

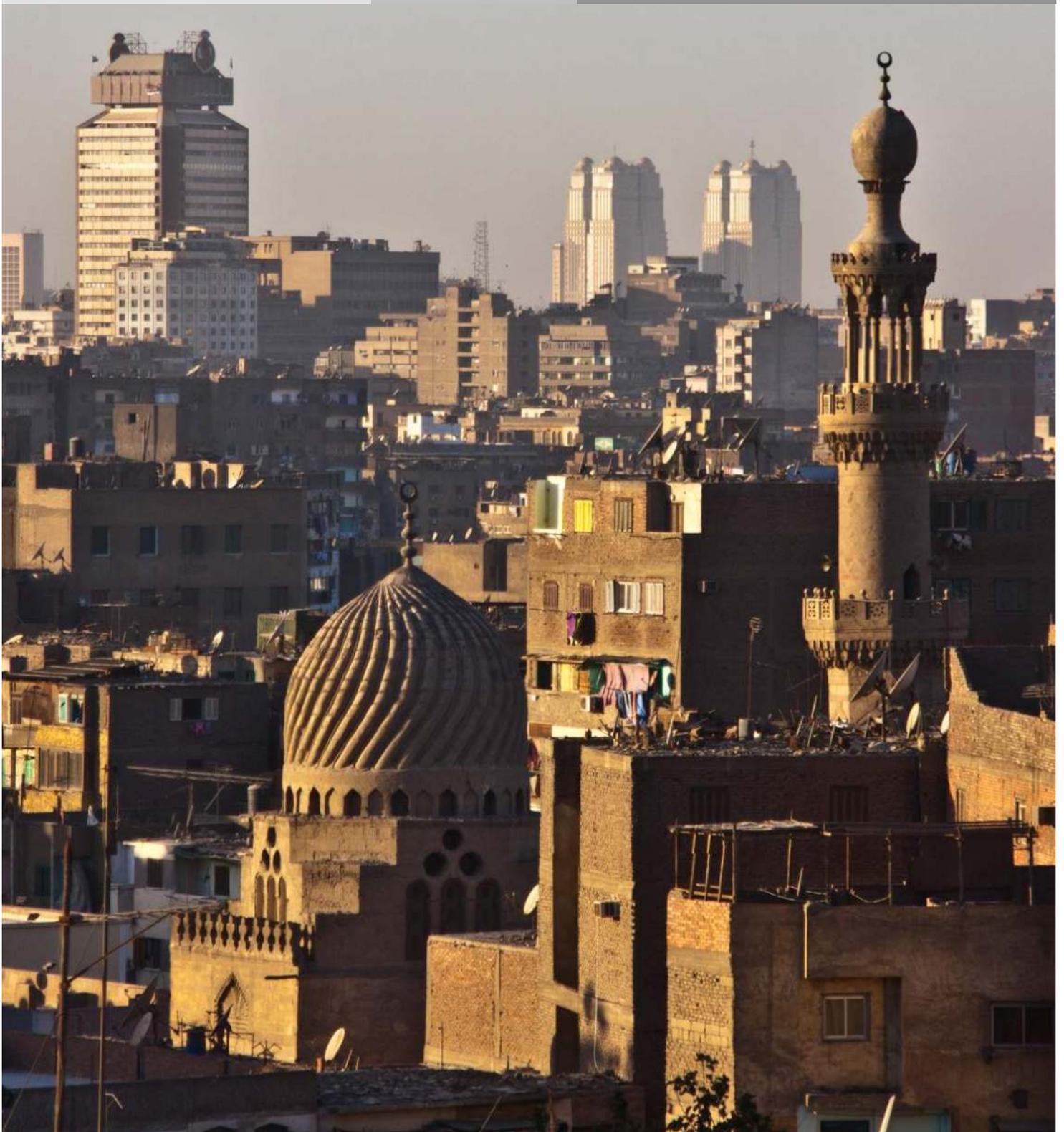


SciencesPo.

Governing the Large
Metropolis 2010/2011

Cairo

Working trip
December 13th to 18th 2010





A week in Cairo

Founded in 1872, Sciences Po is one of the leading political and social sciences Universities in the world, with nine research centers, and twenty different master's degree programs. The master's program "Governing the large metropolis" aims at training young professionals specialized in governance and urban policies. This year twenty students from all over the world are studying economics, geography, political science and sociology, and training with international professionals and top-level academic scholars.

During the first semester, an urban field trip is organized. The aim of the study trip is not to organize seminars or participate in conferences, but to promote small meetings and revealing encounters.

Before the Revolt

In December 2010 we visited Cairo. With its 18.000.000 inhabitants, Cairo is one of the largest metropolises in the world. Everything was quiet. Currently, in February 2011, all the Middle East is in upheaval, and it is not so simple to predict future evolutions. We carried out this study trip to Cairo taking some precautions, but with no idea of the imminent revolution. When we started organizing the study trip we sought to collect the best recent literature on Cairo, looking at urban issues, local policies, and governance architecture. We talked and discussed with colleagues with expertise on the city, and with politicians and journalists who travelled frequently to Egypt. No one was worried about our trip, and no one informed us of the mobilizations taking shape and gaining momentum in Cairo. We visited Cairo in the second week of December 2010. No tensions, no official discourse about protests and claims making. We found a shared debate about a city trying to cope with its main problems in a consensual way. A peaceful picture made of incremental change and no hard line claims making. At the same time we felt the tension in the air, observed a lot of self-organization at the grassroots level, and an intense desire to discuss with the government and talk about the city's main contradictions. We cannot say we returned from Cairo with any idea of the large revolution to come. But we saw an urban society pushing for change.

Our main question

A study trip is a complex game, a dish that requires lots of different ingredients, a puzzle quite difficult to solve. There are many dimensions to articulate, and many details to consider. It is a challenge at the organizational, pedagogical and intellectual levels. We decided to focus on one main question, relative to the governance of the city. We took part in meetings, visits and encounters to try to answer this question. It was a true question, not a fictitious one. In fact we did not know how the city was governed. We searched the literature thoroughly without finding a satisfactory account of the governance mode used in the Cairo City Region. So, we decided to structure the study trip as a small research field trip, to go looking for data, information and hints that could suggest how to answer our main question. The study trip was prepared collaboratively with the students, with preliminary lectures focusing on the urban history of Cairo, its main spatial development, and on its recent

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Cairo – Working trip 2010

reforms and privatization. We talked about the puzzle of governance in the city, and decided to take this large question seriously when selecting and taking decisions on how to structure the trip. It is difficult to understand the enigma of Cairo City governance: it is the mystery of a complex architecture, with some overlapping institutions, and sophisticated forms of coordination.

Readings and contacts

To better prepare the journey we collected readings and some good papers. The more the students read the more they raised queries, debates, uncertainty, dubiousness, and reservations. To better grasp the governance of Cairo City, we went ahead with queries on (1) the relationships between the city and the State, and how the National government governed the city; (2) on how the city deals with informal neighborhoods, and if and how economic local development instruments are negotiated with private actors to address issues of urban poverty; (3) on how the master plan to develop the city and reduce its high urban density was implemented. Step by step we worked to refine and specify our questions to try to collect information on the issues and the sectors on which the government activities focused. Then, the inquiry started and we decided to look deeper: what sort of framework was constructed through governance to promote the marketing of Cairo and attract tourism? Was the development of the cinema industrial sector a priority, and how was it promoted? What are the main governance problems in supporting and providing for schools and education in the city's neighborhoods? Did the City center business district require continuous government investments, or was it largely autonomous? What was the relationship between the government and grassroots social organizations in dealing with issues of urban poverty? Lots of questions that we used as a compass not to lose our bearing. We clustered them to select and define our interlocutors in Cairo.

The study trip

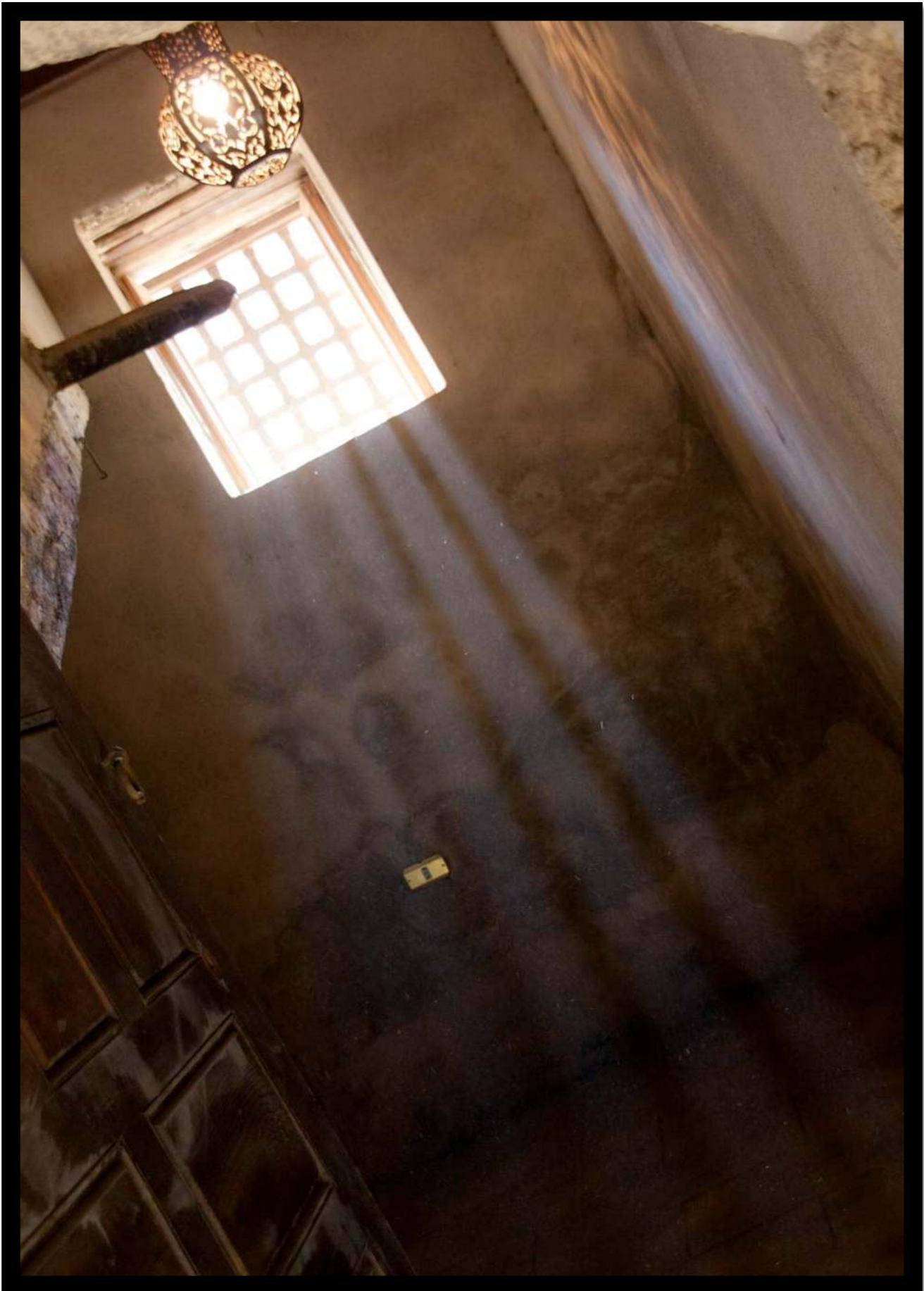
During the 5 day trip we had 16 encounters, with opportunities to talk with people in charge of governing activities, with local officers, administrative executives, private development managers, grassroots activists, community leaders, social policy leaders, but also to travel around the city, seeing its assets and contradictions. In this report the reader can find some very insightful details on the governance of this large metropolis. It is not a report about what we did, but about what we learned. After the downfall of the Mubarak's regime, many things are changing, and we are witnessing the emergence of new political parties. But at the same time, the most relevant metropolitan problems remain. The demographic trend, the lack of public transport, the regulation of water between the city and the farmlands, the safety of the slums, all remain issues of current importance. However the institutional form of the state will be changed, and whoever will govern the Cairo City Region, the major puzzles of institutional coordination, of regulation and the mobilization of resources to confront the main urban difficulties will remain urgent for the political agenda.

In this report you will find some of the data and evaluations we collected during the study trip. Some of this information may be well known by some specialists, but some is quite unknown, and can help us understand this fascinating, enormous metropolis a little better: how it worked, how it was governed, its geopolitical and economic role in the Mediterranean area as well as in the whole Arabic region. We decided against writing a compound synthesis and interpretation of the mode of governance in Cairo. We prefer to share the richness of the information and the variety of points of view we collected with our readers. This was the first study trip of this new Sciences Po master's program, and we hope to communicate the freshness and dynamism of this learning experience.



