop owner whose roof was selected by the solar company's experts because it is the highest building with enough surface area. What is interesting about this IM is the rooftop leasing model as an incentive for the owner to give up his rooftop area and remove his income-generating poultry-rearing activity from the rooftop to avoid any damages to the PV panels. It is also a reward for his follow-up and system-cleaning efforts, something that he stopped doing when he could not reach a rent-raising agreement with the paying NGO at the time. As a result, the system stopped working after two years. The panels were then moved, after LOCUS's permission, to the rooftop of an NGO in the area (APE[5]) instead of leaving them in neglect.

Location	Manshiet Naser- El Zabaleen area (Garbage city)
No. of roofs	One resid. rooftop (was moved) (new location is visited)
Duration	Implemented in 2012, stopped working in 2014, will be reoperated in new location 2016
Phases	Selection — Assessment — Calculation/Preparation — Execution — Operation — Maintenance — Selling

System Data

Type	Off-grid system used to supply electricity for 12 large street lighting units that are hung using wires between the buildings. The batteries store the generated electricity during day to light the street at night.
Area	Covered area is 9 m² by of 6 PV-panels in addition to a room for batteries and inverters (~ 2 m²).
Load	Minimal, panels add 14-15 Kg/m² equals: 135 Kg for the whole covered area.
Produce	It produces 1 kWp= 150 kWh/month. It was enough to light the units for 3 hrs at night (from 12 AM to 3 AM).
Effort	Weekly follow-up and water rinsing by rooftop owner

Economics

Cost	The actual cost was unidentified. But is considered to be around $ 2,800. Including all of the system's components and installation. Running cost is minimal.
Gained Profit	The rooftop owner gained a direct profit of 200 EGP/month as a rent for his rooftop. No direct profit for other residents except being allowed extra working hours at night by the lit street.

Legend:

- Line color indicates the actor

    ▬ Funder   ▬ Coordinator 1
    ▬ Receiver   ▬ Coordinator 2
    ▬ Provider

- Line type indicates the phase

    --- Execution
    ▬ Operation / Maintenance

- Abbreviations

    EQI Environmental Quality International Co.
    APE The Association For The Protection Of The Environment

Figure 6: Fact sheet and implementation model of PV-rooftop low-income case. Diagram: M. Marzouk, (2016), based on multiple data sources

Figure 7: PV-rooftop in Manshiet Naser, El Zabaleen informal area in east Cairo, after being moved to the roof of the Association for the Protection of the Environment (APE). Photo: Mai Marzouk

Figure 8: PV-rooftop implemented by Cairo Solar in New Cairo, a high-income "new urban community" east of Cairo. Photo: Mai Marzouk

LOCUS has a social target of supporting projects that improve the quality of life of the local community and provide some of the lacked basic needs. [Figure 7] The rooftop owner, however, has instead an economic target of benefiting from the roof's eligibility for hosting the system through a monthly rent. The project's sustainability potential from the funder and provider sides is very limit-

ed because the fund will have to stop at some point, as shown in Figure 10. As for the receivers, the sustainability is firmly bound to this fund, because their financial capability to keep and maintain the system is almost non-existent due to the high initial costs and the difficulty to configure it out of local materials. However, the knowledge needed to continue is not a barrier in this case; in-

stead, the willingness is, especially when only public shared benefits are gained.

PV-rooftops in high-income communities

This case includes forty PV-rooftop farms implemented on single-family houses in new, high-income urban communities by two of the most active companies in the business, the Cairo Solar and Solariz Egypt companies, following the same IM. One PV-rooftop, which was implemented by Cairo Solar and received the first FIT cheque in Egypt, was visited by the author. Data about the rest of rooftops was identified from semi-structured interviews with the companies' representatives and from the respective projects' reports. [Figure 8 and 9]

In this IM, when the receiver approaches the provider, the latter makes the PV-system sizing calculations to identify the needed capacity and the initial costs including the components, transportation, and installation. However, the follow-up load by the provider is minimal, limited to regular maintenance upon request. Any needed cleaning or follow-up of the system is the responsibility of the residence's caretaker.

Location	New Cairo-Sheikh Zayed-Shourouk-Heliopolis
No. of roofs	currently > 40 resid. roofs by both companies (1 is visited)
Duration	All started after 2014
Phases	

Selection — Assessment — Calculation/Preparation — Execution — Operation — Maintenance — Selling

System Data

Type	20% of Rooftops are Grid-tied FIT (Panels & Inverters) 12% of Rooftops are Off-grid (Panels, inverters & batteries) 68 % of Rooftops are Grid-tied, self-consumption (Panels & inverters)
Area	Covered area is ~ 60% of the Rooftop area (4 panels/10 m²) - smallest installed system (50 m²) - Largest (160 m²)
Load	Minimal, panels add 14-15 Kg/m² equals: 750 Kg for smallest area & 2400 Kg for largest area
Produce	The smallest installed capacity produces 5 kWp=750 kWh/month The largest installed capacity produces 16 kWp=2400 kWh/month
Effort	Weekly follow-up and water rinsing by caretaker

Economics

| Cost | Initial Cost = ~ 13,000 EGP/kWp for Gird-tied systems, 25,000 EGP/kWp for Off-grid. Including all of the system's components and installation. Running cost is minimal. |
| Gained Profit | The self-consumption and off-grid systems only reduces the high expenses of the high electricity slab. The FIT system provides a profit for the rooftop owner depending on the Rooftop area & installed capacity. |

Legend:
- Line color indicates the actor

▬▬ Provider   ▬▬ Supplier
▬▬ Receiver   ▬▬ Supporter
▬▬ Funder

- Line type indicates the phase

- - - Execution
▬▬ Operation / Maintenance
▭▭▭ Selling

AIM 1 Self-consumption (Grid-tied/
AIM 2 FIT scheme (Grid-tied)

Figure 9: Fact sheet and implementation model of PV-rooftop high-income case. Diagram: M. Marzouk, (2016), based on multiple data sources

Evaluation of PV-rooftop in the case of Low-Income Communities

Efficiency

Of the PV-system

Cost	"Relative to target group"
Complexity of Fittings	
Effort & Time demand	
Productivity	"Actual Situation"

Effectivity

For Funder/Provider

Achieving Main Targets	Social
Achieving Other Targets	Environmental

For Receiver

Achieving economic targets	Current with fund
	Without fund

Sustainability

By Funder/Provider

Model Capability	Continue without fund
Workforce Capability	Maintenance Service

By Receiver

Willingness to continue	
Financial Capability	Continue without fund
Knowledge Capability	Gained Knowledge

By System

Operation Continuity	"Actual Situation"

Transferability

Expected Transferability to other contexts

Funder/Provider's Capability	Capacity, feasibility & will
Model Capability	"Rooftop rental" model
System Suitability	

Evaluation of PV-rooftop in the case of High-Income Communities

Efficiency

Of the PV-system

Cost	G.T / O.G — "Relative to target group"
Complexity of Fittings	G.T / O.G
Effort & Time demand	
Productivity	G.T / O.G — "Actual Situation"

Effectivity

For Provider

Achieve Main Targets	Economic "Current Situation"
Achieve Other Targets	Environmental

For Receiver

Achieve Economic targets	Depends on Rooftop area
Achieve Social targets	G.T / O.G
Achieve Env. targets	

Sustainability

By Provider

Model Capability	Maintenance Service

By Receiver

Willingness to continue	
Financial Capability	Minimal Expenses
Knowledge Capability	Knowledge of Caretaker

By System

Operation Continuity	"Actual Situation"

Transferability

Expected Transferability to other contexts

Provider's Capability	Capacity, feasibility & will
Model Capability	"Bank Fund & Facilitation" model
System Suitability	O.G / G.T

■ Provider ■ Receiver ■ System/Model

G.T Grid-tied PV-system   O.G Off-Grid PV-system

Figure 10: Holistic evaluation of PV-rooftop cases. Diagram: M. Marzouk (2016)

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6
EDC: Electricity Distribution Company

7
NREA: New and Renewable Energy Authority

The rest of the provider's role in the adopted model differs according to the PV-rooftop aim. 68% of the 40 rooftops are installed as on-grid systems with the aim of (1): covering the self-consumption and lowering the high electricity expenses that have above all impacted this group since the removal of electricity subsidies. In this case, the role of the provider ends after the execution phase (except for the offered maintenance). On the other hand, 20% of the rooftops have an aim of (2): selling the generated electricity to the supporter (the government represented in the EDC[6] of the residential area) following the FIT model. In this case, an accredited NREA[7] provider implements the system and finishes the needed paperwork for the contract between the owner and the EDC. The provider then hands over the system to the owner, who receives the paying cheques directly from the EDC. Usually, the receiver is the sole funder of the system implementation; however, banks can be potential funders by providing soft loans.

This income group is targeted by all the PV-rooftop companies for their financial capacity that allows them to adopt the system. The main target of the receivers is usually economic, whether for achieving savings or profits (as in aim 1 and 2) or merely getting some economic benefit from an underutilised space (like the roof), even if mini-

mal. There is another identified social target, which is: maintaining a certain social image and status through such adoption.

The sustainability level of these projects is very high, as shown in Figure 10, by having a high financial capability that covers the initial and minimal running costs from the receiver's side, while offering regular maintenance service for the system from the provider's side. Moreover, the level of needed knowledge is limited to facilitating the system's follow-up. If properly maintained, the system can continue to operate with high efficiency for up to 25 years. Despite this, the sustainability of the off-grid system as an exception might not be easy because it requires batteries to store the generated electricity, which are characterised by the very high costs and short lifetime (changed every five years). [Figure 10]

Reflection on the adoption potential

In this section, the outcome of the previous analysis and evaluation is used to get a clearer idea about the adoption potential of the two technologies in the targeted contexts. To understand the adoption potential, Everett Rogers' "Diffusion of Innovation" (DOI) theory (2003) is reviewed. The adoption was defined by this theory as the technology's
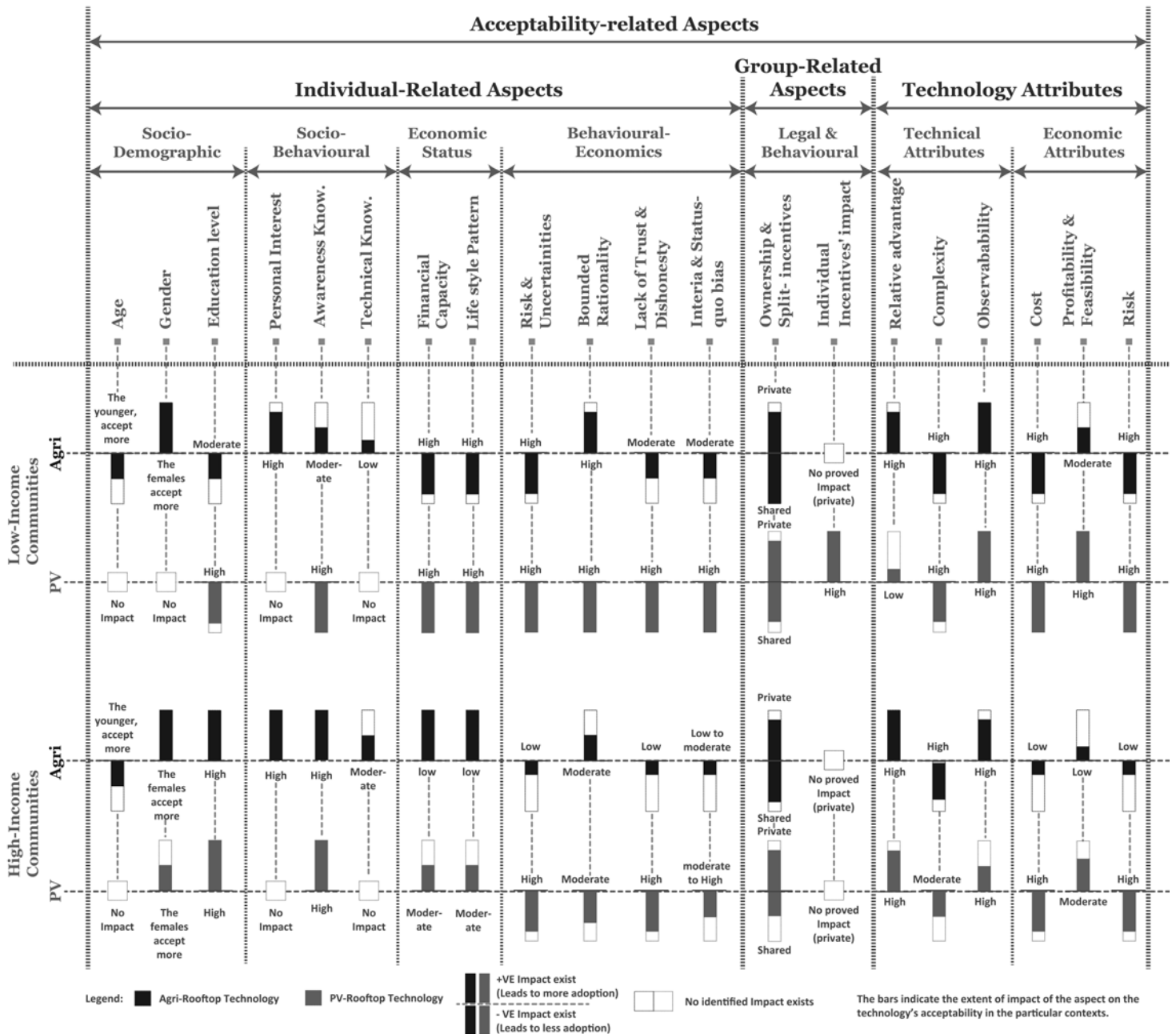
acceptance by the adopter. However, for such space-related technologies, not only does the owner have to accept the technology, but also the rooftop space has to accept it, meaning it has to be eligible for its accommodation. Therefore, the adoption level in this article is defined by two factors: the applicability of the technology on the rooftop space and its acceptability by the rooftop owner. The determinant aspects of these two factors and their required thresholds were identified based on a number of theories and studies forming a framework. The given technology's applicability on the rooftop is determined by a number of space-related (spatial and environmental) aspects that were derived from earlier studies and contextualised to match the context of Cairo. The acceptability level is determined by aspects related to the adopter as an individual (social and economic) or as a group (legal and organisational), as well as aspects related to the technology (technology attributes). Such aspects were derived from a number of theories, including the DOI theory, the collective action theory by Olson (1965), behavioural economics (BE), in addition to a number of other studies that focus on the acceptance of energy efficiency and renewable energy generation technologies in residential buildings. A reflection is made by the article on the applicability and acceptability factors of the technologies' adoption in the low-income and high-income contexts using the created framework of determinant aspects as discussed below.

