



Ain Shams University

Faculty of Engineering
Department of Urban Planning and Design

Good Urban Governance of Informal Settlements in Metropolitan Areas

Thesis Submitted for the partial Fulfilment for the Requirement of the Degree of
Master of Science in Urban Planning and Design

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Disclaimer

This Thesis is submitted to Ain Shams University in the partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Master of Science degree in Urban Planning and Design. The work included in this thesis was carried out by the author during the years from 2012 to 2015 at Faculty of Engineering, Department of Urban Planning and Design. The candidate confirms that the work submitted is her own and that appropriate credits are given in terms of reference citations to the work of others. No part of this thesis has been submitted for a degree or a qualification at any other university or institution.

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Abstract

Urban governance of informal settlements in Cairo has become a critical challenge facing the Egyptian government. Hence, identification, integration and collaboration of relevant stakeholders become crucial at this stage; to secure successful and sustainable urban upgrading projects. Consequently, this research aims at investigating new and adjusted governance models that imply effective participation of stakeholder. Three research phases were accomplished in this regard. The first phase implied reviewing literature; to investigate norms of good urban governance and informality throughout the global dimension. In the second phase, an overview on the Egyptian context was analyzed; towards understanding the administrative flow of work, and the national political transitions in correspondence to the spread of informal settlements. Later, the third phase represented the empirical study, which examined the informal settlement of Ezzbet Al-Haggana in Cairo; as live evidence on the associated urban and socio-economic challenges to the existing governance model. Accordingly, site visits and interviews were conducted at this latter stage, which resulted in grasping the complexity of issues and actors within the study area. Finally, the research concludes that the current administrative structure of the formal sector in Egypt is incapable of providing adequate housing and services to everyone. Thus, establishment of a more dynamic and responsive framework is required; which involves a dedicated working group that coordinates among all relevant actors. This kind of coordination committee should be specified per upgrading of each informal settlement in particular, and perform as a local decision making and executive board. Finally, the research concludes a set of recommendations and findings towards good urban governance of informal settlements within the metropolitan area of Cairo, Egypt.

Keywords: *Good Urban Governance, Metropolitan Area, Informal Settlements, Upgrading, Egypt, Cairo, Ezzbet Al-Haggana*

Abbreviations and Acronyms

BMZ: Bundesministerium für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung -
Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development -

CAPMAS: Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics

CBO: Community Based Organization

CPI: Corruption Perceptions Index

GOPP: General Organization for Physical Planning

IMF: International Monetary Fund

ISDF: Informal Settlements Development Facility

M.A.: Metropolitan Area

MNHD: Madinet Nasr Company for Housing and Development

MURIS: Ministry of State for Urban Renewal and Informal Settlements

NGO: Non-Governmental Organization

OECD: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development

UN: United Nations

UNCHS: UN Center for Human Settlements

UNESCAP: UN Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific

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1. Introduction and Research Framework

The World inhabitants are expected to reach 2 billion by 2030, with almost all of the anticipated increase is to occur in urban areas within peripheries of the developing countries (Pitcher, 2009, p. 2). Thus, urbanization is becoming a critical composite that is driving nowadays development plans. Consequently, it is important to accommodate the occurring exponential growth of cities that are further accumulated by the massive movements of rural populations towards such vital and modern cities. Despite how much these cities are very crowded; people still believe that living in a city -as being economic centers- secures a better future; subsequently, guarantees more opportunities for a better quality of life. Unfortunately, during the unplanned growth process of such cities; it was not strange to witness the evolution of various scales of urban informality. Accordingly, Informal Settlements are currently overloading the original capacity of most of the developing cities, in which around half of the population increase is estimated to occur in urban slums (Khalifa, 2011, p. 41). Hence, the over-rated spread of slums as late-stage cancer all over the centers and edges of developing cosmopolitan cities represents an alert; in which illustrating these cities as relatively big geographic spots on maps is a sign on the urban informality that is about to explode in the face of the world.

In light of such challenges, urban governance in most of the developing countries has become a serious milestone towards better city functioning and upgrading; where management of urban affairs was left for many years exclusively in the hands of either inefficient or corrupted state employees. Thus, officials of these countries are usually criticized to be manipulating the public interests for their own, and serving the benefits of high class individuals over the welfare of the urban poor (UN-HABITAT – Private Sector Unit, 2008). In this regard, these governments instead of considering the emerging socio-economic complex needs of today's communities, they excluded urban poor existence for years and kept marginalizing these dwellers through decision making process. As a result, the accountability of the State is questioned regarding its role in bettering the quality of life for the public against the on ground deficiencies such as lack of: providing adequate shelters for all inhabitants, accessing appropriate Infrastructure, and securing formal and sufficient job opportunities.

Consequently, over the past few years new actors were introduced alongside with the State, whether civil society organizations or the public coalitions and self-help non-official groups; in an attempt to truly express the cosmopolitan nature of such dynamic cities (UN-HABITAT – Private Sector Unit, 2008). Accordingly, many cities have proven

to achieve better results in engaging the public in the decision-making processes to generate a more accountable and transparent environment for the city development. Therefore, this research examines the capability of decentralized political, administrative and financial system of governance to support more equitable and efficient urban development.

Starting from this premise, this research investigates the case of Egypt as one of the most conveying case studies; to analyze urban governance in relation to the spread of informal settlements. In this respect, the research claims that the Egyptian government possess a history for many years of refusing to effectively reform its centralized administrative apparatus. This premise is strongly supported through investigating the limited power given to the local government, and people's struggle for better participation chances within the decision making process. This official refusal towards civic and low tiers engagement represents an obstructing drift toward informal and apolitical decentralization, in which some Egyptian sociologists and development consultants relate such rigidity to the informality spread as self-help or self-reliance movements without depending so much on the State to intervene and fix their situation (Néfissa, 2009, pp. 177-199).

Furthermore, this thesis continues to analyze the Egyptian case through investigating the metropolitan area of greater Cairo in particular; in which the informal urban expansions of Cairo was always a challenge for the government standing alone in the face of everyday newly communities that arises and overloads the socio-economic and urban capacity of the city. However, through the last two decades different NGOs and social activists' movements were playing an important role in the process of communicating with these informal communities. Thus, these proactive initiations appeared as glimpse of hope to the poor urban communities to be finally recognized, although, every few actors gathered and worked individually and showed weak awareness regarding the importance of participation and cooperation. As a result, there were calls through so many urban platforms recently in Egypt towards political reforms and examination of new models of governance and triggers to investigate the role of each and every relevant actor.

Subsequently, the research attempts to zoom closer into one of the Egyptian informal settlements within the peripheries of Cairo, which is Ezzbet Al-Haggana. This layer of investigation provides an on ground overview on the complexity of interactions between diverse actors within an informal settlement. Moreover, it provides a good example for questioning the ability of different stakeholders to interact within a well-defined governance framework according to their roles and level of power, and

throughout categorization in correspondence to their direct and indirect influences. Thus, the research on one hand accumulates concepts of urban governance, and the findings from Egyptian context, in order to enrich the process of case study investigations of Ezzbet Al-Haggana. On the other hand, the research utilizes the particular key findings, conclusions, and lessons learnt from the study area of Ezzbet Al-Haggana; to reflect on feasibility of applying urban governance models within informal settlements in Cairo metropolitan area.

1.1. Research Problem

Informal development in Egypt is mostly perceived as the dominant mode of urbanization (Sejourne, 2009, p. 17), in which problems such as urban deterioration and the inadequacy of informal settlements only increase despite the fact of having many actors interested in the current upgrading process of informal settlements (illustrated in *Figure 1*). Accordingly, the research investigates this premise towards identification of the problem.

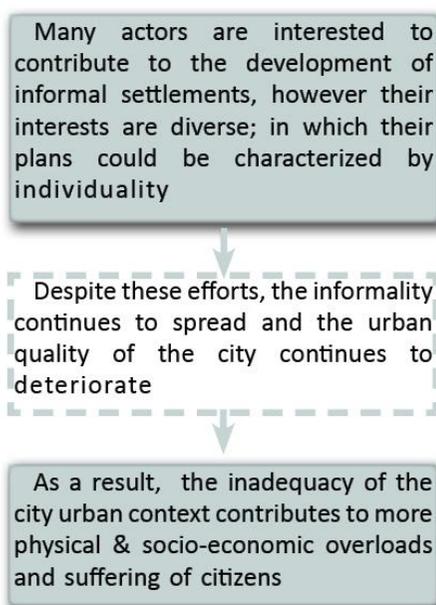


Figure 1: Research first layer of analysis towards identification of the problem (Author)

Thus, this research addresses the absence of a pre-set local framework that identifies actors, level of involvement in decision making process, and their identified roles; towards achieving good urban governance through upgrading process of informal areas (Figure 2). Hence, this research examines the gap between official plans and formal involved actors represented in the state and private sector on one side, and the internal groups of stakeholders within local community from the other side.

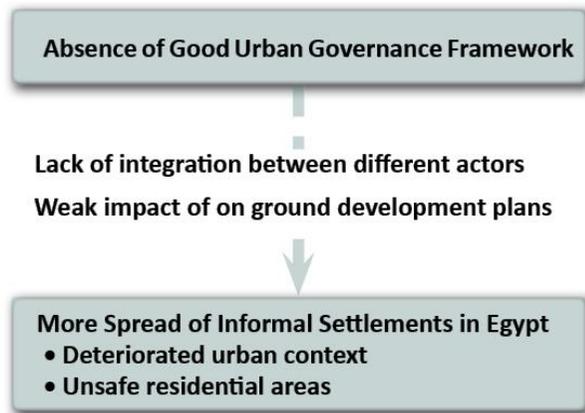


Figure 2: Research second layer of analysis towards identification of the problem (Author)

Therefore, the research focuses on the governance deficiency problems that leads to the spread of informality as one of the key reasons that leads to such problem. In this regard, the research examines the case of Ezzbet Al-Haggana as one of the very consolidated Egyptian informal expansions on State land, where its inhabitants are estimated to be 1 million¹ (Khalifa, 2011, p. 40). Thus, understanding the complexity of an informal settlement such as Ezzbet Al-Haggana implies challenges concerning the methods of coordination and collaboration between different stakeholders; towards sustaining an efficient urban development within the area. Subsequently, the research refers to the resulted urban issues in the area that are directly interconnected with the absence of good urban governance within Ezzbet Al-Haggana.

1.2. Research Objectives

The main aim of this research is to generate guidelines of urban governance framework towards successful upgrading of informal settlements in Egypt. Hence, this research promotes for developing such a framework towards the integration of all stakeholders within an interactive atmosphere that considers the participation of the State, local community, the private sector, and the civil society organizations.

¹ The above population estimate is mentioned in many references such as Madinet Nasr Company for Housing and Development as they estimate the population to be more than 1 million (MNHD). Also, an approximate number was mentioned in Al Shehab institution which is an active NGO working in Ezzbet Al-Haggana; where they mention in their website that the area is "several hundreds of thousands" (Al-Shehab NGO) . However, CAPMAS official estimations refers to 39,432 in 2006 census by CAPMAS, in which the size of the district is around 750 Fedans.

Thus, this research targets:

1. Identifying the global norms on governance, indicators to measure urban performance, and pointing out the relation between urban informality and bad governance.
2. Examining the Egyptian context and reviewing problem of urban informality.
3. Analyzing the Case study of Ezzbet Al-Haggana; in order to assess the on ground complexity of actors and roles.

Therefore, the research integrates three levels of investigations on governance of informal settlements, which are: the global-level perception, the national-level related issues, and the case-level through studying the area of Ezzbet Al-Haggana in particular.

1.3. Research Questions

The research investigates a main question which is: how to achieve effective integration between different stakeholders within good urban governance framework; towards successful upgrading of informal settlements in Egypt? In light of the research main question, a set of sub investigations were identified; in order to expand the research scope as shown in *Figure 3*, and to guide the research path through three levels: Global, Egyptian, Particular case of Ezzbet Al-Haggana.

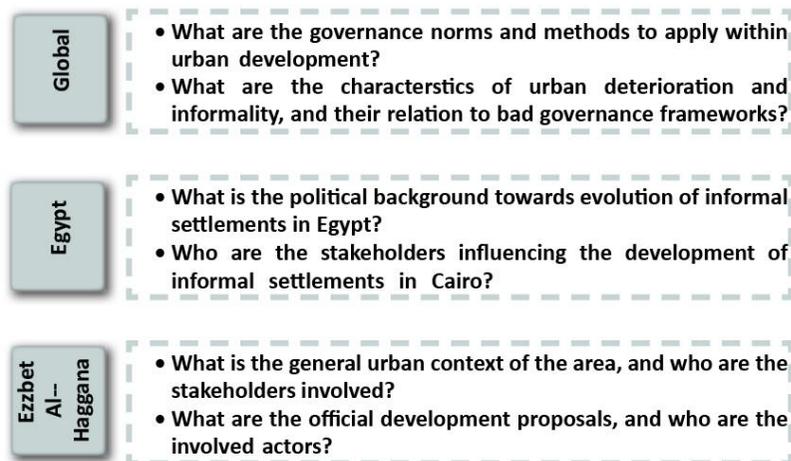


Figure 3: Research sub-investigations in light of research main question (Author)

1.4. Research Methodology

The research followed sequential and parallel methods; in an attempt to explore the multi-scale dimension of the urban informality within metropolitan cities, and its relation to bad governance. Thus, the research methodology involved several schemes

of data collection and analysis (*Figure 4*). The primary data was collected through the empirical part of the research that was conducted within the case study of Ezzbet Al-Haggana, which is an informal settlement in Cairo metropolitan area. This case study was chosen in particular for being rich in terms of: variety of relevant actors, and as being one of the oldest and consolidated mega slums in Egypt. At this stage of research, the data acquisition and interpretation involved as well desktop researches, field visits, and interviews with different actors. On the other hand the research utilized literature review as a secondary tool of data collection to discuss:

- Governance international notion and indicators
- Urban management of metropolitan areas and governance deficiencies
- Global view on urban informality and direct relation to bad governance
- Egyptian governance transitions in relation to spread of urban informality

It is important to mention that this stage of the research builds on a research work that has been a part of M.Sc. Team Project (PartNaR)², which was a joint activity in 2012, in which the main focus of the project was to investigate the ability of initiating a governance framework that engages the community, private sector and NGOs along with the relevant State representatives in Ezzbet Al-Haggana. Throughout this project, semi-structured interviews were conducted, in which roles of four main stakeholder groups in Ezzbet Al-Haggana were investigated on ground:

- State represented in the Informal Settlements Development Facility (ISDF) who are mainly concerned with high voltage unsafe area
- Private Sector: Madinet Nasr for Housing & Development (MNHD) who are claiming to be the legitimate owners of the land
- Emarat Al-Ensan Foundation, which is an NGO that facilitated interviews with community representatives
- Sample of Inhabitants and Users of area (Men, Youth, Women, vulnerable inhabitants in the high voltage cable area, Local shop owners and Commuters)

Moreover, a workshop was carried out among group of international research students in order to identify and categorize the internal actors. Later, the researcher conducted other field visits to the study area of Ezzbet Al-Haggana; for updating and verifying the previously gathered data, also as to double check the official statements, promises and testimonials by the government that are mentioned in national and independent media.

² The project is between Ain Shams University, Egypt and Institute of Tropics and Sub-Tropics ITT, Cologne University of Applied Sciences, Germany

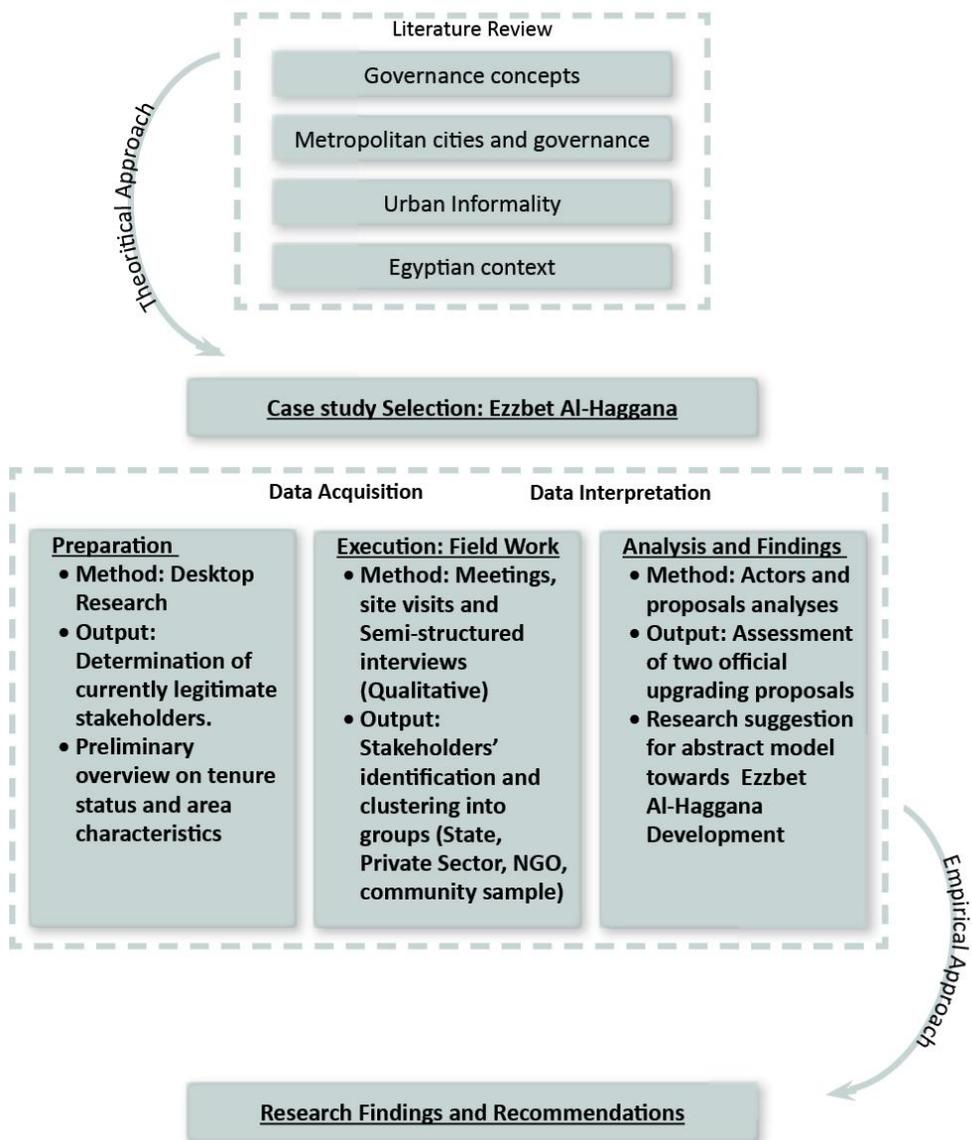


Figure 4: Research Methodology (Author)

In this regard, the researcher observations during the site visits are included as a part of the empirical approach towards the on ground verification of literature and published articles on the Ezzbet Al-Haggana. In this respect, the researcher conducted 10 interviews (one-to-one) in 2012 with inhabitants as part of the pre-mentioned PartNar project, and conducted another 7 interviews (one-to-one) in addition to field observation walks and informal chats with people in the area as an individual researcher in 2014.

1.5. Research Limitations

After the 25th of January 2011 uprising, the political unrest and changing ruling parties have influenced so much the Egyptian legislations; which resulted in changing constitutions as well. In this respect, the research faced some limitations that obstructed and postponed the work several times during the period from April 2012 (start time of research writing) until October 2014 (end time of research field work). These limitations are:

- The changing governments, ministries, and lack of references from Egyptian laws and constitutions (changing state between activation and deactivation of some articles and local councils).
- The continuous expansion of Ezzbet Al-Haggana especially after 2011 revolution, which coincides with research duration.
- Absence of security control over the study area of Ezzbet Al-Haggana made it unsafe to access by strangers at some times that required the presence of internal contact through any of the field visits, moreover, the area is famous to host drug dealers.
- Unawareness of so many inhabitants whether their tenure status is 100 % legal or not. Additionally, many of the interviewed samples weren't familiar with formal stakeholders who have interests in the area; this required double checking of any information that is communicated during local community interviews.

Thus, most of the research time was consumed to grasp the everyday changes within governance framework and some of the instant impacts on the urban fabric in Egypt.

1.6. Research Structure

The thesis flow has mainly followed four stages, in which findings of each phase leads to the following one. A brief description of contents of each stage and the included chapters is mentioned below:

Stage1, Identification of research scope of work: This stage is mainly concerned with identifying research target problem, objectives and the work plan that is described in this chapter.

- Chapter 1: Introduction and Research Framework

Stage2, Theoretical approach: This stage is mainly concerned with investigating the theoretical approach and background of the research throughout three following chapters:

- **Chapter 2: Governance and Urbanism: Conceptual Framework**
This chapter discusses the different concepts for good governance, urban governance indicators, in addition to defining main groups of stakeholders that are usually involved within the governance process. Moreover, the chapter adopts the UN framework for urban governance indicators to be utilized as tool towards identifying roles of actors within following chapters.
- **Chapter 3: Urban Governance of Informal settlements in Metropolitan Cities**
This chapter starts by comparing three models of metropolitan governance on one hand, and the global definitions and characteristics of informal settlements on the other. The chapter promotes an argument that the spread of urban informality is directly related to corruption and bad governance.
- **Chapter 4: Egyptian Context: Situation of Informal Settlements in Cairo**
This chapter reviews governance transitions and influences on urban informality in Egypt within the last 60 years. Furthermore, it investigates the existing parties in charge of urban development. Chapter 4 highlights as well general context of informal settlements in Cairo in terms of: locations, typology, and inhabitants.

Stage3: Empirical approach: This stage is mainly concerned with on ground investigations, in which the researcher conducted more than 10 field visits to analyze the situation in Ezzbet Al-Haggana. Thus, the research work of this stage is included in the following chapters.

- **Chapter 5: Case Study of ‘Ezzbet Al-Haggana’: Urban Context and Actors**
In this chapter, the case study of the informal settlements of Ezzbet Al-Haggana -located in Cairo- is examined; in which the existing urban situation and involved actors are investigated. Hence, the researcher categorizes stakeholders in terms of their existing interests. The analysis of the urban issues facilitates the determination of the potential stakeholders and internal factors influencing urban situation of Ezzbet Al-Haggana. .
- **Chapter 6: Official Development proposals: A critical review**
This chapter investigates the proposed Development plans of ISDF and MNHD as two key stakeholders with formal presence in the area. The review of these proposals is in terms of the given data and analysis in chapter 5.

Thus, presence of all relevant actors and consideration of their interests is questioned. Moreover, UN urban governance indicators are used as well as a check list to measure the success of these official plans in Ezzbet Al-Haggana from governance perspective.

Stage4: research conclusions: In this stage, the research utilizes all findings resulted from the whole research process, and proposes general recommendations towards effective model of partnership and collaboration between the stakeholders within the informal settlements in Cairo.

- Chapter 7: Findings, Conclusion and Recommendations

2. Governance and Urbanism: Conceptual Framework

Enforcement of law requires more than just securing power of execution. Hence, it requires a collaborative process of stating precise regulations that effectively respond to people's diverse needs and interests. Accordingly such laws would be automatically respected by all influential actors leading to better enforcement. Starting from this point of view, this chapter discusses the framework that could contribute in overcoming the gaps between the plans that are developed everyday towards upgrading of informal settlements and the real willingness of all city actors to improve the urban context. In this respect, David Sims refer to one of these gaps *"There is huge and pervasive gap between government pronouncements and legislation on the one hand, and implementation and enforcement on the other"* (Sims, 2011, p. 251). Consequently, the research raises an argument that promotes for alteration of traditional rigid top down government model into multi-actors' governance model.

Thus, this chapter starts by pointing out a number of international concepts of governance and its difference from government. Also, the research attempts to trace the term evolution and applications. Afterwards, the characteristics of the good governance process are analyzed. Later on, the Governance framework is connected to the discipline of urban development, in which the urban governance indicators are explained. Finally, a brief description of the roles and interrelationships of the frequently involved stakeholders in the urban governance process is mentioned. *Figure 5* illustrates how the researcher follows this specific flow of investigations towards formulating answering the research sub investigations regarding *"what are the governance norms and methods to apply within urban development?"* Hence, this conceptual framework encourages the transformation of governance concepts to come alive in the form of multi-actors' models of integration.