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Day

1

Understanding today's Cairo. Understanding today's Egypt.

Speaker: Mr Marc Lavergne
Director of the CEDEJ
www.cedej-eg.org

Presentation of Cairo

By Hugo Christy

General overview: Egypt's strengths and weaknesses

Egypt is not a poor country, but a developing one that defines itself as intermediary. It is aiming at joining the G20 in the near future. Industry and economy are prosperous despite both the general and national crisis, which is quite paradoxical. The economy is rather rent-based:

- Outside investors: \$10 billion: including ex-USSR as well as from emigrants living in the Gulf area and Europe. Egypt not only imports money, but they also import a way of life – the new urban developments outside of Cairo are very inspired of the Gulf model. Also note that there are a growing number of emigrant workers from Southeast Asia doing business and working in Egyptian manufactures.
- Oil and (mainly) Gas: 50% of external commerce. However, this source of revenue turns out to be rather unstable because of fluctuations in production.
- Tourism: \$40 billion
- Suez Canal: \$4 to 5 billion

These sources of revenue are all very related to the general context and rely upon many external parameters such as crisis, pirates, and terrorism. This apparent macroeconomic wealth poorly hides many structural weaknesses such as:

- Unemployment: Especially among the untrained youth
- Lack of entrepreneurship: Most of the capital is used for real estate because it does not need much expertise. Egypt overall lacks entrepreneurship for it has never been an actual country of business

and it derives from a peasant culture. Therefore investors focus rather on real estate, or very small neighborhood shops of imported goods, what can be termed as micro transports. Very little development, job creation or growth is expected from this situation

- Social tension: The country evolved from having a very strong state and a culture of public service with strong agricultural regulation to a more capitalistic organization of society. Heavy manufacturers are more and more in danger. Their way of life was deeply changed in the last 30 years, generating social tension among a hopeless youth that no longer finds administrative jobs after graduation
- Religious rebirth: Some people find a solution by joining Islamic movements such as the Muslim Brotherhood or other salafist organizations.
- Public service with strong agricultural regulation to a more capitalistic organization of society. Heavy manufacturers are more and more in danger. Their way of life was deeply changed in the last 30 years, generating social tension among a hopeless youth that no longer finds administrative jobs after graduation.

Further, it is not clear whether Egypt is under any Western/American influence. There are different influences coming from different directions. If there were an American influence, it would be mainly in terms of culture. There is no such thing as American entrepreneurship in Egypt. Further, Egyptian education does not promote entrepreneurship at all. Other values keep the

society all together, but not entrepreneurship. When it comes to women, one should keep in mind that there is nothing like "one" Egyptian woman. In prayers, her role is growingly obsessive. There is an endogenous re-islamisation of all Arabic societies, with "televangelists" or some great preachers such as Al Hassan. Besides, there is nothing like a "social role" anymore, there is an atomization of society and a context of "struggle for life." Men are not able to feed their families on their own anymore, thus allowing women to enter the job market. There is a very different dynamics nowadays: in the 70's people were way shy, but the veil was unknown. Now, patriarchal authorities are less respected. There is no simple answer.

Urban projects: toward a "new Egypt somewhere else"

Since the 1952 revolution, the government has been seen as an element of stability thanks to the army and a strong presence within the economy. The PND is the official party that gathers all the individuals and groups that find interest in stability. However, the business milieu has some kind of new project for Egypt, with a new specialization no longer based on the valley/delta model. The goal is to build "a new Egypt somewhere else". This means new cities, smart villages. Population doubles every 25 years, meaning that there is a need for a massive investment in the peripheries.

“the Egyptian model of geo-spatialization is getting old”

Indeed, despite the fact that the demographical transition happened 30 years ago, birth rates tend to go up again. Density is already unbearable in many areas of the city and there are very few livable spaces. Further, people tend to lack trust toward the state when it comes to education and health, generating many issues. Thus, Cairo does not copy Europe anymore and instead develops its own "crown" model, and tries to provide this new city with all the necessary means of education, malls, housing, and sophisticated industrial and banking sectors. These spots are not necessarily connected to the old city, but rather connected one to another thanks to a ring road, as well as connected to the "world system" thanks to the ports, airports, balnear stations and marinas.

Also note the emergence of gated communities for the bourgeoisie with privatized leisure infrastructures and artificial heavenly spots (complete with fake lawns, and lakes in the middle of the desert). The rising upper-middle class virtually benefits from quality collective housing (high rises). It is not clear however whether the target population has either the means or the will to move out. Further, because of the crisis and since a large part of the capital came from the

Gulf, many construction sites have basically stopped functioning. There might be a problem of sustainability here.

The Cairo Metropolitan Area is organized around three circles: First the historical center that stopped developing in the 1970s, then a misery belt and finally a rich belt. The government tend to create "hollywoodian neighborhoods" when they renovate, and build cities from scratch. Some areas in the historical center that have been renovated are targeted for a "bobo" and tourist population. But there is nothing like an Egyptian "bobo" and places like the Rue Moïse have no tourist attractions. Many international investors and foundations take over streets and mosques in order to renovate everything to create places like the Marais or East End, with post-modern

aesthetics following the pattern of smart villages, building with glass and steel... But there is no clientele for this.

The Agence Nationale d'Harmonisation Urbaine (which has a very small budget) has been painting facades, attracting cafés and creating cultural synergies for an intellectual and artistic elite, but it is still not clear if this is the vocation of such neighborhoods. More generally, the Egyptian state has a lot in mind (for example when it comes to culture), but there are some coordination difficulties between the different actors or the civil society.

Sometimes it seems that everybody is exhausted by Cairo. People know the rich leave. Egypt did not know how to manage extreme density like in the Far East. Moreover, the poorest do not benefit from gas and electricity. There is a sort of "war" going on with traffic regulation. The concept of collective life has been attacked. The city reports very low crime rates. There used to be a very strong control of the population, although now it is less and less. But there is an invisible criminality. The vendetta model still prevails. There is also an issue of organ and human trafficking.

There is no municipality: governors indeed represent the central power but have different personalities. Some of them are modern, some are not. They have no independent funding, everything comes from above. Those who have access to the governorate are concessionary, public-private partnerships and big business. As for the Cairo's governorate, there is no management of the metropolis. There is a tradition of a very old state in Egypt. It is expected to bring well being and public services, but according to some commentators it could have problems of corruption and excessive bureaucratization. Despite the great international influence of Egypt (artists, businessmen...), the model of geo-specialization seems to get old. Egyptian diplomacy is more and more disconnected with deep Egypt. It is less and less recognized as the leader of the Arab world. The country feels humiliated when it comes to the decline of its international influence. The Nile question also irritates its neighbors.



A walk through Darb el Labbana's history and future

Speaker: Mrs May El-Tabbakh, Architect, Director of GAIA

Darb el Labbana District

By Audrey Noelter

On our first sunny afternoon in Cairo we were warmly welcomed by Mrs Mai El-Tabback , a charming Egyptian architect and director of GAIA architectural firm, for a guided tour of the Darb el Labbana district. The ancient district is located on a hill right next to the citadel. The neighborhood is famous to Egyptians, as it was historically a place for the arts throughout the second half of the 19th Century. It is where the Maison des Arts was located and where the famous architect Hassan Fathi recently lived for many years. The house was a central landmark for the neighborhood and art in general in Cairo.

Mrs. El-Tabback started by introducing her project as a rehabilitation scheme of the beautiful and unique site, which holds to itself an exceptional historical and architectural background and is situated in a precious location. She explained to us that the businessmen who started the project four years ago saw a great opportunity for private investment in redeveloping the area; especially as they saw the potential niche for the tourism industry. She noted that because they also had a moral esthetic, the businessmen expressed their concern to renovate and not just teardown such magnificent yet neglected architectural sites. The main concern expressed by our guide was that because, the area is infested by historical sites (world heritage Mosque and 14 registered buildings) it would become a 'museum

neighborhood'. However, she insisted that the project is intended to make the area a center for the revival of art, where artists would live and work and where the population could come to appreciate modern Egyptian works. The architect explained to us this rehabilitation project was really about space and not just about building. In fact, the plan includes at least two public large plazas where the people could freely enjoy the site and its unique atmosphere.

The project is a collaboration between the Egyptian governorate, municipal government and ministry of cultural heritage. The government apparently offered the developers different buildings that they had previously acquired from legal endowment. For example, the developers were given the magnificently and recently renovated Maison des Arts, which remains empty to this day. Additionally, the government is allowing the developer to use and rearrange the public space at their discretion. However the government clearly did not support the entire project, as it will not provide economic funds for any resident relocation plan, much to the despair of Mrs Mai El-Tabback.

“Renovate and not just teardown such magnificent yet neglected architectural sites”



five years term, as soon as the project will be put into place.

The destiny of Darb el Labbana sounds very similar to a well know Parisian neighborhood called Montmartre. Both enchanting neighborhoods are located on top of a hill and hold a similar past filled with art. I could not stop wondering how the future of Darb el Labbana sounded similar of what has happened at the top of Montmartre. In fact, “La Butte Montmartre” has experienced tremendous amounts of gentrification through tourism where “new flow of capital into the real estate market combined with the growth of tourism enhanced the significance of consumption-oriented activities in residential space and encourage gentrification” (Gotham; 2005). This tragic reality foresees the undisputable ‘Disneyfication’ of the Darb el Labbana district. Even though one of the objectives of the firm seems to be to improve the conditions of the residents, tensions will probably arise around the notion of forced or inevitable evacuation of local population. It can be argued that, the only investment to occur in the center of Cairo seems to be associated with tourism, as other commentators we met during the field trip noted; neighborhoods are becoming “Hollywoodian quarters”, and Darb el Labbana seems to be one of them, probably without protest or claims.

The ‘disconnect’ between the foreseen reality and the articulated goals by the architects demonstrates the lack of holistic approach in terms of social and urban cohesiveness in this very architectural renovation projects, which holds non-negligible potential.

The architect was clearly worried about this lack of government intervention, however she claimed there was little she could do regarding the relocation issue, being that private investors almost entirely funded this particular project. She reminded us that the main goal of the project is to rehabilitate the old buildings, in respect with the ancient architecture and the local population. We learned toward the end of our visit that the future renovated buildings would be hosting the three or four expected hotels of the project. In addition, the developers will build a ‘health spa center’ at the old hospital location, which will preserve a similar function of the space.

Here when we asked; “how did the local felt about the renovation?”, she responded that the majority was happy as they will see their land value increase with the process of the renovation and that only few were reluctant of what the future will bring. At the same time, part of the local population will be expelled. Also, she stated that the renovation would clear the area from the polluted trash in the neighborhood, and that therefore the residents should be thankful for it. The architect also informed us that the investment return for the investors is fast flowing, in a



The Geopolitical Role of the Cairo City Region

Speaker: Professor Nabir Fahmy, Dean of the School of Global Affairs and Public Policy at the American University in Cairo and Chair of the Center for Non-proliferation studies in the Middle East

Day

The geopolitical role of the Cairo city region

By Kathrine Fagerlund Brekke

The centrality of Cairo in the Egyptian consciousness is reflected in the way Egyptians, when outside of the city, will refer to Cairo as “Masr”, which means “Egypt”. Cairo, however, is not just the heart of Egypt, but of the traditional Arab world as a whole: 25 percent of the population of the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) lives in Egypt, and by default 20 percent lives in the cities along the Nile. Home to the biggest film industry of the Arab world, Cairo can also be said to be the cultural center of the region. And when ruling classes of the entire MENA used to send their children to get their higher education in Egypt, they would indeed choose the city of Cairo.

Due to the sheer numbers and demographics mentioned above, Professor Fahmy argues that Cairo can, to a certain extent, show us the general directions in which the MENA region is headed, although specific trends may not correspond exactly in the Gulf, or in the Maghreb, which is generally more European-oriented.

Cairo used to also be the economic center of the region, but has in recent decades lost out to other commercial centers in places such as the Arab Emirates. Although the government would like to see the country’s economic and political role in the region restored, their plans are not for the city of Cairo to be a commercial center, but are rather aiming for economic decentralization and pushing commerce out of city by building more roads and overpasses in order to avoid the

stagnation of the Cairo city centre. The city should, however, increase its attractiveness as a location for business headquarters and the financial service industry, and focus on retaining and strengthening its cultural role and potential for tourism – providing the feel of a large metropolis and giving the real sense of the Middle East.

The main obstacle to these ambitions as Prof. Fahmy sees it is the tiresome Egyptian bureaucracy. Further, the city faces major problems of service provision only exacerbated by its high concentration and overpopulation. This density contains a highly diverse society and with its immense inequalities. However, they still manage to live together.