The impact of the determinant aspects on the residents' acceptance of the technologies is illustrated in Figure 11. It is evident that the acceptance of PV-rooftops faces many more barriers in comparison to agri-rooftops in both contexts. Also, it is found that the acceptance potential of agri-rooftops in the low-income context is not much lower than in the high-income context, yet their adoption decision is highly limited by financial capacity and risk factors due to limited resources. As for PV-rooftops, the same economic barriers apply but added to it is the low level of awareness of the extent of the system's benefits. The level of acceptance of PV-rooftops in the high-income context is

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Figure 12: Applicability-related aspects diagram.

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also found to be incomparable to their level of awareness and financial capacity, where it is much lower than the actual capacity.

Figure 12 shows the impact that the environmental and spatial aspects of the two contexts have on the technologies' applicability. The results change the preconception of the low eligibility of buildings in the low-income communities to accommodate these technologies. The out-performance of the buildings in high-income areas is clear in both technologies, but the overall difference between the two contexts is surprisingly not huge. In both contexts, the agri-rooftop applicability potential is slightly higher than the PV.

Overlaying the applicability and acceptability evaluation matrices reveals that the highest adoption is expected to be for the agri-rooftops starting by the high-income receivers, and then for the low-income receivers, provided that there is a developed business model that supports the projects in lower-income communities or financial exit strategies that ensure the smooth continuation of the given project in case of starting with a fund. This is then followed by the expanded adoption of the PV-rooftops that has gained promising initial approbation but still needs some serious financial incentives to support its actual adoption.

Conclusion

The previous analysis proves that the rooftop space will no longer be left in its stagnating state of wastage; it is being strongly pushed towards better utilisation. The four analysed cases reveal a lot about the dynamics of the current attempts of adoption in the context of Cairo for both technologies. For both the agri and PV implemented in the low-income cases, it is found that the self-induced adoption of the technologies by the communities is still difficult. The applicability is highly possible, unlike the expectations and the individuals' acceptance as well; the main barrier is their financial incapacity, which is much less than their motivation.

As for the high-income cases, the applicability potential is huge, yet is currently highly wasted. The level of acceptance is promising, but still has not boosted the rate of adoption within this group enough. In the end, the status-quo of these two technologies represents a good start in most cases. However, for such efforts to culminate in more results, large-scale plans are needed to set the suitable strategies needed for targeting each context. Incentives and regulations are needed at least during the first phase of the agri and PV technologies' adoption and until the culture is spread and we find all the Cairene rooftops transforming into harvesting spaces.

The Relationship between Built Environment and Obesity – The Case of Cairo

Teresa Fellinger

Die Beziehung zwischen baulicher Umwelt und Fettleibigkeit am Beispiel von Kairo

Das Leben in der Stadt bietet bekannterweise vielfältige Möglichkeiten, unter anderem einen besseren Zugang zu Gesundheitsdiensten als auf dem Land. Hier ballen sich jedoch derzeit Gesundheitsrisiken und es entwickeln sich neue gesundheitliche Problemfelder. Bislang war Luftverschmutzung als das wichtigste mit Verstädterung zusammenhängende Gesundheitsproblem angesehen, was sich nun durch den dramatischen Anstieg von Fettleibigkeit ändert. Die heutigen Städte tendieren zur Entmutigung körperlicher Aktivitäten und zur Förderung einer ungesunden Ernährung. Die Möglichkeit, sich im urbanen Außenraum körperlich zu betätigen, ist oft durch eine Vielzahl von Faktoren erschwert, etwa durch hohe Bevölkerungsdichte und hohes Verkehrsaufkommen, durch schlechte Luft sowie einen Mangel an Sicherheit im öffentlichen Raum. Eine derartige Urbanität bietet keinen Raum für das Laufen, das Fahrradfahren oder anderen Arten körperlicher Betätigung. Mangel an körperlicher Bewegung in Kombination mit einer ungesunden Ernährung führt häufig zu Gewichtszunahme. Das Resultat ist oft Fettleibigkeit, welche weltweit epidemische Ausmaße erreicht hat und nicht nur in den Industriestaaten inzwischen als bedeutsamstes Gesundheitsproblem angesehen wird. Dieser Artikel bietet einen Überblick über den Zusammenhang zwischen baulicher Umwelt und Fettleibigkeit und illustriert dies anhand der Stadt Kairo. Ziel dieses Beitrags ist es, auf diese zunehmende, weltweit bisher jedoch vernachlässigte Epidemie hinzuweisen. Hier könnte Abhilfe geschaffen werden durch eine bauliche Umwelt, die dem Menschen dient und nicht den Fahrzeugen, Wirtschaftsinteressen oder einem Streben nach symbolischer Dominanz.

The relationship between built environment and obesity[1]

The World Health Organization (WHO) defines overweight and obesity "as abnormal or excessive fat accumulation that may impair health" (WHO 2017a). Most commonly, overweight and obesity are classified by the body mass index (BMI). It is defined as a person's weight in kilograms divided by the square of his or her height in metres (kg/m²). A BMI greater than or equal to 25 means a person is overweight, a BMI greater than or equal to 30 means a person is obese. An increased BMI is a major risk factor for catching a non-communicable disease (NCD). The major health risks developing out of excessive fat accumulation are type 2 diabetes, various cancers, cardiovascular diseases and hypertension. Worldwide obesity causes around 2.8 million deaths each year, thus causing more deaths than underweight (WHO 2017b).

Since 1980, obesity rates have been rising rapidly among both children and adults. "Once considered a high-income-country problem, overweight and obesity are now on the rise in low- and middle-income countries, particularly in urban areas" (WHO 2017a). The fundamental cause of obesity and overweight is an increased intake of energy-dense foods that are high in fat, and an increase in physical inactivity due to the increasingly sedentary nature of many forms of work, changing modes of transportation, and increasing urbanisation. [Figure 1] Until now, the challenge to fight against obesity was clearly framed as a medical problem. Only recently, a growing recognition has developed that a more holistic approach is required to successfully combat the rise in obesity; one major factor that can moderate this diseases is how our human environment is designed and built.

The built environment itself "consists of all the many features that have been constructed and modified by human-

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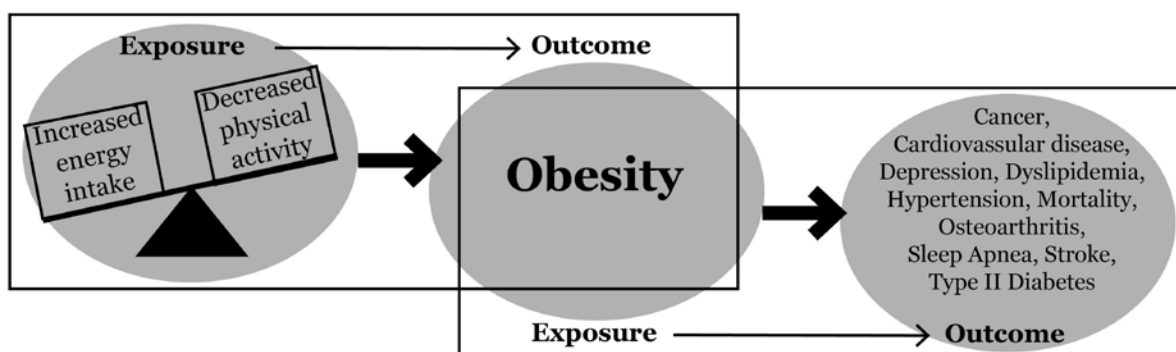
Figure 1: Antecedents and outcomes of obesity. Source: Must & Evans (2011: 19)

Figure 2: A proposed ecological model of neighbourhood environment influence on walking and cycling. Source: Saelens et al. (2003: 88)

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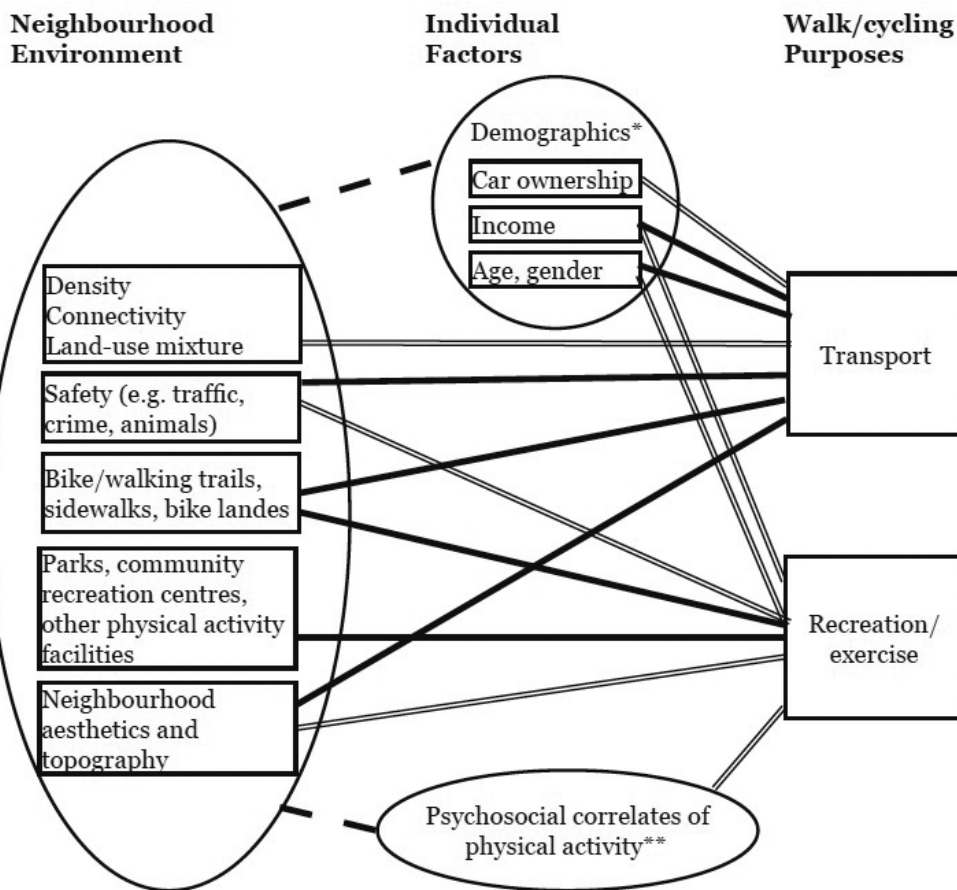
Fig. 5-5: A proposed ecological model of neighbourhood environment influence on walking and cycling. Source: Saelens et al. 2003, p.88

───── weaker relations ═════ stronger relations ▬▬▬ mediate relations

* Some examples of demographic variables are provided, but should not be considered comprehensive. ** Psychosocial correlates of physical activity would include, but are not limited to, such variables as self-efficiacy, perceived benefits, perceived barriers, social support and enjoyment of physical activity.

ity" (Lopez 2012: 5), such as the transportation system and the physical infrastructure of roads, sidewalks, bike paths, etc., as well as the service this system provides, the urban design, and the arrangement and appearance of the physical elements. Public health research has broadened the definition of built environment. Recently, the term has come to include healthy food access, community gardens, "walkability", "bikability", and sustainable development which aims at smart growth (Lee et al. 2008).