Figure 5: Research Investigations to identify relation between Governance and Urbanism (Author)

2.1. Governance: *What Is Governance, Relation to Government, Historical Background*

There has always been a common understanding that governments can do no wrong to the public, and governments alone are capable of solving conflicts and promoting the common good. These idealistic theories are not popular anymore, especially that government officials were condemned in many countries for manipulating economic transactions and investments for their own benefits. Thus, cronyism and inequitable allocation of resources exists in many cities; leading to more spread of poverty (Streeten, 2002). Hence, this section introduces governance general concepts and models that evolved towards allowing all citizens to enjoy their right to the city, in which:

- Corruption in managing the city urban context could be mitigated
- Inadequate conditions of the poor could be improved
- People's rights could be truly expressed and defended

2.1.1. Governance and Government:

Both terms governance and government are usually compared; in order to enhance the people's ability to use their political influences and pressures for obtaining their rights. According to the UN-Habitat, the term 'Governance' is derived from the Greek word 'kybernan' and 'kybernetes', which means 'to steer and to pilot or be at the helm of things', whereas the term 'government' indicates a political unit for the function of policy making as distinguished from the administration of policies. Thus, the word 'governance' denotes an overall responsibility for both the political and administrative functions; this also implies ensuring moral behavior and ethical conduct in the task of governing (UN Habitat, ESCAP, 2000, p. 122).

In this respect, two schools have evolved, the first one that prefers to stay along with the top down policies framework. Thus, to remain within the known and well defined governmental apparatus. Subsequently, this point of view is encouraging governance to be embedded only within the heart of the governmental entities. In this argument, only the government for instance can contract to the private sector for any required development, while other involved or relevant actors cannot have this considered legitimacy (Pillora & McKinlay, 2011, p. 6). This school can be monitored clearly in the developing countries, for example many African countries followed this school for so many years including Egypt.

On the other hand, another school is against the centralized government models, and argues that the government is one of the many other actors and not the only one that should steer the governance process (Pillora & McKinlay, 2011, p. 6). The researcher promotes mainly in this thesis for the concepts of the second school, which implies the endorsement of more liberal governance models that involves the State as a main actor but not the one and only ruler. The researcher argument is further explained according to Robin Hambleton through his differentiation between both terms that is illustrated as follows in Figure 6:

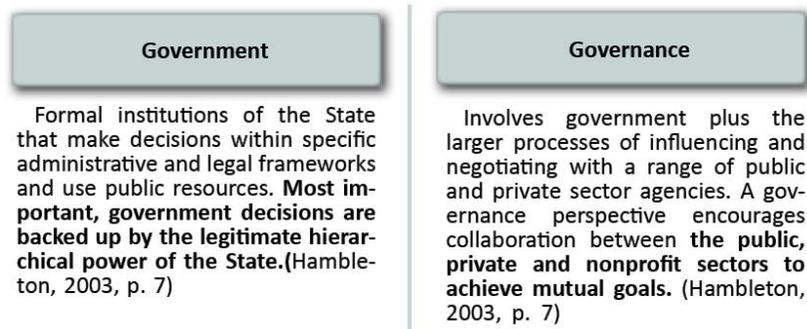


Figure 6: Difference between government and governance based on (Hambleton, 2003), **(Author)**

From this point of view, it can be concluded that the Government model is much more pro-applying of the Top-down vertical approaches and centralization oriented policies, while the Governance model involves many actors willing to contribute for the sake of reaching an integrated development. Therefore, the governance model is more pro-applying of horizontal collaborative approaches and decentralization oriented policies.

It is worth to mention that other researchers have been in favor of applying the concepts of governance in a different paradigm. For example, Osborne and Gaebler are promoting for a different perspective, in which governance is a process and government is a method or tool to perform this process as they mentioned in their book that *“Governance is the process by which we collectively solve our problems and meet our society’s needs. Government is the instrument we use.”* (Osbourne & Gaebler, 1992, p. 24). Despite the fact that their perspective is not in contradiction with Hambleton’s, however they didn’t refer directly to the necessity of integrating other actors. This missing notion makes Hambleton’s differentiation between the two terms more expressive in the view of the researcher.

2.1.2. Definitions of Governance:

Today, governance gains more significance and popularity, as it is widely adopted by most of the donor agencies, social scientists, and civil society organizations. This global interest in governance stems from the need to have a proper identification of stakeholders and their particular roles. Also, people are becoming more aware of the necessity to know who are the institutions -whether public or private- involved in the process of managing their affairs (UNESCO, 2006, p. 7).

In this respect, there are many forms of governance that people experience everyday on the international, national, local, and even on a corporate level (UNESCAP, 2007). Therefore, the term 'governance' doesn't have one basic and agreed upon definition, however it became commonly perceived as the general process of the decision-making. Hence, governance is expressed in various meanings depending on the scope of the actor or organization defining it, in which some of the commonly used definitions that the research found and analyzed during the literature review are listed below:

One of the early definitions of governance was provided by The World Bank in 1993 as *"The exercise of political authority and the use of institutional resources to manage society's problems and affairs"* (Bigman, 2007, p. 150), which corresponds to the Asian Development Bank definition as *"Governance is the way those with power use the power"* (Asian Development Bank Institute, 2005, p. 2).

The United Nations UNDP provided in 1997 a more clear definition for governance, where it states that Governance is *"The exercise of economic, political and administrative authority to manage a country's affairs at all levels. It comprises the mechanisms, processes and institutions, through which citizens and groups articulate their interests, exercise their legal rights, meet their obligations and mediate their differences."* (Asian Development Bank Institute, 2005, p. 2)

While the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development BMZ³ defines governance as *"...The way how decisions are made within state, policies are formulated and implemented."* (Garcia, 2011, p. 4).

The OECD also states that *"The concept of governance denoted the use of political authority and exercise of control in a society in relation to the management of its resources for social and economic development. This broad definition encompasses the role of public authorities in establishing the environment in which economic operators*

³ BMZ supports some research and development programs through developing countries including Egypt.

function and in determining the distribution of benefits as the nature of the relationship between the ruler and the ruled.” (OECD, 1995).

In light of the previous definitions of governance, the research concludes that there are three main aspects towards sustaining the governance process, which are mentioned below and further illustrated in *Figure 7*:

- the process of governance emphasizes on the common goals despite any diverse interests,
- the process of governance is continued with the contribution of all the involved actors,
- the process of governance is enforced and backed up with legitimacy and political authority

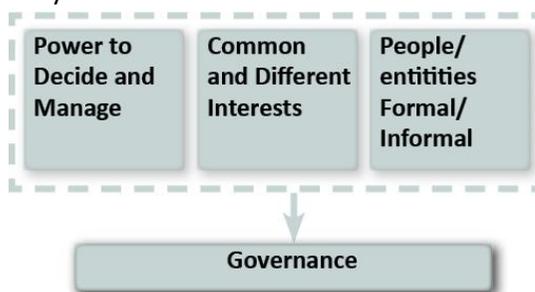


Figure 7: Concluded governance main aspects (Author)

2.1.3. Why Governance? Historical Insights on Term Evolution

In the world’s ancient civilizations, they used to have the one ruler -the one king, emperor... -, who governed people without being questioned or having specific job description. This ruler in most of the cases had no obligations to report regularly to his people. Even after systems of governments were initiated, people usually didn’t have the authority to choose their public representatives; or elected authorities to evaluate the performance of their ruling governments. However, some liberated movements had evolved once and a while in an attempt to seek more justice and democracy.

Accordingly, it can be traced that humanity have been trying to figure out the best ways to govern in democratic and transparent ways, and to define roles of those in power a long time ago. For instance, one of these early attempts goes back to at least 400 B.C. specifically to the ‘Arthashastra’, which is an interesting treatise on governance accredited to ‘Kautilya’⁴; he is thought to be the chief minister to the King of India

⁴**Kautilya’s Arthashastra** is an excellent treatise on statecraft, economic policy and military strategy. It is said to have been written by **Kautilya**, the prime minister of India’s first great emperor ‘Chandragupta

(Shamasastri, 1915). In 'Arthashastra', Kautilya offered key pillars of the 'Art of Governance', emphasizing justice, ethics, and anti-autocratic tendencies. Furthermore he explained in depth the duties of the king to protect the State wealth in terms of developing, sustaining and also defending such wealth (Kaufmann & Kraay, 2007, p. 5). The uniqueness of 'Arthashastra' treatise is that it regulated the relation with the ruled and ruler.

Hence, it can be concluded that forms of governance existed very long time ago. However, it was not until the modern history, when specific roles were identified and power of choice was considered. Nowadays, governing process includes different models of direct and indirect public elections, and constitutional reforms. The aim of such transformations arise from the demand to integrate other parties in the governance process, and to achieve better management of people's rights in a more effective and equal manner.

So as to trace the term origins, two main milestones during the development of governance concept are mentioned below. The first milestone is 30 years ago and refers back to the political influences of the cold war ending, and the major shifts that the world has been witnessing since then. Consequently, new ideas and theories have conquered the world, where the spread of globalization facilitated this process. In this prevailing context of globalization, the second milestone emerges as an expected change from the second point, in which the term governance was used internationally for the first time. Subsequently, circumstances that led to its development on the international, national and local levels are explained briefly as follows:

Up to the late 1980's, the earliest appearance of the term governance can be pinpointed in a strong relation to the end of the 1980's and the major political changes occurred at the international level. These political changes resulted in shifting powers between the world's East and the West Alliances (Maldonado, 2010, p. 4); as a result of the collapse of Berlin wall in 1989, followed by the disintegration of the Soviet Union. Thus, these incidents were global alerts on how leaders and governments misguided their people. Later after the cold war was over, the entire world countries were eager to take part in the newly introduced global power map. Consequently, many of the developing countries started to blindly follow the steps of those developed countries that are ruling the world. These developing countries wanted to instantly raise the quality of life for

Maurya'. In **Arthashastra**, Kautilya mixes the harsh pragmatism for which he is famed with compassion for the poor, for slaves, and for women. He reveals the imagination of a romancer in imagining all manner of scenarios which can hardly have been commonplace in real life. (Shamasastri, 1915)

their citizens, and to grab foreign investments as fast as possible, despite any compromises the people might suffer from in the future.

In light of what appeared then to be for the interest of people, political and legislative reforms were applied by several countries. The private sector was encouraged by governments to achieve more economic development. While on the other hand these national partnerships with the private sector had no monitoring or accountability attachments, instead they were transformed into a cover for corrupted and inefficient governments. This non transparent context led consequently to the spread of bribery, cronyism and Disparity. This not favorable ending raised many questions regarding whether these shifts were valid for all countries or just a trend that their governments followed. This kind of questions accelerated the people's understanding for the importance of governance and the spread of the newly emerging values.

Since 1989 and later on: The term governance was literally introduced for the first time in 'The African Study for Sub-Saharan countries'⁵; so as to explain the motive for institutional reforms and towards more efficient public sector (Maldonado, 2010, p. 5). This was during the 1989 study on Sub-Saharan Africa when the former world Bank president "Conable" used the term of 'good governance' in the foreword, as a "*public service that is efficient, a judicial system that is reliable, and an administration that is accountable to its public*". The rest of the study didn't refer to the connotation "good" and focused on the term 'governance', it was defined through the study as "the exercise of political power to manage a nation's affairs" (Maldonado, 2010, p. 5).

In 1992, the World Bank issued a publication entitled 'Governance and Development'. In this publication, governance was defined as 'The manner in which power is exercised in the management of a country's economic and social resources for development'. Two years later, in 1994 the bank substantiated this definition: "*Governance is epitomized by predictable, open, and enlightened policymaking (that is, transparent processes); a bureaucracy imbued with a professional ethos; an executive arm of government accountable for its actions; and a strong civil society participating in public affairs; and all behaving under the rule of law*" (The World Bank, 1994, p. vii). The World Bank

⁵The 1989 World Bank study "Sub-Saharan Africa – from Crisis to Sustainable Growth" analyzed the development problems in Sub-Saharan Africa. In the 1980s, the economic performance of the countries in the region had worsened despite the implementation of the Bank's structural adjustment programs (SAP's). The SAP's introduced conditionality on a macro-economic level into the Bank's lending activities. At the same time, the Bank changed its lending policy from project financing to program financing. (Maldonado, 2010, p. 6)

definitions still represent the basis of perception of good governance for most of the development organizations and groups.

Later in 2001, the European Commission issued a 'White Paper', a call to reform 'European governance', for the sake of altering the European policy-making to be more 'inclusive and accountable'. The 'White Paper' highlights areas for improved development approaches such as: engaging the people more to the process, refocusing on the policies, regulations for better delivery and institutions.

These mentioned notions were attempts for better multi-actors governance models, whereas everyone contributes in terms of what they are capable of doing for the success of the overall exercise. Thus, the 'White Paper' states that the real milestone regarding conflicts of interest is *'establishing clear rules for how competence is shared – not separated'* (European Commission, 2001). Throughout these transformations that are demonstrated above, governance was being formulated in response to the world development. For that reason, governance process itself incorporated many attempts to have better quality of decision-making, through principles of good governance that are integrated with politics, urban, etc.

2.1.4. Good Governance:

Many of the prominent organizations usually promote for governing reforms, where they start to establish their own principles towards achieving good governance. Thus, good governance principles usually reflect the working agenda of the corresponding organization. This premise is to be illustrated within the following examples of good governance components in the view of three organizations in the international society.

A- The World Bank WB:

The World Bank refers to good governance as *"... epitomized by predictable, open and enlightened policy making; a bureaucracy imbued with a professional ethos; an executive arm of government accountable for its actions; and a strong civil society participating in public affairs; and all behaving under the rule of law"* (The World Bank, 1994, p. vii). Accordingly, the World Bank identifies the good governance in terms of five dimensions, in which they were developed through the World Bank 'Corruption study for Europe and Central Asia'. Additionally, these dimensions that are mentioned below were included in the bank's most recent update of its public sector strategy (Bigman, 2007):

1. Public sector management
2. Competitive private sector
3. Structure of government
4. Civil society participation and voice
5. Political accountability

The World Bank main focus is to serve the notion of the good governance within the framework of economy. Thus, this premise can be confirmed through tracing keywords such as “management” along with ‘Public sector’ to guarantee law and order. The World Bank also referred to the private sector as it must be “competitive”, which reflects its profit-oriented strategies.

Moreover, the World Bank ensures the importance of organizational ‘structure’ of ‘governments’ that mainly steers any development. Additionally, the World Bank is concerned with sustaining its investments. Thus, the importance of civil society “participation” was acknowledged; since their absence threatens the continuity of any projects. Finally, the World Bank recognizes the right for political ‘accountability’; so as to have the opportunity to assess the success and functioning level of its implemented projects.

B- The International Monetary Fund IMF

The International Monetary Fund (IMF) declared in 1996 that *"promoting good governance in all its aspects, including by ensuring the rule of law, improving the efficiency and accountability of the public sector, and tackling corruption, as essential elements of a framework within which economies can prosper."* (IMF, 2005)

The keywords that could be pinpointed in this definition are ‘rule of law’, ‘efficiency’ and ‘accountability’ for the public sector, which is quit logic; in order to guarantee the presence of effective and transparent channels for the money being paid by the International Monetary Fund IMF. Also, words such as ‘tackling corruption’ are important to be mentioned, as the IMF keeps records of countries with corrupted systems when are given funds. Accordingly, countries should have proper good governance policies to receive loans from the IMF. In this context, applicant countries should not have either too much regulation and complexity or too little regulations and shadow of dishonesty. Hence, it can be observed that the IMF admitted in a reverse way that corruption within economies is a result of ineffective governance.

C- United Nations UN

One of the most explicit identification for good governance would be the one mentioned within reports of the United Nations for Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific UNESCAP, where good governance is identified in terms of 8 major characteristics; where it assures that corruption is minimized, the views of minorities are taken into account, and that the voices of the most vulnerable in society are heard in decision-making. In this regard, such an approach could be considered responsive to the present and future needs of society. These 8 characteristics are (UNESCAP, 2009):

1. Participatory
2. Consensus oriented
3. Accountable
4. Transparent
5. Responsive
6. Effective and Efficient
7. Equitable and Inclusive
8. Follows the rule of law

What is interesting about the UN 8 characteristics of good governance is that they cover most of the keywords and concepts that are mentioned within the other two definitions (Figure 8). Therefore, the researcher in this thesis adopts mainly the UN interpretation of good governance; as it provides more inclusive and expressive scheme for the thesis analysis.

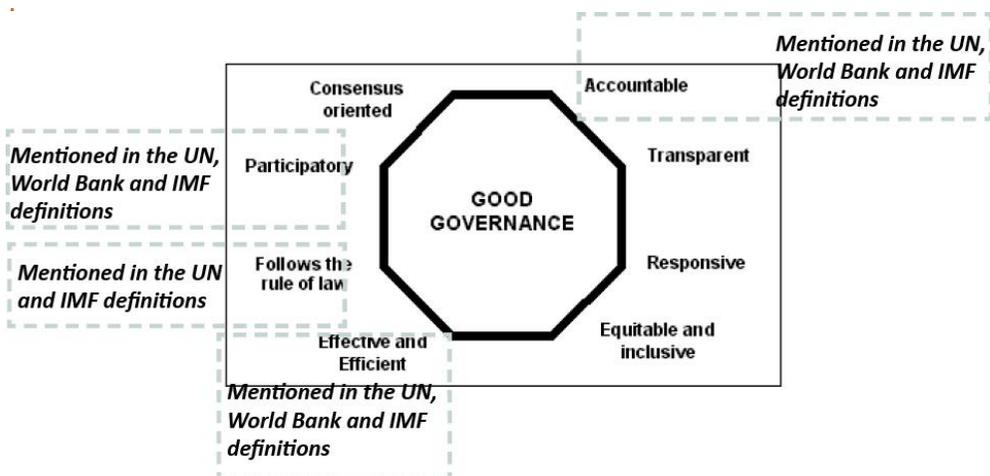


Figure 8: UN Characteristics of good governance (UNESCAP, 2009) in conjunction with researcher edits to map the overlaps in the three definitions (Author)

These UN 8 characteristics are very interrelated and building on each other in so many aspects⁶, in which some of these interactions are investigated below. The researcher assumes sequential diagrams, so as to figure out how these 8 attributes can effectively contribute to the success of the process simultaneously.

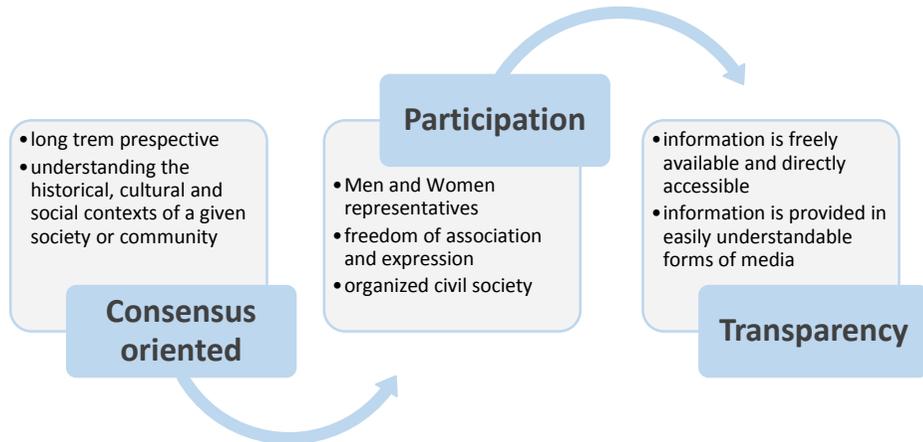


Figure 9: Interrelations between 'Consensus oriented', 'Participation', and 'Transparency' UN principles of the good governance based on (AbdelHalim, 2013) (Author)⁷

There could be an argument regarding the sequence of the governance process, in which two views are discussed. The first one is whether relevant actors should agree on the common target first before participating as illustrated in *Figure 9*, or to shift the 'Consensus oriented' to the end and allow the different actors to participate and have the full knowledge then reach an agreement. The researcher in this given situation is pro-stating "Consensus oriented" as a first step to pave the road for valuable participation and facilitate the progress of the process. This premise can be justified in a view of the fact that people are reluctant to participate at all; due to problems such as: complexity of building rapport, and absence of initiating a measure of trust, which threatens the whole governance process to be discontinued. Therefore, starting with "Consensus Oriented" doesn't necessarily mean that all actors are very willing to resolve their conflicts at this early stage; however, it could simply mean that these actors have fully agreed to contribute provisionally.

Consequently, the different stakeholders get involved and mention their aspirations, and potential contributions through a proper environment of 'Participation'.

⁶ Influenced by 'Khaled Abd El-Halim' Session in Urban activist event organized by 'Tadamun' on the importance of accountability in good governance, June 2013

⁷ Influenced by 'Khaled Abd El-Halim' Session in Urban activist event organized by 'Tadamun' on the importance of accountability in good governance, June 2013

Additionally, a fully ‘Transparent’ context of knowledge and data transfer should be promoted; in order to guarantee proper participation. Such transparency allows different actors to: have full view of what is going on, knowing how much resources are available, understanding on what basis decisions are being taken upon, realizing their exact duties and rights. Given that participants at this stage should have access to required information; the importance of incorporating the ‘Accountability’ principle rises up.

‘Accountability’ at this stage provides different stakeholders with the right to judge the performance of those who are in charge, in which they could question the outcomes in terms of the previously identified roles. Moreover, in case the results are not as expected, there should be assessment for reasons that led to the limitation of the process to fix them. Therefore, it can be concluded that ‘Accountability’ compels evaluation and a reply; in order to decide what to be done in response to the time requirements. Hence, ‘Responsiveness’ represents a necessary principle to counter any occurring variables or drawbacks. Consequently, these responsive solutions should be followed by commitment and hardworking through ‘Effectiveness and Efficiency’ that stimulates the contributors’ interest towards exerting efforts towards implementation and sustainability (Figure 10).

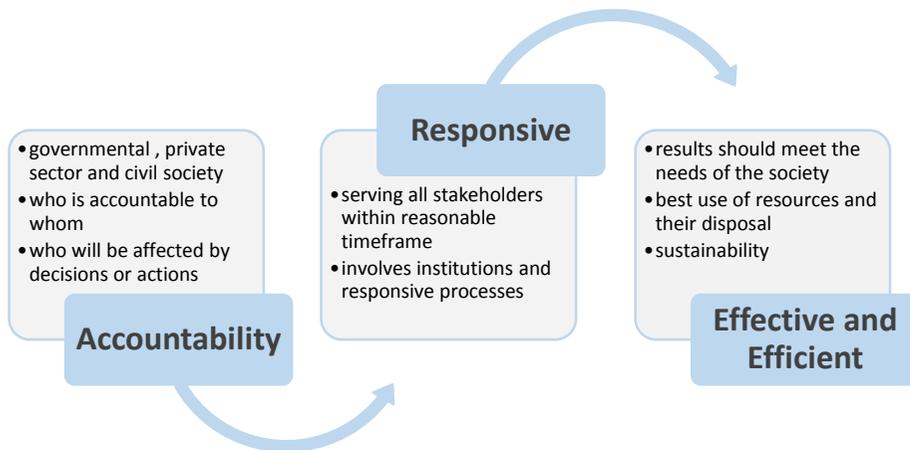


Figure 10: Interrelations between ‘Accountability’, ‘Responsive’, and ‘Effective &Efficient’ UN principles of the good governance based on (AbdelHalim, 2013) (Author)⁸

Since the governance process was initiated in favor of collaboration and multi actors’ integration. Therefore, the final outputs of the process should promote for ‘Equity and Inclusiveness’. Eventually, the whole process should be authorized through new

⁸ Influenced by ‘Khaled Abd El-Halim’ Session in Urban activist event organized by ‘Tadamun’ on the importance of accountability in good governance, June 2013

legislations or modifications to the existing ones; in which governance implies this premise ‘Following the rules of law’ principle as the final stage of successful governance process (illustrated in *Figure 11*).

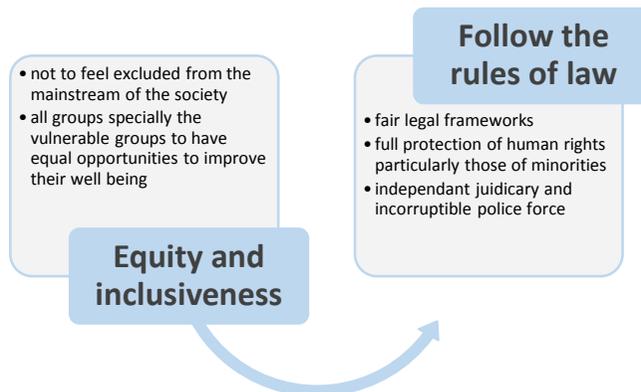


Figure 11: Interrelations between ‘Equity and Inclusiveness’, and ‘Follow the rules of Law’ UN principles of the good governance based on (AbdelHalim, 2013) (Author)⁹

It can be concluded from the previous series of diagrams (Figures 9, 10, 11) that UN good governance principles are strongly related to the governance norm, which is analyzed previously in this chapter. Thus, stakeholders and their roles should be validated through legitimate channels for better performance. These principles are to be further investigated in this chapter within the urban development framework.