The realization of the government’s visions for “Cairo 2050” will largely have to be funded by private sector investment. Since President Sadat launched his *infitah* policies, and in particular during the past 15 years, the Egyptian public sector’s 50 percent share of GDP has greatly given way to the private sector who now accounts for 70 percent of the economy. The government is privatizing all it can, and the private sector is financing parts of education and health, with some effects in terms of inequality. The financing of these and of other public goods will continue to be an important task for the government. Tax cuts are unlikely as it would indeed be against the very principles of the Egyptian government.

*“Egyptian women got suffrage
before their sisters in
Switzerland”*



Professor Nabir Fahmy is the Dean of the School of Global Affairs and Public Policy at the American University in Cairo and Chair of the Center for Non-proliferation studies in the Middle East and the former ambassador of Egypt in the USA. He is also a member of the Egyptian Foreign Ministry, and sits on the boards of various think tanks.

The practitioner he is, his desire to link the academic study of global affairs to policy is further driven by an understanding that in today's world, with global standards and free trade limiting national policy sovereignty, there can no longer be such a thing as purely "local" policy (in theory, since in practice it can still be a sovereign decision to cooperate on an international scale).

Although, at 24, Egypt has more political parties than any other country in the region, the regime cannot fairly be characterized as a democracy. Rule is based on Islamic politics, for good and for bad. Egyptian women got suffrage before their sisters in Switzerland, and Prof Fahmy claims that they are paid equally to men in any position, and that gender income inequality is only still evident when looking at proportions of business ownership. He draws out attention to new cultural trends of Islamic conservatism and says that, whereas Egyptian society used to be more liberal and individuals more conservative, we now see the inverse: young women are now almost all veiled, but, on the other hand, dare to walk hand-in-hand with their boyfriends in the center of Cairo in the middle of the day.

As the political as well as economic and cultural capital of Egypt, Cairo's regional and international political role corresponds to that of Egypt. As a major diplomatic actor in the region, when it comes to the Israel-Palestine conflict, Egypt finds itself "between a rock and a hard place". The Israel-Egypt peace process is not comprehensive, and there is great tension between the wishes of the Egyptian society and the positions that the government must take, positions for which it is sometimes unable to give any satisfying explanation; for example, an explanation as to why they refuse to open the border for the Palestinians when Israel entered Gaza in 2009. Now, as a free press inflates popular expectations of a less democratic and accountable government, a further dichotomy grows between public opinion and government actions.

Egypt's role as an intermediary in the region was also seen in 1992 as the Egyptians, together with the Italians, suggested a 5+5 Mediterranean Dialogue forum to strengthen relations between the countries surrounding the Mediterranean. As they at the time believed that peace in the ME was near, the proposal was in fact a great idea. However, it was poorly implemented, and would have needed more projects around which to gather common interests and cooperation among long-term stakeholders. Further, the project was, as Prof. Fahmy put it, "kidnapped by politics" and further affected by too much talk and controversy regarding the positions of Israel, as well as Jordan. Therefore, in order for hopes regarding the project to be revived, they should get back to their original idea and focus on bilateral relations and build agreements from there.

Prof. Fahmy characterizes the long-term relationship between Cairo and Washington, Egypt and the US, as a marriage still going strong as it continues to serve both parties. The relationship has, however, gone through the distinct phases of any marriage, from the first courting to the honeymoon phase after Camp David. Then came a fair share of fights and quarrels, and thoughts of breaking up, which was prevented though, by the mutual realization that the relationship was simply too important. Although the US has, throughout, tried all other pressure points, Egyptian's government refusals to comply with their wishes never affected their monetary aid.

The election of President Obama in 2008 did a great deal to improve both the Egyptian public and the government's attitude towards the US. Indeed, in June of the following year, Cairo was the scene of Obama's historic speech, which further raised hopes for better negotiation and mutual understanding between the US and the Arab world.



Day
2

Urban planning and Cairo 2050

Speaker: Dr Ghada Farouk Hassan
Associate Professor, Urban Planning Department, Ain Shams University

Planning Great Cairo: the role of the General Organization for Physical Planning (GOPP)

By Elsa Desmaison

The visit of the General organization for physical planning (GOPP) was the first of our second day in Cairo. The meeting was organized in an impressive ministerial building, with rooms of large proportions. Dr Ghada Farouk Hassan, who is in charge of urban planning for the city of Cairo, received us. Dr Ghada Farouk Hassan explained, helped by a power point presentation, the role of the GOPP in the Egyptian government of President Mubarak, its plans and achievements to improve the standard of living of Egyptian citizens.

The GOPP focuses on the development of sustainable human development. This is done around four major axes. The first objective of the GOPP is to limit the urban growth in the congested regions of Cairo and Alexandria by preventing the creation of new informal settlements in the cities. The construction of new cities with improved standard of living in the Great Cairo Regions should attract a part of the Cairo population. A better definition of rural villages and an improvement of infrastructures should slow down the rural exodus. The second objective should also help depolarize the Egyptian economy by directing and favoring investments in both the depressed regions of southern Egypt and develop the region of the North Coast, the Coast of the Red Sea, the Gulf of Suez and the Gulf of Aqaba. This is implemented through the development of

particular industries in the regions: food industry and tourism in the North coast; manufacture, mining and tourism in the Red Sea region, etc. The construction of roads linking the developing regions to the Nile Valley is also a part of the plan. This aims at redistributing the population and the industries in the country to minimize regional disparities. The third axe is centered on the development of desert areas outside the Nile valley and Delta in a way to slow down the growth of Cairo and Alexandria and to promote the development of areas with low population density. The fourth main objective is to upgrade the slums and deteriorated areas mostly localized around Cairo. 40% of Cairo housing is informal settlements. The average population density of Cairo is more than 500 people per acre. In informal areas, it can go up to more than 1000 people per acre. In order to improve the quality of life of the citizens living in the informal settlements, improvements have to be made. The informal housing is divided between the unsafe areas and the unplanned areas. The unsafe areas will be redeveloped and their populations will be displaced in safe areas, most probably in the new towns developing at the periphery of the Great Cairo regions. The unplanned areas will be improved with the creation of roads and with the access to basic urban services. It will also register properties

“This project aims at improving the quality of life in the city and its competitiveness. It is done in collaboration with UNHABITAT and UNDP”

permitting the access to formal institutions and loans for landlords.

Those objectives concern the entire country by acting on several levels: national, regional, governorate, and local levels. However, since a majority of the Egyptian population lives in the Greater Cairo Region (around 20 million inhabitants), the GOPP is the planner of the project “Cairo 2050”. This project aims at improving the quality of life in the city and its competitiveness. It is done in collaboration with UNHABITAT and UNDP.

In the coming years the city of Cairo faces several issues: the lack of space and the high population density, the lack of green spaces, the congestion of the roads degrading transportation of people and goods in the city, pollution. The idea of Cairo 2050 is to transform Cairo into a sustainable metropolitan area that will play a major role in the Egyptian economy and in the entire region while resolving the above-mentioned issues. The Cairo 2050 project has been developed with the help of the Great Cairo Region residents through opinion polls, 39 workshops with the participation of 1,600 experts and officials, 4 symposiums with NGOs and associations.

The priorities to improve the Great Cairo Region have been defined as follow: the increase of the share of roads, by making a new regional ring road around the Great Cairo Region (GCR) and by creating roads in upgraded informal settlements. Today, per capita share of green areas is less than two square meters per capita. The share of green areas has to be improved to reach world rate share. The basic services such as electricity, sewage have to be improved and be easily accessible in the Cairo neighborhoods, particularly in the informal housing. We have mentioned earlier the need to stop the inflation of unplanned slum areas in the city. It is once again emphasized in the Cairo 2050 project. On one hand, the GOPP upgrades the non-dangerous informal settlements by registering private properties and improving standard of living, and on the other hand it creates new cities at the East or West of Cairo to redirect population surpluses. It is also primordial to improve the traffic flow and thus transportation efficiency. It plans on maximizing the city's potential for attracting tourism while reducing environment deterioration. All those projects are not possible without the establishment of a new institutional framework for the administration of the territory of the Greater Cairo Region that is made of the governorates of Cairo, Giza, Qalyobiya, Halwan, and Sixth October. The Cairo 2050 project will help Cairo to become a green and globally connected city.

The projects of the General Organization for physical planning are both complex and very ambitious. They try to tackle the main issues of a developing country like Egypt. They try to channel population towards underdeveloped regions in order to populate those more equally. It seems that every actors are taken into account since the

projects promote public private partnership and population participation. Increasing standards of life in rural villages is a good way to avoid rural exodus.

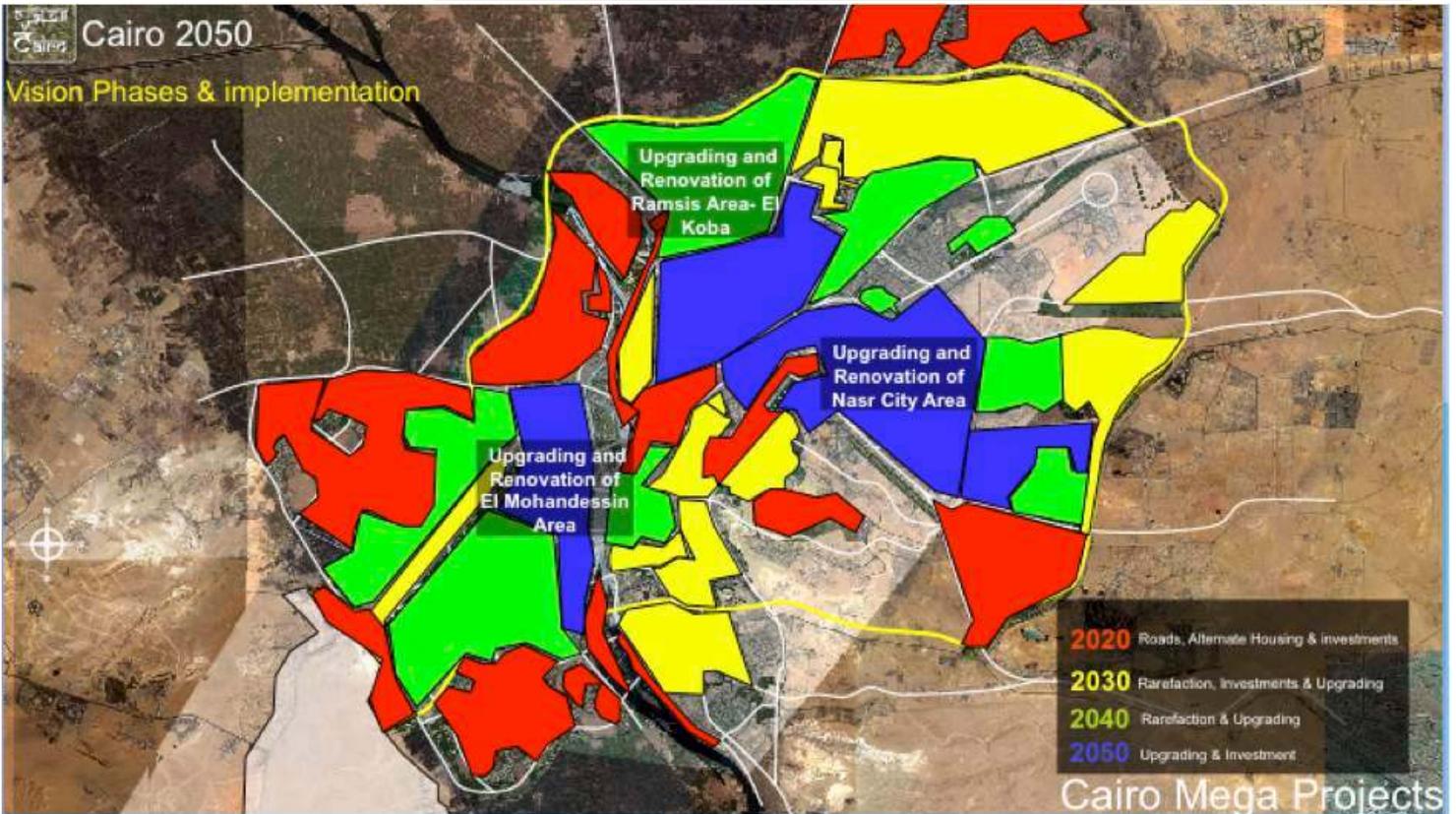
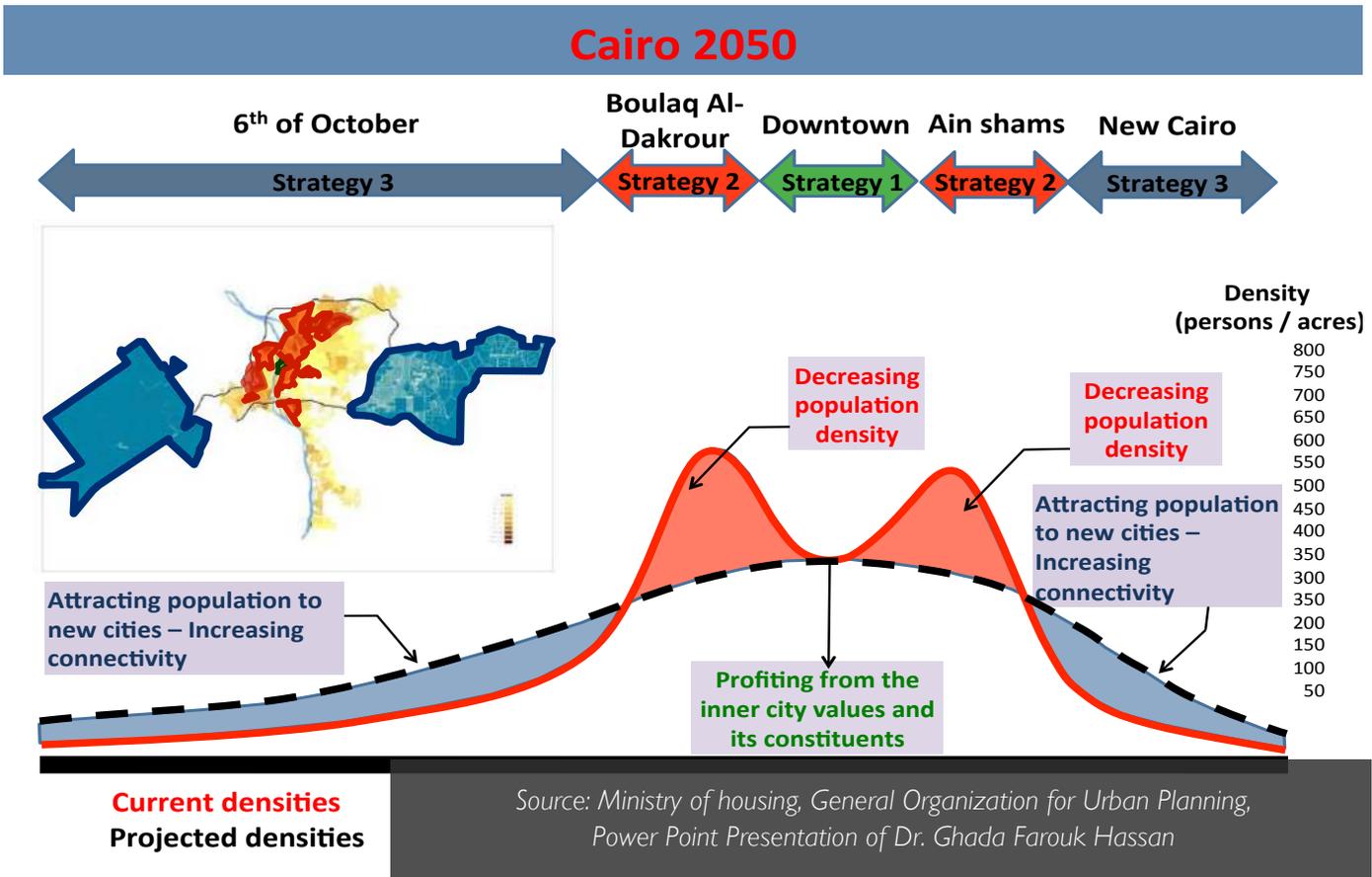
However, the investments are financially huge and have to be spread over a long period of time. The sustainability of such big projects in the long term is difficult to assess. The incentives given to move to particular regions of the country might not be enough to attract people and investment; this could result in half full cities being unable to develop economically.