Obesity is the biological response to our changed physical and food environment, as it takes thousands of years for the body and genes to adapt to the environment, and it reflects the failure of the free market. For sure, the individual psychology and behaviour as well as the biology play a major role in each person's individual weight. But when, e.g., two-thirds of the American population is overweight or obese, the blame can hardly be put on the individual. We, the human beings, are hardwired and lost in the completely transformed environment of the last years (Cohen 2014: 7).

The technological advances of the last decades have had a huge impact on the design and development of buildings, the methods of communication and transportation, and how populations are fed. The affordability of private transportation, revolutionised due to industrialisation,

transformed society and had an effect on our residency and way of life. The practice of zoning and separation of land uses created a distance between residences and workplace, as well as on the daily needed services and increased travel times. With good intention, housing density within a suburb was constrained, but planners at that time did not recognise the inadvertent consequences of walkability and physical activity. Figure 2 illustrates which neighbourhood environment can influence walking and cycling. Additionally, the technological revolution of home labour-saving devices and mobile phones brought major societal changes, fuelling the obesity epidemic and transforming ourselves to consumers rather than citizens (Giles-Corti et al. 2010: 133ff).

The relationship between the body and the city

Nietzsche, Kafka, Foucault as well as Deleuze argued persistently "that bodies should be considered primary objects of inscription surfaces, on which values, morality, and social laws are inscribed" (Sui 2003: 80). A further statement from Pile (1996: 208), "the body and the city are mirrored one in the other", implies that the human body has acted as a powerful template for imagining the city. Cities create spaces, divisions and interconnections which simultaneously profile individual bodies as subjects and organise social rules and expectations. This means that

different cities and different socio-cultural environments actively shape the bodies of their inhabitants.

More illustrative, obesity causes illnesses such as heart problems and diabetes. By analogy, sprawling (fat) cities suffer traffic congestion and inner-city problems, and disproportionate concentrations of poverty and crime; so, fat cities have "heart" problems. As a fat body has to circulate blood through pounds of useless mass, in a fat city power is wasted through, e.g., traffic jams (Sui 2003: 77). Harvey (2003: 34) argues that "cities are constituted out of the flows of energy, water, food, commodities, money, people and all the other necessities that sustain life". The contingencies and movements of fat bodies (as individuals), cities (as a collective action), and sewers (as infrastructure) emphasise a "multiplicity of urban metabolisms, each with different interconnectivities and forms of instability" (Marvin & Medd 2006: 313).

Egyptians weight status

With 62% of its adult population overweight and 28% of them obese, Egypt is one of the fattest nations in the world. Among Egyptians above the age of 18, more women than men are overweight and obese. An estimated 68% of females in this age group are said to be overweight, 37.5% out of them are obese; by comparison, approximately 56% of Egyptian males are overweight, with 20.3% out of them obese (WHO 2017c). The Egypt Demographic and Health Survey of 2008 shows that there is a significant difference between the weight status of men and women living in rural or urban areas; e.g., in Upper Egypt, 38% of all women living in urban areas were considered obese, compared to 25% in the rural areas. In Lower Egypt, 29% of all men living in urban areas were considered obese, in comparison to only 18% in the rural areas (UNICEF o. J.). Possible reasons for this difference are that people living in rural areas are not exposed to unhealthy fast-food restaurants. Moreover, their daily work requires greater physical effort as technology might not have reached in the rural areas. Due to the fact that transportation is not frequently available, people have to walk more and longer distances compared to urban residents.

The unhealthy lifestyle has already alarming consequences on the state of health of many Egyptians. According to Health Intelligence (2013), 15.6 % of Egyptian adults (20–79 years) suffered from diabetes mellitus in 2013. This is one of the highest percentages worldwide. Egypt's rate of cardiovascular disease is three times higher than the one of the U.S. (WHO o. J.). For Egyptian women, breast cancer is one of the leading death causes. Poor nutrition and physical inactivity among post-menopausal women have been linked to this type of cancer (Olsson& Berglund, 2003 in Mowafi et al. 2011: 1274). Exercising is the least done activity during leisure time of Egyptians (Musaiger 2004: 791). 2 % of adults (20–70 years) claim to practice exercise on normal weekdays, 8.5 % during the weekend, and 2.5 % during their annual leave.

Cairo's obesogenic environment

In order to understand how Cairo got to where it is now, it is best to start in the middle of the twentieth century after World War II and the July Revolution in 1952. The city started to recover from its wartime restrictions and the mas-

sive Allied Forces armies. At this time, Cairo had around 2.8 million inhabitants. Basic infrastructure was built – such as roads, Nile bridges, railways, wastewater systems, power grids and trolley lines – and the population growth of Cairo was over 6 % per year. The expansion of Cairo's historic, traditional town and the European Sector (today's Downtown) continued to the north along two axes: Shubra/Rod al-Farag and al-Wayli/Heliopolis/Ain Shams, and to the south to Maadi and Helwan. Between 1952 and the 1960s, the state instructed many public housing projects combined with private housing companies. The formal Cairo expanded essentially until June 1967. The war with Israel brought Egypt the shift to wartime economy. But due to President Sadat's *infitah* (open-door policy) in the mid of 1970s, local businessmen and entrepreneurs "began to remerge and Egyptian workers started to flood the Gulf countries and send back remittances. A real-estate boom began to change Cairo's landscape, with residential tower blocks, new hotels, and office complexes. Building controls seemed not to exist […]. Infrastructure projects, mainly symbolised by the Sixth of October Bridge and flyovers, began to appear" (Sims 2010: 52). In the 1980s, the first metro line was introduced along with new highways like the Autostrad. In the 1990s and 2000s, for a better flow of traffic the Cairo Ring Road was constructed as well as more flyovers and the Al-Azhar Tunnel. Despite the huge infrastructure investments, hour-long traffic jams are the daily struggle for Cairo's motorists. Due to traffic accidents, there are 42 annual road deaths per 100,000 Egyptians – compared with just 2.75 in Britain. This is one of the highest worldwide. 20% of the deaths are pedestrians (WHO 2012), a fact which proves that Cairo's urban built environment has got out of human scale.

Another indicator that the development of Cairo ran out of control is the disappearance of urban public space. [Figure 3] Due to social, economic and political forces, the general population lost its rights to an urban realm in which to participate in social and physical activity. The streets of Cairo used to be major spaces for public gatherings and spatial integration. Now, they have been reduced to a "simple space for movement" (Levy 1999 in Attia 2011: 12). Nowadays, if people want to meet they have to seek a

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Figure 3: Children swimming in the roundabout next to heavy traffic at Midan Kitkat. Photo: Author
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Figure 4: Cairenes from lower classes spend their leisure time in the few leftover green spots next to heavy traffic. Photo: Author

Figure 5: Predominantly plump people advertise for daily products in Cairo. Photo: Author

food production could not keep pace with the rapid population growth. To cover the gap between the agricultural production and food consumption, food was being imported by 1980. This action boosted the availability of food commodities, but also introduced new foodstuffs into the economy that had not formerly been part of the traditional Egyptian cuisine. Shifts in the Egyptian food supply led to the reduced importance of legumes. Fruits and vegetables have remained on the same consumption level, but there has been a significant rise in the availability of sugar, oil and fats, meat/poultry, and fish as a result of the shift towards wheat consumption and the general improvement in the availability of animal products (Galal 2002: 141ff). Consequently, the energy intake per person increased due to the new dietary patterns. Nowadays, hundreds of fast-food branches are spread all over the city.

Additionally, cultural norms play another major role. It may be that higher-educated people aim for Western beauty ideals and are therefore thinner. In less-educated neighbourhoods, a certain plumpness shows the wealth of a family and fertility. Traditional working-class communities still have a very old way of thinking about their weight. Women refuse to lose weight because they fear that they will not get married. This old tradition is called *anazra* (Ibrahim 2012). This predominantly Egyptian ideal of beauty is also reflected in the advertisements. Compared to advertisements in Western countries, a huge number of advertisements show overweight and obese persons. [Figure 5] Admittedly, a certain laziness of Egyptians regarding physical activity can be observed, e.g., people prefer to queue until they can get on the escalator instead of taking the empty stairs in the metro station. [Figure 6]

Future outlook

Egypt, having one of the highest obesity rates in the world, still does not recognise the medical and economic burden coming towards the country. Experts demand mass awareness campaigns to protect the next generation from obesity. With its poor healthcare system, it will be a tough challenge for Egypt to provide treatment for people suffering from the side effects of obesity, especially as obesity is spreading across all socio-economic classes due to heavily subsidised food for the poorer Cairenes. The complexity of problems that Cairo faces on a political, educational, cultural and social level contributes to the obesity epidemic. The demand for better healthcare and education were raised by many protesters during the revolution in 2011 (Shukrallah & Khalil 2012: 485). Egyptians suffer from the inability of their authorities and the lack of commitment for the implementation of policies or programmes that would increase the quality of life in Cairo.

The lack of knowledge about nutrition of Cairenes contributes to their increased weight. Awareness of having a balanced diet is low, and when one suffers from an NCD, only a minority has the money to be treated by a doctor. The fight against obesity in Egypt needs a holistic plan ranging from micro to macro-level and from short to long-term. In his book "Cities for People", Gehl (2010) provides a toolbox and key principles that can help to transform the urban environment around the world, based on his research into the ways people actually use – or could use – the spaces where they live and work. This challenge has to be accepted from individuals as well as government depart-

coffee shop to be able to sit and talk in peace, because the few existing parks are fenced, walled or full of trash. One reason for this is the privatisation of space, e.g., both waterfronts of the Nile River are nearly inaccessible. Another reason is that "citizens are separated into social groups or classes and are placed into separate realms" (Attia 2011: 11). The disappearance of public gardens and public squares is the result of social segregation. Egypt's urban planning struggles for symbolic dominance. Urban space mostly reflects the interest of the upper-class capitalists. Lower socio-economic classes [Figure 4] are perceived as a "threat to public wellbeing and thus displaced from social space through physical, social and symbolic barriers" (Attia 2011: 12).

Along with the disappearance of the urban public space, there was an incremental change of food supply in Egypt. Until the 1960s, Egypt was essentially self-sufficient in food with the consumption of the nine main food products (wheat flour, maize, lentils, sugar, cooking oil, red meat, poultry, dairy products and fish). In the 1970s, the

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ments and international organisations. Up to now, only a few individual groups and initiatives have recognised the need to start the fight against obesity in Cairo. Small-scale urban initiatives can hereby offer a major contribution in improving Cairo's public realm. Initiatives like CLUSTER (Cairo Lab for Urban Studies, Training and Environmental Research) and Colouring a Grey City, which intervene in Cairo's planning and design, bring back zest for life and happiness and at the same time empower the residents in the city-making process.

It should be emphasised that the content of this paper should not insult any overweight or obese Egyptian, nor the Egyptian culture. Egypt is just one of the countries where its population suffers a lot from many grievances regarding the built environment, which affects the weight status of Egyptians, especially in the "fat" city of Cairo.

Up to now, barely enough research has taken place in emerging and developing countries regarding the relationship between urban planning, urban design and obesity. Globalisation, the rising middle class, and the launch of Westernised food chains are named as the major reasons for the emerging obesity epidemic in these countries; the built environment is not yet considered a driving force. Therefore, this paper is a pioneer in the field of public health and urban planning in the development studies and paves the way for a new transdisciplinary research field.

Back to the human dimension

Not only in Cairo has the human dimension been seriously neglected in connection with built environment over the past 50 years. Similarly, in the economically developed world, planning ideologies considering rapid motorisation were given the preference. In developing countries, cities grow very fast due to urban population explosions and burgeoning of economic opportunities. At the same time, the amount of traffic gets higher and higher without the appropriate infrastructure. This has led to monumental problems in city streets. A few European cities have already managed to overcome the planning mistakes of former times and have recognised the need for creating cities built for people. Walking, bicycling, and taking public transportation has become trendy in European cities. The same development is becoming apparent with unhealthy food. The first fast-food chain had to close some branches in Germany due to the narrowing market. People in the developed world experience and suffer from the consequences of too little physical activity and the consumption of unhealthy food. That's the reason for the current change of behaviour and adjustment of mind-set of people living in developed countries. The challenge is now to persuade people living in cities in developing countries not to repeat the same mistakes, and that a big belly and owning a car is not symbol of affluence.

Developing countries can only skip this process by raising the awareness of their populations towards a healthy lifestyle as well as by providing them with an infrastructure that helps to adopt and maintain an active lifestyle. The incorporation of the human dimension in all forms of urban projects is an inevitable condition. Architecture and urban planning can be considered applied arts that deal with the lives of human beings in a given framework. Therefore, and morally speaking, thoughtfulness, concern and empathy appear to be the most important ingredients to tackle obesity issues on the one hand. On the other hand, and politically speaking, a more regulatory social intent has to rise in order to prevent the on-going "capitalistic approach" of city development from destroying the well-being and the health of the inhabitants.