2.2. Urban Governance: Indicators and the related stakeholders

Securing an effective urban governance framework requires associated economic development, while maintaining social justice and equity among various inhabitants. Therefore, this section discusses different indicators of supporting the urban governance.

2.2.1. Notion of Urban Governance

“Urban governance is the sum of the many ways individuals and institutions, public and private, plan and manage the common affairs of the city. It is a continuing process through which conflicting or diverse interests may be accommodated and cooperative action can be taken. It includes formal institutions as well as informal arrangements and the social capital of citizens.” (UN-HABITAT, 2002)

⁹ Influenced by ‘Khaled Abd El-Halim’ Session in Urban activist event organized by ‘Tadamun’ on the importance of accountability in good governance, June 2013

The UN introduces a useful starting point in this definition; to assess the quality of governance being exercised in the urban context. In some other definitions and reports, the UN usually promotes for different forms of democracy such as: transparency, coherency, accountability, effectiveness, and efficiency in all and every step of urban development. Thus, there should be mechanisms within each system for measuring the quality of the political, administrative and financial system of urban management. These mechanisms indicate the success of the process; for instance, to evaluate the efficient delivery of public services. From this point of view, the research continues below to display both the World Bank and the UN contributions in the context of urban governance.

World Bank WB, the World Development Report-WDR- mention three key elements as follows:

- Internal rules and restraints: for example, internal accounting and auditing systems, independence of the judiciary and the central bank, civil service and budgeting rules (World Bank, 1997)
- “Voice” and partnership: for example, public-private deliberation councils, and service delivery surveys to solicit client feedback (World Bank, 1997)
- Competition: competitive social service delivery, private participation in infrastructure, alternative dispute resolution mechanisms, and outright privatization of certain market-driven activities (World Bank, 1997)

United Nations UN: the UNCHS global campaign for good Governance introduces 7 indicators to measure the performance of urban governance process. These 7 indicators of urban governance are: Decentralization, Equity, Civic Engagement and citizenship, Transparency & Accountability, Efficiency, Security, and Sustainability. These kinds of coordinated efforts are promoted to enhance the feasibility of the executed urban interventions.

Thus, it is worth to mention that the researcher finds the UN definitions to be more inclusive for the urban context than the stated concepts by the World Bank; since the UN covers more aspects. Additionally, the UN moves beyond the economic driven governance that is typically the focus of the World Bank. Consequently, this research adopts the UN urban governance indicators as an evaluation tool within next chapters. However, the applicability to utilize these 7 indicators to evaluate the urban performance encounters challenges in terms of unifying concept definition, measuring rates, and evaluation of indicator itself; which makes the process of evaluation subjective. Moreover, methods of data collection and risk of data manipulation or not

being based to normative considerations usually represent a crucial concern (Stewart, 2006). Thus, the research defines the UN urban governance indicators as illustrated in *Figure 12* based on reviewing literature on UN definitions and methods of applying the urban governance indicators to consider in the latter stages of research case study.

Decentralization	The decentralized systems should identify mandates for local governance tiers in terms of decision making and financial resources management
Equity	Everyone is equal and no discrimination or favoring of one group rather
Civic Engagement & citizenship	It is important that the type of governance being exercised is engaging the citizens and promoting their sense of ownership
Transparency & Accountability	In order to benefit from the citizens' participation, data and records should be transparent and everyone should have the authority to monitor, evaluate and report any errors for mid-course corrections
Security	The Security can have many forms such as the security of citizens; this also can be measured through so many aspects at this stage based on the mutual trust obtained in the previous steps
Efficiency	Efficiency should be measured throughout assessing how far the proposed urban development have effectively contributed to positive change, capacity building, the setup of proper systems
Sustainability	As much as the efficiency of the end results of the exercised governance and the urban development are important, the sustainability and the continuity of the resources represent very important aspect to evaluate

Figure 12: Analysis of UN urban governance indicators based on UN definitions (Author)

In light of this previous view of urban governance, the main actors that are supposed to bring these models to reality are to be investigated within the following section of this chapter.

2.3. Stakeholders' identification

Since urban governance is more about effective and collaborative planning, there should be integration of different stakeholders towards the achievement of sustainable development and local democracy (Rai, 2004). However the involvement of multi stakeholders' models always raises the fear of making the governance process harder in terms of resolving conflicts; in case their preferences are not uniform (*Figure 13*).

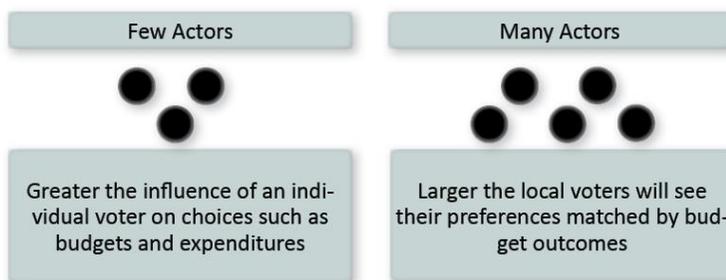


Figure 13: Number of involved stakeholders vs. influence on decision making process based on (Rai, 2004) (Author)

The citizens’ level of satisfaction became more advanced in light of the modern life style, globalization and the accompanied socio-urban changes that have led to the rise of civil Society and private sector to be in charge as well as the public sector (Harvey, 1989). From this premise, it was found throughout reviewing literature on actors other than the State that today needs of a city require integrative and holistic approaches of governance that coordinates the relation between government, business sector and the civil society as equal partners in the development process (Abdul Rashid, Jusoh, & Abdul Malek, 2009). Accordingly, the research introduces these three main actors as identified by the UN: State, Private Sector, and Civil Society; to lead the governance process (Figure 14), in which the role of each one of them is to be investigated within this section.

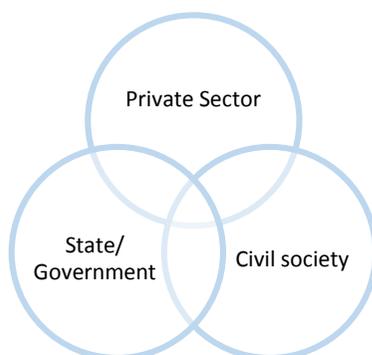


Figure 14: Diagram showing the main three actors involved in the governance process (UN Habitat, ESCAP, 2000, p. 123)

2.3.1. The State/ Government:

The State is represented in Legitimate, Executive and the Judiciary arms that should all contribute to the welfare of the country on all levels. However, the research emphasizes on the executive arm of the State represented in governments; as they are mostly involved in the implementation of the urban development. Governments usually

execute laws and expenditure, charge taxes, and provide public services. Society in return commits to these laws through paying its dues and making use of these services. This premise can be used to define the role of governments in short, where they are responsible for provision and regulation of the public activities rather than the redistribution of resources (Schakel, 2008). The governments' role is more detailed and their responsibilities are usually put in a broader frame (Streeten, 2002) towards:

- **Capacity Building:** educate, train and promote for the right attitudes for a competent civil service, capable of resisting self-interested pressure groups.
- **Liability:** regulate the right checks for government, private sector, civil society and family, so that governments do not over-regulate firms, private firms do not corrupt government, and civil society does not destroy society, but makes the government accountable instead.
- **Participatory:** provide opportunities for popular participation in decisions that affect the quality of the people's life, access to power, transparency and accountability of those in power.
- **Integrity:** enforce property rights and contracts; avoiding inflation, large-scale unemployment and imbalances in the balance of payments.
- **Pro-Poor budgeting:** provide opportunities for the poor so that they can become self-reliant, correcting for iniquitous market "success." This means giving the vulnerable groups access to resources: land, food, health services, education, training, public employment, provision of public goods, credit, and a social safety net.
- **Social accountability:** give higher priority in welfare policies to women and children, to the rural areas more than the urban residents, to the poor over the better-off, and to neglected minorities discriminated against over the existing majority.

2.3.2. Private Sector:

The urban governance model offers the private sector the opportunity to reengineer itself and its responsibility towards the urban environment. The role of private sector in urban governance is directly related to the economic supply and demand, where this role can be monitored in the scale of the urban development. Appreciating the participation of the private sector in urban governance requires a basic understanding of how cities are governed, by looking at aspects such as the setup of priorities in the urban agenda, and how to control the participation of the private sector; in order to avoid having biased governance that serves in the interest of investors. Such a role requires implying pro-urban poor components to come as a part of the service

provision, also, utilization of local labor supports their image in the eyes of the public (Auclair & Jackohango, 2009).

This supportive role of the private sector towards good urban governance can be realized at the National, Regional, City and Neighborhood levels. The most common example on the private sector contributions is focused on the development of structured service in the Private Public Partnerships PPPs, e.g. in sectors such as water, transport, waste management, energy etc. These partnerships on the national level are initiated within an official supportive framework, which is based on transparent transfer of projects, and honest contractual agreements that are open to public inspection.

Also on both the city and neighborhood levels, the private sector can contribute in an area-based management; in response to the continuous need for reinforcing the communities and organizations at this level. Supporting the private sector to articulate the local issues is essential; so as to achieve tasks such as community planning, budgeting, project planning and management.

2.3.3. Civil Society Organizations:

Since the late 1970s, the communities' development dialogue has witnessed a major shift towards the creation of a new paradigm, with civil society as its framework and NGOs as its most active agents (Abdelrahman, 2004), in which *"Civil society as the aggregate of non-governmental organizations and institutions that manifest interests and will of citizens or individuals and organizations in a society which are independent of the government"* (Dictionary.com). Hence, the failure of the state-led models of development has enforced the households, citizen groups, and external non profit volunteers to take part in improving their living and lifting up quality of the local urban conditions. Civil society organizations take many forms of official representations such as Non-Governmental Organizations NGOs, Community Based Organizations CBOs with the assistance of self-help coalitions from inside the community itself (Abdelrahman, 2004). Therefore, the civil society simply comprises various interested groups, facilitates political and social interaction within the urban environment (Banachowicz & Danielewicz, 2004). In this regard, many of these organizations usually use one or more approaches towards: Market Orientation, Welfare Approaches, Raising Claims against the State, and providing Civil Society driven alternatives for development (DANIDA, 2000), where these approaches are further analyzed as follows:

- Welfare approaches: with NGOs offering assistance to those in need, often fulfilling a role that government agencies should provide – for instance, provision for water or garbage removal (DANIDA, 2000).
- A market orientation: with initiatives to introduce and pay for improved housing, infrastructure and services through market-related mechanisms and local entrepreneurs. Credit often plays an important role within this, as it allows low-income households to afford the capital costs of improved infrastructure (or improving their own home) and to spread the repayments over time (DANIDA, 2000).
- Making claims on the state: with the NGO active in the advocacy of citizen rights and in putting pressure on local authorities or other state agencies to provide infrastructure or services to the poor (DANIDA, 2000).
- Civil society-driven alternatives: through programs which involve a combination of community and state support to provide or improve housing, infrastructure and services in non-traditional ways (DANIDA, 2000).

2.3.4. Cross-Relations between three previously mentioned main stakeholders

Understanding the decision-making matrix in the urban environment involves a lot of interrelations and interests that overlap (*Figure 15*), which requires paying attention to the effects of some groups that have major consequences on other groups:

- **State-Private Sector**: While the role of the government is to create a prolific political and legal environment, the private sector creates wealth through generation of employment and revenue (Banachowicz & Danielewicz, 2004), where the city region acts as a station that incubates and drives economic progress. Hence, States should facilitate the interaction of private sectors and grab investments to the city towards raising the quality of life for its citizens.
- **State- Civil Society**: NGOs are recognized or licensed (if not created) by the State and granted a deliberate representational control within their respective categories, in exchange for observing certain controls on their selections of leaders and articulation of demands and supports (Abdelrahman, 2004). In this context, such a partnership helps in: advocating grass-root initiatives that are pro-poor, monitoring of human rights, and encouraging people to participate through civic education, election monitoring, training for effective local leadership in local governments.

- Private Sector-Civil Society:** The democratic dispensation witnessed by a more active civil society in urban issues requires a similar response from the private sector to influence the benefits that a democratic environment brings; to enhance accountability and transparency in the operations of city affairs. While the local authorities and civil society might be ahead in terms of engagement, the private sector has a vital role to play in ensuring that the ultimate results of any collaboration between the city stakeholders adheres to basic principles of economics, and guarantee sustainable urban development. Thus, such a partnership between non-State actors ensures the effective participation of wide spectrum of stakeholders in a more people-oriented development process, furthermore, it is worth to highlight the significant benefit that civil society organizations could have from the private sector presence towards initiating micro – finance businesses, and channeling part of the investors’ profits through local development funds.

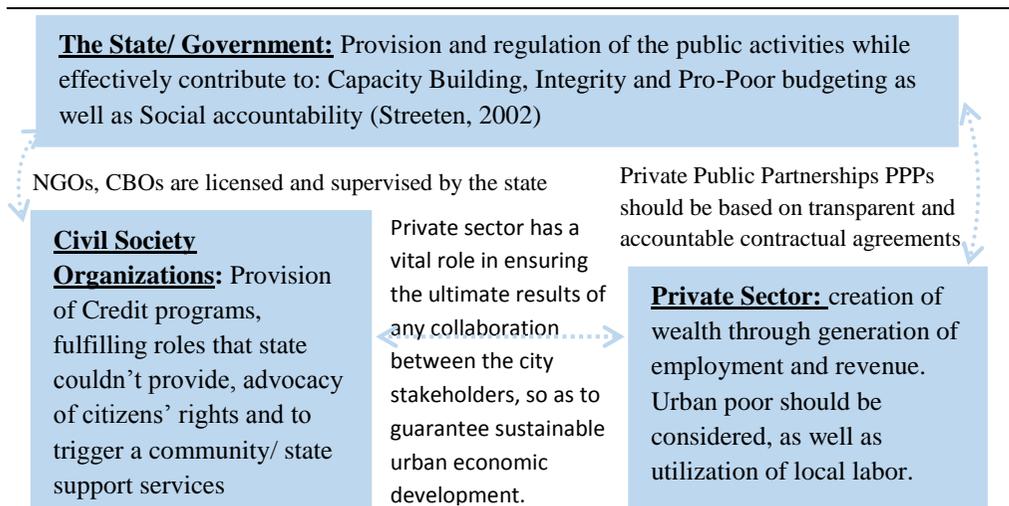


Figure 15: shows the cross relations between three main stakeholders within the urban context (Author)

2.4. Conclusion

This chapter reaches several inter-depending conclusions, in which there is a worldwide course of action towards identifying roles in and rights of different actors. Subsequently, this can be achieved through this common medium called 'Governance'. Therefore, it can be concluded from reviewing literature on governance definitions and good governance principles that 'Governance' aims at reaching a consensus state that can be effectively translated into enforced laws. Moreover, the governance process should be flexible, dynamic and well promoting for transparency, participation and accountability.

Hence, Achieving 'Good Governance' responds to time changes and fulfills any emanating needs for the same actors or any newly introduced ones.

Also, it can be concluded that 'Urban Governance' stems from the value of incorporating governance; to regulate urban development process. In this regard, 'Urban Governance' delivers a set of measures that should be considered by different communities such as decentralization, solidarity, effective civic engagement, transparency and accountability. Moreover it can be clearly observed that governments alone are incapable of responding to the citizens' complex requirements and aspirations. Thus, no one can ignore the important role that non-State actors (civil society, private sector) are playing to raise the people's awareness and help them improve their lives. It is worth to consider as well that those recently non-State actors are not necessarily well-structured NGOs or corporates, in which many of them could just small scale initiatives as a self-help coalition or an individual bottom up call for change. Subsequently, the following chapters discuss more about applying such governance models within urban context in light of the presence of informal settlements.

3. Urban Governance of Informal Settlements in Metropolitan Areas

Urbanization has become a crucial issue for most of the developing countries around the world, in which a general observation in low-income economies indicates that the larger the city, the higher the proportion of slum dwellers (UN-HABITAT, 2003). However, urbanization per se should not be considered as a problem, not even rapid urbanization, in which the population growth in cities of developed countries does not necessarily imply negative impacts. Thus, urbanization can be regarded critical only in circumstances; in which the State and society together fail to manage the consequences of city expansions. Subsequently, it becomes an urgent matter to rapidly accommodate these non-stop massive movements of people towards the more urban developed areas. However, what happens instead is that the formal sector in these developing countries is incapable of providing sufficient housing and services equally to everyone; this is due to their weak capacities, bureaucratic administrative apparatuses, and limited financial resources (Auclair & Jackohango, 2009). When pointing out to this reality, it clarifies the fact that capital cities located in developing countries are hosting the majority of the World's slum dwellers.

Hence, the outdated urban governance frameworks can be regarded as a reason behind the further expansion of Informal settlements, where it becomes the most feasible and instant solution for absorbing the cities' unrecognized and marginalized inhabitants (Durand-Lasserve, 2006). Therefore, the urban poor and recently large sector of the low income groups attempted to secure their own shelters by themselves, in which informality grew to become one of the most important global concerns at the moment. Accordingly, this chapter mainly discusses the research sub-investigation *“What are the characteristics of urban deterioration and informality, and their relation to bad governance frameworks?”*

Consequently, the research briefly analyzes different management concepts of metropolitan areas and three of the most commonly exercised governance frameworks. Later, the chapter explains definitions and general characteristics of evolving informal settlements, in which this section introduces key challenges and required interactions to achieve the urban governance indicators. Finally, the research refers to global observation on the strong relation between corruption and failure of governance systems on one side with informality spread on the other side; in an attempt to illustrate how Informal settlements are compiling into global phenomena within the World's developing metropolitan cities (Figure 16).

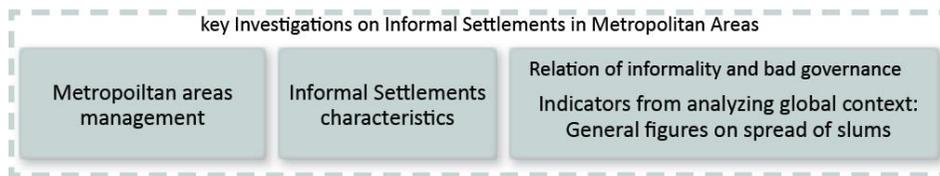


Figure 16: key Investigations on Informal Settlements in Metropolitan Areas (Author)

3.1. Urban Governance Models of Metropolitan Areas

The general perception of a metropolitan area (MA) is being a core area containing a nucleus with large population, jointly with other smaller adjacent communities that have a high degree of economic and social integration within that core area. Growth of megacities that are undergoing exponential urbanization makes it harder every day to develop a workable approach to govern and finance these several million citizens. In this respect, countries try to develop various types of legislations towards empowering local governance, in which some of these developing countries incorporated reforms such as elections and participatory budgeting; in order to deepen the accountability roots, promote responsiveness, and to meet people’s aspiration in acquiring adequate living conditions and efficient services (Rai, 2004).

Hence, metropolitan governance systems and process of service delivery can vary between either fragmented structures with strong decentralization of power, or others applying top-down rigid approaches regarding the city responsibility. Today, almost everyone tries to achieve some balance between capturing the efficiencies of area wide government and maintaining local control at the same time (Bahl, Linn, & Wetzel, 2013). Thus this section briefly introduces three of the most commonly applied models for city governance that are listed below, in which their definitions are compared as follows in **Error! Reference source not found.**

- Jurisdictional Fragmentation
- Functional Fragmentation
- Metropolitan Government

3.1.1. Definitions of Three types of the City Governance Models

- **Jurisdictional Fragmentation:** General- Purpose local governments operate in the same metropolitan area with some limited degree of independence in choosing their package of public services and their tax, user charge, and debt financing arrangements. (Bahl, Linn, & Wetzel, 2013)
- **Functional Fragmentation:** Under this model, the delivery of a single function (or a related grouping of functions) is placed under the control of either a public company or a special district government. Public company or a special district government may have access to a dedicated revenue stream (e.g., an earmarked tax, a compulsory transfer from the city government, or user charges) (Bahl, Linn, & Wetzel, 2013)
- **Metropolitan Government:** General services are provided by an area wide metropolitan government. In theory, the metropolitan government is elected and has significant powers to regulate service delivery and financing. In practice, most area wide governments share fiscal powers with lower tiers of government or publicly owned companies. (Bahl, Linn, & Wetzel, 2013)

In some cases, there is also an overlying metropolitan government to the jurisdictional fragmentation system, or presence of a region wide special district, but the emphasis in service delivery is on the role of the lower- tier governments. (Bahl, Linn, & Wetzel, 2013). It is worth to highlight as well that there is some degree of functional fragmentation existing in almost all metropolitan areas, but the structures vary widely the same as of public companies.

3.1.2. Comparing Advantages and Disadvantages of The Three Types of The City Governance Models

Usually, the Jurisdictional Fragmentation emphasizes on home rule and local authority, while Metropolitan Government emphasizes on coordination and elimination of duplication, whereas Functional Fragmentation emphasizes on technical efficiency. At this section, the research compares the key advantages and disadvantages of each of the three systems as demonstrated in table 1.

Table 1: Comparing advantages and disadvantages of three city governance models explained by (Bahl, Linn, & Wetzel, 2013) for governing of Metropolitan Areas (Author)

	Jurisdictional Fragmentation	Functional Fragmentation	Metropolitan Government
Advantages	<p>It keeps government close to the people.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -The population of the fiscal decision-making unit is smaller than the case of a metropolitan government -Protects the position of the local government bureaucracy and local politicians by making them accountable to the people they should serve. 	<p>The autonomous agency is likely to be more technically efficient because it is specialized.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -If the salary schedule is outside the normal civil service, the company could attract and retain higher-quality workers. -Lesser problems of coordination for that specific function 	<p>The significant advantage of the pure metropolitan government approach is built-in coordination in the delivery of functions.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Better resource allocation with dividing responsibility for local services among multiple municipalities and special-purpose governments. -Equalization because the quality of local services is not tied to the wealth of each local jurisdiction, as in the case of independent local governments.
Disadvantages	<p>Failure to capture economies of scale</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Operating within a set of boundaries that are arguably too small to internalize important external effects or to allow coordinated service delivery. -can lead to large fiscal disparities among local governments in the metropolitan area 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Under less direct control of local voters, for example, the public service company might have an appointed in dependent board with no local government membership. -This model does not protect accountability to a local constituency, thus, disadvantage depends on management of the autonomous agency being determined. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Intergovernmental conflict, if local governments exist under a metropolitan arrangement, they may resist the leadership and dominance of the metropolitan government. -Boundaries of the metropolitan government may not be large enough to fully capture the benefits of regional wide governance.

In light of the previous comparisons, metropolitan government can be criticized to be monopolistic and miss out on the cost cutting advantages that might come from competition in a fragmented government setting. On the other hand, the over control of fragmented local levels in the other two models would largely hold off combination of scale economies and allow duplications and higher cost of government.

It is found through investigation that methods of civic engagement and citizenship are not clearly elaborated with any of the three models. Moreover, these models involve group of stakeholders and exclude the others; which disagree with the good governance framework explained in chapter 2 that promotes for integrating all different actors towards better urban performance of the city. In this respect, not fixing the mentioned drawbacks leads to: governance deficiencies and absence of roles definitions, disability of the city to function and provide required services, officials' corruption and manipulation of power for personal interests, and naturally the citizens suffer disparities that resulted over the time in the spread of informality and deteriorated urban conditions. Therefore, the next sections of this chapter examine the urban phenomena of informal settlements and how their spread is strongly related to the mentioned drawbacks of the three models.

Thus, the research concludes that advocating one of the three mentioned models and totally ignoring the others deprive the model from the advantages of the other. Thus, the challenge when governing a metropolitan area with urban complexity and socioeconomic diversity, mostly ignores the opportunities behind local involvement in fiscal decision making, and the expansion of the city jurisdictional boundaries to capture economies of scale.