The 2050 Cairo project is very impressive and ambitious. However sustaining such a gigantic project is difficult in the long term as it must be flexible enough to adjust its objectives with the evolution of the situation of the city. Some of its objectives lack information such as proper solutions to decrease the pollution in Cairo.

The Ministry of urban planning is really active concerning informal settlements, especially by upgrading the secure ones. However, the negative impacts of such measures are not mentioned. The displacement of the poorest segment of the population is a possibility that should be studied, especially with the risk of diminishing their standard of living and the creation of new, and less secured, informal settlements.

The projects that have been described are necessary to sustain the growth and development of Egypt, but such big masterplans often comes with failures. The future will show to what extend it will be a success.

Dr Ghada Farouk Hassan's presentation was essential in order to understand the actual challenges of urban planning in the city of Cairo. It gave us the necessary knowledge to clearly comprehend the role of the government in urban management. We are very grateful with Dr Ghada Farouk Hassan for her enthusiastic welcome and her amazing presentation.



Source: Ministry of housing, General Organization for Urban Planning, Power Point Presentation of Dr. Ghada Farouk Hassan



Day
2

Cairo 2050: a work in progress

Speakers: Eng. Saied El Bahr, Manager, Urban Planning and
Jihan S. Le Mallakh, International Affairs Advisor to Governor Of Cairo

A Presentation of the Governorate: Interview of the Director of Urban Planning at the Governorate of Cairo

By Clément Boisseuil

On the afternoon of December 15th, 2010, we had the opportunity and the great honour to meet with the director of urban planning of the Governorate of Cairo, Saied El Bahr. The meeting was short because of time constraints, but it helped us better understand the Governorate's objectives, interests and challenges. It was a way to study the Governorate's involvement in the Cairo 2050 project, in terms of both inspiration as well as implementation.

The greatness of Egypt and its challenges. Director El Bahr first answered why Cairo is critical to the rest of Egypt in three specific points: population, GDP and Civilization. Cairo is indeed the heart of Egypt: the city and the country even share the same name in Arabic. However, due to some privacy issues, we were not able to collect all the data we thought we could, but we understood the difficult task of the Director in talking about such a project that involves so many challenges. Director El Bahr clearly stated the multiple interests for urban planners, investors or scholars of looking at Cairo as a challenge and an opportunity. Proud of introducing the Government's project of Cairo 2050, he showed us a presentation

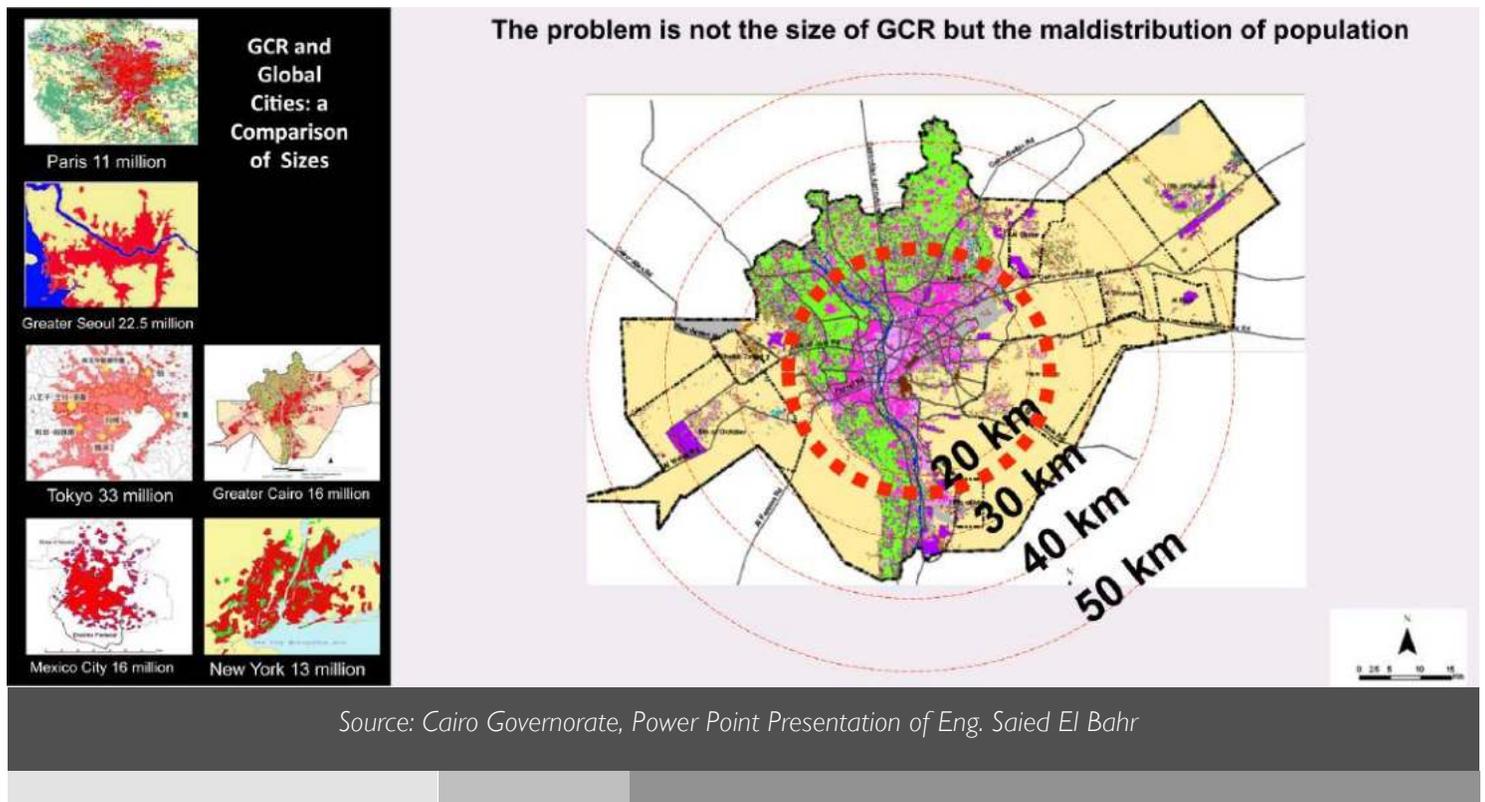
of the project, before being kind enough to answer our few questions.

The Director sees many big challenges for Cairo in both the short and the long term: population and housing, dispersal of administrative services, the economy and job opportunities, and perhaps most importantly, human and environmental issues related to the human resources that are threatened by significant population growth and density.

There is indeed a clear need for the redistribution of the population in Egypt. According to El Bahr, the population lives on only 6% of the Egyptian land, most of which falls around the Nile, and 70% of this population is in Greater Cairo. 43% of Urban Egyptians live in Cairo.

Cairo 2050 Project: a new vision for Cairo? Rapidly describing former projects such as the collaboration with France in 1982 or the similar plans of 1991 and 2001, he finally introduced the new strategic Egyptian plan of 2007/2008 that consists of four main components: population regulation, traffic regulation, new use of resources and of

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“the population lives on only 6% of the Egyptian land, most of which falls around the Nile, and 70% of this population is in Greater Cairo. 43% of Urban Egyptians live in Cairo”

the urban environment and a new policy towards more green spaces. The vision is a triangle of success for Cairo with a worldwide vision, a green perspective and the goal of connectivity. The aim is to raise the standard of living of the population through better technology, an understanding of the historical, architectural and cultural assets of the Capital of Egypt and a development of tourism.

The legal categorization of Cairo as a conglomerate of five governorates of the same size as many of Egypt's rural areas is the main factor hindering the realization of such a plan. Therefore the government hopes to create a special law that adapts to the density of Cairo.

The second issue for Cairo is dealing with its informal settlements. Here he refers to two forms of slums that are categorized as such in Cairo: dangerous areas (that cover 3% of the slums and that are hazardous in terms of infrastructure, health problems, etc.) and unplanned settlements that need to be restructured (notably consisting of agricultural lands).

The third problem is addressing the question of extremely limited green space within Cairo. With only 0.3 square meters of greenery per person compared to 12 to 15 square meters in other large metropolises of the world, El Bahr believes that the addition of green spaces will help cope with the issue of pollution, the relocation of individuals and the restructuring of industrial areas. In addition, it will help raise Cairo to the status of a global and tourist-oriented City.

Transportation is also a paramount issue. Today, Cairo has only three metro lines, but the aim is to build fifteen by 2050. The objective is to link the important zones such as the CBD, cemetery, and downtown areas with the periphery of the city. Moreover, the government should build a new public transportation system in order to connect the newly developed cities now prolific around Cairo, such as New Cairo and October 6th City.

Tourism at stake. Tourism seems to be crucial in the politics of Cairo in the years to come. There are 27 thousand rooms in hotels today and the objective is to have more than 50 thousand by 2050. The government will relocate its administrative buildings from the Old City in order to reconfigure Cairo as a space made only for tourism, a few ministries and the service industry.

Recently, the United States won a competition for the rehabilitation and renovation of the 19th century district of Khedivial. The architects have already developed magnificent facades and started the renovation of the Square Ramses (with a circulation of 100,000 cars per hour) as well.

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The cemetery is a main subject of controversy because it supposes the relocation of many informal settlers. Cairo has so many things to show – notably the 5th eldest Church in the World - but governing institutions seldom take the time to look at its assets and put them forward.

Nevertheless, the Director suggests that locals are happy to be reallocated, because they can live in a better environment with better infrastructure and more entertainment. According to El Bahr, the project's plans for connections would not only yield a great improvement in the quality of life of the Cairoites, but also for governmental agencies that will benefit from a renovated and cutting-edge CBD.