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Imagining Citizenship: Real Estate Practices in Palestine

Athar Mufreh

Das Vorausdenken von Staatsbürgerschaft: Praktiken im Immobiliensektor in Palästina
Dieser Beitrag beschäftigt sich mit den besonderen Praktiken im Immobiliensektor, die sich seit Mitte der 1990er Jahre in der Palästinensischen Westbank herausgebildet haben. Immobilienmärkte werden dabei als grundlegende Instrumente der Globalisierung begriffen und als die für die Stadtentwicklung brisanteste Infrastruktur. Der Kontext der Westbank liefert ein einzigartiges Beispiel des Funktionierens von Immobilienmärkten in einem besetzten Territorium. Neu eingeführte Instrumente – Masterpläne, Vermarktungskampagnen und Hypothekenkredite – schufen hier eine eng mit dem Projekt des Aufbaus einer palästinensischen Nation verknüpfte Immobilieninfrastruktur. In Ermangelung eines Nationalstaates schaffen die Immobilienentwickler de facto ein marktorientiertes Verständnis von Staatsbürgerschaft. Damit einhergehend sind identitätsfördernden Praktiken, die mit neu entstehenden soziokulturellen und politischen Transformationen verknüpft sind. Der Beitrag setzt sich dabei insbesondere mit Rawabi auseinander. Diese erste auf Grundlage eines Masterplans entwickelte palästinensische Stadt gilt als Vorreiter bei der Übernahme der Verfahren und Mechanismen eines global operierenden Immobilienmarkts.

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This article is based on the empirical research of the MSc. thesis of the author (Mufreh 2014), under the joint supervision of Nina Gribat and Yehya Serag, University of Stuttgart and Ain Shams University.

The Palestinian statehood-building project is a struggle confronted by, in part, colonial expropriation and territorial subdivision. Indeed, one of the major tools employed by the Israeli military in its occupation of the West Bank and Gaza has been land division and geographic fragmentation. Recently, however, the same tool has been used for land development by Palestinians. Peace talks between the Palestinian Authority and Israel have created the economic conditions for global real estate development, which is taking the lead in bringing peace and nationalist fulfilment to Palestinians (Mufreh 2014).[1] Since the late 1990s, this wave of construction has aimed to boost the Palestinian economy. Its new master-planned residential subdivisions, which follow global real estate templates, have become the dominant land development model. Involved actors consider the construction of residential buildings as the economic model with the greatest potential to alleviate unemployment, and shortages in housing. At the same time, however, these residential buildings are part of a new real estate campaign espousing particular cultural and political values.

In his study on nationalism, Benedict Anderson (1991) wrote that media, such as newspapers and novels, help to create a collective imaginary of nationhood, envisioned and realised tangibly, but also socially and politically, in people's minds. The newspaper is a tool to spread political and cultural ideas within the community and, as form of imagining, helps to create common identities and conceptions on a national level. The term "imagining", in Anderson's sense, highlights how people of the one community might not know all its members, but rather imagine each other in terms of a nationalist, "horizontal comradeship". The phrase, form of imagining, is employed here to address key notions of citizenship, identity, and governance. In the context of Palestine, it highlights how the market economy is taking the lead to produce an "imagined" nation-state through real estate, and consequently – following the modern logic of the nationhood – a citizenry liberated through economics, albeit here under occupation.

The Israeli occupation and the absence of a Palestinian nation-state have created the conditions for a particular form of real estate and urban planning to emerge in the West Bank. Under these conditions, the Palestinian Authority has become an enabler of the growing and ever-powerful private sector. With almost all the economic and political infrastructure required to execute the new city developments built from scratch by the private sector, real estate developers have gained a tremendous power to determine governmental reforms, zoning, planning and building regulations, governance systems, and trade relations, yet still under control by Israel.

Rawabi, Palestine's first master-planned city, has been under construction since 2007. [Figure 1] The new city is the leading and most striking example of the workings of real estate in the occupied territories. Located north of Ramallah, Rawabi is the first large-scale private sector land development project of its kind in Palestine, created by a joint venture between a Palestinian-American entrepreneur, Bashar al-Masri, and the government of Qatar. Rawabi's complex matrix of political, legal, environmental, material, and economic dimensions readily weaves a controversial web of actors, policies, and space. The city's developer, Bayti Real Estate Investment Company (Bayti means "my home" in Arabic), almost singlehandedly jumpstarted the Palestinian real estate industry, with the hope that Rawabi would serve as the cornerstone for an unmistakably modern Palestinian state.

The rise of real estate practices in Palestine

After the failure of the Oslo Peace Agreement from the mid-1990s, new actors developed economic plans as the

main pillar for peace negotiations. In 2002, a series of economy-based peace plans were initiated by the global peace envoy Sir Roland Cohen, co-founder of the Portland Trust, a British non-profit action tank that works to promote peace and stability between Israelis and Palestinians by means of economic development. During the peace talks in Paris in 2007, known as the Paris Economic Protocol,[2] negotiators initiated the idea of the real estate industry in Palestine. As part of this conference, the actors put forward programmes for the governmental reform of the Palestinian Authority and an overall strengthening of the private sector. A key component was the Palestinian Reform and Development Plan (PRDP), which assigned affordable housing as the main development priority. The plans devised in Paris were promoted internationally and aid was collected to provide support (PNA 2007). The Portland Trust itself prepared a billion dollar fund for building 15,000 affordable housing units across six new communities in the West Bank through an initiative with the Palestinian private sector.

These economic peace plans, which began as paths to creating jobs and building dwellings, have by now gone so far so as to appoint specific real estate consulting firms for the planning and construction of new planned communities. The Portland Trust created a marketing image for the new communities and undertook responsibility for the key logistical assignments. They developed the overall programme and methods of financing, and identified private sector developers and their respective areas of investment. The important commission to imagine and design the master plan for a new Palestinian city was given to the international architectural planning firm AECOM, led by Rafael Samach. The team provided a generic master plan and image, which was then assigned a real site nearby Ramallah that was to become the city of Rawabi (The Portland Trust 2009). This marks an evolution in the urban architectural project toward significant engagement with international politics and diplomacy, being partially conducted by peace envoys and international aid agencies in partnership with the private sec-

tor. In Palestine, indeed, real estate operates at the intersection between peace plans, nation-building plans, and economic plans, which together eventually produce master plans clearly associated with new cultural visions and territorial transformations. The master plans here provide an example showing how architecture is informed by politics and how politics are architectural in their articulation and agenda.

Forms of imagining the new communities

Considering the political engagement in the workings of real estate architecture in Palestine, the private market actors intentionally assume a nationalist role. Real estate engages with the nation-state building project and the future of Palestine that is imagined by international peace envoys and Israel. Therefore, the architecture and identity of the Palestinian nation-state is being actively shaped by real estate developments and the so-called peace plans.

This particular manifestation of global real estate works through three particular "forms of imagining": master plans, marketing campaigns, and socio-economic contracts. These forms are common to real estate around the world, but in Palestine they are unique in having specific local repercussions in the building of nationalism. These forms are providing the means for representing the imagined communities of the envisioned nation-state, and they are imagined not only by the Palestinian private sector, but by Israel and the peace leaders who supervise and guide the private-sector developments. This essay questions: How do the new forms of imagining help in the search for alternatives to stability, citizenship, statehood, and the promise of cities? How do real estate developments bestow apparent stability under the occupation by offering special types of contracts, assets, and governance? How do these forms of imagining help reformulate the existing concepts of nationalism and the idea of what is Palestine?

Master plans – geo-political borders

The making of master plans is a form of imagining that is used in the development of a geopolitical entity, such as a community. It is used to limit and divide natural resources, and define borders and political orders. In Palestine, the idea of developing master plans is unlike the conventional way of construction and city development. According to Bashar al-Masri (2013), local urban planners and architects lacked the experience in planning large-scale projects, which urged for hiring an international planning agency that would be supported by local planners and architects to produce the detailed master plan of Rawabi. The Rawabi planning team consisted of AECOM, local planners from al-Najah and Birzeit Universities, Ziadah Architects & Engineers, and Massar International. In its initial phase, the designed master plan contains 5000 housing units, a central commercial area, schools, parks, playgrounds, civic services, a church and mosques, a Roman-style amphitheatre, high-tech production spaces, and even routes for safari adventures and climbing. The city developers completed and sold 650 apartments by 2014, but the first residents were unable to move in until August 2015, when stalled negotiations over the water supply from by Israel were resolved.

The proposed locations of these new developments were studied by the Portland Trust with the help of the Palestinian Authority. The management of each development was transferred to different private developers based on location, functionality, quantity of housing units and job opportunities, and an approximate initial investment (The Portland Trust 2009). However, there were major challenges that determined the location of Rawabi, namely, unrecorded landownership and the division of lands according to the Oslo Accords into areas A, B, and C. The management of such challenges was new to the Palestinian public ur-

ban planning system and they had to find possible alternatives.

Landownership is a major obstacle as 70% of the West Bank land registrations are not recorded. This limits the choices for many of the developers as it makes the purchasing of such properties difficult (OQR 2013). For some projects, the developers had to choose sites within recognised municipal boundaries, and for others public land was utilised. In the case of Rawabi, land property purchasing was a special challenge, since the lots were privately owned by a number of refugee families now residing all over the world. Concerning the division of lands according to the Oslo Accords, most of these projects are to be built within the large Palestinian-controlled zones, Area A. According to Amir Dajani (2009), the deputy managing director of Bayti Real Estate Investment Company, the majority of the Rawabi's municipal area is situated in the largest contiguous swath of Area A in the West Bank, a legal area by definition empty of Israeli settlements. This strategic location gives Rawabi the opportunity for future expansion within the largest Palestinian-controlled land that is yet to be developed, although the expansion is ultimately limited by Area C, the zone under complete Israeli control. Rawabi, however, is geopolitically innovative in the way that it is planned in the largest available Area A, but also has plans to expand to Area B with an Area C access road built in agreement with Israel that must be renewed annually. The fact that the city was able to get permission from the Israeli authorities to open the access road in Area C is extraordinary. Despite the challenge of Areas A, B, and C, each having its particular sovereignty, Rawabi was able to establish its own uninterrupted jurisdiction. [Figure 2]

The phenomenon of "community building" under such conditions constituted a new way of lot selling, and anoth-

er real estate practice, TABO, emerged for the issuing of title deeds for non-registered lands. TABO is a development of the Union Construction and Investment (UCI), one of the largest real estate development companies in Palestine. The company's architects and urban planners have developed master plans for future communities around the West Bank and created TABO as a practice to help obtain title deeds for unregistered lands in rural areas. One of the premises of TABO is to clarify ownership of lands and protect them from future expropriation by Israel. The emergence of the master-planned community here is empowering the role of developers in creating deed covenants and zoning, yet still within the colonial planning system and infrastructure (UCI 2017). TABO is promoting the notions of what it means to be Palestinian by campaigning for a new way of living, owning a home, and a promise of future stability and belonging in the face of the hard living conditions under occupation.

The master plan is a form of imagining that, through its particular area for residential and economic uses, allows its inhabitants to identify with a certain image and territory. The master plan, as such a form, confronts changing territorial and geo-political borders and, in the context of Palestine, it constitutes a different layer from the existing territory. The users of such developments share common assets and values different from the larger community in their architectural and cultural norms, contributing to a false perception of life in an uninterrupted geography.

Marketing campaigns – socio-cultural norms

One of the private sector's policies for real estate marketing is the idea of city branding, which is used for defining sellable city destinations. The new projects are marketed through project-brand campaigns, which show unfamiliar and imaginative innovations in the dominant real estate developments in the market. They are marketed as utopian living environments, showing images of modern interiors, nuclear-family apartments, high-tech complimentary services, public infrastructure such as parks, cafes, and stores, and transportation connectivity. The marketing campaign of Rawabi is dominated by slogans proclaiming to be the so-called first planned, green, high-tech and pedestrian Palestinian city, appealing to the nationalist need for shaping minds and creating a detachment from the present and frustrated reality. One of the main marketing images is the hilltop city seen from Rawabi's apartments.

One of the main spaces designed to support the selling of Rawabi's apartments is the now well-known showroom. Marketing the city through this space is key to understand the economic ideology of the city. In such highly economised space, potential buyers and future residents can discover the technology that is set-up to market the city at its best. This includes a 3D cinema room, giant iPads, telescopes, detailed physical models, pop-up bank branches, posters, guides, and newsletters, as well as samples of interior spaces, windows, doors, materials, gardens, playgrounds and other infrastructure details. [Figure 3] The showroom has a transparent facade overlooking the city centre and the Mediterranean, monumentalising the view and authenticating the sales environment. These marketing tools and spaces are revolutionising Palestinian conceptions of identity, family, culture, and political aspira-

tions. Using the spectacle of modern technology, all quite new in the context of Palestine, the city's marketing is tailored to present certain values to its visitors. The standardised and transnational images of ideas of home and lifestyle are an influx of knowledge previously unknown in traditional Palestinian culture. Rawabi's developers believe that Palestinians are in need of modernisation and access to the world of global market opportunities.