3.2. Informal settlements: *International definitions and characteristics*

There are 200,000 of informal communities around the world, most of them in or around cities (Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights ohchr, 2007). Hence, identifying an urban settlement to be completely formal or informal is very complex and dynamic issue that depends on political, social and economic aspects. This complexity comes out from the fact that the physical context as well as the quality of services' provision is continually changing for the same area over time. Additionally, informal dwellers usually have their strong reasons to occupy land informally. For instance, most of residents in such informal areas are intending to ignore the law for the sake of having a shelter, and with a hope that their lives will improve later (Barry & Rütger, 2005).

Thus, this section examines the occurring segregation of some communities for being informal, and depriving them from their right to full citizenship such as: access to adequate life, and enjoying the city urban facilities. This requires overlooking on the notion of informal settlements and involved actors, and reflections on the urban governance indicators.

3.2.1. Definition of Informal settlements

The term informal settlements is usually associated whenever slums are mentioned, and is used to describe a range of poor housing conditions either high-density, squalid central city tenements or the kind of spontaneous squatters lacking any legal recognition or rights, sprawling at the edge of cities (UN-Habitat U. N., 2003). According to the UN habitat, term of 'Slums' first appeared in the 1820s to describe the houses with poor and low quality conditions, lacking sanitary or refugee for marginal or illegal activities, and as a source of many epidemics. Nowadays, it has been associated to wide variety of urban settlements to refer to low quality or informal houses (UN-HABITAT , 2007).

Accordingly, Khalifa describes the common perceived connotation of slum as *“‘Slum’ is an umbrella concept under which fall numerous categories of settlement, for example, decaying inner-city tenements, squatter settlements, and shantytowns.”* (Khalifa, 2011). While the UN defines Informal settlements as: *“1. areas where groups of housing units have been constructed on land that the occupants have no legal claim to, or occupy illegally; 2. Unplanned settlements and areas where housing is not in compliance with current planning and building regulations (unauthorized housing)”*. (UN-HABITAT , 2007) . Hence, urban informality is mainly identifying unlicensed or illegal urban expansions regardless the physical and socio-economic conditions. While, most of nowadays informal settlements and even some of the formal ones suffer from severe urban deterioration and shortage of services provision. However, this research promotes that lacking legal status of tenure results into absence of the right to access formal services and formal urban development (either instantly or on long term); in which eventually such informal expansions grow into mega slums gradually.

3.2.2. Characteristics Associated to Urban Informality

“Dwellings in such settlements vary from simple shacks to more permanent structures, and access to basic services and infrastructure tends to be limited or badly deteriorated.” (UN-Habitat U. N., 2003). The UN operational definition reflects the most common features that characterize such poor and informal urban settlement: *“A slum household is defined as a group of individuals living under the same roof lacking one or more of the following conditions: access to improved water; access to improved sanitation facilities;*

sufficient-living area, not overcrowded; structural quality/durability of dwellings and security of tenure. This is an operational definition that reflects conditions that characterize slums in the world.” (UN-HABITAT, 2003)

According to UN-habitat in one of its report in 2003, the ‘informal Settlements’ term is usually associated with the urban poor, who have no other alternatives for getting a shelter (whether adequate or not) except in an informal and ‘illegal’ methods. Hence, they occupy the slums which are not located on official maps or in any of the national statistics of different countries that are hosting these settlements (UN-HABITAT, 2003). These inhabitants live where waste is not collected, and taxes are not paid. Officially, they weakly exist, no matter how many of them live and strongly network every day within the administrative boundary of the town or city they belong to.

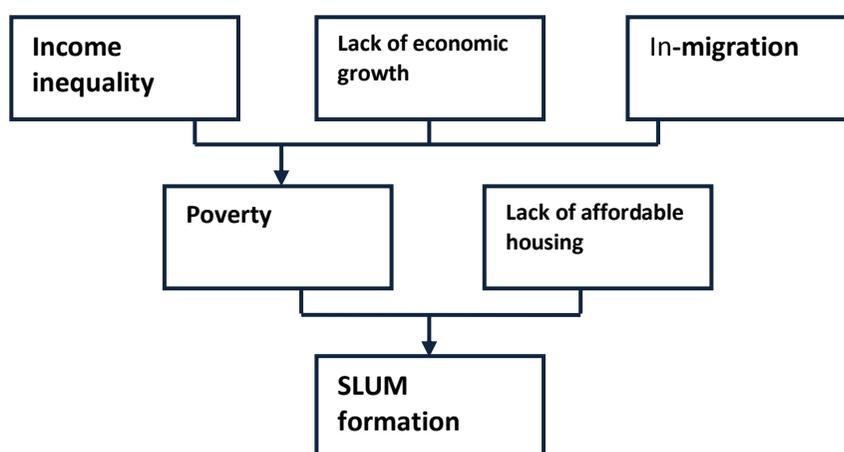


Figure 17: Inequality, poverty and slum formation (UN-Habitat, 2003)

In this context, informal settlements are recognized for having insecure residential status which results in their lack of access to clean and potable source of water; or any other form of basic life infrastructure. Moreover, different settlers in such areas usually suffer from living in poor structural quality of housing (UN-Habitat U. N., 2003), which in many cases is life and health threatening; leading to so many tragic cases¹⁰.

Furthermore, belonging to such urban poor areas limits the inhabitants’ life chances; in which some of them are not able to obtain formal-sector jobs due to their weak social and educational capacity, and lack of patronage, empowerment and contacts. Their socio-economic isolation from the rest of the formal administrative units can also be directly related to their exclusion by others in terms of social class significance (UN-

¹⁰ Similar to what happened in 2008 in ‘Dwikka’ accident in Egypt, where a rockslide led to the demolition of many houses and death of many inhabitants over there.

Habitat U. N., 2003). Likewise, one can rarely find banks or employing corporate in such areas, where dwellers of informal areas are not accessible to official sources of finance to develop their own businesses; since the lack of a legally registered guarantee will exclude nearly all from obtaining loans. (UN-Habitat U. N., 2003).

Thus, the previously discussed characteristics that are associated with any informal settlement reflects deficiency of governance framework that results in vulnerability and poverty spread. Accordingly, there are common symptoms that these poor communities suffer from in different informal settlements over the world as shown in

Figure 18.

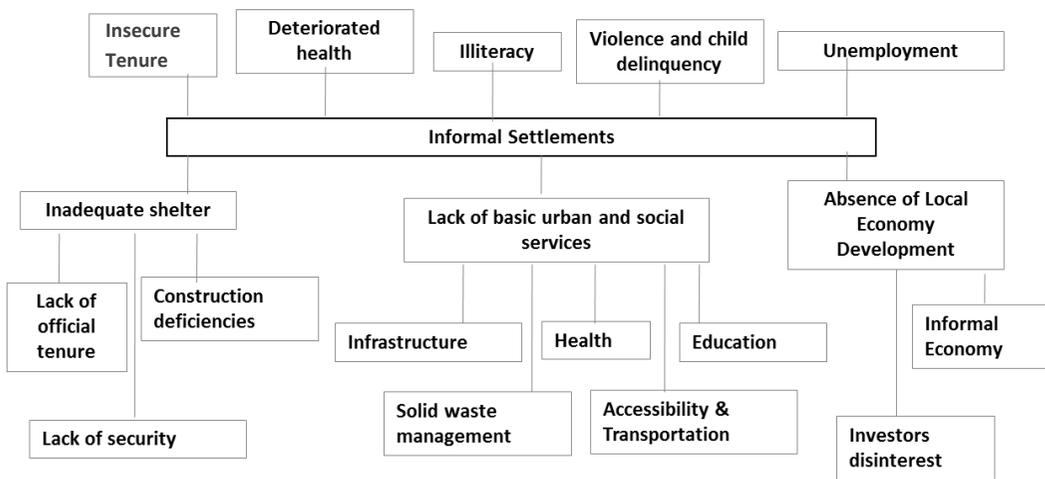


Figure 18: Symptoms analysis for informal settlements- breakdown of issue (Author)

Throughout the research break-down analysis of each group of issues and resulting impacts within the informal settlements, it was found that one of the major factors that exposes residents of informal settlements to such poor urban, social and economic conditions, is their illegal status and the land tenure issues. These informal settlers are exposed in some cases to forced evictions, especially those located in prime valuable lands that are subjected to high market pressures. Also, unsafe groups who occupy hazardous or dangerous sites are subjected to eradication. In this regard, the poorest communities are considered to be further vulnerable to external pressures (Durand-Lasserve, 2006). Therefore, the UN explains further in this regard:

“Access to land and legal security of tenure are strategic prerequisites for the provision of adequate shelter for all and for the development of sustainable human settlements affecting both urban and rural areas; it is also one way of breaking the vicious circle of poverty. In order to ensure an adequate supply of serviceable land, Governments...

should recognize and legitimize the diversity of land delivery mechanisms; decentralize land management responsibilities and provide capacity-building programs that recognize the role of key interested parties, where appropriate; explore innovative arrangements to enhance security of tenure, other than full legislation, which may be too costly and time-consuming in certain situations". (United Nations, 1996)

What is worth to highlight through the previous quote is the mention of keywords related to decentralization, management, capacity building, key interested parties, and security of tenure and legislations, when addressing the issue of provision of adequate shelter for all and for the development of sustainable human settlements; which alerts the correlation between urban informality problems to bad governance.

Accordingly, the research locates the governance to be crucial factor in addressing these informal communities through two ways: firstly by supporting the efficiency of the city current urban performance, and secondly by saving other inhabitants from experiencing this deteriorated situation. In this respect, there should be more attention and exerted effort in the governance process for engaging different actors, which is further elaborated in the following section.

3.3. Urban governance of Informal Settlements: Stakeholders' interactions and Indicators

"The poor have sometimes objected to being governed badly. The rich have always objected to being governed at all" (Chesterton, 2009). Thus, governments face every day the challenge of equalizing between different citizens sharing the same city and possess high level of diversity in terms of their socio-economic class. Consequently, conflicts of interests between different inhabitants and investors require the establishment of a flexible governance framework that allows the effective socio-economic engagement of everyone.

However, governance of an area that is labeled by everyone else in the city to be informal is a very socio-sensitive issue, which raises the exasperation of the inhabitants of such area. Thus in this section, two of the previously identified theoretical frameworks in chapter 1, stakeholders' identification and UN Urban governance indicators; are utilized through incorporating the interpreted data on metropolitan areas and urban informality. These correlations are further explained below; in order to examine the ability of such combination towards the development of informal settlements. Accordingly, this section investigates the possibility of achieving the urban governance indicators in an informal area, and what supplementary components or introduced actors could support the success of the process.

3.3.1. Identifying the urban governance challenges for different actors

The informal settlement populations are suffering from consequences of their previously unfulfilled expectations for basic services in the form of housing, water, electricity and sanitation, in addition to dwellers' registration (UN-Habitat U. N., 2003). Consequently, the enhancement of the urban governance process should start by identifying the challenges facing each of the three main stakeholder groups that are identified within chapter 2 in addition to an important sub-group that is highlighted within this chapter, which is the local community.

A-State/Government: Existing gaps and overlaps in terms of authority and job description between official institutions on the different governance tiers resulted in:

- Centralization and lack of subsidiarity: the central government is not capable of articulating its real role and authorization, in which the management of public affairs and goods are not transferred down to the practical levels and municipal authorities
- Disparity on local level: local governments, who are supposed to act with increased fiscal autonomy, but they suffer instead from need for revenues to finance service provision. Thus, their plans are incompatible with the ability to pay for these services for a majority of the population in informal settlements.
- Inefficient representation of citizens: the distrustful relations between local government due to weak monitoring of corrupted official employees, popular councils and on the other side the citizens of informal settlements; this triggered the international aid agencies, and trusted NGOs¹¹ to intervene rather than the State.

B- Private Sector: Economic globalization is strongly influenced by the interest of multinational corporations that nowadays control most of the world's economic activity beyond the national control of governments, while governments in return serve these investors through financial and contractual facilities regardless of the negative consequences on the lives of the urban poor.

C- Civil Society: the efforts by civil society to act as development agents seem to be insufficient and incoherent in light of the non-cooperative government driven approaches. Hence, the aid services and money are mostly wasted and not transferred to the right beneficiaries. It is worth to mention that issues concerning the tenure policies are given increasing attention by several bilateral donor agencies (especially in

¹¹ Most of NGOs are social and charity driven, or religious driven

the UK, Germany, France, the Netherlands, Canada, and Sweden). For example, the international finance institutes, such as the World Bank, emphasize on considering the set of regulations towards the slums upgrading, as an accompanying measure, or as a long-term objective (Durand-Lasserve, 2006). Also, the UN (particularly UNDP and UN-Habitat), emphasizes the social and economic integration of slums and informal settlements. According to the UN Strategies for implementing the proposed Global Plan of Action' emphasized the need for ensuring access to land (Durand-Lasserve, 2006).

- **Local Community/ Citizens:** This sub group was usually ignored throughout urban development partnerships and urban management frameworks, except for a few cases in reality that communities are consulted and considered as participants. Relevant stakeholders from local communities can be categorized into: formal inhabitants, commuters and informal inhabitants, in which these three groups possess diverse interests. Furthermore, a range of unofficial actors have proven to be relevant for governance structures and processes, where all the inhabitants of the informal settlement themselves have structured and restructured the settlement pattern through the acquisition of plots and a variety of building activities'. However, they lack the proper representation and participation in the different decisions concerning the improvement of their conditions. Therefore, any metropolitan area with informal settlements should consider these informal societies and economies; in which ignoring them leads into consumption of city resources without achieving any development or citizens satisfaction.

The research reaches that governments are more likely to have strong and direct cooperation with formal communities, who benefit from the different investments and high standard of services (*Figure 19*). Thus, realizing the disparity of basic services level between formal and informal communities, reflects the need for better urban governance.

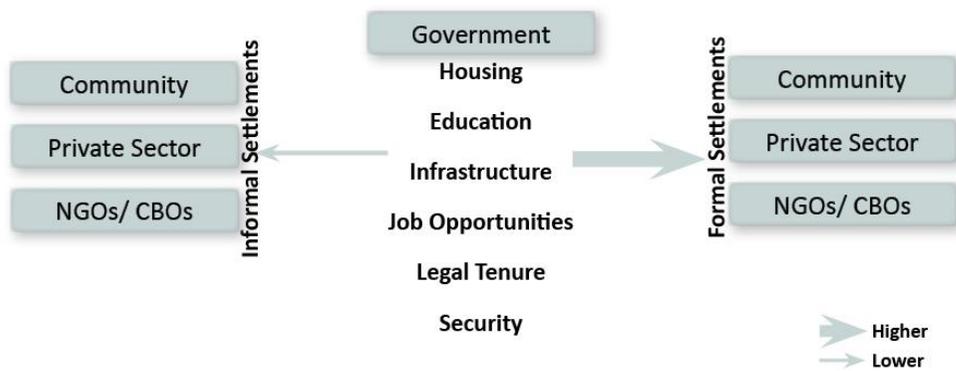


Figure 19: comparing the level of services provision by the government to the formal and informal settlements (Author)

3.3.2. UN Urban governance indicators and stakeholders’ interactions

It is obvious the need for better coordination between different actors towards successful upgrading plans. This is to avoid typical bureaucratic duplication failures, which occurs when different governmental agencies get involved in the same activities instead of coordinating together for a more successful intervention. Hence, the following table illustrates proposed research correlations between different stakeholders towards the activation of the urban governance indicators.

Table 2: Relation of previously mentioned stakeholder in metropolitan area and the associate challenges within UN urban governance model (Author)

	Direct Related Actors	Counter Deficiencies: Towards urban development of Informal settlements
Decentralization	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Government 	Governmental reforms and realistic roles distribution would counter centralization and lack of subsidiarity.
Equity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Government • Civil Society organizations 	Government standing at equal distance from all citizens and allowing civil society to supplement the vulnerable groups with their needs and defend their rights. Thus, this counters the city limited resources and distribution disparities.
Civic Engagement & citizenship	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Government • Private Sector • Civil Society organizations • Inhabitants 	Participation of everyone would counter the lack of motive, and enhances everyone's representation through the decision making process.
Transparency & Accountability	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Government • Private Sector 	Availability of information and social responsibility regarding activities of public and private sector would counter the lack of trust and decrease the corruption.
Efficiency	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Government • Private Sector • Civil Society organizations • Inhabitants 	Participation and engagement of all actors is not enough unless these contributions are effective in terms of: service provision, accessibility to job opportunities, social facilities, affordable housing and safe structures. Applying the efficiency indicator would counter deteriorated urban context and lack of interest to properly invest in informal settlements.
Security	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Government 	Security of citizens is mainly the responsibility of the government that should protect people, properties, development plans and investments even if they are instantly informal; so as to counter forced evictions, drugs, violence and child delinquency
Sustainability	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Government • Private Sector • Civil Society organizations • Inhabitants 	Sustainability and continuity of the urban development of informal settlements would ensure the success of enhancing the conditions of these dwellers, and improve the urban situation and resources of the city. Thus, presence of all the involved actors would guarantee their continuous civic engagement and efficiency. Eventually, this would counter the more spread of informality and existing governance drawbacks.

3.4. Relation between bad Governance and spread of Urban Informality

World population reached 7.1 billion people on July 15, 2012 (according to estimates by the United Nations), 1.3 billion of them live in the most advanced countries, and 5.8 billion live in less developed countries, in which 51% of the world's population live in urban areas (Abdel-Azim, 2013). As a result, the capacity of developing cities couldn't bear the population overload; in which there are 200,000 informal communities around the world¹²; most of them are in or around cities. The number grew even before the economic recession of 2008. Thus, the World is ending with about one third of all city residents living in slums (Tovrov, 2011).

3.4.1. Global Regions Hosting Informal Settlements

When dividing the World in terms of the geography of continents, the global figures show the World's geography of poverty within the developing region (UN-HABITAT, 2003), in which the UN regional records for slums for 2010¹³ states that: sub-Saharan Africa has the largest slum population with 199.5 million (or 61.7%) of its urban population live in such areas. It is followed by Southern Asia with 190.7 million (35%), Eastern Asia with 189.6 million (28.2%), Latin America and the Caribbean with 110.7 million (23.5%), South-Eastern Asia with 88.9 million (31%), Western Asia with 35 million (24.6%), North Africa with 11.8 million (13.3%) and Oceania with six million (24.1%), (UN-Habitat, 2010). At this point, the research compares results on the regions scoring the highest percentages of existing informal areas with their corresponding corruption perception index¹⁴ for the same year 2010, which arrange countries based on how corrupted are their public sectors and refers to lack of participation and accountability within governance systems (Transparency International, the global coalition against corruption, 2010).

Hence, it can be obvious in figures 20 and 21 below that countries with highest corruption index have the largest informal populations. For instance, five of the largest informal populations are located in Africa, Asia and Latin America such as: Khayeltisha¹⁵, Cape Town, South Africa; Kibera, Nairobi, Kenya; Dharavi, Mumbai, India; Orangi Town, Karachi, Pakistan; Neza-Chalco-Itza, Mexico City, Mexico.

¹² According to the United Nation's Special Rapporteur on Adequate Housing

¹³ 2010 specifically was recorded and compared, in which this observation during 2010 was the trigger behind the start of this research (starting master degree courses)

¹⁴ With more than half of the 178 indexed countries scoring below five on a 10 point scale (with 10 being "very clean"), corruption remains a major impediment to development (Martinsson, 2010)

¹⁵ Population estimation 400,000

Percentage of Informal Dwellers by Region

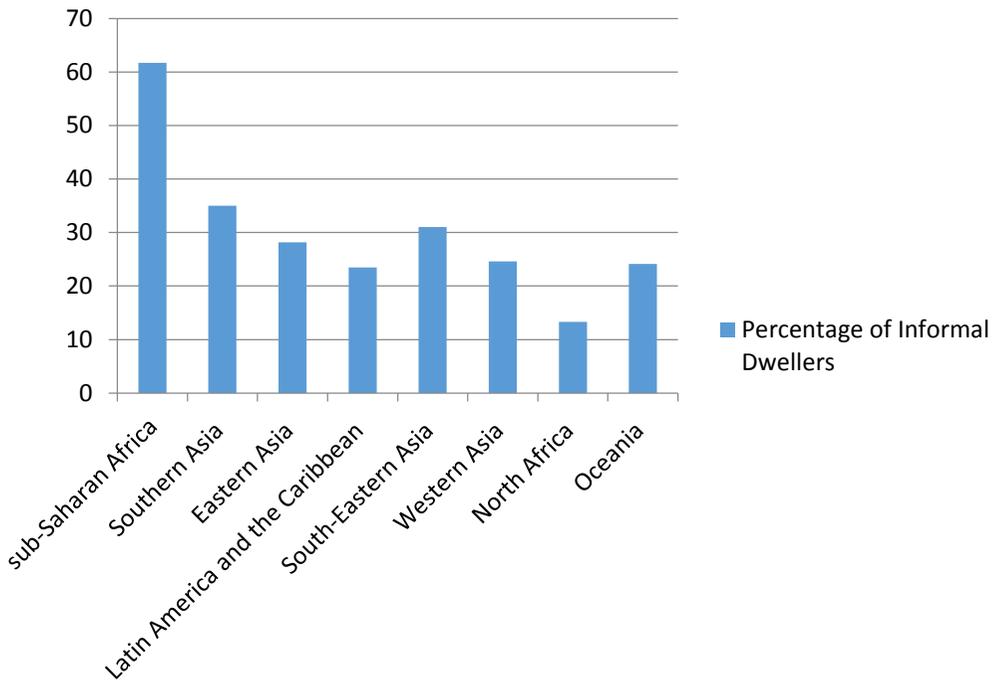


Figure 20: Distribution percentages of urban slum population within the global developing regions based on (UN-Habitat, 2010), (Data analysis and Chart by Author)

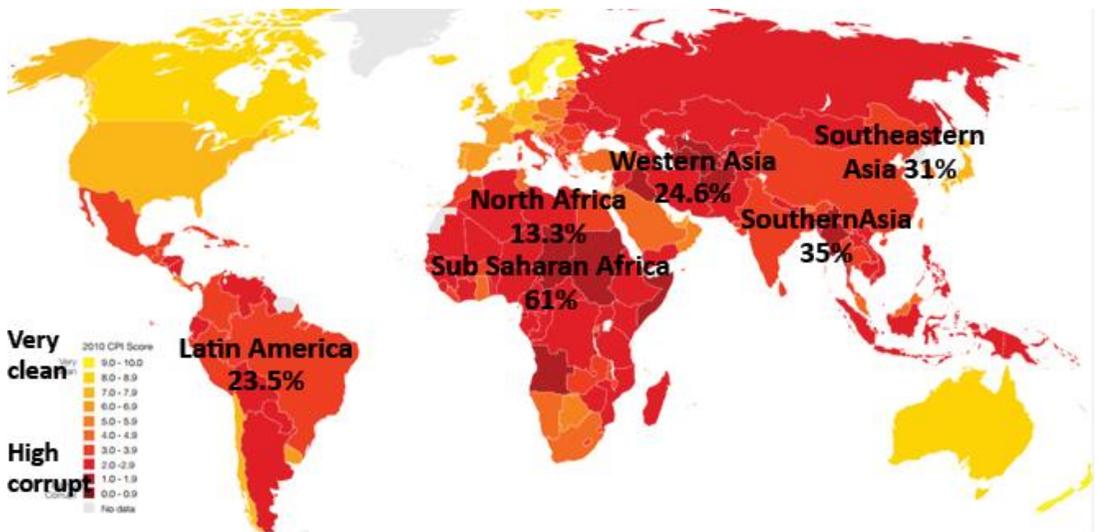


Figure 21: Overlapping informal Settlements spread along with developing regions suffering Corruption according to CPI in 2010 (Transparency International, the global coalition against corruption, 2010) (Illustration on map by Author)

3.4.2. Reflections and Interpretations

Hence, Informal Settlements exist in most of the developing countries, where the national power has been recently built up in the post-colonial period starting from the 50s and 60s of the twentieth century. The limited time since then to establish their own democratic and stable institutional systems and economy, was not enough to guarantee their fully independence from the Worlds' developed countries in addition to the power of the multinational private corporations that control World policies in the benefit of their interests (UN-Habitat U. N., 2003). These external influences have contributed to the weakening of the local city authorities and diminishing their role to only provision of services in some areas instead of taking a leading role in the city development. They are drawn into bureaucracies, and long-standing channels of authority to transfer the funds to local government. This has led to new aspirations calling for *“Advancing societies and retreating states”* (PARC, 2000).