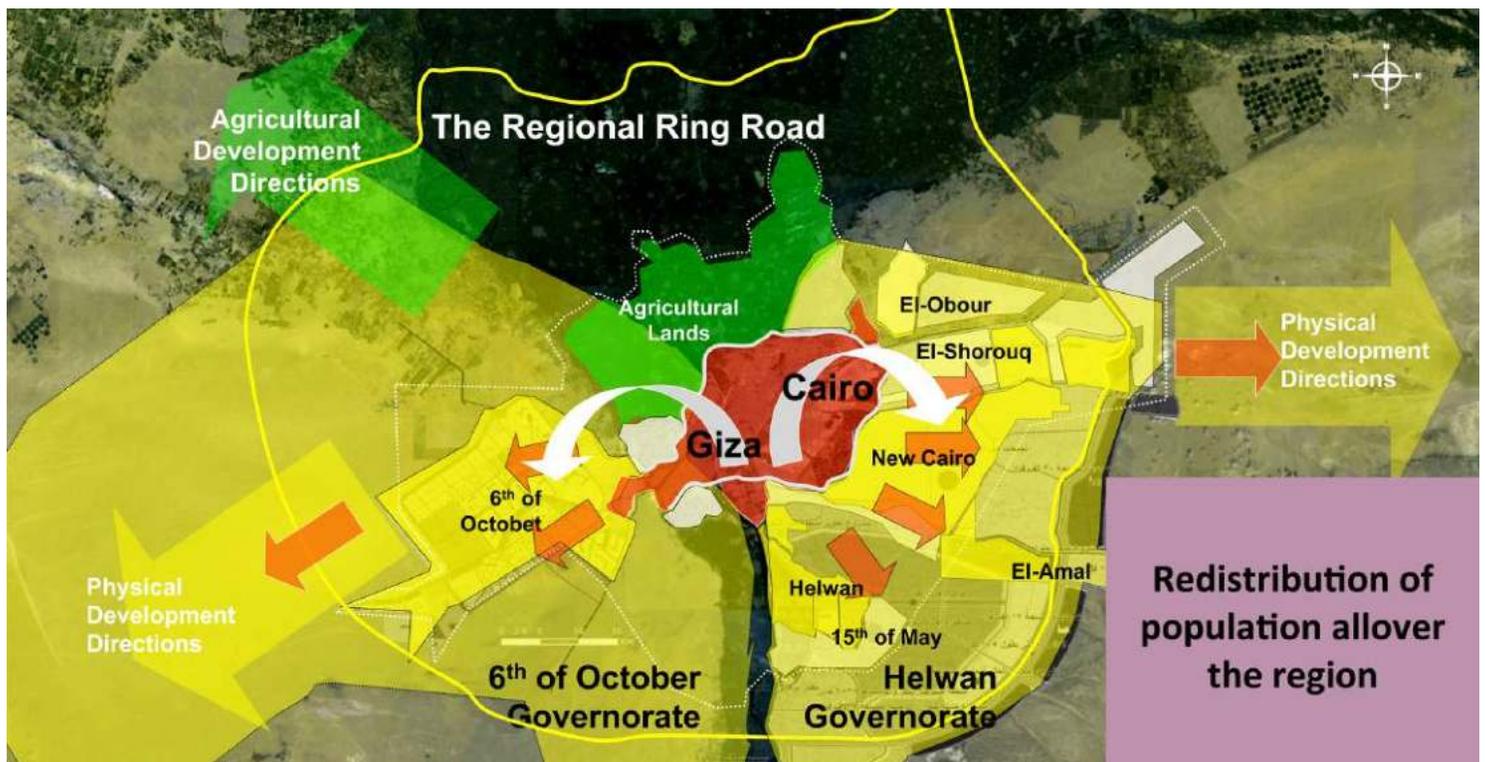
A work in progress. It appears that Cairo 2050 is a great, but still a work in progress. Finance is a private topic for example. The relation between the Governorates in Cairo is not clear enough to know what their actual achievements and interactions are, notably on the question of finance. If the five governorates are working toward the same goal, why is there still today a problem of coordination? We are left unsure of the level of collaboration between the respective governorates of Cairo, which may result in overlapping and conflicting interests.

Finally, it seems that no timetable is put into place yet, which is an indication that the project is still in construction. However, goals and objectives are clear and well constructed, even if they might appear to be really optimistic.

Transportation would be the best example of one of the challenges that a properly planned architectural and urban project could resolve. Cairo should not rely on a policy of individual cars. We know that this model is not sustainable both in ecological terms and urban planning terms. If Cairo wants to become a green and tourism-driven global city, it has to resolve this issue that was not entirely covered by the Director or even the representation from the Ministry of Housing, Infrastructure and Urban Development.

We learned a lot from this presentation about the vision of the Governorate and the overall project of Cairo 2050. Nevertheless, the relationship between the Governorate, the federal government, and private partners is still unclear. Moreover, we do not know the how the specific department of urban planning reacts to the general politics of the Governorate. What will be the future of the project? What will be the actual involvement of the Governorate in the project and how which financial basis the project will progress? Here are a few of the questions that need to be further raised.

However, we understood that the Governorate is aware of Cairo's current challenges, has placed a great importance in the development of the project and is sincerely optimistic on its outcomes.



Source of the maps: Cairo Governorate, Power Point Presentation of Eng. Saied El Bahr



Day
2

The Aga Khan Trust for Culture Foundation in Cairo

Speaker: Mr. Kareem Ibrahim
Architect

Visit of Darb al-Ahmar neighbourhood: Discovering the Projects and Realisations of the Aga Khan Trust for Culture Foundation

By Inès Weill-Rochant

What is the Aga Khan Foundation? The Aga Khan Foundation has a great and beneficial influence all over the world. The quality and finesses of Aga Khan Foundation building sites and realisations is a proof of the Foundation's devotion to heritage, development and local inhabitants daily life.

The Aga Khan Foundation has many agencies; Aga Khan Academies (AKA), Aga Khan Agency for Microfinance (AKAM), Aga Khan Education Services (AKES), Aga Khan Foundation (AKF), Aga Khan Fund for Economic Development (AKFED), Aga Khan Health Services (AKHS), Aga Khan Planning and Building Services (AKPBS), Aga Khan Trust for Culture (AKTC), Aga Khan University (AKU), Focus Humanitarian Assistance (FOCUS) and University of central Asia (UCA).

Aga Khan Foundation's work in Egypt started in November 1984 with the gigantic planning of Al Azhar park. The choice was made to give Al Azhar Park to Cairo's citizens and, following the General Organisation of Greater Cairo Water Supply (GOGCWS), to build three great water reservoirs and a pumping station. Al Azhar Park site was located on a rubbish dump near the famous El Khan el

Khalili souk and the Mamluk (City of the Dead). Nothing could predict that this mountain of garbage would become Cairo's green heart and hide three main source of water for the city. Before the building site started, it was nothing more than an abandoned and unhealthy land. The construction of the park would act as a springboard for the rehabilitations of the surrounding areas and a revalorization of Cairo's heritage.

After the park, Aga Khan Foundation decided to work on the surrounding areas. The first step was to renovate the party wall. Then, to rehabilitate Darb al-Ahmar neighbourhood, that includes: houses, streets, a square and a Mosque: Umm al Sultan Shabban. The project had four main goals: maintenance, rehabilitation, new development, and restoration. Very few demolitions were decided, only when the building presented dangers and could not be rehabilitated.

Rehabilitating the ayyubid wall, a fortification constructed in 1176, was a delicate task. Before any intervention, researches (field survey, graphic documentation and scientific analysis) were made in order to understand and respect its historic structures, revalorize its authenticity

“The limits and obstacles to the implementation of the project were mainly administrative and technical”



and merge it to the recent urban structures. The reconstruction and rehabilitation used original stones and also similar ones. The methods were either traditional or modern and the result is a wall that keeps its historical characteristics and function, harmonized with the rest of the urban landscape.

The Aga Khan Trust for Culture agency, active since 1989 and the Historic Cities Programme, created in 2006 direct the Darb-al-Ahmar projects (under the leadership of Mohammed el Mikawi). The organization aims to revitalise the community and the habitat of the Muslim world through renovation, rehabilitation and development programs. The Aga Khan Trust for Culture also organizes as well the Aga Khan Award for Architecture, the Music Initiative in Central Asia and the Aga Khan Program for Islamic Architecture at Harvard University and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

The Aga Khan Historic Cities Programme (HCP) has the ambition to revalorize architecture, historical sites and public spaces in the Muslim world. Furthermore, it tackles development issues through the question of social, economic and cultural development. In addition to its rehabilitation designed and thought out by professionals from all around the world, the Aga Khan involves also individual initiatives, participatory planning, community participation, and training for local inhabitants.

We had the chance to visit the historical neighbourhood of Darb el-Ahmar located at the Southwest of the Khan el Khalili behind the Al Azhar park's party wall (Ayyubid wall). This area concentrates a rich architectural Islamic heritage. The neighbourhood counts 65 monuments registered by the Supreme Council of Antiquities. Mainly composed of modest and poor dwellings, the Aga Khan decided to renovate this area in order to provide it from real estate speculation and a possible gentrification. The idea was to reverse the decline of an historic district.

The Foundation's aim being to protect and re-valorise Muslim monuments and buildings, they will now be to protect the concerned communities and their heritage as well. The Aga Khan decided to rehabilitate Darb el-Ahmar so that the families could stay in the neighbourhood. If the population of a neighbourhood is displaced, it loses its authenticity and its original urban spirit. For instance, this is what happens when workers from a Medina in Morocco are set up outside the surrounding city walls. This would not happen in Darb El Ahmar.

Darb al-Ahmar. Darb al-Ahmar neighbourhood is 1.5 square kilometres and counts 900 to 1000 inhabitants. This project is a model of integration on all levels: professionals, the dwellers, and different methods and techniques.

This neighbourhood had multiple weaknesses. The level of poverty rates were high, buildings and housing were in constant deterioration due to a lack of maintenance, demolition orders were ruining the neighbourhood's heritage and the 1992 earthquake aggravated the general situation.

Darb El Ahmar needed to be taken in charge by but an exterior actor, an actor that did not have political interests or obligations. The Aga Trust for Culture saw the neighbourhood's potential and capacities. Darb el Ahmar presented opened spaces,

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commerce and mosques. Although the area's architecture was out of condition it was and still is a cultural and historical treasure. The AGCT was aware of this richness and understood another main advantage and pattern of Darb el Ahmar: urban cohesiveness. Local families live there since fifty years or more; they care for their neighborhood.

Each of those details present essential patterns. Renovation, rehabilitation, revitalization and reconstruction imply a nexus with the area. Hence, a place must be understood, analysed and cherished.

All initiatives were made of special agreements with the Supreme Council of Antiquities and the Ministry of Religious Endowments (Awqaf). AKTC works in co-operation with institutional partners and NGOs, neighbourhood representatives, local businessmen and people living the area. Interactions, discussions and negotiations between those actors made the project possible.

Several donators were part of the project. For instance, the German Sandstorm Group donated a library to the Community Centre and the AKTC's headquarter. The Egyptian-Swiss Development Fund and the Fond Foundation also helped in the project realisation.

A planning project implies to make a field research and interviews with the local inhabitants. Every detail counts. Neither patterns nor specific aspects can be treated separately: ecological, social and economic issues are linked. That is why AKTC tackles all levels of issues and is also an intermediary actor between local communities and the government authorities.

A new dynamic in Darb Al Ahmar: rehabilitation, participation and revalorization. The idea was to revitalise the neighbourhood by rehabilitating its infrastructure and create a new and sustainable dynamic. By revalorizing the heritage, it is the whole local population that is revitalized, not only because living conditions are improved but also because it creates a social life.

Such projects involve the population; create jobs and give back the space and acknowledgement to the historical stones that they deserve. Al Azhar Park generated 250 jobs actually on the site (more than 1.000 during its construction). The rehabilitation of the Aslan Square revalorized the heritage of the area and the surrounding shops of craftsmen.

The AKTC project is also a chance for the local population to value its economic potential, the best development ideas come from the dwellers themselves, they know their neighbourhood, therefore, their consent is a basis for any building site. A project is heading toward failure if it does not take into account the inhabitant's desires and propositions.

The AKTC launched their dynamics through diverse economic and social projects; institutional capacity-buildings, a training centre, micro credit systems and community participation planning.

Furthermore, training sessions are regularly organized so that the local inhabitants can participate in the renovation of their neighbourhood. The technical support includes: higher rehabilitation standards, training local craftsmen and a participatory design approach.

Besides the technical level, the Aga Khan developed local services: in the educational, health, cultural realms. The administrative staffs use the Aga Khan buildings and the community uses many of the buildings for lessons, meetings, and workshops.