Much like the American "parade of homes", which speeds up the marketing and selling of houses, Rawabi's architects built fully furnished and equipped designer apartments to be experienced by the visitors. They showcase striking panoramic window views, different size apartments, and interior designs of different styles from modern to classical. The act of marketing the city as an organised modern environment using new tools and technology has repercussions on Palestinian social and cultural identity. The private developers insist that this modern transformation of organised spaces sends a political message to show that Palestinians want to live in peace and stability, a way to provoke the continuation of the occupation. By promoting this supposed domestic modernity as the new future of Palestine, they help to impose and dictate a conclusive idea of comfort within an imagined reality.

Contracts and mortgages – stability

According to the *Law of Special Regulations No. 79* of 1966, any special land development can have its own bylaws, subject to the revision of the Ministry of Local Governance. As such, Rawabi was able to have freedom in planning and creating its own bylaws within its borders. The city planners and developers produced an adapted version of the American neighbourhood governance system known as the Homeowners Association, which oversees a set of neighbourhood regulations to manage the residents' relationships to each other, their duties and public assets, and support organisation and standardisation in the neighbourhood. The real estate company thereby crafts a sys-

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Figure 3: 3D marketing model of Rawabi shown on oversized iPads inside the showroom. Photo: Author (2013)
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tem of rules, with penalties, and a contract between residents. These bylaws are an experiment at a novel system of regulations in Palestine; the new planned communities regulate their dominion using global forms of urban governance, unlike existing cities that build regulations based on local cultural and social norms and ambitions. In this way, the social and cultural behaviours of residents of Rawabi and other developments are influenced by a global form of governance.

Rawabi functions through its own municipal council, which was appointed before residents even arrived in the city. The eleven council members were nominated by the private sector, under a decision from the Ministerial Council in 2013 (Rawabi Newsletter 2013). The creation of the municipality is an important proactive stance towards self-governance. Rawabi's municipal council is developing its own regulatory framework that is partially inherited from the same global real estate model, but also other Palestinian municipal councils.

The city also has its own growth strategies through a special mortgage programme. This programme gives a long-term loan to support low-income families who cannot afford more than $75,000. The Ministry of Planning and Administrative Development suggested this system as a way to ensure social class equality. Accordingly, the Palestine Mortgage and Housing Corporation (PMHC) launched a new campaign to enable broader home ownership to young families. It was accompanied by an awareness campaign based on the premise that you can own a home for the same cost as renting (Rawabi Newsletter 2014: p. 22)

With its independent municipality, special governance system, and a special financial programme, Rawabi resembles an independent territory that has its own sovereignty, practices, and certain power within clear borders. That all might serve to stabilise and legitimise the condition of statelessness, but under still ambiguous circumstances. The special mortgage system of Rawabi and the long-term bank loans and discounts enable middle-income families to have the stability of owning a home without exceeding their monthly income. In comparison, home ownership in the Palestinian context outside Rawabi is a heavy burden. These new contractual forms of home ownership, governance, and economy tend to compose social and cultural relations based on values of the market.

The key here is sovereignty and the governance. These emerging suburban communities of Palestine, especially Rawabi, have embodied a distinct territorialisation of citizenship or "spatial governmentality" based on contractual associations replicating the American residential real estate model. In Palestine, these neighbourhoods are governed by developers and individual owners; the pseudo-state cannot intervene and rights and duties are shaped by the private sector. This explains the distinction between members of contemporary real estate developments in the West Bank – their rights, duties, and relations – and the non-citizen status of Palestinians in the nation-state framework.

Simulating citizenship

The phenomenon of building planned communities is new to Palestine, as it introduces a new model of property ownership and housing that is different from its prece-

dents. It is rather new to the Palestinian mind but not the territory itself, since it perfectly merges into the Israeli real estate and settlement enterprise across the West Bank. Real estate practices in Palestine have emerged as a process of creating political stability in organised extra-territories, which eventually enables and facilitates the Palestinian state without sovereignty and without national territorial definitions.

As a form of speculative investment, these new real estate schemes are trying to register as much land as possible, potentially exploiting a land-dispossession process and unilateral definition of new geographical boundaries. In the transition from non-registered to registered, properties are being employed to form infrastructure for a new geography. Subdivisions have established their own regulations and governance, created new market opportunities for other businesses, and pioneered the evolution of politics in urban planning through monitoring and controlling the land. As the territorialisation of the Palestinian state has been stalled, the global market is offering a form a citizenship to Palestinians, providing a simulation, substitution, or an alternative to their envisioned modern nation-state. Lacking a nation-state of their own, but slowly becoming subjects of the market, Palestinians living in such new developments are gaining a citizenship defined by their new status as global consumers under occupation.

With its three forms of imagining, the private sector is thus leading the nation-state building project and providing alternative forms for citizenship and nationhood status. These forms have been transformed into facts in Rawabi's modern spaces oriented for leisure and consumption. Such spaces and city programmes bring to Palestinians what they have been denied.

Real estate developers worked together with international planners, local architects and engineers with the support of governmental officials from the Palestinian Authority, Israel, and international peace envoys to put together the structure to create planned environments for Palestinians. These private developers, the innovators of the Palestinian planning system, have a complete set of ideas spreading throughout the building practice. They awakened the importance of planning and built forms to re-imagine Palestine, or to create a new narrative of identity, by employing global transnational culture that follows typical trajectories. Promoting modern amenities and sending marketing messages to the world that Palestinians are not violent, they want to live in modernity and in peace.

Rawabi and such developments are thus a new form of identity narration based on a subdivision of partial territorial independence. Partial because it is still controlled by Israel. The understanding of these imagining forms helps to imagine a form of citizenship status for the new communities, by providing the wealth of modern living away from the occupation reality and the national struggle for liberation. With the promise of middle-class community, there is the promise of political stability, openness, and access to the world, open for business and modernity. It contributes to the imagination of a normalised, apolitical existence, providing the foundation for an artificial global-transnational citizenship status.

Ruins of Urbanity: The Challenge of Urban Voids in the Inner City of Tunis

Maroua Ennouri

Zeugen des städtebaulichen Verfalls: die Herausforderung der Stadtlücken im Zentrum von Tunis
Wird über Stadtlücken gesprochen, kommt den meisten zunächst ein Bild von Müllhalden oder Treffpunkten von Drogendealern in den Sinn. Stadtlücken sind verlassene oder leerstehende Grundstücke, die bei bestimmten Prozessen der Stadtentwicklung im Stadtgefüge auftauchen, etwa im Rahmen der Industrieentwicklung oder Desindustrialisierung, bei Zersiedlung und Suburbanisierung oder auch bei Kriegszerstörungen, Umweltkatastrophen, Abrissen und verfallendem Gebäudebestand. Dieser Beitrag basiert auf einer Studie, die ein Neudenken über den potentiellen Nutzen solcher Brachen erörtert. Dabei geht es in erster Linie um Lücken, die im Laufe der Zeit durch die Umsiedlung von Familien aus der Altstadt (Medina) entstanden sind oder dadurch, dass die hier Lebenden ihre alten Wohnquartiere in der Medina verlassen, um in anderen Teilen des Zentrums von Tunis Entwicklungsmöglichkeiten und mehr Lebensqualität zu finden. Der Beitrag betrachtet zwei Stadterneuerungsprojekte in der Medina von Tunis, die durch Wiedereingliederung von Stadtlücken in das Umfeld einen Imagewandel und eine Revitalisierung erreichen wollten. Der Beitrag analysiert die Wirkungen dieser Projekte und wie sie das Stadtzentrum von Tunis beeinflussten. Dabei wird auch das Gebiet El Kherba in der Medina von Tunis betrachtet, eine durch Kriegszerstörungen entstandene Stadtlücke, die ebenfalls einer Revitalisierungsstrategie bedarf.

Introduction[1]

The image and landscape of cities are being altered daily due to countless reasons such as industrialisation, deindustrialisation, suburbanisation, urban sprawl, defective urban planning policies, war, and other natural and environmental disasters. Such phenomena generate scarcity or over-density in the urban fabric. This in turn creates leftover spaces, commonly known as urban voids, which have characterised the landscape of major cities since the 1960s (Cirelli 2002). Urban voids can be vacant land, unused space, abandoned property, remnant parcels, under-utilised land, urban wasteland, brown fields or, to use a more-modern term, TOAD (temporary obsolete, abandoned or derelict sites), etc. In his article "Filling the voids of urbanity", Bo Grönlund (1994) defines urban voids as follows: "The word void can refer to many different kinds of phenomena, as we are not talking about voids in an absolute sense. It may refer to spaces 1) Lacking function. 2) Lacking people. 3) Lacking aesthetic experiences" (Grönlund 1994: 2). They represent an important potential to improve the social, economical, physical, and environmental aspects on the regional scale of cities such as those in the MENA region (Bowman and Pagano 2004). "Vacant land can be a catalyst for achieving a vision, for building a city. It often provides a tabula rasa, a clean slate upon which new ideas can come to fruition" (Bowman and Pagano 2004: 189).

This phenomenon is of particular interest in the context of Tunis due to the presence of many vacant and unused spaces scattered in the historical urban fabric. After the independence, Tunis became the speedily expanding capital of the first Tunisian republic. The historical core maintained its importance through the establishment of a conservation entity, the "Association de Sauvegarde de la Medina" (ASM), in 1967. With the help of UNESCO, international resources were offered to fund the rehabilitation of the historical core, which led to the introduction of several pilot projects. Even though the old city was anchored in the national memory as a very important city centre, this couldn't prevent the urban features of certain districts of the Medina, such the old Jewish quarter, from decay and deprivation. Due to the attractiveness of the modern neighbourhoods developing in the suburbs, the people living in the Medina started to move to those areas with appealing services, infrastructure and living conditions, leaving behind empty houses and abandoned properties. A significant number of historical edifices, such as Bey's Palace and the former madrasa school buildings, were left behind for years in deplorable conditions, in addition to some urban damage caused by the considerable destruction during World War II. All these factors led to the appearance of many vacant and unused spaces scattered throughout the historical urban fabric. With the further expansion of the city towards the new northern and southern suburbs, such as Sidi Bou Said or El-Nasr, even the European centre started to witness abandoned spaces and buildings.

Urban-void reintegration strategies in inner Tunis

The Medina of Tunis, since the 1960s, has witnessed a massive influx of people from rural areas who settled in and occupied urban voids generated by the original residents, who preferred to move out and settle in the periphery. Since the end of the 1970s, and as a response,

Figure 1: Map of the Medina de Tunis. Source: Google Earth adapted by author, 2017

Interviews

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the authorities have inserted urban acupuncture projects in two locations within the walled city – the first was the El Hafsia reconstruction project and the second was the Oukalas project. Although the two initiatives coincided sometimes geographically and chronologically, they were relatively diverse and targeted two different issues of the rehabilitation of historic urban voids. Several strategies, including an approach to using urban voids, were implemented in both cases, which led to the relative success of the projects. [Figure 1]

El Hafsia urban renewal project

The 15-hectar El Hafsia quarter, which had been the Jewish "Hara" since the 10th century, is the eastern component of the lower Medina core. Shortly after the commencement of the French protectorate and the introduction of the modern district outside the "fictional" walls of the Medina (1900s), the wealthy Jewish dwellers inhabiting El Hafsia abandoned the area in order to move to the new neighbourhoods of the European part of the city. The families that weren't able to leave the area due to financial constraints didn't have enough resources to take care and maintain their houses, to the extent that

Figure 2: View of El Hafsia quarter, Tunis, prior to the rehabilitation. Source: AKAA (1995: 46), available at: <http://www.akdn.org/sites/akdn/files/media/documents/AKAA press kits/1995 /Hafsia Quarter II.pdf> [last accessed Feb. 5, 2018]

the building environment in El Hafsia in time fell into a massive state of decay. This steered the French authorities to announce the area as a health hazard at the end of the 1920s and the beginning of the 1930s. Additional damage occurred in the area between 1933 and 1939, and worsened during the bombing of Tunis during World War II.