In this respect, the State in most of the developing countries finds itself facing the short supply of affordable housing against large demand by poor and middle class communities, where the poor groups find informal housing a feasible solution. Hence, the informal settlements keep spreading and weakening more the State capacity; which piles up to the problem instead of solving it. It is worth to mention that there are a lot of complex details assigned to the spread of informal settlements, however, this research is mainly concerned with urban governance challenge as one of the key reasons of the failure to control the spread of informality through metropolitan cities.

3.5. Conclusion

This chapter discusses mainly the direct relationship between bad city governance and the spread of urban informality, in which four main approaches were adopted to illustrate such relationship.

- Demonstrating three of commonly adopted metropolitan city governance models and drawbacks for each of them, where it can be concluded the importance of enhancing the three models towards better integration of different actors on different management tiers.
- Elaboration of urban informality definition and characteristics in relation to lack of adequate shelter and access to services, which can be referred back to the inefficient city management that is one form of city governance.
- Re-introduction of UN urban governance indicators that were explained previously chapter 2 along with defined main groups of stakeholders; to overlook the challenges and roles within upgrading of informal settlements.

- Highlighting real global figures on corruption (as indicator of bad governance and lack of transparency, accountability, and participation) in correspondence to geographic configuration of slums; so as to confirm the on ground dimension of urban governance deficits contributing to the spread of informal settlements within metropolitan areas.

Thus, this chapter concludes that unless governance reforms take place within cities suffering from urban informality, the problem will only increase and get more complicated. This premise will be further investigated within the urban upgrading framework in Egypt.

4. Egyptian Context: Situation of Informal Settlements in Cairo

Governance of metropolitan cities such as Cairo is subjected to the global trends and changing ideologies, similar to most of the developing metropolitan cities that have engaged with the global capitalist system in spontaneously and dissimilar manners of the developed countries ones (Springborg, 1989). One can understand the Greater Cairo's urban fabric in light of the political and economic transitions that the city was subjected to during the last 60 years, in which these transitions rapidly shifted from; Arab-socialist era (1952- 1974), followed by free-market economy, or what is called 'open door' policy era (1975- 1987), later, dissolving public sector and the initiation of privatization (1987- 2000), then officially privatization oriented policies (from 2001 and onwards), (Bayoumi, 2009). Moreover, the Egyptian political transitions has recently received a new addition in 2011, which is the 25th of January revolution. As a consequence, Cairo is recently facing more problematical challenges since ever; due to the absence of a consensus legislative system, and lack of proper monitoring and applying of laws.

Consequently, every time Egypt shifted towards a new political driven development, social and economic changes occurred; in which this chapter investigates the impacts of what may seem as inconsistent political shifts in the national policies, occurring within such a relatively small time frame (1952- 2014). Accordingly, the research sub investigation that are tackled within this chapter are *"What is the political background towards evolution of informal settlements in Egypt? And who are the stakeholders influencing the development of informal settlements in Cairo?"*

Hence, this chapter highlights the urban governance attributes in the Egyptian case that affects the urban context of the metropolitan area of Greater Cairo (Figure 22). Accordingly, an overview on the current administrative framework and the historical background are briefly demonstrated. Later, this chapter demonstrates the research reflections, in terms of urban governance, for the common features and mapping the currently State empowered actors and the urban planning administrative apparatus of the metropolitan area of Greater Cairo. Finally, the chapter provides a closer outlook on Cairo and the characteristics of the existing informal settlements.

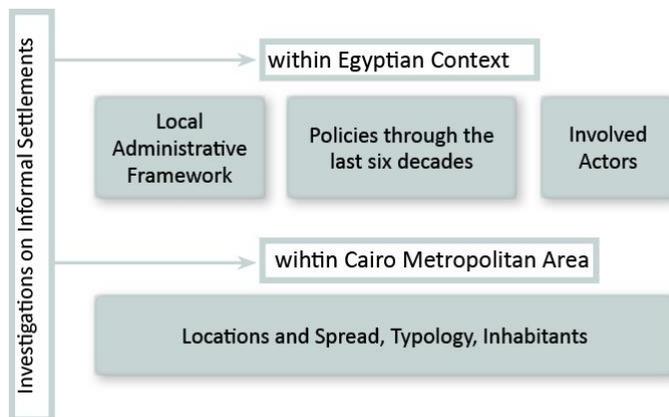


Figure 22: research process of investigating informality within Cairo (Author)

4.1. Egyptian National Context

According to CAPMAS,¹⁶ the estimates of the total population of Egypt reached 91 million in 2012. In this respect, Cairo as the capital of Egypt has gained its strategic importance in the World; due to so many geographical, culture and political factors. These factors triggered most of the observers and researchers of the Middle East in the modern history to analyze the urban performance in Egypt as a very unique and complex case.

4.1.1. Overview on Egyptian Administrative Framework

The Egyptian local administrative system is one of the oldest modern local administrative systems¹⁷, dating back to the foundation of the local council in 1883 during the British occupation. Today, Egypt is divided administratively into 27 Governorates, which are the top tier of the country's five-tier jurisdiction hierarchy (SIS, 2013). Each governorate is administered by a governor, who is appointed by the President of Egypt to serve at the president's discretion¹⁸. Governorates are distinguished into 'urban' or combining 'urban' and 'rural' (SIS, 2013). The official distinction between both is reflected in the lower tiers as shown in Figure 23. Some governorates consist of just one city, as in the case of Cairo. Mono-city governorates are divided into districts that are compromising configuration of urban neighborhoods.

¹⁶The national official statistics entity

¹⁷ The system was based on a French model (C.A.I.M.E.D., 2005).

¹⁸ Governors have the rank of minister, in which they are appointed directly by the president and perform as the president's representatives in terms of holding great power.

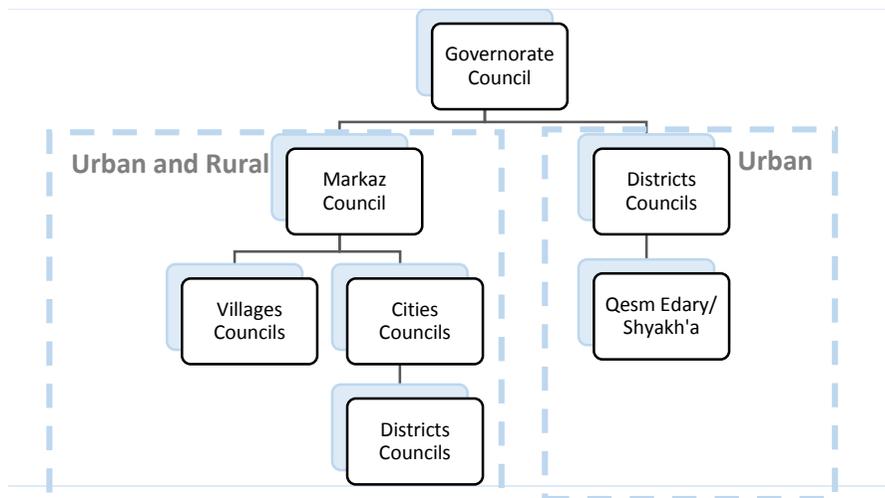


Figure 23: governorates are distinguished into 'urban' or combining 'urban' and 'rural' (Author)

Local councils in Egypt are divided into two arms: the first is the executive council that is composed of the governors, heads of cities, districts and villages, in addition to heads of directorates such as education, security, or health. The second is the local popular council, whose members are elected. These elected councils are supposed to monitor the performance of the executive ones, but has no legal authority to modify the local plans, furthermore, the governor can dissolve them (Khazbak, 2012). Above and beyond, the national budget is divided among central administration and local administration, where local administration outlines expenditures and revenues that take place at the governorate level and below.

A-Complexity of National level of fiscal planning

In light of this hierarchical structure for budgeting, spending requests identified at the lowest level must be passed from the village to the district to the governorate level, before it can be included in a budget request to be prepared by each one of the ministerial directorates at the governorate level. Ultimately, budget ceilings and requests from governorate directorates are assessed together with budget requests from central ministries and other central administration units by the Ministry of Finance¹⁹. This should be approved by the Cabinet and the President, then the

¹⁹ According to law, the parliament is allowed either to accept the government budget as it is, or to reject it outright. If the discussions extend beyond the start of the fiscal year, earlier year allocations remain operative until budgetary ratification or adjustments are finalized (Handoussa, El-Oraby, Mohieldin, & Abdelhamid, 2005, p. 21).

Parliament receives it to discuss, modify if required and approve as part of the annual budget process (Boex, 2011).

B-Complexity of Local level of fiscal planning

The central ministries (Ministry of Education, Ministry of Health...) have directorates in each of the 27 governorates. Although as previously mentioned that the Governor is the administrative head of the governorate and consequently possesses considerable power, the directorates retain a technical affiliation to their respective ministries (Boex, 2011). Furthermore, it is found that the process of decision making on the local level involves lower tier actors that are basically responsible for representing the local inhabitants. The unclear responsibilities of each tier and coordination methodologies are not identified or specified within many of the Egyptian legislations.

4.1.2. A Brief History: Political Influences on Urbanism in Cairo

This section examines the important incidents in the modern Egyptian history starting from declaration of the republic after 1952 revolution until 2014; in order to have a better view on the background of the inherited and inefficient top down governing regimes that are accused of: centralization, bureaucracy, and incapability to fulfill its responsibilities.

- 1952-1967, “The Republic Declaration”: Nasser’s regime, in which the State strongly embraced Socialism and industrialization oriented policies. Thus, the first master plan of Cairo (1953-1956) appeared in favor of industrial activities within new communities surrounding Cairo, in which six satellite industrial zones were proposed to receive 50 % of the investments. Encouraging the national framework of industrialization was accompanied by national housing projects initiated by the State to accommodate the workforce. On the other hand, expansion on agricultural land massively increased as their sale for building was more remunerative. During that period, Egypt’s landlord and tenant law became very protective of the interests of Egyptian tenants and members of their families. However, after a while the investments in the real estate market declined, where the owners of dwellings had serious concerns towards renting their properties as before; because rental income was unrealistically low and it became almost impossible to evict tenants (Global Property Guide, 2006). This period witnessed an initiation by the State to relocate people from slums in Al Drasa and Al Azhar in the newly constructed Manshiet Nasser at that time (Sims, 2011), in which Nasser ordered to extend water and electric power.

- 1967-1973, “The Transition” from Nasser to Sadat”: during the late 60s, there was a public evacuation of families from Suez Canal cities due to ‘Egyptian-Israeli’ war. Thus, this internal migration included around one million people to be housed in Cairo in Manshiet Nasser, where the area later represents one of the largest informal expansions (Sims, 2011). After Nasser’s Death in 1970, Anwar Al-Sadat succeeded him in the presidency. In 1971, Egypt had a new constitution towards establishment of a powerful parliament and new legislations²⁰.
- Post 1973 war -1980, “From War to Peace and Aspirations””: Sadat launched economic policies of ‘open door policy’ or ‘Infitah’ towards the gradual economic liberalization; in which land prices sky-rocketed (Sejourne, 2009). This time also witnessed the creation of the General Organization for Physical Planning GOPP by Republican decree 1093/1973 (Hamilton, et al., 2012). In 1977, “New Towns” policy was proposed regarding the urban growth on agricultural land to be relocated within public housing on the desert fringes of the city. Most of these new towns were not successful to grab inhabitants and informality just kept spreading (Sejourne, 2009). Afterwards, the private sector was only interested in constructing housing projects targeting the middle and upper classes; for the sake of more profit. Eventually, the low income citizens found the informal housing an affordable solution.
- 1981-2005, “The Stabilization””: after the Sadat was assassinated, his vice president Mohamed Hosni Mubarek succeeded him. Mubarek Regime witnessed pro-capitalism policies and privatization of public sectors; in which high inflation rate and an increase in the prices in the housing market became the dominant manner of the real estate market in Egypt. Thus, the first appearance of upper class segregated desert compounds occurred. On the other hand, the low income and urban poor societies found themselves obliged to live in low cost informal housing regardless the Egyptian Planning Law No. 3 of 1983 that prohibits local authorities from connecting infrastructure to illegal housing units. However, this law was clearly violated to accommodate the needs of informal inhabitants; to avoid their political fury and risk of public uprising. It is worth to mention that 1992 earthquake that exposed the deteriorated state of many of houses encouraged the State to start allocating budgets for informal settlements. During this period there were important incidents that shaped the urban life of Egyptian cities such as:

²⁰The 1971 Constitution remained in force - with few amendments in 1980, 2005 and 2007 – until its dissolution in February 2011.

-1983: the development of Greater Cairo Master Plan which remains until that day the basemap for the greater Cairo region development (Taylor & Roe, 2014)

-1992/1993: 1992 earthquake; a plan and a budget were prepared to restructure the upgrading efforts towards all informal settlements in Cairo and Giza, and development of 5 years plan.

- 2005-2010, “ Investments vs. Equity’ : Following the re-election of President Mubarak in 2005, several decrees were adopted to formalize the situation of residents in informal settlements, in which a decree was issued in September 2006 by the Minister of Housing allowing people to connect their houses to the national electricity grid. Later, in 2007 the State strongly supported the strategic plan ‘Cairo 2050’ in an attempt for displacement of informal inhabitants all over Cairo, which raised fears of informal inhabitants that they will be sacrificed for the interests of investors. However in 2008, establishment of the Informal Settlement Development Facility ISDF ²¹ towards enhancement of living conditions of unsafe poor communities appeared as a positive step. (isdf.gov.eg, 2008).
- 2011-Present, “Uprising” : Egypt witnessed a revolution on the 25th of January 2011 towards more democratic reforms, since then two presidents (Mubarek and Morsi) were ousted by the military and two constitutions were cancelled. All tiers of legislative elected councils are currently dissolved in Egypt (Parliament, local councils)²². The weak law enforcement after the revolution contributed to the domination of urban informality, and the deterioration of even the previously upgraded areas.

It can be traced through the previously mentioned national policies that urban development is not being thought of as an independent component of city, but more to be economically and politically biased. These transitions collectively had an impact on public mistrust, at the same time led to gradual spread of informal settlements as a self-development solution. As a result, the official stance from of these settlements changes; in which sometimes they are blessed indirectly by the State by connecting their houses to electrical power for instance, while seen through other times as urban epidemic that should be displaced.

²¹ Presidential Decree No. 305 for the year 2008 on the establishment of the ISDF under the direct authority of the Egyptian Prime Minister’s Cabinet after the collapse of the unsafe cliff of Al-Dewika in Cairo (isdf.gov.eg, 2008)

²² Egypt is using now 2014 constitution

4.1.3. Urban Upgrading Framework in Egypt

Realization of the threat of urban informality pushed the Egyptian governments over years to adopt several development policies; to mitigate urban informality. Hence, the research quotes below Khalifa's general summary (*Figure 24*) for the adopted approaches by the international society regarding the global phenomena of informal settlements as a general background on the global context of urban upgrading approaches to be reflected later on the Egyptian context.

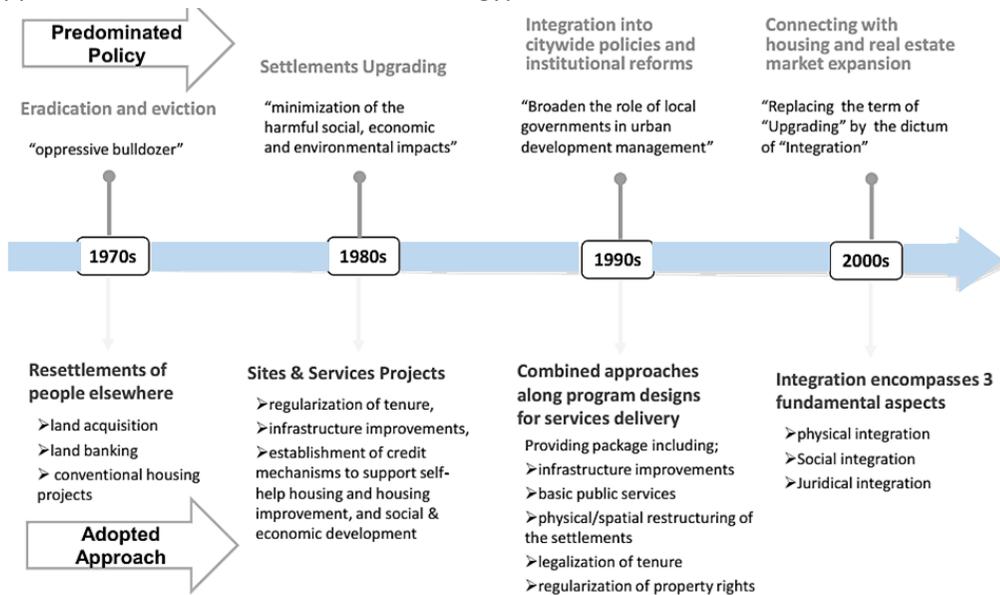


Figure 24: Timeline of Changes in Policy and Upgrading Ideology (Khalifa, 2013)

It is worth to mention that there were two main tragic accidents that triggered the government to seriously work on solving problem of informal settlements. The first one was after the 1992 earthquake; a plan and a budget were prepared to restructure the upgrading efforts towards all informal settlements in Cairo and Giza. The plan started from the year 1992-93 to the present and followed the State's socio-economic 5-year plan (Afify, 2004). Since then, five official agencies participate though upgrading of informal settlements, which are:

- Central Cabinet responsible for housing
- Department for Physical Planning at the governorate level
- Specialized authorities for municipal services such as sanitary drainage, potable water, electricity, street paving, planning and organization, and cleanliness and green areas
- Urban districts (inside the cities)
- Consulting offices (in some cases).

The second trigger towards approaching more vital and dynamic and integrative solutions, was after the tragic accident of Al-Dewika cliff collapse and death of many informal inhabitants living within the area, in which the former president Mubarak issued a Presidential Decree No. 305 for the year 2008 for the establishment of the Informal Settlements Development Facility ISDF under the direct authority of the Egyptian Prime Minister. At that time ISDF appeared as an innovative solution to overcome many of the collaboration challenges obstructing the development of informal settlements.

The Fund's terms of reference is conducted in coordination with the cabinet ministries, directorates and local government units; in which all parties are assigned to provide ISDF with information, expertise and the necessary assistance. Accordingly, ISDF main scope of work is to facilitate the upgrading of informal areas, and provide these informal areas with basic facilities (isdf.gov.eg, 2008).

Recently in June 2014, a new government was formed, in which the ISDF is now affiliated to the recently formulated ministry, Ministry of Urban Renewal and Informal Settlements MURIS; in order to work on development projects related to the informal settlements in Egypt. In light of the previous historical insights on some of the policies and upgrading efforts in Egypt, the research summarizes both the interpretation of the global approaches illustrated in Khalifa's previous figure along with the previously discussed Egyptian context (*Figure 25*).

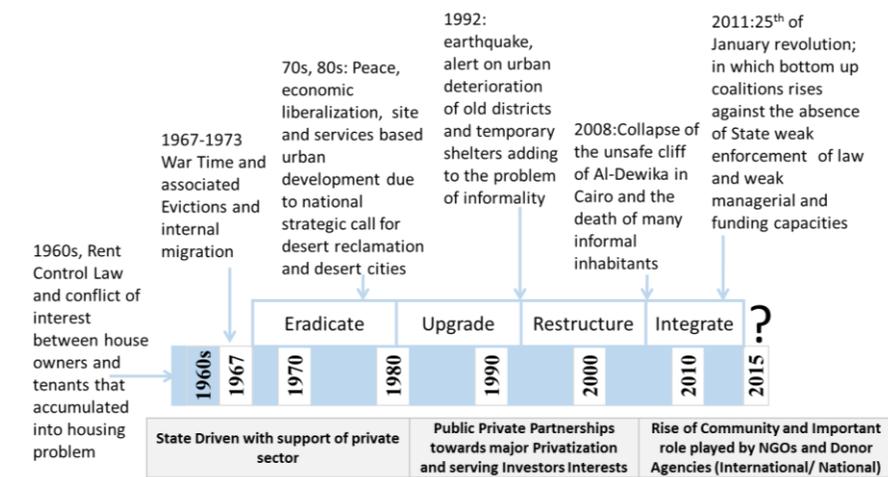


Figure 25: Egyptian transitions towards urban development of informal settlements (Author)

4.1.4. Key Challenges Facing Governance in Egypt

it is worth to emphasize the fact that in order to address a holistic development of any of the informal settlements in Egypt that involves upgrading the physical quality, and socio-economic services, many official actors should plan, allocate resources, implement projects, operate, and maintain the executed projects. In this respect, the research demonstrates in

Figure 26 the official groups required to steer the urban upgrading process, and follow the national plans and strategies.

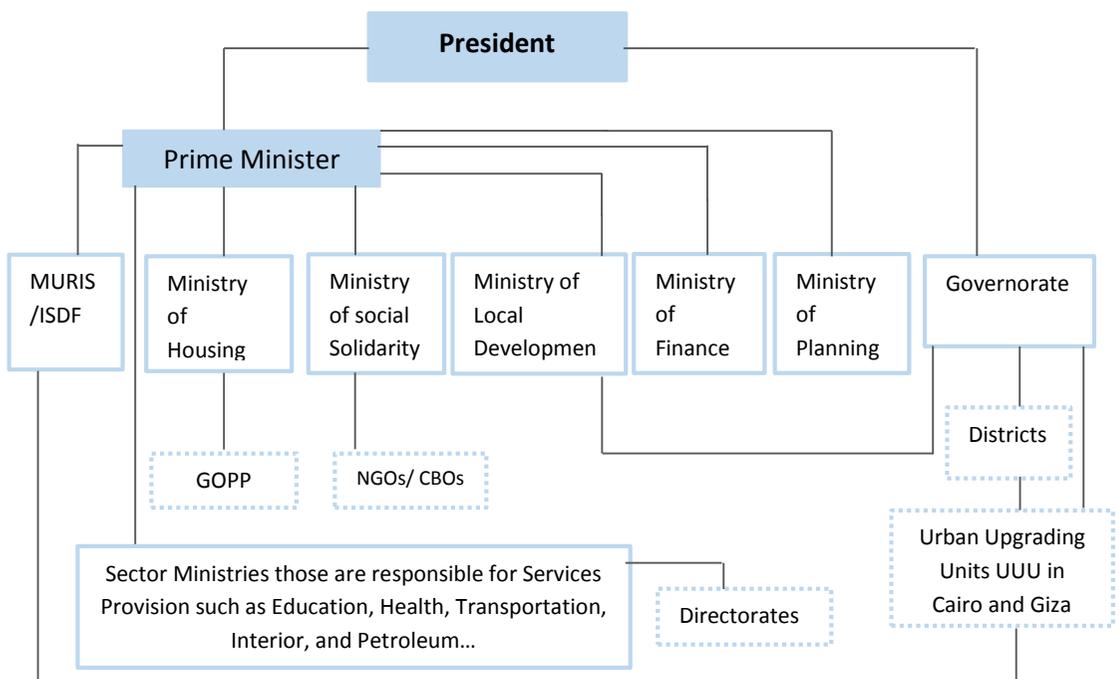


Figure 26: Complexity of official State actors involved in the upgrading of informal settlements (Author)

Despite these illustrated divisions and sub divisions for central and local governments in the above figure that reflects multi-actors involvement of many official entities, the Egyptian ruling regime in modern Egypt is still described as one of the most centralized systems in the World (Amin & Ebel, 2006). For instance, according to the Ministry of State for Local Development, Districts provide citizens with 70 percent of basic public services, such as paving roads, garbage collection, electricity, water and sewage in addition to issuing licenses to open shops and construct buildings, among many others (Khazbak, 2012); which reflects the importance of the district's role as the local executive authority in the Egyptian cities. However, the mandate of these districts

mentioned in local government laws is very complicated and rarely updated to suit the citizens' specific needs (UN-Habitat, 2012).

Furthermore, the districts role in reality is marginalized; since the governorate is regarded to be the powerful tier that is addressed by most of the central ministries, (Mayfield, 1996). Hence, there is a presence of local governance tiers represented in the districts, though, role and power of these districts remain ineffective to lead urban development.