The organization completed three projects:

- The renovation of the Khaybrek complex which includes a Palace of the XVIII century: Alin aq Palace, the Khaybrek Mosque and an Ottoman house: Sabil-Kuttab. Residents now also use this set of architectural treasures is now also used for recreational and cultural activities and events.
- The preservation of Umm al-Sultan Shaaban Mosque. They prioritized was put on the stabilisation of the rooftop and the restoration of the minaret.
- The rehabilitation of the Darb Shoughlan School as to deal with an old building (XXe century). The rehabilitation and renovation of the buildings enabled the AKTC to set its headquarters and to organize training sessions, lessons and conferences.

The limits and obstacles to the implementation of the project were mainly administrative and technical. Darb al-Ahmar was an informal settlement; therefore the legal procedures to work on the land were complicated. 92% of the buildings in the urban areas are not regulated and 44% of the buildings are owned, and 70% of the dwellers lived under the poverty line. The question was: who to deal with first? The government and the Egyptian Supreme Council of Antiquities are responsible for the Egyptian patrimony and own several lands. Two different owners owned some buildings. Therefore the Foundation had to enter into deliberations with such actors.

Then the Foundation undertook the survey of 600 buildings in order to approach the area by understanding its limits. Regarding the first parcels of houses behind the wall, the Foundation not only had to convince the Supreme Council of Antiquities but also had to deal with the different owners.

Al Azhar Park is one of the rare quiet places in Cairo where you can walk without the usual traffic soundtrack. People go there to relax, have a walk or a picnic with their family and friends. Middle and high class Egyptians come to eat in the restaurant located at the north of the park or to the Citadel view patisserie. People coming from the popular adjacent neighbourhoods have a reduced fare, which allows them to enjoy this area as much as they want. This gigantesque project shows what can be done in areas that seem unusable and which hides historical abandoned treasures. Cairo is a mixture of both elements and therefore an endless source of rehabilitation, renovation and changes.



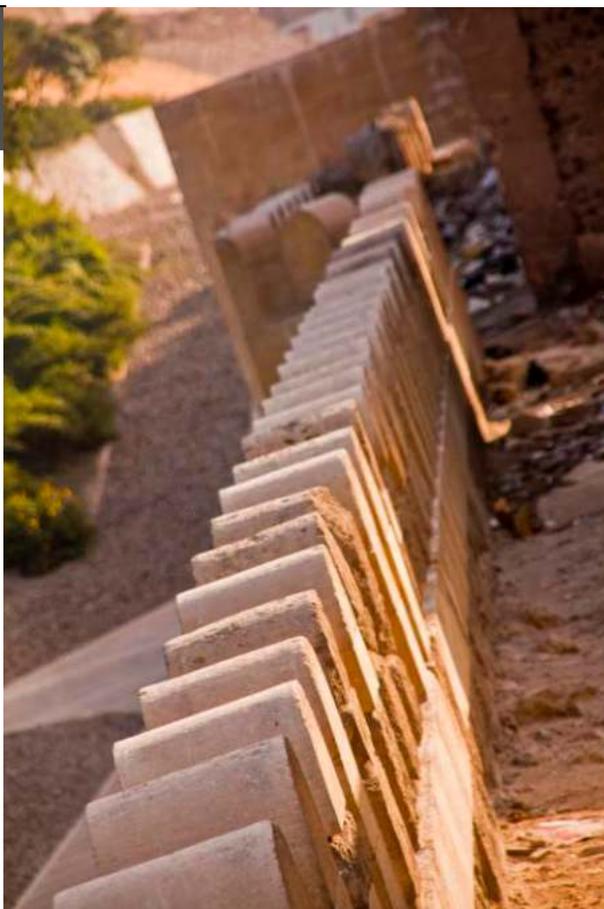
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Source:

http://www.arteeast.org/content/files/editor/Image/Diana%20Issue/sadia/downtown_khan_site_diagram.jpg



The 4,000 square meter site in the low income area of Darb al-Ahmar is a 10 minute walk (● = 800 meter diameter) from Khan al-Khalili, a requisite stop for all tourists passing through the city.





Day
2

Archplan: Planning 6th of October City

Speaker: Prof. Ayman Ashour, Chairman of Archplan,
Private consultancy office in architecture and urban planning

Archplan and the 6th of October City project

By Hugo Christy

Archplan is a multidisciplinary engineering/consulting agency specialized in urban and landscape design. It was founded in 1985. The company has provided urban plans for different projects by gathering various kinds of experts, including economists, engineers, architects and geologists. Archplan also declares appreciating the importance of public participation. Most of the projects have been designed to create tourists-friendly areas as a first step for urban revitalization.

6th of October city is only one of the many projects led by Archplan. Archplan has also been working for Louxor along with the UNDP and the Ministry of Housing. The company follows its "think logic, design logic" motto according to which you need logic to build better environments. It has developed different branches and different partnerships around the world, for example with AS&P in Germany when it comes to the 6th of October project.

The company has been working on Louxor, the governor's office, as well as many other religious buildings, gated communities, health-related infrastructures... Some of the projects are national: El Alamein City (North Coast Desert), East Port Said, or Louxor that started in 2002 and tried to reconcile heritage preservation, tourism,

and housing services and shelters, especially for women through the Women Civic Center.

6th of October chronology

- 1979** Development of the first new urban communities outside the first ring road.
- Mid-1980s** Setting of 10 new communities by the minister of housing
- 2001** His successor launched the New Cairo City project and merged 6 of the communities into 6th of October.



A few statistics

<i>Ultimate capacity</i>	3.5 million inhabitants
<i>Current population</i>	220 441 housing units available
<i>Population by 2027</i>	3.8 million
<i>Size of the project</i>	1/3 of Greater Cairo
<i>Growth rate (1996-2001)</i>	18.10%
<i>Goal of population repartition</i>	30-50% working-class
	40-60% middle-class
	10% upper-class
<i>The Green Belt</i>	18 000 acres – Urban planners try to innovate by incorporating the Green Belt within the City, overcoming the simple idea of a green belt to realize a <i>green net</i> .

“out of the 600 000 units built, 400 000 still do not reach the target population because they are too expensive”

The original 6th of October

- An industrial zone
- An original master plan
- Extension to the North
- Road connection to Giza and the Oasis
- 200 000 already built housing units, 40% of which for the working-class

The new comprehensive master plan

- Reintegration of the regional road in the middle of the city.
- Division of the map into three parts: the original 6th of October, Northeast part, and the part to the South of the road
- Fair working/middle/upper class distribution (as opposed to 10th of Ramadan which is mainly working-class)
- Unfortunately, out of the 600 000 units built, 400 000 still do not reach the target population because they are too expensive.



Day
3

The Zabaleen District

Speaker: Mr Adham Refaat
Colleague of Mr. Abouna Saman, leader
of the Coptic Community of the Zabaleen

The Zabaleen District and the Association for the Protection of the Environment

By Nicola da Schio & Olivier Woeffray

Mr Adham Refaat welcomed us in the Zabaleen village located at the foot of the Moqatam Mountains, on the road to Manchiyet Nasser (eastern Cairo). This informal settlement shelters one of the most important Zabaleen community in Cairo with around 20,000 inhabitants from which the majority are Coptic Christians. The Zabaleen have traditionally been Cairo's informal waste collectors. In the past, they were spread all over the city but they had to move to Moqatam in 1969 when the governorate issued a decree stipulating that waste had to be moved out of the city.

Living conditions in Moqatam were particularly difficult at that time. However, a Christian minister who was particularly concerned by the community helped to improve the Zabaleen settlement by building some schools, a kindergarten and a hospital with the participation of the community, the local church and eventually by the governorate and international donors. Nevertheless, despite a quite good quality of construction and a very strong sense of community, the omnipresence of waste in the neighbourhood clearly affects the quality of the living environment. Moreover, although 10% of the community has enough resources to invest in recycling machinery

and trucks (micro-entrepreneurs), the average income is among the lowest in Cairo and 60% of the children do not attend school.

The economic life of the Zabaleen district is essentially based on informal waste management: from door-to-door collection to the production of recycled raw material. It is worth to highlight that although informal, this activity appears to be highly organised and systematized, allowing 80% of the waste collected to be recycled, compared to only 20% to 30% in Europe. Pigs even ate and sorted organic waste until 2009, when the government ordered them to be slaughtered all over the country because of the swine flu. This took away an important source of income from some of the Zabaleen families. A second crucial change in the waste economy in Cairo was the opening of this sector to foreign enterprises by the government in 2000. This decision directly affected the Zabaleen community by forcing some of them out of business. Other saw the amount of waste collected plummet and consequently their income was reduced. However, new enterprises have engaged in negotiations and cooperation with the Zabaleens. Today, three of the four new international companies are working with Zabaleen, some have been



“The economic life of the Zabaleen district is essentially based on informal waste management: from door-to-door collection to the production of recycled raw material”



hired as subcontractors and others directly work for these companies.

Among the different activities taking place around the recycling sector the Association for the Protection of the Environment (APE) is particularly interesting.

The Association for the Protection of the Environment, A.P.E, founded 1984, is a private voluntary organization that is legally registered with the ministry of social affairs as an NGO. It was founded in the district with the aim of improving the condition of women and providing an opportunity for empowerment. The project originated with the donation of old fabric by a textile factory to the community of the Zabaleen. To make the best of the donation, good Samaritans founded the association, and it now works on the recycling of textile materials and paper.

Among the many goals of the association, the most important is considered to be teaching the women of the community to read and write and to provide them with the necessary skills to begin a profession. Given that an explicit invitation to join a literacy project to women who for different reasons did not or could not go to school would have been unsuccessful; the association is structured mostly around courses of sewing. Moreover the beneficiaries involved receive a daily wage of five Egyptian Pounds (around 0.65 €), so that they can somehow counterbalance the potential money they do not earn while working. Normally the women attend the courses for three months before starting activities on their own. A small system of microfinance helps those who don't have enough resource to start (e.g. purchasing a machine).

The association considers the protection of the environment as a priority; it is for this reason that the raw material which is now used comes from the waste collected by the Zabaleen. On the premises of the association, the women transform garbage into carpets and bags. In this sense the project enters into the logic and the dynamics of the community. The final products are sold in the market and in few shops around Cairo, or in a small shop located in the rooms of the association, where us GLM students and teachers were able to buy presents and souvenirs and thus contribute to the sustainability of the project.

The APE workshop is a remarkable example of a “social enterprise” improving the quality of life of a community by unveiling and exploit its own resources and capacities. In this case the neighbourhood did not only received funds from above, but used them to activate mechanism of self sustainability. In other words, the project interacts intensely with the community and it is integrated with it in two senses: it uses a resource that is locally abundant; and it is a functioning commercial activity that enlarges the consumption choice and the range of possible occupations and opportunities for the empowerment for its members.



Day
3

6th of October City

City Council of October City

6th of October City: a Mosaic of Planning, Unplanning, and Replanning

By Marwa Belghazi & Xuan Liu

On the morning of December 16th, we started driving west-ward, crossing Heliopolis and Gaza, towards 6th of October city, one of the three satellite cities of Cairo which carries the expectation to curb Cairo's population growth and sprawl.

We were first received at the siege of the City Council, where a team assisting the chairman explained us briefly the objectives on which the city was conceived and the infrastructures built to serve this vision.

Established by presidential decree (504/1979) and named after the 1973 battle when Egyptians crossed the Suez Canal into Israeli-occupied Sinai, 6th of October is Cairo's main satellite city. Administratively speaking, it is the capital of the Governorate of the same name comprised in Greater Cairo Region. It is located 17 km away from Giza, 32 km from downtown Cairo and connected with Cairo via the 26 of July corridor. With a total surface of 398 square kilometers, the city would, upon completion of development, reach an expected population of 3.75 million inhabitants. The idea of setting up satellite cities around Cairo started when Gamal Nasser (Nasser was in office from 1956 to 1970) mapped out the "Greater Cairo Region Master Scheme". In 1970s, Sadat called for a "new

population map of Egypt". In 1979, construction of the six of October city began, in the center of desert. A central figure that spearheaded the new town program in the Sadat administration was Hassan Kafrawi, the Minister of New Communities from 1970s till 1993.

Currently hosting one million inhabitants, the plan of the 6th of October city is only halfway through when it comes to its designed scale to host 3,5 million immigrants from Cairo. Whether its designed capacity could be realized is often doubted domestically and internationally. It is even reported that the Egyptian government forced Cairo's urban poor to relocate to six of October city and in the judgment of some commentators it made their lives harder since their relocations torn apart informal economies in the former informal settlements. Facing its decreasing planning power, the Egyptian government is now forced to explore new policy tools to finance urban public goods in order to attract more inhabitants and find new mechanisms to cooperate with its society to "redistribute its population map"(to use the term of Sadat). It is necessary for Egypt to set up new towns in the desert area to host its rapidly increasing urban population since it cannot afford to host the latter in



its scarce arable land. A 1985 statistic showed that in the Greater Cairo Region (GCR), urban growth resulted in an average loss of some 1,500 acres of arable land per year.