Some reconstruction initiatives took place after the war and helped the area to regain importance in the 1950s, mainly due to its closeness to the emerging city centre of Tunis. Nevertheless, poorer individuals and families migrating from rural areas all around the capital and from other cities searching for work and lodging, started squatting and settling in the remaining derelict buildings, thus triggering further over-crowding and deterioration of the living environment. After independence, in 1956, the situation didn't improve. The continuing deterioration of the building conditions, in addition to the tendency to transform the traditional houses into warehouses and workshops, led to the weakening of the architectural features of the area and the loss of many cultural meanings. All those factors significantly altered the people's perception of the Medina and shifted it to a devaluated area only inhabited by the poorest stratum of the society. El Hafsia became one of the most degraded areas of the Medina de Tunis. El Hafsia and its urban voids drew the attention of governmental agencies, such as the ASM, and offered an opportunity for renewal and redevelopment. [Figure 2]

The project included two phases: the first phase, held between 1972 and 1975, targeted the partial reconstruction of the souks within the area while preserving the authentic architectural and urban features of the historical core, and also introduced new low-cost courtyard housing units for the least-fortunate inhabitants of the adjacent parts of El Hafsia. The second phase had wider objectives, such as upgrading and ameliorating the living conditions of low-income inhabitants in addition to the refurbishment of the old historic residential buildings and the construction of new units along with the introduction of commercial premises (ASM 2013). [Figure 3]

According to Raja Aawali (2015b), the project was generally positively assessed. As a result, it offered around 400 housing units for low-incomes families, 107 commercial shops, and 24 offices, which helped in the relocation of 250 households. The urban-void reintegration project, in the 2nd phase, introduced a financially effective management plan in which vacant lands not included in the project's development scheme were auctioned and sold to private investors. The profits from the auctions were then used to finance the development project of El Hafsia, the rehabilitation of existing housing, or the funding infrastructure. A special account in the national saving fund for housing was also alimented in order to allocate loans of maximum 7000 TND[2] for renovation and maintenance purposes, in order to encourage owners to rehabilitate their buildings. This initiative was positively acknowledged by the inhabitants, and a total of 1 million TND was allocated in 200 rehabilitation loans from 1996 to 2012 (Unit for Housing and Urbanization, ASM 1999).

The harmonisation of the new constructions within the traditional urban fabric was achieved. "The project has succeeded in mending and restoring the traditional urban fabric. This includes the street network, the common areas, and the harmonious relationship between the building blocks. The urban design aspects provided a variety of vistas, an interesting degree of complexity and a reasonable degree of differentiation and identity" (Fadel 1995: 10). The two phases of the El Hafsia rehabilitation project – the first phase in 1983 and the second phase in 1995 – won the Aga Khan Award for Architecture for the respect shown to the Arab-Islamic traditional architecture and the preservation of the social fabric of the neighbourhood (AKAA 1995). [Figure 4]

The Oukalas rehabilitation project

The achievements of the El Hafsia revitalisation scheme encouraged the Tunisian authorities to spread the rehabilitation efforts to other neighbourhoods in the old city. In 1991, the focus was shifted to one of the most degraded and deprived built environments in the Medina: the Oukalas.

Shortly after the independence, the historical core of Tunis witnessed the abandonment of properties that included traditional family houses, palaces and other historical constructions of architectural merit, and the appearance of urban voids. Arriving low-income families from rural areas sought refuge in the abandoned, former middle-class buildings, dividing them into single-room shelters where entire families resided. "Shared sanitary facilities were minimal and living conditions were unsafe due to the dilapidation of the over densified buildings" (Unit for Housing and Urbanization, ASM 1999: 32).

This spreading phenomenon was labelled as "oukalisation", referring to the "Oukala", which was initially a sort of a caravanserai hosting male labour coming to the city for temporary jobs. The Oukalas were the first built typology, in Tunis and in the old city, where entire families leased and lived in one single room. [Figure 5] A joint study conducted by the municipality of Tunis and the ASM quantified around 600 Oukalas hosting 3000 households: those derelict squatted urban voids, unfit for human occupancy, housed roughly 15,000 occupants of the

approximate 100,000 inhabitants of the whole Medina (ASM 2013). The collapse of one of the Oukalas was the alarming event that drew attention to those derelict sites and led to a four-phase rehabilitation initiative (ASM 2013).

As with the El Hafsia project, the urban and architectural Oukalas rehabilitation project aimed to ameliorate the socio-economic conditions of the inhabitants. The urban-void reintegration strategy also enforced the financial management of the plots that were to be evacuated in the project. Thus, the municipality, with the help of different stakeholders such as the ASM (Association de Sauvegarde de la Medina) and ARRU (Agence de Réhabilitation et de Rénovation Urbaine – the rehabilitation and urban renewal agency), prepared a multiple-intervention schedule and started the different phases of the realisation of the project according to the degree of hazard. The relocation of the targeted Oukalas' inhabitants resulted, in four stages, in the rehousing of around 2000 families that had initially been living in more than 315 unsafe building and/or historic monuments; with the participation of SNIT (the Tunisian real estate company), SPROLS (the Social housing promoting company) and the munici-

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Figure 5: Built environment of one of the Oukalas. Source: Mosaique FM. Available at: <https://content.mosaiquefm.net/uploads/album/media/thumbnails/147567328444_album.jpg> [last accessed Febr. 5, 2018]

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Approx. 24 to 32 Euro a month.

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Figure 6: Interrelation between the implemented strategies (El Hafsia and Oukalas). Source: Ennouri (2015: 157)

pality of Tunis, they were moved to newly developed neighbourhoods in the suburbs of Tunis.

In order to facilitate the transition of those families, who used to live in the vibrant heart of the city and in houses they considered their own, "a sale-by-rent system was established, with residents making monthly payments of between 30 TND and 40 TND[3] over a 25-year period" (ASM 2013: 132). Moreover, basic services and utilities – such as schools, playgrounds, green open spaces, and police stations, in addition to electricity, drinking water and sewage networks – were implemented.

However, it wasn't plausible to displace all the inhabitants of the Oukalas outside the walled city. A reuse project was conducted and targeted 404 buildings, all identified through ASM on-site studies. These structures represented a potential for renovation and for innovative urban renewal. On the one hand, and under an agreement with l'ARRU, five out of six identified properties were refurbished. The residents of those houses were temporarily relocated in municipality-owned units. Once rehabilitated, the inhabitants returned to their buildings. On the other hand, and through an agreement with the ASM, 45 properties, of which sixteen were privately owned, were successfully renovated while the households remained in the premises.

During these phases, the majority of the permanently evacuated hazardous Oukalas were demolished. The vacant land resulting from the demolition was either sold to private investors or came to host new, state-owned housing units that were either sold or rented to households. In both cases, the benefits generated supplied a loan fund based on the same innovative financial management system established during the El Hafsia project. All these actions ameliorated the social, urban and economical situation of the former inhabitants of Oukalas. More than "1,600 households saw their accommodation upgraded and 180,000 m² of floor spaces were saved, mostly in buildings dating from the early 1920s" (ASM 2013: 132). It also enhanced the perception of the Tunisian society toward, firstly, the Medina and Oukalas neighbourhoods, and likewise raised the cultural and economical attractiveness of the old city. Secondly, the project ameliorated the perception of the inhabitants of Oukalas vis-à-vis the Tunisian society (Aawali 2015a).
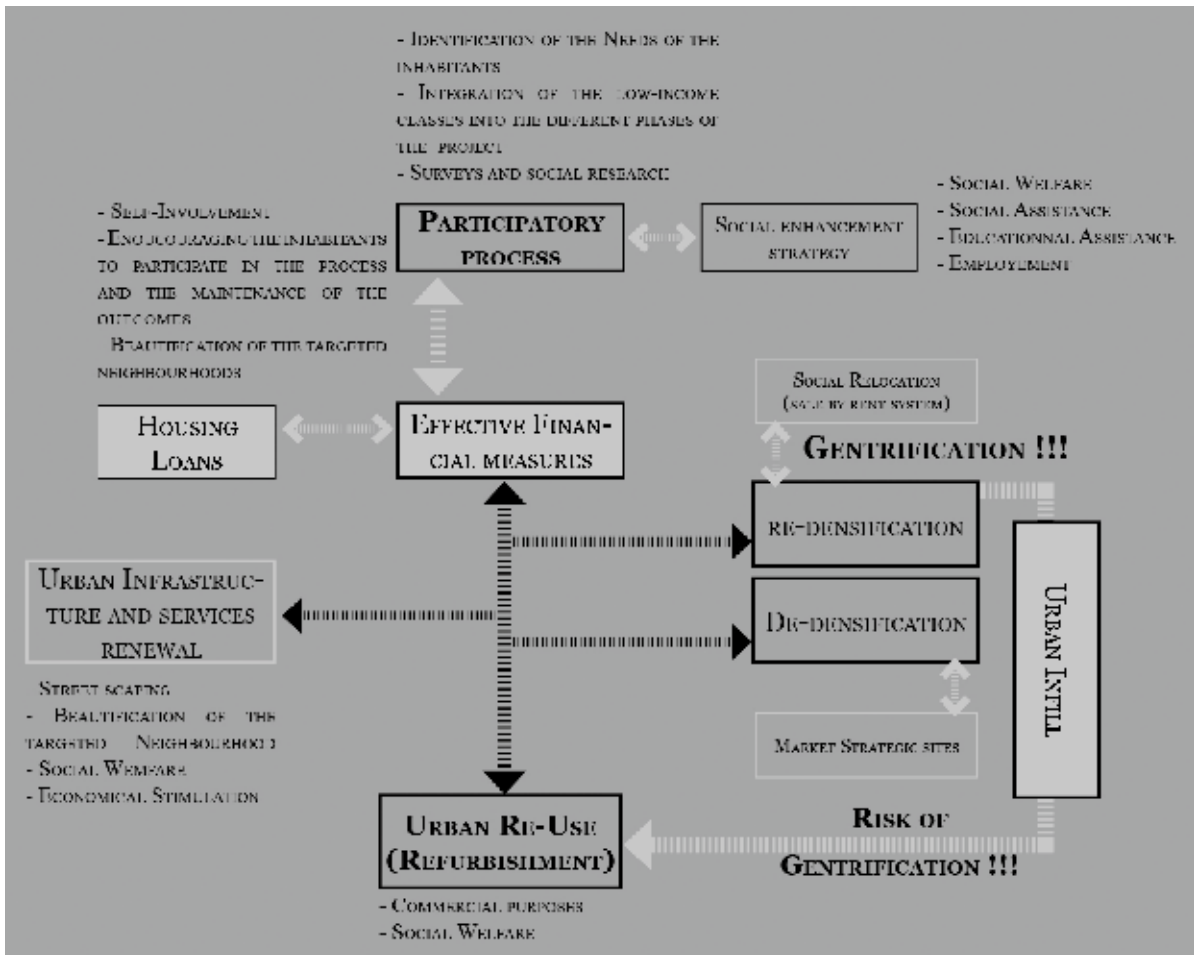
It was expected that, much like how the Oukalas project was instigated by the success of El Hafsia, other initiatives would now arise. [Figure 6] Unfortunately, no further projects targeting other urban voids in the inner city of Tunis took place. According to Aawali (2015b), there is a lack of a clear vision for the whole historical core.

Current urban voids in Tunis: El Kherba

Mdak el Halfa, or what is known today among the inhabitants of Tunis as "El Kherba", is a 6.5-hectar district on the edge of the old city of Tunis. During the Second World War, the neighbourhood was bombed, which created, on the level of the urban fabric, more than 7000 m² of land vacancy. [Figure 7] However, almost thirty years after a multitude of suggestions for the redevelopment of the area, El Kherba is still undeveloped. On the contrary, the decay process is worsening.

Aware of the rather unmatched commercial and economic potential held by El Kherba, mainly due to its strategic location vis-à-vis the central market district, the Medina Bazaar, a project proposal was elaborated by the ASM between 1980 and 1981, in parallel to the El Hafsia project. The ambitious proposal, which was based on an infill strategy for the central void of El Kherba and a rehabilitation strategy for the surrounding housing units and shops, was rejected by the World Bank; the bank's consultants considered the rehabilitation of El Kherba to be achievable on the local level without any need of international interference. However, the blockage of the project underscored the lack of the political will to promote the rehabilitation of El Kherba (ASM 1990). [Figure 8]

Due to the proximity of this void to many vibrant commercial arteries of downtown Tunis, and due to the strong commercial affiliation of the buildings surrounding it, in time El Kherba ended up hosting, informally, a very vibrant market. The invasion of the space by this market instigated damage on the urban level, clearly shown through an increasing rate of garbage on site and the difficulty to access El Kherba. During a field visit to El Kherba in 2015, a questionnaire was conducted related to the local conditions, levels of satisfaction, trends and visions of the users of the void. The results
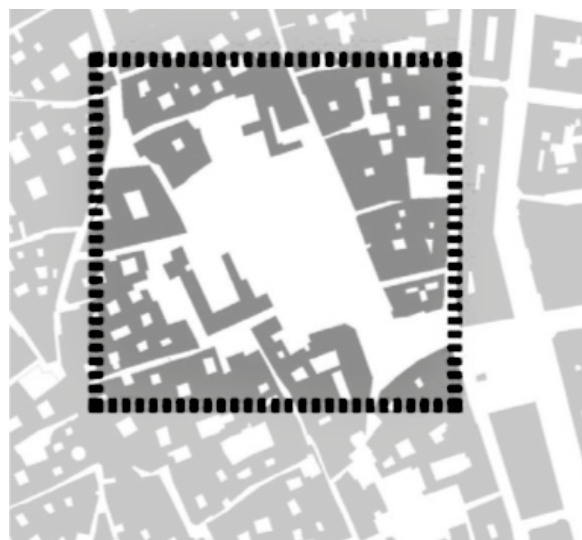
of the questionnaire demonstrated the need of the people in El Kherba for an augmentation and amelioration of the economic and commercial vitality of the community through the provision of employment, social welfare, leisure and recreational activities, sustainment of the existent shops, implementation of commercial centres, etc., in addition to upgrading the vehicular infrastructure, which is totally blocked by vehicles during the market.