In this regard, David Sims mentions in his book "Understanding Cairo" that Modern Egypt is usually described among the different observers as the "Strong Regime, Weak State" and the "Neglectful rule". Sims continues to explain the inefficient centralized governmental systems that are ruling Egypt; that even the man in the street has learned that " government is not there to better their lives; advancement is based on connections and bribes; the central authority is best a force to be avoided" (Sims, 2011). It is important to highlight also that the law (43/1979) for local government doesn't give the elected councils real power to be able to properly monitor the executive councils or to make their own decisions (Khazbak, 2012). Thus, the research discusses below four key points that affect negatively the urban governance performance in Egyptian context

- **Centralization of Plans and Developments:** Higher central ministries control the economic development, despite the miscommunication with their affiliated lower tiers; which appears in the weak and bureaucratic methods that local level directorates follow to report to their affiliated central ministries
- **Lack of Coordination:** On the local level authorities the local directorates do not report administratively to the Governor. While, central ministries at the same tier have weak horizontal coordination and relationships.
- **Weak Capacity of Local Government:** Lack of proper, flexible and efficient local management; which resulted in its failure to accommodate the increasingly urban expansion and rapid population growth
- **Absence of Participation, Accountability and Transparency between the State and other actors:** It can be concluded that lack of: proper, flexible, and efficient policies on the different State tiers resulted in its failure to accommodate the increasingly urban expansion. Hence, it can be observed the absence of well-structured framework that allows other actors besides the State to support the upgrading plans.

It is worth to mention that the presence of a severely centralized governance system throughout all of these years failed to control citizens' spontaneity behaviors and breaking the laws, and the spread of informality. Thus, urban governance deficits can be monitored in the informal urban development that became a predominant feature of urban expansion in the last six decades. As a result, the low income inhabitants staying in informal housing find their water taps drying up, while at the same time, the water is diverted to the lavishly landscaped suburban developments with names like Uptown Cairo, Beverly Hills, Swan Lake (Maarouf, 2013).

Furthermore, there are no existing clear or direct channels on how other non-state actors should be effectively integrated into the process of decision making. Accordingly, many researchers, professionals, and inhabitants were calling for restructuring the central and local government to efficiently respond to rapid urbanization (Nada, 2014) and the accompanying socio-economic complexity. In this respect, the research demonstrates the context of informal settlements within metropolitan area of greater Cairo, as a consequence.

4.2. Informal Settlements within Metropolitan area of Greater Cairo

Cairo, the capital city of Egypt, is not only the largest Egyptian city, but also the largest city in all of Africa and the entire Arab World. Cairo has one of the most populous metropolitan areas globally in terms of its total land area and population; the density of Cairo is about 44,500 people per square mile (World Population Statistics, 2013). Cairo as a city constitutes a consolidated case of cosmopolitan city; in which Greater Cairo Region GCR is located in the metropolitan area located in northern Egypt. Greater Cairo consisted of 3 governorates²³; Cairo, Qalyoubia in the North, and the Giza governorate. The area of Greater Cairo Region combine some of these rural and urban divisions, which implies urban complexity (Mahmoud, 2011).

²³ Since 17 April 2008, Helwan and the Sixth of October became separated governorates by a presidential decree to ease the burden placed on Cairo and Giza, especially in terms of density and administration. However they were included again within borders of GCR in 2011

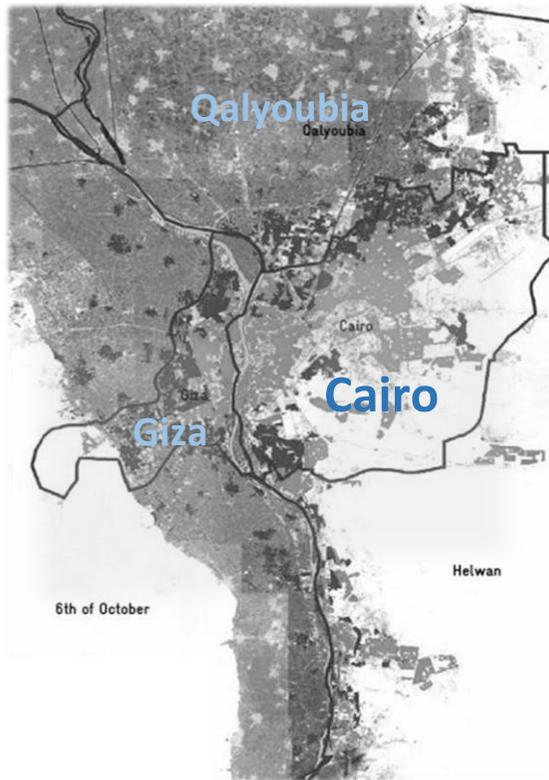


Figure 27: Three governorates composing Greater Cairo Region, base map by (PDP/GTZ, 2009)

Cairo is one of the main urban governorates that resembles one city and is subdivided into 37 districts (State Information Service, 2013) Thus, It becomes important to investigate the resulted influences of urbanization on cities such as Cairo, where the population increased from 4 to 18 million over the last 50 years and expected to be in top 13 most population in the world by 2025 .

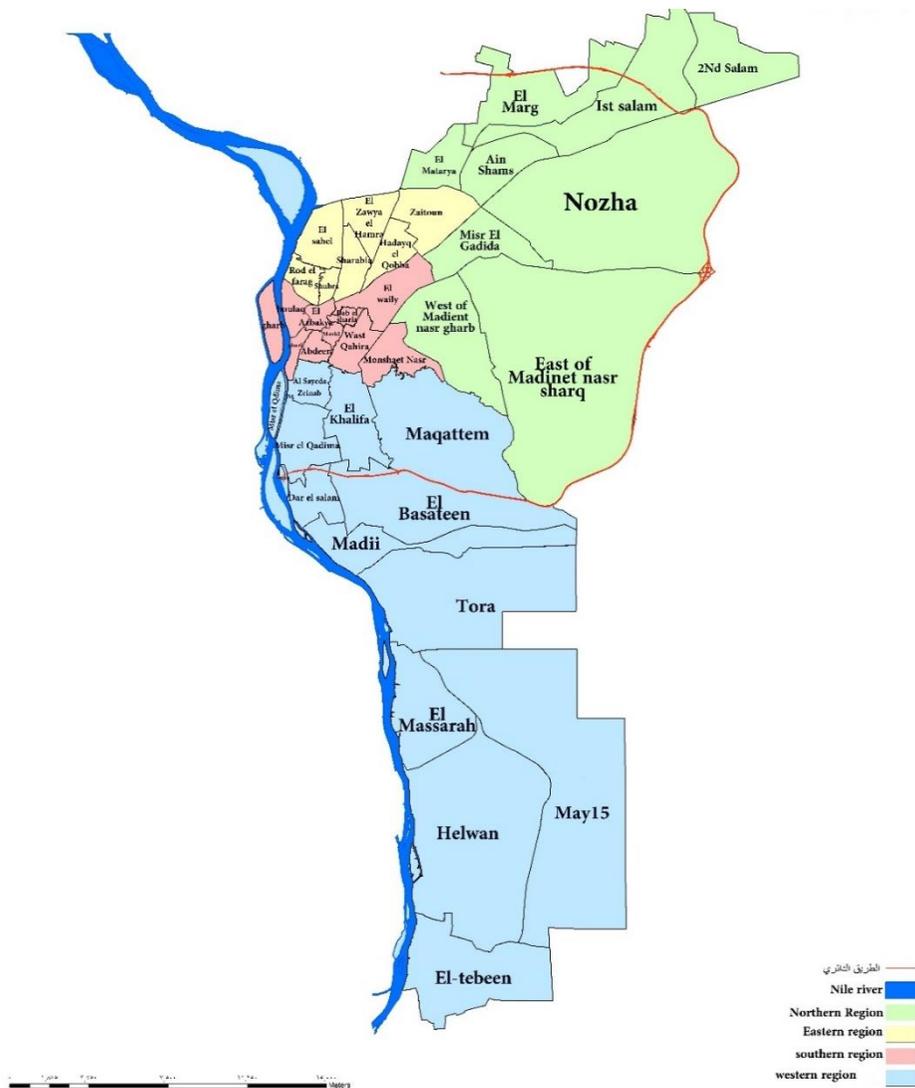


Figure 28: Map of Cairo districts (Cairo Governorate)

4.2.1. Metropolitan area of Greater Cairo and spread of Informality

Cairo is located on the world map to have 4 out of 30 biggest “mega-slums” in the world, which are: Imbaba (1.0 million), Ezzbet El-Haggana (1.0 million), City of the Dead (cemeteries) (0.8 million) and Mansheiet Nasser (0.5 million) (Khalifa, 2011). What is worth considering in Cairo’s informal areas, is that growth ratio according to statistics in 2006 was 2.57 percent per year for informal settlements, while formal Cairo was growing at 0.4 percent per year (UN-HABITAT, 2011). This section introduces insights

on informal settlements in Cairo in particular; to figure out the common spots identified as informal areas in Cairo, their typologies, and social characteristics

A- Location of informal areas in metropolitan area of Cairo

It can be observed that informal settlements in Cairo are usually spreading within fringes of the existing urban formal settlements. However, Cairo is recognized to have a deteriorated core. In addition to informal residential areas that grew over state and private land as well; which transformed overtime into an inner pocket slum occupying large areas of GCR.

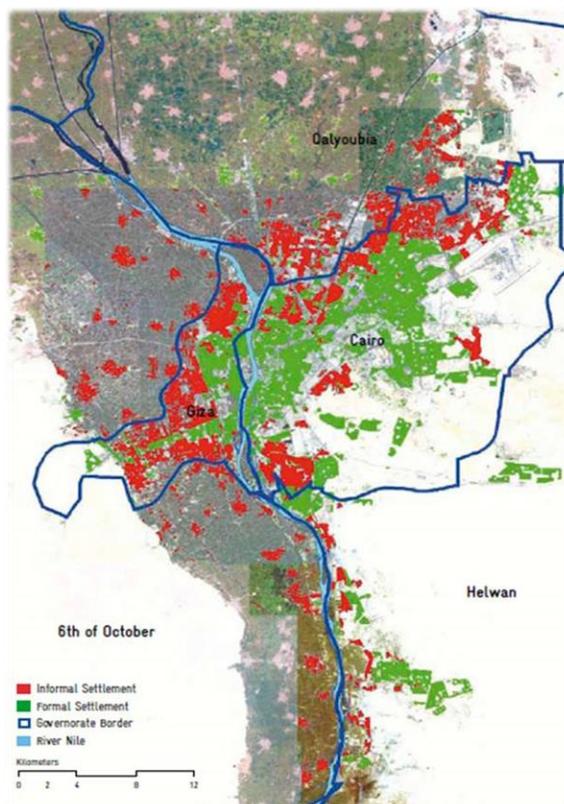


Figure 29: Informal Settlements within Greater Cairo (PDP/GTZ, 2009)

B- Typology of Informal Areas in GCR

In order to design appropriate intervention strategies for informal areas in greater Cairo, it is essential to clarify the different types of the existing informal areas. In this regard, David Sims identifies three noteworthy parameters to formulate the typologies of informal settlements within Egyptian context (Sims, 2003), in which he categorizes the informal areas in Cairo as:

- Type A: Informal Settlements on Former Agricultural Land
- Type B: Informal Areas on Former Desert State Land
- Type C: Deteriorated Historic Core

According to GOPP, there are two main criteria defining the informal areas, which are: legal status and level of deterioration. Regarding legal status, the area that has been developed on unplanned land is considered informal. Regarding deterioration, physical degradation is not the only key issue. Consequently, environmental and social aspects, lack of basic services and infrastructure are also taken into consideration.

According to the 'Unified Building Law of Building and planning (no. 119)', there have been no mention of informal settlements, however, referring to unplanned areas and redevelopment areas; in which the first refers to the areas that were developed without detailed plan on privately-owned agricultural land, and are consolidated over time, fed with infrastructures and services. The latter refers to areas that need to be partially or completely redeveloped.

According to ISDF there are two classifications that were developed in relevance to the Egyptian context, which are 'Unsafe Areas' and 'Unplanned areas'. Khalifa further explains these classifications as "*...(ISDF), since its establishment by a presidential Decree # 305/20 08, has made a substantial change in the Egyptian vocabulary by replacing the term " Slums " or "Informal Settlements " or "Ashwa'iyyat" by two distinctive terms; "Unsafe Areas" and "Unplanned areas ". For that matter, 'Unsafe areas' are characterized by being subject to life threat, or having inappropriate housing, or exposed to health threat or tenure risks, while unplanned areas are principally characterized by its non-compliance to planning and building laws and regulations"* (Khalifa, 2011).

C- Social capital within the informal areas in Greater Cairo Region

Informal areas normally comprise consolidated social networks among people with similar or different socio-economic and cultural backgrounds, which are mostly based on long-term, and continuously growing relationships. These social networks usually depend on the physical proximity of community members. Hence, the willingness to help each other and to contribute to activities of mutual interest is similar to the way of traditional communities. "*A "sense of community," "cooperation," the "presence of family and kin," and "social interaction, companionship, and liveliness" are all advantages expressed by residents of informal areas. Residents stress the value of the community,"* (Shehayeb, 2009, p. 38). The inhabitants have an ability to create connection or network to other stakeholders to perform a group action towards solving

their problems by utilizing the available resources. Thus, this social capital supports the inhabitants' access to resources that are not within their possession. Any approaches for upgrading should benefit on this social capital and be aware that interventions do not loosen social networks (PDP/GTZ, 2009).

It is important as well to refer to the direct relation between such social capital and the informal economy. The informal economy is not only located within informal settlements but can be found in formal settlements as well as in the form of informal markets and street vendors. Thus, it becomes important to refer the influence of the social ties in mobilizing such informal economic activities. Moreover, one can find skillful labor in informal settlements that are distinctively targeted by other communities for specific crafts (PDP/GTZ, 2009). Such informal economies on different scales is recommended by several researchers and professionals to be positively embraced and formally incubated.

4.3. Conclusion

This chapter demonstrated the evolution of informal settlements within Egypt and their spread in relation to the political governing transitions. The chapter discussed mainly the complexity of having many governmental entities involved within urban development sector in Egypt, in which it can be concluded that urban development process in Egypt is dependent mainly on the national centralized level of decision making. Moreover, these policies usually intersect with fiscal planning governance system, where both frameworks involve two or three local tiers of projects execution rather than participation in decision making process. Moreover, other related public services such as Education, Health, and Transportation..., contribute to the quality of these settlements and sometimes complicate the tenure status of inhabitants in case they approve delivery of services to informal units. Furthermore, it was highlighted through sections of this chapter the fact that informal settlements in particular have become the top priority in drawing any development plans.

Thus, after reviewing important stops through the Egyptian political shifts and public representatives through legislations, the research concludes that there are many deficiencies and challenges for the establishment of good urban governance system of Cairo. Hence, such spread of urban informality indicates that the administrative and governance systems in Egypt have failed to meet the public needs, support them and increase the quality of their lives; in which all of these politically biased formal governance systems were just an added burden for the people and didn't represent any potential for improving their living situation.

These conclusions are to be further investigated within next chapters throughout the case of Ezzbet Al-Haggana, where the research attempts to identify involved stakeholders within the area and feasibility of official development plans.

5. Case Study of ‘Ezzbet Al-Haggana’: Urban Context and Actors

As it has been discussed through the previous chapter, Cairo was much influenced by urbanization oriented policies, in which the city has been expanding and populations were multiplied over the past 60 years. Accordingly, this chapter emphasizes on what Chapter 4 demonstrated regarding the impacts of the migrating rural populations, which contributed largely to the spread of informal settlements. Building on this premise, Cairo is located on the world map to have 4 out of 30 “mega-slums” in the World; in which one of them is Ezzbet Al-Haggana (Davis, 2006). Hence, this chapter provides an overview on the urban issues in Ezzbet Al-Haggana and defines the several corresponding actors that are entitled to intervene with these issues.

Thus, the chapter introduces preliminary site analysis to investigate the area background, land tenure status, existing basic urban services, social services, and the ongoing local economic development. Later, the chapter analysis the relation between existing issues and relevant groups of stakeholders (*Figure 30*), in which the chapter attempts to examine the research sub investigation “*What is the general urban context of the area, and who are the stakeholders involved?*”

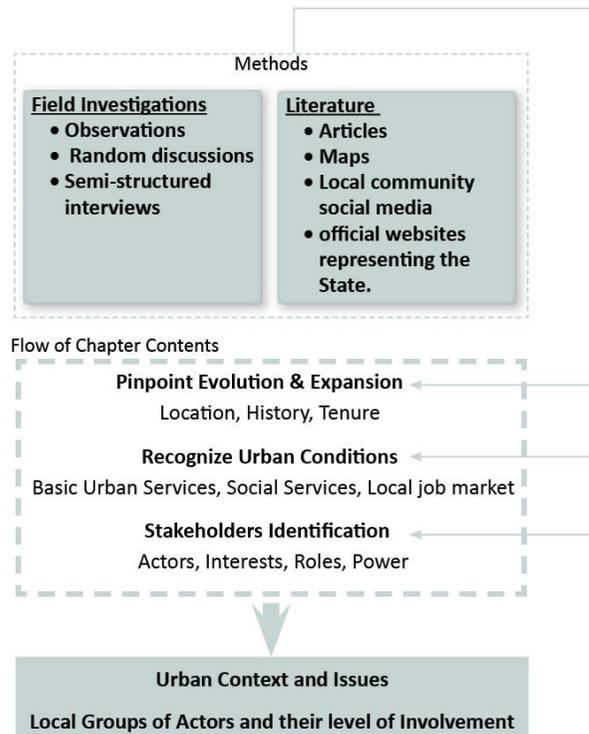


Figure 30: Exploration and analysis Methods of Ezzbet Al-Haggana urban context in terms of issues and actors (Author)

It is important to highlight that this chapter demonstrates data that was primarily collected within interviews and transect walks through Ezzbet Al-Haggana during the period from March to July 2014. In which there were general discussions with people in the area regarding:

- Tenure Status
- Satisfaction on the services level in terms of availability, affordability
- The official entities that they are aware of and deal with

Furthermore, the researcher received verbal answers, however the interviewed inhabitants in Ezzbet Al-Haggana did not prefer to answer semi-structured interviews or to provide further details on their living conditions. It is worth mentioning that these verbal discussions were conducted through walks in different areas in Ezzbet Al-Haggana, where internal contacts accompanied the researcher to facilitate the process of communicating with inhabitants and local vendors. Also, semi-structured interviews were conducted along with site visits; to continuously update and verify all the previously collected data since 2012. Thus, data included in this chapter is a result of individual work of the researcher, however, some of the semi structure interviews in 2012²⁴ were facilitated with the support of 'Emaret El Ensan' NGO. In these interviews, sample of youth, women, and men were asked questions such as:

- 1- How do you legalize your tenure status?
- 2- Are you exposed to discrimination due to the place you live? Specify
- 3- How do you access basic utilities and urban services (Schools, Infrastructure, hospitals, police station, specify approximate value of payments in case formal?)
- 4- What are the schools nearby and what is the process of registration
- 5- What are the advantages of living in Ezzbet Al-Haggana?
- 6- What are the disadvantages of living in Ezzbet Al-Haggana?
- 7- Does the rest of your family live nearby?
- 8- What is the price of your flat? And methods of payments and contracting?
- 9- Are you aware of the history of the area?
- 10- Which of the following entities are you familiar with (MNHD, ISDF, Governorate, District, Electricity company, water company, Military...) specify and mention if there is other entity

Most of the interviewed sample refused to mention their names in the research or any specific data, and all of them couldn't answer all the questions. Thus, the researcher considers the received answers as indicators that were further investigated within site visits and literature reviewing.

²⁴ Through the previously mentioned PartNar Project that is referred to in Chapter 1

5.1. Ezzbet Al-Haggana: Formal Area Evolution against Informal Urban Expansion

In this section, the research provides a general introduction on Ezzbet Al-Haggana in terms of its initiation and composition, as one of the most consolidated Egyptian informal settlement within metropolitan area of Cairo. Ezzbet Al-Haggana is home for more than one million inhabitants living on State desert land in the north-east of Cairo Governorate. Ezzbet Al-Haggana which is named in many street signs and maps as 'Kilo 4.5'²⁵ has started as a village for families of guard soldiers 'Al-Haggana' stationed nearby. Nowadays, it is a place for affordable informal housing market (Al-Shehab NGO). There is an existing unsafe area (isdf.gov.eg, 2008) that is prone to the hazard of high voltage electrical power. It is worth to consider that one of the main reasons that attracted people to inhabit Ezzbet Al-Haggana is the availability of affordable housing for low-income Egyptians (United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), 2007).

5.1.1. Location

Ezzbet Al-Haggana is located within district of Eastern Nasr city, whereas it is an official administrative unit 'Shyakh'a'²⁶ (MNHD). Ezzbet Al-Haggana enjoys an interesting location that is approximate to the formal settlements of Nasr city, New Cairo to the south and the east, while the remaining eastern and western lands are the army areas.

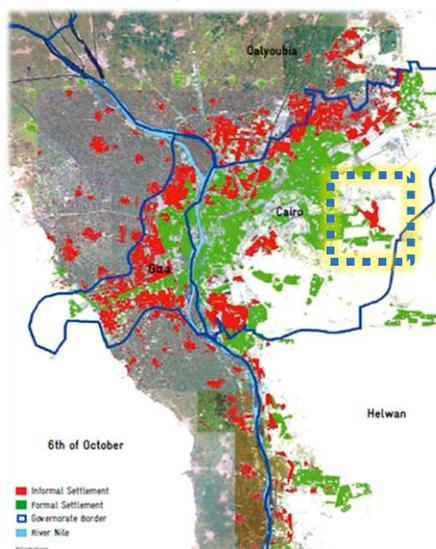


Figure 31: Location of Ezzbet Al-Haggana relative to Cairo informal settlements map of (PDP/GTZ, 2009) (location highlighted by Author)

²⁵ Called that name in the 60s; as it is located 4.5 km distance from last point from Heliopolis (Al-Shehab NGO)

²⁶ Urban administrative hierarchy in Egypt is discussed in chapter 4

It is important to consider that these surrounding settlements are inhabited by high class families, having high standard shopping malls, and including business centers and multinational companies. However, this fact can have two benefits, on one hand it has potential in terms of proposed development plans for the high value of such a location. On the other hand, inhabitants of Ezzbet Al-Haggana consider its location as an important attraction to live there, in which they are mostly working in proximity to the other adjacent formal settlements.



Figure 32: Location of Ezzbet Al-Haggana relative to surrounding high land value residential areas such as Nasr city, Heliopolis, and New Cairo (Author)

5.1.2. Historical Overview

Ezzbet Al-Haggana was originally owned by the armed forces, since the 1930s, a small housing area started to appear, where it became inhabited by some families of the army's camel corps (which is the translation of the word 'Haggana'). Later in 1963, the army officially allocated the land adjacent to their military camp there to be used as housing barracks for officers serving nearby, in which the houses were one level buildings. Later, the families of these officers moved to live with them. These officers started to expand the construction process gradually to build houses for their relatives and children. Afterwards, this construction process turned into a business, in which original owners (officers) took advantage of remoteness of the location at that time and sold the lands cheaply to others; at this point, it can be traced the start of urban informality encroachment over the area. After half a century of the official presence of Ezzbet Al-Haggana, the area is highly dense and covered with residential high rise buildings of 7-11 floors (Al-Shehab NGO).

5.1.3. Tenure

The informal residential buildings in Cairo are usually constructed under the process of “hand claim” on empty State land, which was marginal desert land without any specific purpose. Thus, Ezzbet Al-Haggana as discussed at the beginning was an area for the families of ‘Haggana’ guard soldiers stationed nearby. Consequently, the early development of the area was completely informal without any legal documents and totally relied on personal trust. It is worth to mention that tenure of the units in the area has been always a matter of confusion between formality and informality, in which Ezzbet Al-Haggana is identified in most of the articles and literature as informal area; due to the illegal construction works on the State land.

Households in Ezzbet Al-Haggana are divided into two main groups in terms of their tenure status. The first group is represented in the old residents, who have old contracts proving their tenure and they believe that their ‘Awayed’ payment (taxes paid to the State for using its land) is a proof on their ownership. However, this is not completely true as the ‘Awayed’ is only to prove their residency (some sort of renting fees) and is not considered as a fully ownership proof (Amnesty, 2009).

While the second group of owners is represented by those who have bought the recently constructed units, in which both the seller and the buyer agree to prosecute at court the validity of their signatures on the contract; as a routine and agreed upon step. Subsequently, after the court proves that the signatures are correct regardless the content of the contract, the buyer registers the contract in ‘Al Shahr Al Akary’, which is the official contract registration office in the State. Later, they follow additional steps towards more verification of their status through issuing their IDs with this address and applying officially for the electricity connection.