Following this introduction, we had a bus visit of the city to complete and illustrate the previous presentation.

“All of the districts contained three types of housing: low-income/economic housing, middle-class housing and upper-class/luxury housing”

We first drove through the residential areas divided into districts classified by numbers totaling an area of 90 square km. All of the districts contained three types of housing: low-income/economic housing, middle-class housing and upper-class/luxury housing. However, some plots, still under construction, were sold to private promoters and investors who are going to build housing complexes and sell them privately. Two very innovative programs are ongoing in the city: the “Ebny beitaK” (build your own house) program and “Mubarak Youth Housing Project”. In the first one, low-income families are allocated a piece of land (equal shares) where they are assisted to build their own house. The latter program was started in 1996 in order to enable young couples to find suitable housing at a reasonable price.

There are 56 public and private schools that can host 50,000 students in total. There are 8 universities and other high education institutions such as 6th of October University, Misr International University, Ahran Canadian University, and Mubarak Scientific city. A concentration of entertainment and recreation facilities stands out in the city with Magic land & Cairo land, two cultural centers, two theaters and a notable number of “clubs” (Nawadi) such as the Engineers club, 6th of October club, Zamalek club. We also noticed the presence of world hotels, such as Sheraton, Hilton and Movenpick; and many shopping malls with big supermarket brands like Carrefour. The city also accommodates eight hospitals, eight governmental health centers. Private cars seem to be the main mode of transportation in the city though, and public transportations are very scarce. This implies a very weak connectivity to Cairo city or to other parts of the region for people who do not own cars.

Leaving the last housing district, we crossed a buffer zone, meant to be a green belt that separates the residential area from the industrial zone. For now, it is a large empty space but our interlocutors informed us that the project of planting trees and other vegetation

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was in progress. The total industrial area is of 32 square Km and it includes activities and sectors such as: Automotive (General Motors, Mercedes, Nissan, BMW), Industrial & Electronics (Bahagat Electronics, foodstuff, and Gohaina), plastics , metallic and mechanical activities, Chemical & Pharmaceutical industries (Procter & Gamble). Few are the workers in the industrial zone that reside in the city and thus, they commute between Cairo and the city.

Many questions could be and should be explored such as the financing of the city project, notably the share and the roles of the private sector. Private investors and multinationals firms seemed to play a big role in shaping the new city. Secondly, some interrogations might prevail regarding the government plans to incite and to attract people to relocate in the city as well as the concepts behind the social and economic segregation of the residential areas. Furthermore, another severe challenge for 6th of October city, and the dozens of second and third generation of new towns following its model comes from its location in the desert. Can a new town like 6th of October, surrounded by its barren desert hinterland, achieve long term sustainable development? Unlike the initiative of building new towns, the model of building new towns in the desert is mainly an Egyptian innovation; there are no precedent similar international experiences to learn from.

In conclusion, this visit was highly interesting and provided us with a clear illustration of how the new cities project was conducted in the region. The urban landscape is completely different from the one observed in Cairo, as the city was built from scratch in the desert.





Day
4

Dar es Salam: the formal, the informal and the squatter areas. What regulation?

Speaker: Adel and Saïd, inhabitants of the district

Guided tour of Dar Es Salam

By Louisa Zhang

A dense cluster of informal housing built on agricultural land that is home to over 200 000 people, Dar es Salam district, situated near the 12th century Fustat area also known as “Old Cairo”, has recently been identified as a risk area for the city of Cairo. This has led to a growing number of relocations of residents and a questioning of both the rapid development of informal settlements and the increasing appearance of squatter sites.

Dar es Salam was initially built on an existing irrigation system at the end of the 1970s, which explains why some of the street-levels are lower in certain parts of the district than others. Relatively neglected in terms of infrastructure, the roads around the district have many potholes, poor to non-existing street lighting and a worrying lack of access: one small, highly congested road provides access to the entire district. The lack of infrastructure and access however, has not stopped construction in this “middle-class” area.

In the 1980s and 1990s, the district was recognised by the local municipality and basic sewage was made available. This sewage system was then extended informally as each household added new floors to their houses and built upwards, adding pipes and creating a vulnerable sewage system for the entire heart of Cairo. Today, it costs between 1000 and 1500 pounds to have sewage installed officially in your home.

The district has grown into a maze of narrow unnamed street ways. Housing on the outskirts with proximity to main roads and the underground train system is highly valued. However, the deeper one enters into the district, the narrower the streets, the cheaper the housing and the more improvised construction appears to be. The periphery, with its paved street ways and even tiled alleys is relatively organised even though it is far from planned. But the heart of Dar es Salam, where informal extensions and dangerous buildings rise on dirt roads, dominates in the absence of all forms of organization. This, the local government has decided, is a risk.

From the heart of Dar es Salam, people who are displaced are being relocated to 6th of October city, a new development area 32km out of Cairo. The apartments that are provided for relocation are all the same size for families living in this area, regardless of the size of the family and the current apartment space occupied. This, however, seems not to be a problem for the local Dar es Salam residents who see the regulation as an upgrade in terms of accommodation: better schools, clean, pretty and safer environment and often larger apartments.

Downhill Dar es Salam, with all the chaos that improvising has led to, provides services any formal district would: clinics, police stations, schools etc. Although the quality of these is incomparable to other

areas (in Dar es Salam there are 80 students per classroom on average), the institutions are present. They distinguish downhill Dar es Salam from the slums and squatter areas it neighbours.

Interestingly, a whole section of Dar es Salam, is neither formal, nor informal: it is squatted. Where in informal areas the land has been bought but the buildings have been informally built, in squatted areas the land still belongs to the state and people squat the land. The divide then, between informal and squatted land is geographical in Dar es Salam, where the land downhill has been bought, but the land uphill is being squatted.

The uphill section of the Dar es Salam area is, in fact currently being

“The apartments that are provided for relocation are all the same size for families living in this area, regardless of the size of the family and the current apartment space occupied”

demolished by the local government. The reasons for this remain unclear and the weak communication regarding the demolition plan has led to a very sceptical and suspicious local population. While some say the area is simply a high risk squatted area, others believe the government wants to build a big road through the middle of the district, and some maintain the government just wants to keep the hill empty and relocate people to 6th of October city. The official regulation however, is that people are to build at least 22m away from the street.

Dar es Salam's uphill areas are squatted by relatively low-income earners as well as lower middle-income earners. The difference is drastic: trash at every corner, children between 1-16 in the streets, wild animals running loose etc. No infrastructure is present, and no form of State authority is present: there are no police stations, clinics and all the schools are at the bottom of the hill. A down-hill resident that decided to join us while we walked through the streets of Dar es Salam explained this phenomenon with the government's new trash policy that most of the squatters could not afford. The banker explained that the zabbalin used to pick up the trash from each home and people used to pay them individually. The government's new policy is that residents should pay the amount they pay for electricity to the State, for their rubbish to be picked up. Those that don't have enough money to pay twice – the electricity bill and the rubbish, have no choice but to put it in the street. Those that care about public hygiene might bother to burn the rubbish. Other wise it sits on the dirt roads for the stray cats and rats to enjoy. He further developed the reason for the mess through income distribution: as a

middle class banker, he makes 7000 Egyptian pounds/ month. A university graduate, even a medical science graduating as a doctor, makes Egyptian 400 pounds/month. For a person living uphill in Dar es Salam, he said the average income varies between 800 to 1000 Egyptian pounds/month for a family. From this sum they must deduct rent as most don't own the shelter they squat, school fees and food. Of what is left, not much can be spared for rubbish collecting when the street option is free and convenient.

The third reason for lower hygiene standards and misjudgement of priorities among the residents of uphill Dar es Salam is the rent policy the government recently implemented. Rent used to be minimal: 5 pounds/ month: insignificant and affordable. In order to boost housing construction and investment, the government allowed rent to be raised bringing a previous 5pounds/month rent to some 400pounds/month. How then can residents afford the trash policy?

The resident recognised that there were many problematic issues and raised an interesting point. He said that the survival of this area relied on the mix of different income earners, and different social classes in the same area and felt that the geographical difference between squatters and informal housing had not divided people into different areas within Dar es Salam. He explained that the rubbish and hygiene situation uphill would be much worse if the area only housed very low-income earners. Thankfully, he said, the district groups both “people with an awareness of the risks attached to bad hygiene and waste” and “unaware littering residents”, and that there is still some good in the behaviour of people in the area because it mixes both middle income earners and lower income earners. He said the district had thankfully not yet reached the stage that the district of El Zawiya El Hamra had.

His final point, however, was that poverty was not the root cause for the insalubrity of the area. In fact, even education and awareness were not the main reasons either. For him, a lack of “strong regulation” was the basis for the situation. He used the precedence of England to show that initially littering was not necessarily a taboo. It had nothing to do with class or income, or education. The State enforced harsh fines that disincentivised people from littering and with time, throwing trash in a rubbish bin became a social norm. He believed that for things to change effectively, it was for the State to regulate people's behaviours through fines, as cleanliness and hygiene are pre-eminently a behavioural issue.

The city of Cairo today, is in a Janus-like situation: forward it thrives, under local government impulse towards development, with the rapid increase of urban public policies; backward it still falls, as certain residents find it difficult to live up to the many regulations that define the modern urban life they're to live and as basic regulations, necessary for the stability and long-term benefit of the city, are somewhat overlooked. It seems that certain vulnerable groups within the city are often confronted with the every day struggle to survive in a Cairo that is rapidly evolving, leading to improvisation and short-term informal projects that a public authority would be much better at planning and implementing.



Day

4

Living with the Dead: A tacit way for Survival

Speakers : Mrs Agnès Deboulet, Professor of urban sociology, Ecole d'Architecture La Villette, Paris.

Guided tour of The Dead City

By Jérémie Meyer

On the third day of our study trip to Cairo, we went throughout the old Cairo cemetery for a visit of the now-renowned Cairo necropolis, surrounded by its historical Fatimid architecture.

Informally baptised the "City of the Dead", this area embodies by itself several of our Cairo discoveries: it illustrates the problematic of space, illegal settlements and minority discrimination within the city.

To put things in their contexts, the housing problem started several decades ago in Cairo. Between the 1960s and the mid-1990s, Al Quahira suffered from a gigantic demographic expansion, mainly from an inward Egyptian immigration, increasing its population fourfold while the inhabitable-area merely doubled.

Many poor families, looking for new opportunities in the city, managed to dwell in the old cemetery's mausoleums on the basis of an informal contract: in exchange for being the tomb's caretaker (therefore keeping it clean, tidy and away from any problems) individuals and their families could remain in the upper rooms, originally planned for the deceased's family members to stay a night or two, in order to mourn the memories of the dead. This position thus became their job, living from "backsheesh" (donations) from the families, former friends or tourists after their visit of the grave, rendering their situation more sustainable. Furthermore, the dwellers, since they do not have any residential permits, have to bribe the local authorities in order to stay

and avoid any complications. Between three and five Egyptian Pounds (between 40 and 70 euro-cents) are enough, depending on the mood of the official for the bargain. Moreover, when it comes to the supply of water and sometimes electricity, the dwellers of the City of the Dead usually free-ride resources from the mausoleums and the public disposal.

Officially, more than 50.000 people are estimated to live in the Cairo Necropolis, although this number could go up, according to the dwellers, to something between 250.000 and 400.000, which are undoubtedly overestimated numbers. Furthermore, it is forbidden, both by Law and by the local customary norms, to build any kinds of additional infrastructures on the cemetery because of the sewage and canalisation systems. This explains why this particular district is not so overcrowded; having its hosts living in, or on, the roofs of a limited number of "houses".

Different from the other informal districts such as Manshiet Nasser (a major garbage disposal area, where 65% of its population is informal), the City of the Dead is appreciated by its daily walkers for its much more peaceful (due to the holiness of the area and the respect for silence), greener, less polluted and less crowded environment.

However, aside from merely testifying the rise of this informal district, ruled over by a typical old-style Fatimid architecture, the main interest

of our visit deeply vested upon its inhabitant's lifestyle and social construct.

One of the main points characterising the area is its poverty line. With an average salary standing between 50 and 120 Egyptian Pounds per month (between 7 and 16 Euros), and an average savings' book of about 750 Pounds (100 Euros), the myth of the "less than a dollar a day" stood right before us. With such conditions, limited future prospects are offered to the dwellers' children, scarcely

Officially, more than 50.000 people are estimated to live in the Cairo Necropolis, although this number could go up between 250.000 and 400.000, when asking the dwellers' opinion

able to go to school or to receive any education with the district. Consequently, the job of a grave-keeper commonly becomes hereditary, at least ensuring lodging as well as a healthy environment to live in, prosper and raise a family.