Conclusion

The challenge, at this level, is to convince the public opinion and the decision-makers of the potentials that urban voids hold for the urban development of an area. Abandonment and decay are just phases in the lifespan of a building or a parcel of land. Urban voids are both a problem and a solution for a city. Reusing them is recycling vacant land, abandoned properties, remnant parcels, etc. It creates new, useful products for the needs of the city and avoids the consumption of raw resources, such as agricultural lands. Within the Tunisian context and based on the previously mentioned cases, we are dealing with a city that has implemented several singular revitalisation projects that were to a certain extent a success, but nevertheless didn't provide a structure or a clear framework for revitalisation that can be followed and adapted to different urban voids in Tunis, such as El Kherba. There is a need for general guidelines that can be replicated and adapted, when actions are required, instead of coming up with new, tailored solutions for each case, as this will not alleviate the general problem in Tunis.

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Figure 8: El Kherba nowadays. Source: Foursquare.com, available at: <https://igx.4sqi.net/img/general/600x600/38562803_l8onz2RigCUSu44bw1zCZXSnpzloVOh1kBNCqvFw9A4.jpg> [last accessed Feb. 5, 2018]

Figure 7: Plan of El Kherba plaza. Source: Ennouri (2015: 183)
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IUSD Alumni Symposium in Stuttgart, September 2017 – Reflections on a speech delivered by Klaus Töpfer: "Implementing structural change takes each of us"

Eva Sule and Manuel Heckel

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Prof. Dr. Dr. h.c. mult., former Federal Minister of Germany for the Environment, Nature Conservation and Nuclear Safety (1987-1994), Federal Minister of Germany for Regional Planning, Housing and Urban Development (1994-1998), and Executive Director of the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP, now UN Environment, 1998-2006)

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Indira Ghandi is more famous for another sentence she said during her speech: "Are not poverty and need the greatest polluters?" Unlike its portrayal and quotation afterwards, Ghandi's question was directed to the effort of putting development and justice on the global agenda. "How can we speak to those who live in villages and in slums about keeping the oceans, the rivers and the air clean when their own lives are contaminated at the source?" (Janapathy 2005: 216)

Klaus Töpfer[1] gave a keynote speech to alumni of the MSc Integrated Urbanism and Sustainable Design (IUSD) programme and an interested audience at the Stuttgart City Hall on September 26, 2017. He guided the audience's attention to two main topics: firstly, the history of environmental protection and development on the international level, and secondly, the significance of the local level in achieving both.

Töpfer revisited the United Nation's key environmental conferences, from Stockholm in 1972 ("Human Ecology") to Rio in 1992 ("Environment and Development") and Rio+20 in 2012 ("Sustainable Development"), which led towards the formulation of the Millennium Development Goals (MDG) in 2000 and, ultimately, the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) in 2015. By highlighting the titles of each conference, he traced the gradual shift from a focus on environmental concerns towards one that also recognises the striking underdevelopment of parts of the world.

Yet, the initial omission of development and increasing focus on it later raised another concern: climate justice. The leaders of the developing world had hesitated to attend the 1972 "Human Ecology" conference, as they saw their need and demand for development being threatened by the already-developed world's increasing attention on the environment. Consequently, the former Prime Minister of India, Indira Ghandi, told the audience in Stockholm that "the inherent conflict is not between conservation and development, but between environment and reckless exploitation of man and earth in the name of efficiency" (Turner 2017: 29).[2] Töpfer echoed this understanding by noting that, today, affluence is the main polluter.

The symposium's host city, Stuttgart, Germany, offers a good example: the city and its surrounding area thrive on the car industry and related businesses. Unsurprisingly, a representative of the city of Stuttgart highlighted the importance of the local industry (and commercial sector) in his short statement about the ongoing efforts to implement the SDGs in the city. According to him, the key (and sole) solution would be to decouple economic and social development from carbon emissions – a belief shared by many.

In the second and shorter part of his speech, Töpfer elaborated on cities regarding their significance in implementing the global agendas. He reminded the audience that cities – compact settlement structures – will assume a central position in achieving the goal of housing nine billion people on this planet peacefully, adequately and environmentally friendly, but currently continue to be developed in climate blindness. Moreover, taking cities as an entry point for the implementation of SDGs could also provide an opportunity to overcome the still prevalent thinking in sectoral silos, Töpfer noted. The seventeen interconnected goals would all come together in cities.

At the time of writing this, the 2017 UN Climate Change Conference (COP 23) is about to start in Bonn. As Fiji, a small island developing state, assumes the presidency, the issue of climate justice is being brought prominently to the table. Since Stockholm 1972, the world has developed to a great extent. At the same time, greenhouse gas emissions have increased considerably despite all technological efforts and successes in decoupling economic development from pollution. What is more, neither development nor its side effects have occurred geographically evenly, nor have they been just. The developed world has continued its "reckless exploitation of man and earth in the name of efficiency", whereas in the underdeveloped parts of the world more people live in slums today than three decades ago. It is also above all in the latter areas that climate change unfolds its devastating and deadly impact due to much higher vulnerabilities. Developed states have externalised, and continue to externalise, the (environmental) costs of their affluence.

It should come as no surprise that the loudest demand of protesters at the "End Coal" climate demonstration ahead of COP 23 was for climate justice. Töpfer offered a solution in his speech by calling for investment into new and possibly still unprofitable technology by developed states, making it thereafter available everywhere. While this may indeed be an approach to work towards more-just development, climate justice certainly does not end with distributing more-advanced technology. In 1972, the year the UN convened for the "Human Ecology" conference, the MIT system dynamics group published the book *Limits to Growth*.[3] The authors "found that technological optimism is the most common and the most dangerous reaction to our findings from the world model". They ended their chapter on technology with a call to rethink: "many of the technological developments […] will be absolutely vital to the future of human society *if they are combined with deliberate checks on growth*" (Meadows et al. 1972:154, emphasis in original).

The scholars' scientific argument is becoming increasingly relevant for climate justice. If we want to avoid climate catastrophe, even more so if we simultaneously want to develop underdeveloped parts of the world, we have to incorporate redistribution and renunciation. Climate justice includes, for instance, keeping fossil fuels untouched in the ground. It entails cutbacks for the developed world – limits to growth. The struggle that economies and societies around the world face hereby is that the underlying system of "reckless exploitation" is hard to bend, not to mention change. And yet, change is necessary.

But how to change a system? Donella Meadows, lead author of *Limits to Growth*, offers an answer in her last book (Meadows 2008). She writes that a very effective way would be to rethink and change the mind-set that gave rise to the system. A simple task, but hardly an easy one. However, as Meadows notes, it is cheap and potentially fast. All it would ask for is repeating, over and over again, the shortcomings and flaws of the old paradigm and, at the same time, "speaking and acting, loudly and with assurance, from the new one". And it would ask for inserting "people with the new paradigm in places of public visibility and power".

Meadows states it would require to "work with active change agents and with the vast middle ground of people who are open-minded". At a time when humanity is on the move to cities and urbanisation has become a defining factor of environmental protection and human development, this may as well require "urban change agents": professionals who refuse to reduce change to reorganising humanity's settlement structures for mitigating and adapting to climate change but, instead, are capable of transcending paradigms, dissecting ideologies, inspiring cultural, political and economic transformations, and, most importantly, implementing them.

It would, however, be naïve to think such integrated "professionals" or their solutions alone are the answer. Instead, we need the combination of all known approaches and efforts in all sectors and on every level; from individuals to systems, changing personal perspectives as well as economic, political and social structures. Humanity's and the Earth's current condition simply cannot afford to continue elaborating what we need to do – we know it. We need to implement.

All of us. Whatever public visibility, influence, or power each one of us in our many roles in life may believe to have. For thinking "we" or anyone else will do it is an illusion. As Klaus Töpfer put it, "we" quickly becomes "collective irresponsibility". Yet, implementing change requires everybody's responsibility.

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"Urban Change Agents" took place from 25–27 September 2017 at Hospitalhof of Stuttgart, hosted by the international Masters Program M.Sc. Integrated Urbanism & Sustainable Design at University of Stuttgart, in cooperation with the Ain Shams University, Cairo, the DAAD, the IZKT, and the City of Stuttgart. More information: <www.iusd-program.net>

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graduated from the MSc IUSD programme in 2017. Currently, Eva is an intern at the German agency for development cooperation GIZ. She wrote her master thesis on the transferability of civil society initiatives, and concerns herself with the interaction between civic and public actors, as well as the multiple levels of policy making in sustainable urban development. Contact: <sule.eva@gmail.com>
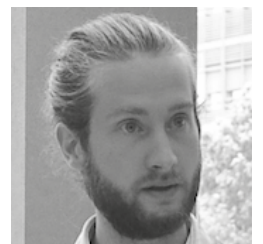
Manuel Heckel
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graduated from the MSc IUSD programme in 2017. In his thesis, Manuel looked at uneven geographical development and the political economy of urban growth in Cairo. After his internship at GIZ, Manuel plans to pursue a PhD. His research interests are the political economy of urban development, as well as the ecologically, economically, culturally and politically peaceful city. Contact: <manuel.heckel@fastmail.de>

Call for Papers

TRIALOG Annual Conference 2018 – June 7 and 8, 2018 in Dortmund (Germany)

Resilient Urban Development versus the Right to the City?
Actors, Risks and Conflicts in the Light of International Agreements (SDG and NUA) – What can the academia contribute?

Organised by the Department of International Planning Studies at TU Dortmund University in collaboration with the partners of the BMBF LIPSINDAR project and TRIALOG e. V.

The two-day international conference is focusing on a critical review of international agreements for urban development, such as the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG, 2015) and the New Urban Agenda (NUA, 2016), and aims at highlighting potentially conflicting goals in their implementation and application. The concepts of Good Governance, the goal of a Resilient Urban Development and claims for the Right to the City serve as normative frameworks for the conference.

The conference is structured along two main foci: The first day is titled "Resilient Urban Development Versus the Right to the City? Risks and Conflicts" and will set the scene with an analytical and theoretical part based on results of empirical research and conceptual and theoretical work on the topics of Good Governance, Resilient Cities and the Right to the City. The second day focuses on a critical review of the action-oriented international agreements of the SDG and the NUA titled "Risks, Conflicts and Contradictions in the Implementation of the SDGs and the New Urban Agenda in the Global South. What Can the Academia Contribute?"

The conference language is English. The target groups are researchers and practitioners on urban development both from the Global North and Global South from a wide range of disciplines.

The international agreements mentioned above will shape urban development and the discussion for the next 15 (SDG) resp. 20 years (NUA), and thus influence the international research agenda and planning education. However, little is known so far on the operationalisation and unintended outcomes. Therefore, the conference will contribute to the discussion on risks and positive elements of the agendas and define further research topics. The comprehensive critical review of the agreements based on the concepts of Good Governance, the goal of a Resilient Urban Development and claims for the Right to the City will provide a solid theoretical ground.

Structure of the conference

The goals and interventions to achieve resilient urban planning can be in conflict with other goals, e.g. contradict the "right to (participate and live in) the city" and can lead to evictions from areas which may be unsafe but also vital for settlers in order to sustain their livelihoods. Similarly, the goal of the NUA to achieve compact cities can lead to the demolition of affordable single-floor neighbourhoods and development of high-rise apartment blocks which are normally unaffordable for the urban poor. The first day of the conference is meant to reflect those dilemmata. This intentional sharpening of arguments promises lively multidisciplinary discussions at the conference. These discussions will be introduced by keynotes on resilient urban planning and the right to the city.

The second day is dedicated to discussions on the goals and programmes of the SDG and the NUA. The conference explores how these international agreements can be put into practice, what unintended consequences the implementation can have and which contradictions do exist. While the SDG set clear targets which still have to be operationalized, the NUA sets goals and commitments without a clear way to achieve them. The conference will address the role academic research can play in solving the above-mentioned risks, conflicts and contradictions. What can the academia contribute to address the mentioned conflicting goals and to make the SDG and the NUA successful? Where is more research needed to avoid negative outcomes and to strengthen the implementation? Where are current blind spots? Both parts will be introduced by keynotes (see draft programme).

Presentations – abstract submission: March 30, 2018

Participants are required to send an abstract of 150-250 words in .rtf or .doc by March 30, 2018 12:00 pm CET, to the conference e-mail address <trialog2018.rp@tu-dortmund.de>. Abstracts should indicate the topic for day 1 or day 2, indicate a title, and explain the state of objectives, methods and results and the issue to be addressed, define the context, and highlight the main arguments.