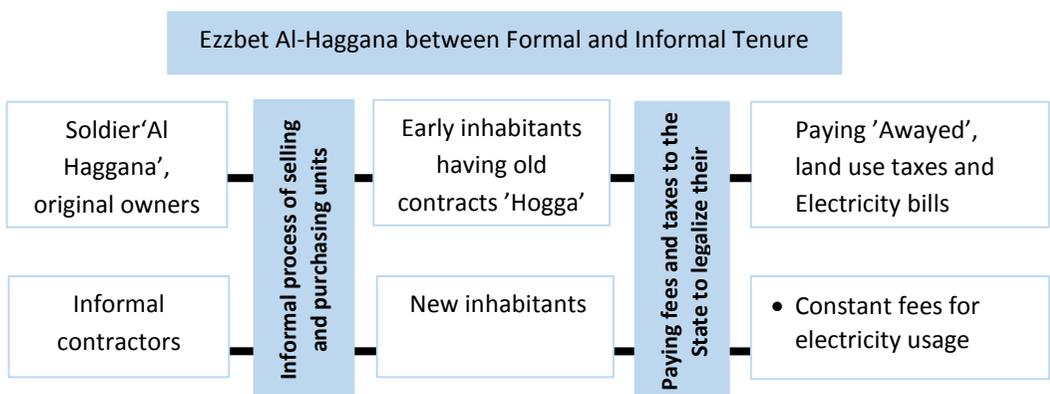


Figure 33: Dwellers of Ezzbet Al-Haggana between Informal and formal tenure (Author)

Moreover, in light of the re-election of former President 'Mubarak' in 2005, several decrees were adopted to formalize the situation of residents in informal settlements and introduce basic infrastructure, in which speculations were raised about whether these decrees could provide full security of tenure. Since then, the State policies towards the area upgrading in the last 10 years in particular and connecting houses to infrastructure, has contributed in the horizontal and vertical informal expansions of the area and attracting more families to move to the area. Currently in 2014, Ezzbet Al-Haggana residents are allowed to apply for basic services such as water, electricity and natural gas.

5.1.4. Continuous Expansion Indicators

Buildings under construction are still present over the whole area of Ezzbet Al-Haggana either in the same periphery or upwards from existing buildings. The structure of buildings is considerably good if compared to other informal settlements because of the many reinforced concrete buildings, and the owners' close supervision on construction and material purchase. The required number of building units was considered as well as the users' needs. Ezzbet Al-Haggana is divided into four sub-areas (Al-Shehab NGO), in which the horizontal expansion on the desert land can be traced:

- **Area 1:** the original settlement for the families of Ezzbet Al-Haggana and their next generations of siblings. It extends in the area between kilo 4.5, high voltage zone, 'Warsha' street, and it covers area around 1km².
- **Area 2:** the first expansion for Area 1, which extends within area between high voltage prone, Ring Road in direction of 'Maadi- Helwan', and 'Warsha' street.
- **Area 3:** starts after the 'Warsha' street to the 'Mithaq' street east, and north till the High voltage wires which splits between it and the fourth district.
- **Area 4:** starts from the High voltage area till the old army manufacturers north, and west till 'Mithaq' Street and Shrouk city.

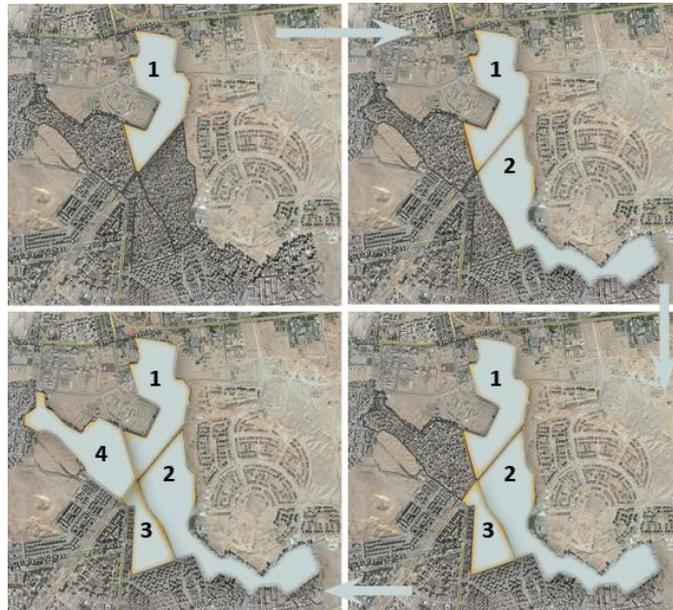


Figure 34: The four main phases of expansion of Ezzbet Al-Haggana according to data by (Al-Shehab NGO), (illustration on maps by Author)

5.2. Preliminary Area Profile: Urban Conditions and Internal Actors

There are several disadvantages of living in Ezzbet Al-Haggana; due to the deficiency of services and infrastructure; for example, health care system, education, electricity, piped water, sanitation facilities, garbage collection, drainage system and paved roads. For instance, one of the women living there has explained *“Me and my kids suffered a lot when my husband first bought this apartment, where we had to live for months with no electricity or toilets until we managed to pay 150 EGP usage fees to the electricity company, we managed as well to have an informal connection to the water pipelines”* (Interviewee1, 2014).

These disadvantages increase the health and work burdens of the urban poor, and risks from environmental hazards and crime. Moreover, some of the interviewees expressed that they live in the new urban expansions of Ezzbet Al-Haggana with no legal ownership of their houses. The lifestyle of the area is totally different between the relatively quiet day time and busy evening time; because most of inhabitants are working outside the area. Local economic activities in the area are on an informal basis. Hence, the following sub sections provide an insight on population occupying the informal settlement of Ezzbet Al-Haggana and the current urban situation.

5.2.1. People of Ezzbet Al Haggana: Inhabitants and Users

Ezzbet Al-Haggana is inhabited mainly by families migrating from Upper Egypt 'Al-Sa'eed', in which they came to Cairo looking for better job and life opportunities. Thus, like most of urban areas occupied by informal populations coming from rural parts of the country; Ezzbet Al-Haggana expanded over the last 30 years over the State owned desert land until strongly tied communities were established, in which these families constituted gradually a population that is estimated to be more than 1 million persons. As a result, most of the inhabitants are descended from southern villages; where many of the residents can be clustered into extended families based on their home villages.

Like other consolidated informal settlements, Ezzbet Al-Haggana is occupied by long-term resident families, while they share interests in the area with other parties such as commuters, and the relatively wealthy informal contractors. It is worth to mention that there other groups are interested as well towards inhabiting Ezzbet Al-Haggana; as it represents an optimum location for low cost housing as well as it enjoys high level of accessibility and services unlike other informal settlements. Thus, some single workers either live individually or share apartments there as a temporary accommodation.

Furthermore, the area hosts diversity of ethnicities other than Egyptians; since many Syrian and Sudanese families who have escaped their homeland civil wars find Ezzbet Al-Haggana a suitable place to live within Cairo. The area is famous as well for hosting some of the biggest drug dealers in Cairo, in which Ezzbet Al-Haggana is identified as insecure area to access at night for outsiders. Additionally, CBOs and NGOs such as 'Al Shehab' exist and actively contribute to the provision of some services to the inhabitants.

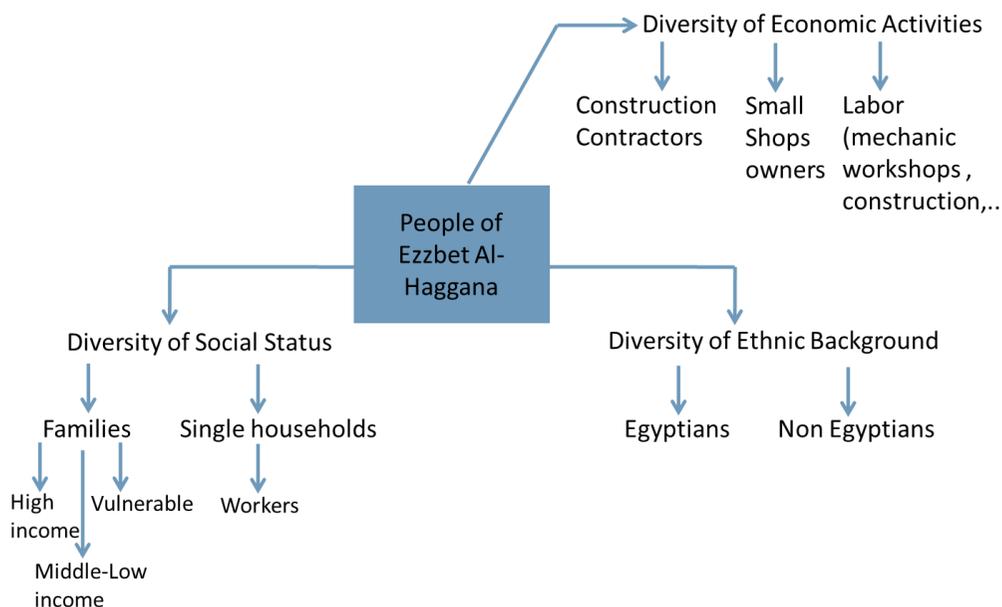


Figure 35: Basic classification of groups of inhabitants in Ezzbet Al-Haggana (Author)

5.2.2. Basic Urban Services

The living condition in Ezzbet Al-Haggana, from the external point of view, is lower than standard. The buildings have poor light and ventilation; while the area has narrow unpaved streets with no open spaces and few public services. The ground floors of the buildings in the main streets are mostly commercial activities, where the higher floors are for residential use. Furthermore, the high voltage transmission lines results in the most dangerous zone and the lowest land price for that part of Ezzbet Al-Haggana -the cheapest rent-. Based on the interviews, the inhabitants of the unsafe area stated that they are subjected to higher accident risks if the line falls down; as it shocks inhabitants and the spontaneous combustion cause the burning of households’ rooftops.

A- Accessibility, Streets condition and Transports:

Accessibility of Ezzbet Al-Haggana is mainly through the Cairo-Suez Road. There are five main entrances to Ezzbet Al-Haggana, in which few main streets were observed to be relatively wide such as El Tahrir and Al Mazraa (approximately 10-12 meters width)²⁷. There is a main bus stop that serves the area inhabitants for external transportation at the kilo 4.5 entrance. While for internal transportation, most of the streets are small streets with around 3-5 meters width. All streets in the area are not paved and have no

²⁷ Research observations during the site visits on the streets’ measurements were verified from maps and literature as well.

street light. Thus, accessibility of cars is limited in many streets, and Tok-toks are widely used instead. A carriage drawn by a horse or donkey is also used for transporting goods.

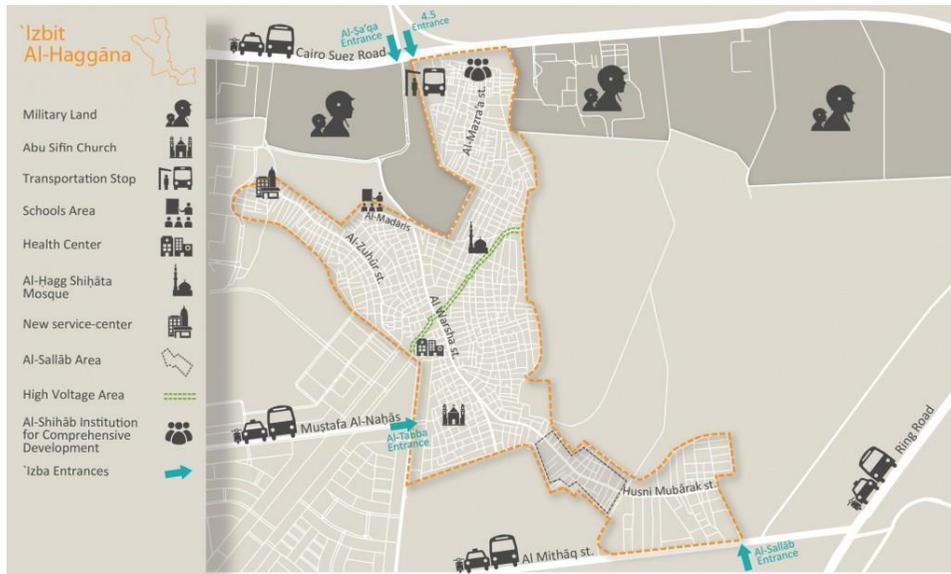


Figure 36: Ezzbet Al-Haggana geography and main landmarks as highlighted by its residents (Tadamun, 2015)

B- Utilities

Ezzbet Al-Haggana is like other informal settlements in Egypt, where it suffers from either absent or insufficient infrastructure pipelines and connections to infrastructure networks. However, these conditions are affected to a great extent by the political interest in the area, in which the former parliament member ‘Al Salab’ for Nasr city contributed in connecting the area to a lot of utilities main networks. Other politicians gave many promises regarding the area upgrading. The utilities situation can be briefly demonstrated as follows:

- Water Supply:** There is an access to water supply provided by the State. Yet, the ‘Association for Environment and Development’ in one of its surveys in 2007 stated that 50 percent of the households in the area are not connected to a formal water distribution network and rely on informal and unsustainable water delivery (Al-Shehab NGO). Mostly, the houses are connected to a formal main grid through informal connections, in which they pay no fees for the State (Research Interviews, 2014). However in 2013, the minister of housing at that time ‘Ibrhaim Mehleb’²⁸ visited the area and supervised the installation of clean water tank and pump that is supposed to serve the area inhabitants. ‘Mehleb’

²⁸ Appointed as the Egyptian Prime minister in 2014

stated that it will not be allowed as before to connect informally the sub water pipelines causing overloads and damages to the State properties (Al Ahram, 2013).

- **Sewage system:** Sewage is the biggest problem as it accumulates in the lower levels and creates risk of explosion. 'El Tahrir' street is called sewage road because every ten days the sewage comes to the surface. The existing connection is mainly a result of an official Canadian funding project superintended by NGO, and another partnership was with Japanese embassy of Cairo and 'Al Shehab' institution for Comprehensive Development. The narrow and winding streets are considered in some cases as obstructions for sewer pipes construction. Moreover, the residents have to pay a connection fee to the main pipes.
- **Electrical Power supply:** Electricity tampering is conducted in the area by households that have no legal connection. However, there are some households having electricity connection with official supply from the State, which can be noticed from the meter in front of the houses. In the high voltage zone, the power lines frequently fire roof-top of households underneath; because of spontaneous combustion and the easily ignited roof materials such as straw, or wood. Moreover, through on ground research investigations, one of the interviewees clarifies that she has a formal electricity connection that is registered under temporary connection category, in which she had to undergo so much complicated procedures at the electricity company (Interviewee1, 2014). She continues that now she pays around 150 EGP and gets unlimited electricity consumption for every 3 months. However, she explains that anyone can get access to electricity informally without undergoing such routine of reporting to the company, this person would be at risk of paying penalties up to 1500 EGP in case the Electricity Company discovers that any dweller didn't register officially, (Research Interviews, 2014).
- **Natural Gas:** Town gas- an official petro-gas company- has recently connected natural gas grid in Ezzbet Al-Haggana, in which the first official residential unit started working with natural gas in May 2014 (Ministry of Petroleum, 2015) . Thus, the area dwellers now can apply to connect to the newly constructed natural gas grid; to end their suffering with the high prices of cylinders. However, one of the main documents required to apply is copy of the ownership/rent contract and copy of electricity/ telephone bill as well; in order to proof official residency of the unit. Such an initiative by the Government raises concerns that tenure status of inhabitants in Ezzbet Al-Haggana cannot be considered as fully informal; since they have formal access to the official services

C- Solid Waste Management and Sanitation

There is no existing formal garbage collection system in the area; based on the data from the interviews. However, there is one family that collects and classifies garbage in some areas and sells sorted garbage for recycling. Inhabitants normally throw the garbage away on empty land or burn it, which bring complaints among neighbors (Al-Shehab NGO). Thus, conditions of the street cleanliness are not good; due to the presence of several types of waste in the streets such as: domestic, construction, and the waste from car maintenance workshops that are spreading all over Ezzbet Al-Haggana.

5.2.3. Social Services

The informality status of the area has largely contributed to its depriving from social services, in which shortage in the health, education, and security facilities is further discussed as follows:

A- Health Care Facilities:

There is one private clinic and one public health care center which are not enough if compared with number of the inhabitants. However, there is a public hospital under construction. Health care is one of the main concerns of the poor, in which the most sensitive groups are women and children. Inhabitants living in unhealthy environment and constant presence of pathogenic micro-organisms are exposed to health risks that arise from: poor sanitation, lack of clean water, poorly ventilated living and working condition, and from air and industrial pollution (United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), 2007); in which Ezzbet Al-Haggana contains a lot of those symptoms. Moreover, there is the famous unsafe area that is under the risk of the high voltage transmission.

B- Education Facilities:

There are only two primary schools in Ezzbet Al-Haggana, which are 'Salah Aldin Alayoubi' and 'AlMoa'taz Be-Allah'. However, they are not sufficient for the students in the area and the infrastructure is not in a good condition; due to lack of desks and sewage flooding. Students have to go to preparatory and secondary schools outside the area, which are relatively far away about five kilometers or more. Thus, enrolment at other schools outside the area implies additional costs such as transportation costs. Moreover, the bad reputation of living in informal settlement obstructs the enrolment to the schools outside; which push some parents to fake another address in their IDs and official papers; to facilitate the enrollment process of their kids at schools. Besides, the low-income families may not afford the high school expenses, so there are school

drop outs and preferring more to allocate the youth in vocational jobs rather than high school education. In this case, the families need children to earn money for living.

There are some private schools and educational centers, which also provide summer courses in Ezzbet Al-Haggana that only children from middle-income families can afford to attend. Besides, there are some local NGOs that provide educational services to the children; for example: reading, mathematics, Arabic and art. Nurseries are common in the area as well to support working mothers. In this context, there are efforts and mutual negotiations between NGOs and Educational directorate from one side and the Military on the other side; towards allocating lands owned by the military to establish four schools teaching primary and preparatory stages for boys and girls.

C- Security

According to the interviews, people mention that they don't have any kind of legal security or police presence in the area. Thus, some areas that are accessible to main streets are normally safe, while other streets are not much safe. Moreover, the area as mentioned earlier in this chapter is known to host some groups of drug dealers and thugs; which ruin the entire reputation of most of the inhabitants to be stereotyped as criminals by externals. This fact forced some of the residents before to not write in their IDs their real address in Ezzbet Al-Haggana. It is worth to mention also that fights and conflicts within the area are resolved internally by the support of natural leaders of the community.

5.2.4. Local Job Market

The area is considered to be a flourishing informal real estate market, in which every day new constructions are spreading all over the area. Ezzbet Al-Haggana is well known for car maintenance workshops, and skilful labor in this field as well as the construction field. Other than these two informal main activities, no other significant local economic activities exists except for cafes, small basic shops and street vendors; for selling vegetables, groceries and cleaning kits.

It is worth to mention as well that the majority of the inhabitants work outside the area of Ezzbet Al-Haggana, in which they usually work as house maids, construction workers, taxi drivers, or salespersons in shops. As a result, it can be concluded that living in a proximate location to high standard settlements such as Nasr city, Heliopolis, and New Cairo contributed in the availability of these jobs. Thus, the majority of this workforce is free lancing except for few household, who occupy full time jobs at the government or private companies.

5.3. Impacts and Interactions: Urban Conditions and Actors in Ezzbet Al-Haggana

This section elaborates the research interpretations on the governance connections and power relations between different stakeholders in Ezzbet Al-Haggana, also, their area of intervention in correspondence to the urban status of the area. Subsequently, the research considers the existing and potential actors and their influences within the area; in which this classification to be broken down and further analyzed within next sub sections.

5.3.1. Identifying relevant groups of Stakeholders

Throughout the examination of Ezzbet Al-Haggana, set of challenges were deducted within the current management framework. Hence, the research categorizes the the existing issues within the area, and the relevant stakeholders in Cairo that are necessary to intervene as shown in **Figure 37**:

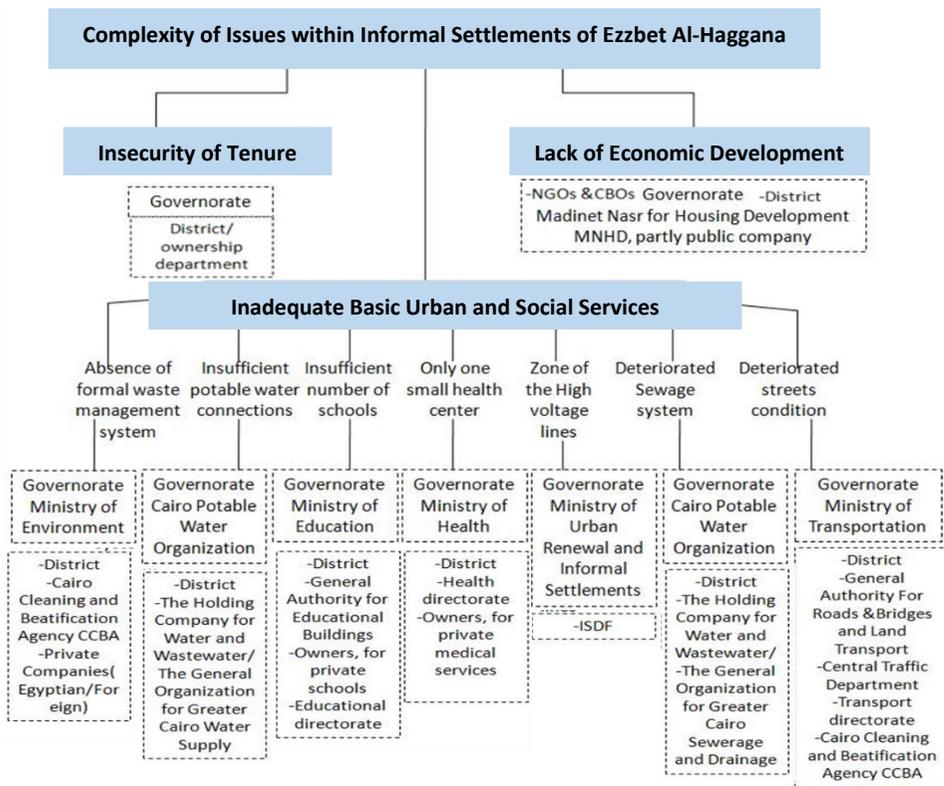


Figure 37: Required fields of intervention and the authorized Primary stakeholders (Author)

Thus, the research considers the pre-mentioned groups to be representing the State and formal private sector in the action zone, in which Cairo governorate with its different tiers and executive arms seems to be a common and important actor; as the governorate can support resolution of root causes and conflicts in Ezzbet Al-Haggana. While, the other actors are more related to the surface appearing issues, in which their level of intervention in the area is sector-based. However, lower tier of authorization and participation is required to execute and operate projects serving the on ground level of intervention.

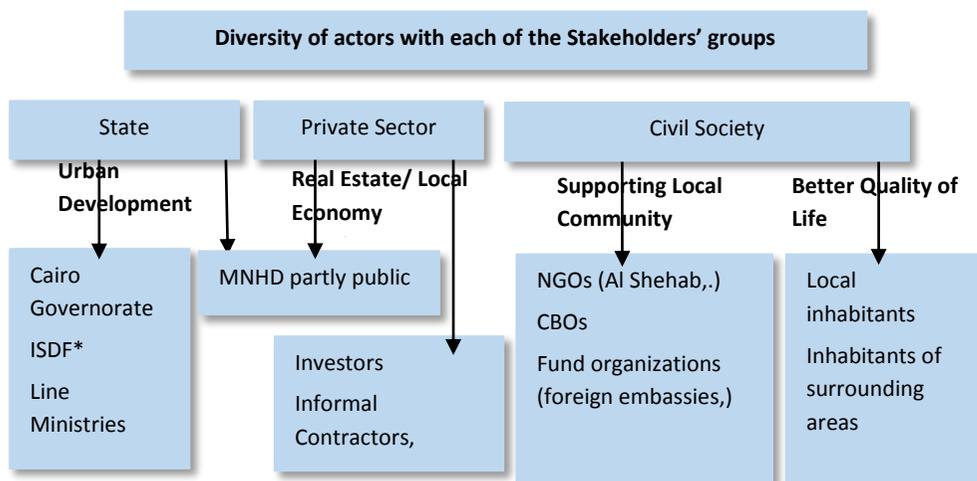
It can be concluded that the district as the lower tier of the governorate represents a prime actor that enjoys a lot of responsibilities and technical support. However, the subdivisions per each group of required actors to intervene within each issue raises serious concerns regarding the feasibility of coordination between such diversity of actors; especially that each of these single entities is either affiliated or subdivided to more complex entities in terms of reporting and level of execution.