In addition, the districts' dwellers may have to change houses from time to time (when the family expels them for a reason or another), therefore limiting the fixed amount of furniture they can have.

The interest within the "City of the Dead" also lied in the customary body of norms its members progressively both adopted and created. From our visit we heard several stories. The first one is the story of a divorced man, from which the ex-wife keeps everything, from the house (although not her's) to parts of the children's furniture. It should also be noted that by keeping the housing, the wife also keep the job de facto. The second story, is about how issues are dealt and solved through the help of a mediator; being the longest-established person in the necropolis. This process helps settling issues without conflicts and to find an appropriate equilibrium point.

Finally, the last story we heard concerns the legacy and "inheritance" of the "domain". When the husband (in charge of the family but also of the territory) dies, the grave goes to the children, and if they are minor, to the wife. And if there are no descendants, the rules claim the grave is free for whoever wishes to become its keeper, provided of course that the owning-family gives its consent. This reveals us how this community, although quasi-totally informal, remains highly organised in its process of territorial repartition and recognition.

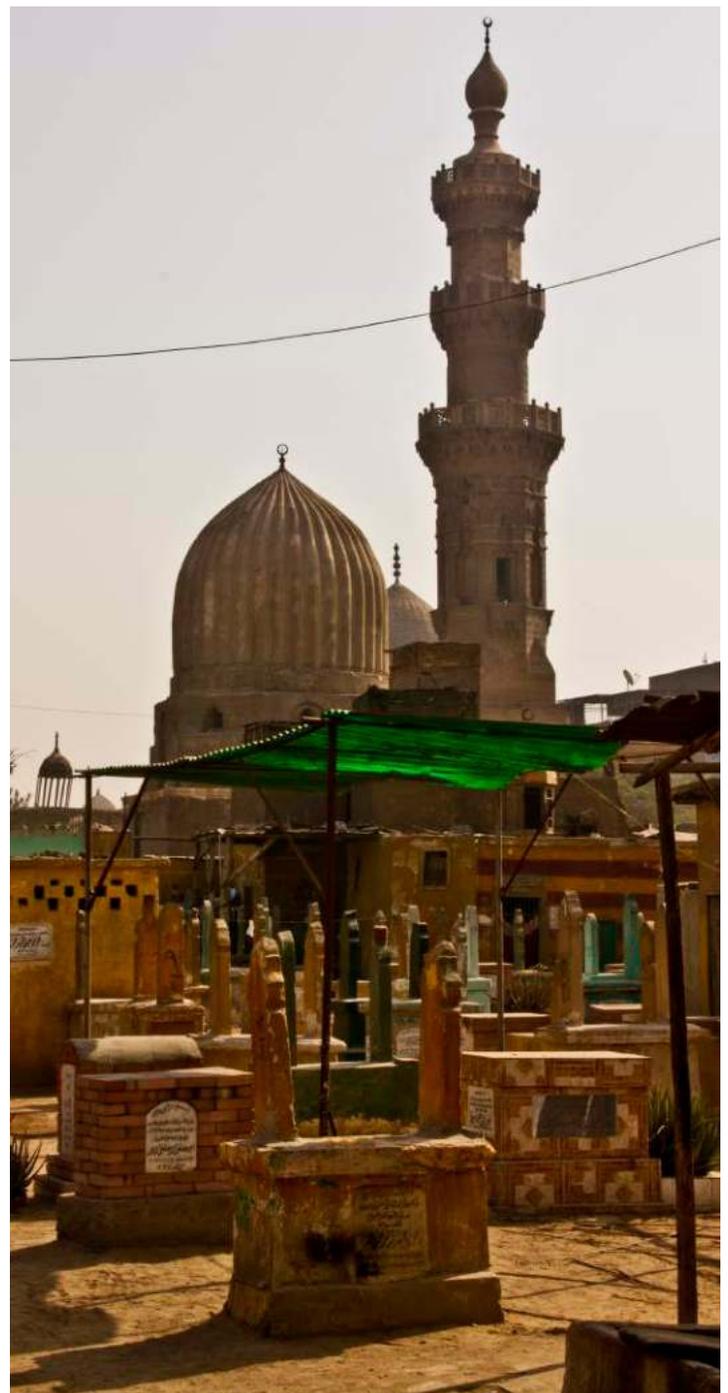
We could link this community back to the zabaleens, also suffering from a considerable level of social exclusion and establishing their own rules in order to avoid any forms of anarchy.

First of all, the allocation of territories is known between the members of the communities. Also, because of the general

willingness to avoid conflicts, great efforts will be involved in order to avoid the infringement of one's land.

Second similarity, although being profoundly rejected from the society, both communities feel proud for what they have managed to become for themselves, starting on the fringe of the society and increasing their coordination process.

Finally, also linked to a common hereditary work characteristic of the community, is also the intra-keepers' family marriage. Due to a profound repulsion from the general Cairo population, a sectoral and professional segregation and segmentation of the society rose.





Day
4

Make Old Cairo a new city

Speaker: Mona Zakaria, Architect

The issue of the old Cairo

By Gabriel Odin

Being a city turned toward the future has not prevented Cairo from looking into its past, which can be easily traced back to the beginning of our era. While Cairo has passed through the hands of a handful of occupiers, be it Romans, Arabs or Turks, its nucleus, Old Cairo, has been a Coptic district since the first days of Christianity. In spite of all troubles and uncertainties in the region, it has remarkably retained all the jewels of its past. Nowadays, it is still the place of many Coptic churches, whose unique architecture and history attract thousands of tourists every year.

But Old Cairo had to find a new youth. In the wake of the new millennium, to celebrate the arrival of the Holy Family in Egypt and their supposed stay in Old Cairo, the Egyptian government decided to rejuvenate the district. Many projects were presented, but only one was chosen. Mona Zakaria, a famous Egyptian architect, led the winning bid. We met her in one of the buildings she contributed to rehabilitate, at the entrance of the district, to listen to her vision of Old Cairo.

Through the renovation of an old historic zone of Cairo, the ministry of Tourism and the government, who had jointly organized the bid, wanted to create an attractive zone for tourists. In this regard, they were mostly concerned about monuments, which had to be restored to their past splendor. In Mrs. Zakaria's mind, however, something

more than heritage preservation had to be done. Old Cairo lacked basic facilities such as sanitation system or electricity, and most of its inhabitants lived in poor conditions. Authorities were aware of that, but they had privileged buildings over inhabitants. Balance between them was thus the keyword of the winning project led by Mrs. Zakaria.

Mrs. Zakaria soon noticed that she had to gain the confidence of the locals before she could start any work. She could see that, as an envoy of the government, she would not be trusted. Old Cairo was home to many families who had lived there for generations and who deeply mistrusted authorities. Expropriation was their main fear, although the project was meant for and not against them. Yet, considering their precarious situation, it was clear that they could draw no benefits from the expected tourism if nothing was done to improve their living conditions. Given the neglect they have been left in for so many years, the inhabitants were surprised to be consulted and given voice to for the renovation. While they had expected bulldozers and forced displacement (which is unfortunately the way most of the renovating projects are waged these days), detailed inspections of their homes were followed by major improvements in their everyday life. Instead of being passive viewers of the change, they were moreover actively implied in the reconstruction, and the project provided them with

new job opportunities. As Mrs. Zakaria defends it, a viable project can only exist with the active consent of the inhabitants. What Mrs. Zakaria wanted to avoid was what she calls the “Walt Disney theory”, a new space where the decorum is given priority over the true feeling of a district, without any regard to individual aspirations. Mrs. Zakaria does not approve for instance of renovations of other district, whose aesthetic orientation she criticizes. These places have been renovated, according to her, for the sake of the sole entrepreneurs. In Old Cairo, the project was meant for inhabitants more than entrepreneurs. Empowerment is what they needed, and what she gave them in Old Cairo. She gave them clues to succeed, especially in their future jobs, but she basically let them express their own ideas on how the renovation had to be done. Thanks to its inhabitants and their autonomy, Old Cairo has retained its true spirit.

It is true that Mrs. Zakaria’s project was idealistic and broke with traditionally applied urban projects in Egypt, which had focused more on the buildings than on people. As a result, Old Cairo has remained a space where past and present interact, where social life still has a relevance, unlike many other new projects. However, in spite of the peaceable atmosphere of the district, one can wonder about the true spirit of a district whose fate is to provide tourists, besides monuments of an inestimable cultural value, with all the services that accompany mass tourism. The risk exists, of course, that Old Cairo becomes an entertaining attraction for foreign tourists and loses its cultural value. But the locals won’t mind anyway. Indeed, if some alterations to the project are visible, at least it seems that Old Cairo has retrieved some of its old charm owing to the ambitious project, which was its ultimate goal. Whatever the future social costs might be, Old Cairo has already achieved what it had been commanded for: a better environment, both for tourists and inhabitants.

And locals won’t deny it: life in Old Cairo is now much better than it used to be.



What Mrs. Zakaria wanted to avoid was what she calls the “Walt Disney theory”, a new space where the decorum is given priority over the true feeling of a district, without any regard to individual aspirations



Day

5

Visit of the Studios MASR

Speaker: Mona asad & Essam El Maghraby

Last Stop: Studio Misr

By Karim Goessinger

Coming from the Great Pyramids of Giza, half stoked, half exhausted, the GLM crew and their supervisors stumbled out of the bus to step foot on the first film studio in the Middle East, spanning 76 square kilometers and built from 1935 to 1936. Mona Asad, a renowned documentary filmmaker, and her financial advisor Essam El Maghraby were so kind as to show us around and take us behind the scenes of the studio, the Egyptian movie industry and its importance to Egypt and the entire Arab world.

The studio is a ten-minute car ride away from the pyramids. However, over the course of the years, urbanization expanded as to cover the area around the pyramids, and succeeded in blocking their view. In fact, residents of the tall buildings just outside the studio territory often interfere with scene shootings in, e.g. a reconstruction of the Cairo neighborhood Imbaba, by throwing tomatoes.

In the 1920s, an Egyptian visionary and head of Banque Masr Talat Harb decided to pump money into the cotton, aviation, mining and film industry. At the time the government was under British Protectorat and investments into the film industry proved to be not only lucrative but also essential to defining Egypt's national identity. In

the 1960s Nasser greater established his power and helped to nationalize pre-mentioned Banque Masr and the Studio Masr. For a while, Studio Masr served as the only television production site in the Middle East. In terms of film, the graduate school of 1967 brought about a number of historical figures in Egyptian film history, such as Youssef El Sebaiy, Ezz El Din Sobakar and Salah Abou Seif, all of whom elaborated with the studio.

Today Studio Masr is one of several film studios in Egypt. As far as I can tell, the chnological standards at Studio Masr are relatively high, considering that outside production companies used the studio to shoot most the movie The Mummy. In light of recent economic deregulation, more and more companies, notably ART and Rotana, have been buying up Egyptian productions. Moreover as Mrs. Asad and Mr. El Maghraby shared with us, Egyptian cinema has seen a trend towards sensationalism over the last two decades. This is to say that Egyptian filmmakers have attempted to recreate heroic tales produced in Hollywood. We learned that the film industry takes a rather glorifying stance towards slums in the greater Cairo area instead of a critical one. In addition, Egyptian cinema has increasingly incorporated Western elements such as alcohol abuse, promiscuity

“the film industry takes a rather glorifying stance towards slums in the greater Cairo area instead of a critical one”

and rebellion - issues not known to Egyptian cinema until this trend.

To sum up, visiting the Studio Masr film studios was anticipated with excitement, yet met the uncertainty as to how it relates to issues of urban governance. The idea was again insight into a massive Egyptian industry and to comprehend the dynamics between this industry and governance. Sketching the history of Egyptian cinema for us, Mrs. Assad and Mr. El Maghraby provided us with an impression - a feel for the influence the cinema industry exerts on Egyptian identity. Cinema plays a critical role in pointing out aspects of social reality often tabooed elsewhere. At the same time, it aspires for sensationalism imitating Hollywood productions and arguably doing harm to Egyptian self-understanding by glorifying misery and heroically depicting the poor man.

A short chronology of the Studio Masr

- 1920s** Egyptian visionary Talaat Harb injects money in the Egyptian movie sector and thereby launches it.
- 1935 – 1936** Studio Masr, the Middle East's first film studios, is constructed
- 1960s** Under Gamal Abdel Nasser Studio Masr is nationalized.
- 1967** Film graduates of 1967 produce a number of historically significant movies at Studio Masr.
- 1990s onwards** The Egyptian film industry is gradually privatized. Parallel to this process, movie producers are placing greater emphasis on sensationalism, the adaptation of Western themes and the glorification of the poor.
- 2006** Mrs. Assad and Mr. El Magraby present the Studio Masr production *These Girls (El-Banate Dol)* at Festival de Cannes





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