Abstract review and notification of selected abstracts for presentation: April 30, 2018
Best presentations will be selected for publication in the TRIALOG journal.

technische universität dortmund

If you take the H-Bahn from Dortmund Universität S or from Eichlinghofen you will arrive here

south campus

Walkway to Rudolf-Chaudoire-Pavillon
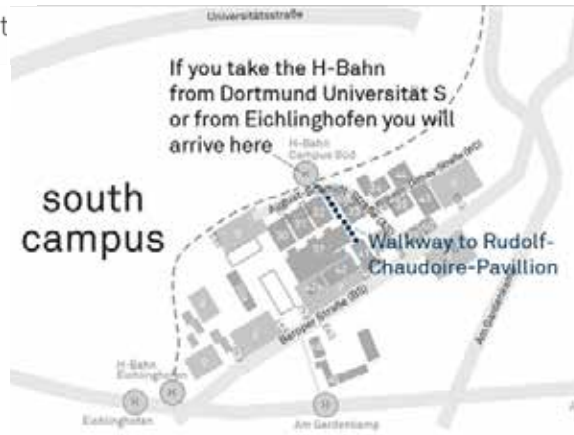
Draft programme

Day 1 Thursday, June 7, 2018

8:00 **Registration**

9:00 **Welcome addresses**

Resilient Urban Development versus the Right to the City? Risks and Conflicts

9:30 **Keynote speakers**

Prof. Dr. Mario de Los Reyes, School of Urban and Regional Planning, University of the Philippines, Manila:
Mainstreaming Climate Change Adaptation and Disaster Risk Reduction into the Local Development Planning: Towards Sustainable and Resilient Communities
Prof. Dr. Sue Parnell, University of Cape Town, South Africa:
Planning – the crunch-point for implementing conflicting utopian urban visions of rights and resilience

10:30 **Plenary Discussion**

11:00 **Parallel Sessions with five peer reviewed presentations of selected participants each**

13:00 *Lunch break*

14:30 **Parallel Sessions with five peer reviewed presentations of selected participants each**

16:30 *Coffee break*

17:00 **Plenary Discussion: Critical Discussion on the Framing Concepts**

18:30 *End of the first conference day*

19:00 **Get together**

Day 2 Friday, June 8, 2018

Risks, Conflicts and Contradictions in the Implementation of the SDGs and the New Urban Agenda in the Global South. What can the academia contribute?

9:00 **Keynote speakers**

Prof. Dr. Marie Huchzermeyer, Univ. of the Witwatersrand, South Africa (tbc):
*Keynote on a critical review of the New Urban Agenda in the light of the right to the city**
Prof. Dr. Wilbard Kombe, Ardhi University, Tanzania:
*Keynote on the role of academia**

10:00 **Plenary Discussion**

10:30 *Coffee break*

11:00 **Parallel Sessions with five peer reviewed presentations of selected participants each**

13:00 *Lunch break*

14:00 **Parallel Sessions with five peer reviewed presentations of selected participants each**

16:00 *Coffee break*

16:30 **Round table discussion (keynote speakers, presenters) What can the academia contribute?**

17:00 **Plenary Discussion: What can the academia contribute?**

18:00 **Conclusion**

18:30 *End of the second conference day*

20:00 **Dinner (optional)**

* *The precise formulation of the keynotes titles will be in accordance with the selected peer reviewed presentations of conference participants of the respective conference day.*

Saturday, June 9, 2018

10:00 – around 15:00

TRIALOG e. V. – Mitgliederversammlung 2018
2018 General Assembly of TRIALOG association

Veranstaltungen / Forthcoming Events

February 20, 2018 in Bonn, Germany
Abendveranstaltung „Localising SDGs - Gestärkte Stadt-Land-Verflechtungen für die Umsetzung der Agenda 2030", organisiert von der Abteilung „Nachhaltige Entwicklung von Metropolregionen der GIZ". Ort: DIE, Heinemannstraße 12-14, 53113 Bonn, Hörsaal. Kontakt: <metropolregionen@giz.de>

February 26–28, 2018 in Maputo, Mozambique
International Conference "Middle Class Urbanism in the Global South: Routes, shapes and aspirations", organized by the "Middle Class Urbanism" Research Team and the Department of Anthropology at Aarhus University. Contact: <anna.mazzolini@cas.au.dk> and <florabotelho@cas.au.dk>; more information: <http://projects.au.dk/middleclassurbanism/>

February 28 – March 2, 2018 in Vienna, Austria
At the Urban Future Global Conference and Urban Future Expo, 200 speakers are supposed to present innovative solutions for sustainable cities. More information: <https://www.urban-future.org/>

April 3–4, 2018 in Lisbon, Portugal
IJEPR 2018 Conference - 3rd International Conference on 'Urban e-Planning' organized by the Institute of Geography and Spatial Planning, University of Lisbon, Portugal. More information: <https://sites.google.com/site/uep2018conference/>

April 12–13, 2018 in Freiburg, Germany
International conference "Housing and integrating refugees: Innovative best practices from around the Globe" organised by the Arnold-Bergstraesser Institute. Contact: <conferences.abi@abi.uni-freiburg.de>; more information: <www.arnold-bergstraesser.de/news/call-for-papers>

April 16, 2018 in Hamburg, Germany
Symposium "Interfaces in the Built Environment. Bridging Technology and Culture in the Baltic Sea Region" at the HafenCity University. Contact: <https://easychair.org/conferences/?conf=innobsr2018>; more information:<https://www.hcu-hamburg.de/bachelor/bauingenieurwesen/professorinnen/univ-prof-dr-ing-a-boegle/>

April 19–20, 2018 in Moscow, Russia
International scientific workshop "Urbanization and Regional Development in Russia and Europe" organized by Peoples' Friendship University of Russia - RUDN University and Institute of Geography, Russian Academy of Sciences. Contact: <rudn.orgkomitet@gmail.com>; more information: <http://agora.guru.ru/urbanization_Ru-Eu/eng>

April 19–21, 2018 in Rostock, Germany
Internationale Städtetagung „Praxisfeld Historische Städte. Entwickeln - kooperieren - umsetzen." Organisiert durch Forum Stadt e.V. und die Deutsche Akademie für Städtebau und Landesplanung (DASL). Kontakt: <forum-stadt@esslingen.de>; Website: <www.forum-stadt.eu/hansestadt+rostock+2018.html>

May 14–15, 2018 in Singapore
6th Annual International Conference on Architecture and Civil Engineering (ACE 2018) will focus on the design of urban infrastructure and presents itself as "the premiere forum for the presentation of new advances and research results in the fields of architecture and civil engineering. More information: <www.ace-conference.org>

May 14–18, 2018 in Ottawa, Canada
55th International Making Cities Liveable (IMCL) Conference on "Healthy, 10-Minute Neighbourhoods", organized by IMCL LLC. Conference website: <www.livablecities.org/conferences/55th-conference-ottawa>

June 4–6, 2018 in Moscow, Russia
International Geographical Union (IGU) Thematic Conference 2018 "Practical Geography and XXI Century Challenges", dedicated to the 100th anniversary of the Institute of Geography of Russian Academy of Sciences (RAS); including IGU Commission Geography of Governance. Session theme: "Local Governance for Local Development in the XXI Century: Opportunities and Limitations". Conference website: <www.igras.ru/100igras/en/>

June 07–08, 2018 in Dortmund, Germany
TRIALOG Annual Conference 2018 "Resilient Urban Development versus the Right to the City? Actors, Risks and Conflicts in the Light of International Agreements (SDG and NUA) – What can the academia contribute?" organised by the Department of International Planning Studies at TU Dortmund University in collaboration with the BMBF LIPSINDAR project and TRIALOG e. V. Submission of abstracts until March 30, 2018. Contact: <trialog2018.rp@tu-dortmund.de>

June 09, 2018 in Dortmund, Germany
TRIALOG e. V. – Mitgliederversammlung 2018 / 2018 General Assembly. 10:00 – ca. 15:00 h. Ort / Venue: Department of International Planning Studies, TU Dortmund. More information / Kontakt: Gerhard Kienast, Email: <gpkienast@yahoo.de>

June 21–22, 2018 in Kaiserslautern, Germany
Tagung zum Jahrbuch Stadterneuerung organisiert durch die Fachgebiete Stadtplanung sowie Stadtumbau und Ortserneuerung an der TU Kaiserslautern in Kooperation mit dem Arbeitskreis Stadterneuerung an deutschsprachigen Hochschulen, diesmal zum Thema „Stadterneuerung in Klein- und Mittelstädten". Kontakt: <altrock@asl.uni-kassel.de>

July 10–14, 2018 in Gothenburg, Sweden
AESOP Annual Conference "Making space for hope", organized by the Association of European Schools of Planning (AESOP). More information: <www.aesop2018.se>

July 15–21, 2018 in Toronto, Canada
XIX ISA World Congress of Sociology "Power, Violence and Justice: Reflections, Responses and Responsibilities", organized by the International Sociological Association. More information: <www.isa-sociology.org/en/conferences/world-congress/toronto-2018/>

July 24–27, 2018 in Thessaloniki, Greece
17th Conference of the International Association for the Study of Forced Migration (IASFM): "Whither Refugees? Restrictionism, Crises and Precarity Writ Large" at the Department of Balkan Slavic, and Oriental Studies, University of Macedonia, Thessaloniki, Greece and the Laboratory for the Study of Cultures, Gender, and Borders. More information: <http://iasfm.org/iasfm17/>

July 24–28, 2018 in Cologne, Germany
5th Global Conference on Economic Geography "Dynamics in an Unequal World", organized by the Institute of Geography and Department of Economic and Social Geography of the University of Cologne. More information: <https://www.gceg2018.com/>

August 6–10, 2018 in Quebec City, Canada
Regional Conference of the IGU Commission Geography of Governance at the University Laval, Québec. Abstract submission is open until March 15, 2018. Conference website: <http://igu2018.ulaval.ca>

September 4–5, 2018 in Lisbon, Portugal
International Conference "Fifty Years of Local Governance 1980 – 2030", organized by the IGU Commission Geography of Governance & Institute of Geography and Spatial Planning, University of Lisbon. More information: <https://sites.google.com/site/geogov2018/> Submission deadline for abstracts: March 30, 2018.

October 14–17, 2018 in Cape Town, South Africa
Planning Africa 2018 Conference "The Making of Modern African Cities", organized by the South African Planning Institute (SAPI). More information:

October 29–31, 2018 in Addis Abeba, Ethiopia
Conference "Through local eyes". Organized by ECIP - Emerging Cities Integrated Planning Lab at the EiABC (Ethiopian Institute of Architecture, Building Construction and City Development, University of Addis Ababa), with the support of the Université libre de Bruxelles (Faculty of Architecture La Cambre Horta and Brussels School of Engineering) and the Université de Liège (Gembloux Agro-Bio Tech). Conference website: <https://www.conferenceaddis2018.org/>

November 08–10, 2018 in Stuttgart, Germany
N-AERUS Annual Conference 2018 "Housing and Human Settlements in a World of Change". Organised by the Department of International Urbanism at University of Stuttgart. Contact: <naerus2018@si.uni-stuttgart.de>

Book review

Bulaq, one of Cairo's oldest quarters, founded on the right bank of the Nile during the days of the Ottoman Empire in the 16th century, looks upon a long history of remaking. The author offers an impressive chronological decoding of this planning history and puts it in the main political, administrative, social, cultural, historical and spatial contexts. He starts with an overview of planning practices during colonial times, especially during the progressive period in the 19th century in the aftermath of the French expedition and prior to the British occupation, followed by a detailed study of urban planning projects under the regimes of Nasser, Sadat and Mubarak.

Physical urban pattern and street networks in 1798, prior to the rule of Muhammad Ali. The core of Bulaq was originally formed with irregular street patterns. Source: Description de l'Egypte, 1898

Usually, planners were in line with international professional trends. After Egypt's 1952 revolution, for instance, they mostly favoured the mainstream Modernist conception of erasing traditional urban fabrics in order to replace them with new urban layouts focused on large streets. Planners could have known better – since Bulaq's urban fabric "had obtained a certain degree of capacity for change to absorb, be transformed and adapt to manipulation of their physical elements without disturbance of the original structure" (p. 42-43). They could have learned from their colleague, Hassan Fathy (1900-1989), the great but marginalised humanist architect who so ingeniously succeeded in fusing Egyptian tradition with modernity. Although unmentioned, Fathy's positive spirit seems to be one of the forces to curb imagination: The author has a strong claim to have also highlighted the recent current of welcoming social-cultural values and participation into a planning context still attached to "a centralised top-down system of governance" (p. 77).

Eventually, setting aside some debatable points – such as Britain being "the dominant power" in urban planning during the "first decades of the 20th century" (p. 122) – *Unfinished Places* is a remarkable study for its inspiring blend of planning history, criticism and sociology.

Dan Teodorovici

Traditional urban fabric in Ramlet Bulaq. Photo Gehan Selim