It is worth to mention as well that the research promotes that in order to lead an effective local economic development that origins from the community itself, NGOs and CBOs are the assigned actors to assess the needs and assets of the area, and to capitalize on its significance to the surrounding context within Nasr city and Cairo. Such a participatory investigation requires the holistic efforts of NGOs and CBOs along with the district, investors, and local inhabitants (that were ignored for long time); towards developing the human capacity within Ezzbet Al-Haggana. Thus, there are always different parties that can have coordinated roles and look forward to integrated interests. Hence, each of these actors is expected to involve both internal and external bonds as will be further illustrated in the next sub section.

5.3.2. Identifying connections and relations between stakeholders

In this subsection, the research combines previous analysis findings along with the three main actors' classification²⁹ into: State, Private sector, Civil Society. It can be observed that each group includes a diversity of target achievements (*Figure 38*).

²⁹ Previously communicated within chapters 2 and 3



*ISDF is currently under the affiliation of Ministry of Urban Renewal and Informal Settlements MURIS
Figure 38: Breaking down of stakeholders into smaller groups with diversity of interests (Author)

It is worth to highlight the presence of other non-State stakeholders, in which each group is looking forward to achieving certain goals based on its own interests (Figure 38). For instance, both MNHD and informal contractors aim at investing in the area and benefiting from the distinctiveness of the land location of Ezzbet Al-Haggana itself or the surrounding high standard communities.

Accordingly, these groups interact together either in terms of legislations to obtain legal approval, or in terms of partnerships that are driven by common interests. For instance, investors that would be interested in leading an economic development in Ezzbet Al-Haggana would have concerns such as: high voltage cables area, lack of State cooperation, insecurity, unresponsiveness of the community. In this respect, groups must develop their direct interactions with each other regarding this issue.

5.3.3. Identifying roles and influences of Stakeholders

In this section, a brief description on relevant stakeholders is discussed; in order to identify their role and influence on Ezzbet Al-Haggana, and to figure out later their level of power and interest in Ezzbet Al-Haggana.

Cairo Governorate: It has the greatest influence on the area tenure, connectivity, and physical and social infrastructure. As the higher tier of the State local authority, Cairo governorate plays an important role in approving and facilitating execution of development plans. It has the authority also to put a halt to the growth of the

informal capital through supporting districts role in limitation of the ongoing informal expansions.

ISDF/ MURIS: Mainly concerned with the unsafe area such as the zone under the high voltage lines in Ezzbet Al-Haggana. It used to have comparably small impact on the social ties and the informal capital. However, recently, the ISDF under the affiliation of MURIS is strongly encouraging the civil society representatives to participate through planning and executing the upgrading projects.

MNHD: As a real estate company, it proposes development plans; to utilize the other assets of Ezzbet Al-Haggana. MNHD is assigned the mission to upgrade the area prone to the high voltage hazard as a part of its bigger development plan for the surrounding formal neighborhoods.

Line Ministries and Egyptian holding Companies: The greatest influence is on the physical infrastructure. For instance, such official ministries and holding companies affect the legal status of the electricity and water connections. Moreover, the ones responsible for roads, public transport and services have the greatest influence on the area connectivity as well as physical and social infrastructure, which influence on the growth of informal capital. Also, there could be actions regarding the high voltage cable creating the unsafe area underneath it.

Military: The Army Forces own many of the land in Cairo that used to be strategic military spots or training camps. Thus, in some of the cases of the informal settlements, the inhabitants occupy fully or partially their land which subjects them to serious exposure to eviction or legal punishment. For the case of Ezzbet Al-Haggana, the military owns most of the adjacent lands to the west and east of the quarter and has an influence on the area connectivity.

Civil Society: The NGOs and CBOs usually perceived by informal inhabitants to possess a valuable influence on the enhancement of the area and supporting the inhabitants. On the social level, these organizations play an important role in supporting health, education, and micro-economic programs to support families, women, and youth. Moreover, some of the NGOs succeed to have national and international funding partners to sponsor interventions concerning physical infrastructure such as sewage connection. Their influence on the legal ownership of assets seems to be limited, as they do not possess large amounts of informal capital.

It is worth to highlight that there are several on ground cases, where members of the Popular Council facilitates the process of services provision and Grid connections for informal settlements. Legally, a member of the Popular Council has no authority on formalizing the status of informal settlement. However, majority of voters in the Popular Council with connections and jurisdictional power can propose laws and legislations to support the issue.

Incidentally, 'Al Salab' the former Nasr city public representative in the Popular Council was very popular in Ezzbet Al-Haggana for financially supporting the poor and connecting the main water pipelines through the streets, in which the residents later used in connecting their houses informally to potable water. However, some of the residents in the area refer to Al Salab's generosity back to two reasons; in which the first is to win the elections and the second is due to secure his properties and storages next to Ezzbet Al-Haggana.

5.3.4. The Power-Interest Relationships

This section investigates the power-interest relationships to identify the decision making power and the interest to invest in Ezzbet Al-Haggana per different stakeholder. Accordingly, the research arranges the relevant key actors to urban governance of Ezzbet Al-Haggana in terms of their level of interest and power (Figure 39). The 'Power' in this section refers to the power of decision making and authority to lead a change or intervene, while the 'Interest' in this section refers to the interest to upgrade the deteriorated areas and the expected benefit from such development.

The research in this regard considers that Governorate of Cairo has the highest power; due to its legislative mandate and land ownership that equips it to powerfully intervene in the area, moreover, its interest to generate revenues from its properties could be considered the highest, since the governorate do not benefit from the current informal economy within area of Ezzbet Al-Haggana. Furthermore, the interviewed inhabitants in the area are aware of the role of the government, responsibilities, and follow the governor official statements as a trustful source to know their rights; which reflects the vital role the governorate could play in leading the development process. On the other side, the military and line ministries as representatives of higher tiers of the State possess highest power as well as the governorate among other actors, however their interest in the area is not primary as the governorate; due to lack of direct financial rewards as well as lack of feasibility to invest in the area.

In the case of MURIS, although it is a ministry in the government which means having high powers, it is only a 'Ministry of State' that doesn't finance or implement projects

individually, moreover, MURIS was recently declared in 2014, thus its mandate and role in an area with complexity of Ezzbet Al-Haggana is still unclear. However, as a ministry that targets the development of informal settlements and particularly unsafe areas, its interest in the area is regarded to be one of the most interested actors in the area development. While for the case of MNHD, it possess highest interest to develop the area of Ezzbet Al-Haggana, that constitutes as a frozen asset that the company cannot invest in and consequently hinders the investments in the nearby lands.

In the same context, the research considers the high interest of the inhabitants and CBOs to improve their living conditions in Ezzbet Al-Haggana, despite their limited powers. On the other side, the research discusses the interest and willingness of NGOs to develop the area to be relatively lesser than that of the local inhabitants or any of the other actors, in which the majority of NGOs are non-profit and depending on a significant extent on voluntary work and donations. Hence, their powers could be utilized as initiators and monitors in the governance process rather than development leaders; since they lack the necessary authorization and capacity for that.

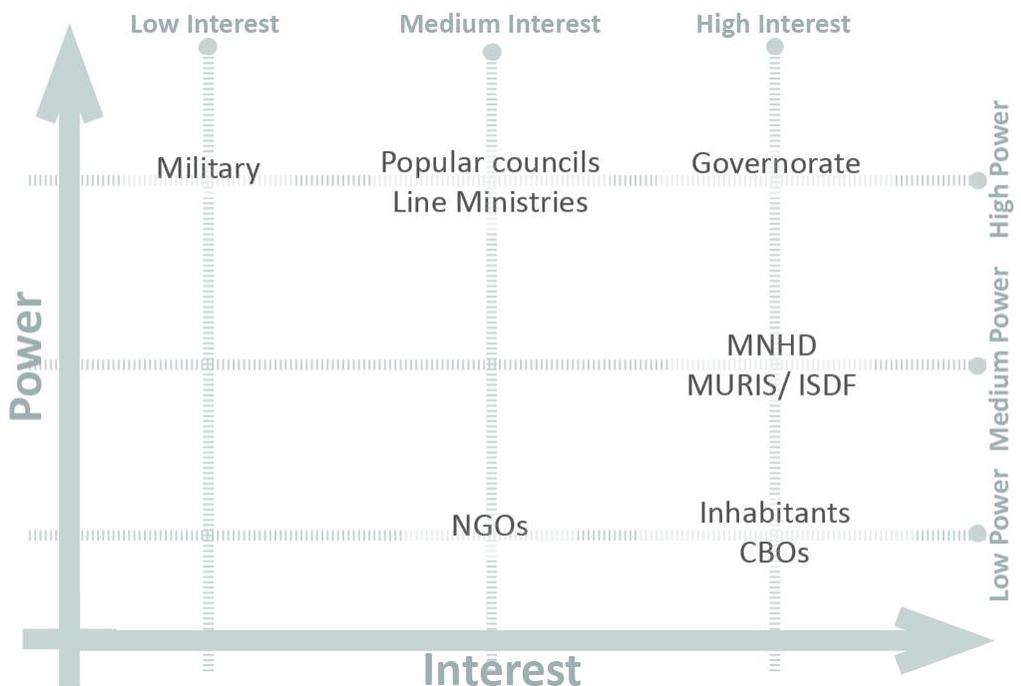


Figure 39: Locating existing stakeholders of Ezzbet Al-Haggana through Power-Interest Matrix (Author)

5.4. Conclusion

In this chapter, the research investigated the governance related groups of actors that are involved within the informal settlement of Ezzbet Al-Haggana throughout three layers of analysis: General context, Urban Profile, and Stakeholders. Thus, the research in this chapter highlights the fact that the area of Ezzbet Al-Haggana has been growing as an urban settlement through informal expansions over the past 60 years. Consequently, the area is inhabited nowadays by societies that have almost an absolute power over the area, as they are empowered by their social networks and interrelated interests; thus, such populations within the area cannot be ignored.

This premise elaborates the importance of viewing the local community as development partners; hence, considering their local economy and aspirations becomes essential. It is worth mentioning as well that the geographic accessibility, maturity of the area, and its recent connectivity to utilities, reveal the simultaneous involvement of many State actors towards the area upgrading. In the same respect, there is a large interest to invest through the surrounding area of Ezzbet Al-Haggana, which can have two opposite sides; in which the role of the investors and interests of the private sector to benefit economically cannot be ignored as well.

Thus, the research reviews in the next chapter two of the development attempts within Ezzbet Al-Haggana; to better understand the drawbacks of these plans and expected challenges through implementation. Subsequently, the concluded impacts and reflections on existing actors discussed within this chapter are to be further developed into guidelines in correspondence to establishing a good urban governance model.

6. Official Development Proposals: A Critical Review

At this stage, the research investigates methods on how to incorporate the findings of chapter 5 regarding the identified actors and roles; so as to establish an urban governance framework. Subsequently, the research investigates “*What are the official development proposals, and who are the involved actors?*” In this respect, the research demonstrates briefly two development attempts initiated by ISDF and MNHD; in order to understand their capacity to intervene within the area.

It is worth mentioning that the 2 proposals were not driven by the same motive, however, both proposals coincides in their interest to improve the situation of the inhabitants living under the high voltage cables. MNHD proposal, developed in 2011, targets the integrated urban development that involves the company’s owned lands in Nasr City District along with the public areas owned by the governorate of Cairo there. Thus, MNHD had to deal with Ezzbet Al-Haggana as a part of its properties in Nasr City, as well as a significantly located area between high priced land values; in which Ezzbet Al-Haggana conditions became one of MNHD concerns to effectively develop Nasr city. Accordingly, MNHD proposal is mainly driven by the company interests to achieve real estate investments that are flourishing, and eventually generating high revenues

ISDF proposal on the other hand, developed in 2012, is concerned mainly with the unsafe area under the high voltage cables, in which the scope of work of ISDF categorises the area as unsafe Grade 3³⁰ that requires intervention.

Later in this chapter, the MNHD proposal³¹ is investigated in terms of the complexity of issues that could affect the feasibility of such an attempt. Additionally, the proposal of MNHD is further assessed against the UN urban governance indicators; so as to highlight what to be improved when developing an urban governance framework towards the successful upgrading of Ezzbet Al-Haggana. Thus, such a critical review would enrich the research to locate the governance related deficits that obstruct the urban upgrading of the area.

³⁰ According to ISDF (2009a) definition, unsafe areas are territories in which 50% of its housing structures satisfy one or more of the following conditions, ordered according to the degree of risk and thus the urgency for intervention: Grade 1, Areas that threaten life including those located, Grade 2, Areas of unsuitable shelter conditions including, and Grade 3, Areas exposed to health risks including those Located under electrical power lines (Khalifa, 2011)

³¹ MNHD scale of intervention is supposed to be more holistic; since MNHD is the assigned entity to coordinate with the State to lead the process towards better investment within Ezzbet Al-Haggana in relation to the surrounding communities.

It is worth to highlight that the data communicated within this chapter regarding the proposed development projects is directly extracted from the conducted presentations by both ISDF and MNHD in 2012. In this regard, official electronic data such as presentations and reports on the projects were supplied by ISDF and MNHD as a research supporting material³².

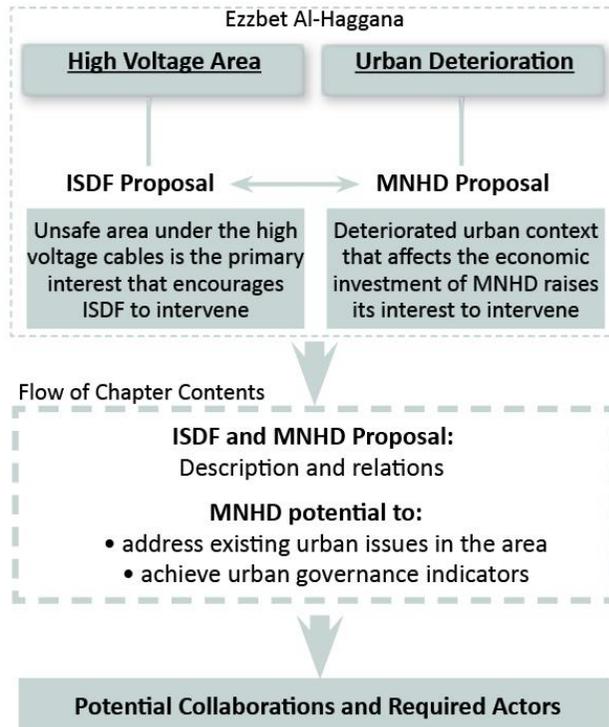


Figure 40: overview on chapter contents and flow

6.1. ISDF and MNHD Proposals: Description and Relation

In this section, the research illustrates the ISDF and MNHD scopes of work in Ezzbet Al-Haggana.

6.1.1. ISDF Project Description, 2012

The project targets developing the unsafe area under the threat of high voltage cables, and in favor of the most vulnerable groups living there. The area is estimated to be 13.8

³² This phase of the research was carried out by the support of international research group within PartNar Project, which is mentioned through methodology section in chapter 1.

Feddan, in which around 829 families living there in 2012, and distance of 1.16 km that represents the length of high voltage cables attached to the houses (ISDF, 2012).



Figure 41: area prone to high voltage cables (ISDF, 2012)

The outlines of ISDF proposal mainly suggests the following projects to be implemented:

- Transforming the high voltage power line to under ground cable
- Construct 960 residential units with an area of 50 Sq.m for slum dwellers
- Construct a new road
- Construct 331 commercial units with an area of 25 Sq.m in the ground floor
- Provide service units for health care and social solidarity units



Figure 42: area prone to high voltage cables (ISDF, 2012)

Since ISDF cannot fund the project and does not own the land as well, therefore MNHD was proposed to contribute as a partner for both fundraising and implementation of the project. Moreover, the governorate of Cairo was listed as the second implementation agency, as it represents the local governmental tier of authority (ISDF, 2012). Thus, it can be concluded from the ISDF proposal that beneficiaries of the project can be divided into two groups: the first group is MNHD as a primary investor, while the second group is the informal Dwellers. Consequently, the research assumes that each of the two groups implies set of indirect beneficiaries as well.

Table 3: Research assumption for beneficiaries from ISDF proposal (Author)

	Investors	Dwellers
Direct	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • MNHD 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Vulnerable families within unsafe area of high voltage cables
Indirect	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Military as owner of neighbor land • Informal contractors, in case commercial project was a success 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Other families in Ezzbet Al-Haggana that would want to live in the newly constructed buildings on formal and safe basis

Thus, the research highlights that even if ISDF proposal is targeting the development of specific area in Ezzbet Al-Haggana, but any occurring urban and socio-economic change would affect the surrounding areas on the level of Ezzbet Al-Haggana. This premise does not necessarily measure the efficiency of the proposal; since the scope of ISDF and its specific mandate limits its area of intervention, and requires the involvement of powerful stakeholders

6.1.2. MNHD Proposal, 2011

Madinet Nasr for Housing and Development MNHD -partly public company- is a capital driven actor; thus, concerned with achieving financial reward. The project is based on the construction of strategic corridor that connects the center of Nasr city to Cairo-Suez Road, in which the occurring development would secure many benefits to the area (MNHD, 2011).

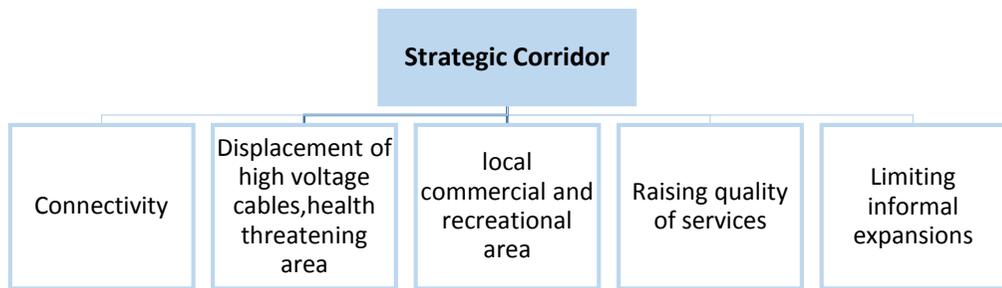


Figure 43: Strategic benefits (MNHD, 2011) mentioned within MNHD proposed development axis (illustrated by Author)

Consequently, in this section the research will show how the proposal is driven by fiscal rather social feasibility; in which MNHD proposes a project idea that was inspired by ‘La Rambla’³³ in Barcelona, which is a main spine that is successfully integrated with mixed use buildings, and aligned with city context and function (Alexander & Tang). In this respect, the research argues that mentioning ‘La Rambla’ is out of context in this project; since there is no mention of applicability for such model in high dense district such as Nasr city and the difficulty to integrate pedestrian central and sidewalks likewise ‘La Rambla’. Also, the other supplementary and distinctive aspects of ‘La Rambla’ such as connectivity function between city center and the sea, and the walkability distance that is one of the significant advantages of ‘La Rambla’ was not considered in the middle of the heavy vehicle mobility that go from and to, or cross cut Nasr city every day in addition to lack of underground transportation to consume the high road density along this spine.

³³ The street in Barcelona is lined with five-to-seven-story buildings, and the central walkway is, on average, 60 feet wide. The sidewalks are usually less than 10 feet wide, encouraging walking in the center. Pedestrians have precedence while cars are restricted to narrow lanes on either side of the promenade and must accommodate pedestrians at every intersection. About 1.5 kilometers long, Las Ramblas are really a series of three pedestrian-oriented boulevards that link the city to the waterfront (Alexander & Tang).



Figure 44: Development axis across Nasr city district (MNHD, 2011)

MNHD divides the development spine into 7 areas, where each will host a development project that is integrated with the others. One of these areas is cross cutting the high voltage lines zone in Ezzbet Al-Haggana; which explains their interest to develop this specific area of intervention. This project triggers the full development of Nasr City district including Ezzbet Al-Haggana that is mentioned as area 'H'.



Figure 45: Caption from MNHD presentation (MNHD, 2011)

The proposed land use and activities within each of those 7 divisions are listed below in Table 4

Table 4: Projects proposed by MNHD for 7 divisions of the axis (MNHD, 2011)

<i>Area</i>	Proposed Land Use	Desired Outcomes
H	Residential/ Commercial	Create residential area with wide streets as an entrance to resolving physical problem of Ezzbet Al-Haggana.
A	Public Services (emergency-police-post office-youth center-.....)	For service sufficiency to Ezzbet Al-Haggana and surrounding area
B	Bus station of Almaza	Having an integrated transportation; as this bus station is designed to be close to another future planned subway station.
C and D	Commercial/ Recreational/ Administrative	Works as a liberation for inhabitants
E	Residential/ Commercial	To grab investments to the area
F	Residential/ Green open spaces	Residential planned expansions for area revitalization

Since MNHD is not the only decision maker regarding such a scale of urban intervention; it can be concluded that there are many approvals and actors that are required to implement such integrated set of projects. In this regard, MNHD took into consideration other owners for included lands in the project and concerning the implementation feasibility, such as: Cairo governorate (owner of land allocated for public services such as high voltage cables and streets), and the military as well (owner of neighbour lands).

Table 5: MNHD proposed list of actors and roles

Required procedure for Implementation	Required actor for cooperation
Project license approval and assigning lands for the project	Cairo Governorate
Land for relocation of people should be moving	Cairo Governorate and Military forces SCAF
Land use modification (relocating Almaza bus station and car street market for example)	Cairo Governorate and supreme council for Urban Planning
Count survey for inhabitants of Ezzbet Al-Haggana required to be moved and ISDF approval	ISDF
Base map for infrastructure to execute the project	Infrastructure concerned entities
Legal papers	Cairo Governorate
Fundraising for industrial projects	Cairo Governorate

Thus, MNHD proposed considers only the State representing actors (Governorate, ISDF, and Military), and didn't come across mentioning any roles for other potential partners such as local community or NGOs. Hence, this reflects their investment intentions and economic orientatation of the proposal. It can be concluded from MNHD proposal that Cairo Governorate resembles a main partner as well as beneficiary of the proposed projects; in which fees of renting State owned land to be allocated for commercial uses or parking, guarantees high revenue and sustainable money generating activities. MNHD considers the dwellers living in the high voltage zone as beneficiaries³⁴ as well; where they will be given long term rented units. Thus, the research assumes set of direct and indirect beneficiaries for MNHD proposal.

³⁴ Since this specific area is cross cutting the development axis

Table 6: Research assumption for beneficiaries from MNHD proposal (Author)

	Investors	Dwellers
Direct	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • MNHD • Governorate 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Relocated vulnerable families within area of high voltage cables
Indirect	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Other investors who would benefit from such high revenue proposed projects and target the high standard of surrounding areas. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Surrounding areas within Ezzbet Al-Haggana that could benefit from development initiation in increasing quality level of services. • High standard neighbour communities would benefit from improving the situation of this area and benefit from the services and activities proposed on the axe generally

6.1.3. Relation between ISDF and MNHD Proposal

ISDF and MNHD proposals are strongly interconnected in terms of interests and willingness to cooperate with each other; which is stated clearly in their proposals. However, the research raises some questions and concerns in support of enhancing this cooperation such as:

- The lack of one joint proposal with fixed budget, processes, work plan and roles divisions that prepare for memorandum of agreement, and explains methods of coordination between each other and the other stakeholders mentioned in their proposals; in which these agreement to be transparently communicated to the public with a timeline and who is accountable to each of the agreed upon deliverables.
- These proposals were developed since 2011 for MNHD and 2012 for ISDF, and no further steps were taken towards on ground implementation. This lag time raises concerns regarding the reasons behind such delay.

In this respect, the research further investigates MNHD proposal; since its scope qualifies the proposal to be identified as more holistic and inclusive than ISDF. Thus, the following section analyzes MNHD proposal against complexity of issues and actors in Ezzbet Al-Haggana; towards findings potentials that facilitates implementation of such proposals within a successful urban governance framework.

6.2. MNHD proposal: Critical Review

In this section, the research analyzes the capacity of MNHD proposal towards improving the living conditions in Ezzbet Al-Haggana, through two layers of investigation:

- The level of addressing the issues and challenges in Ezzbet Al-Haggana
- Extent of fulfilling the UN urban governance indicators

6.2.1. MNHD proposal against complexity of issues in Ezzbet Al-Haggana

During the study of MNHD proposal, the full upgrading of Ezzbet Al-Haggana in particular is overlooked, which makes sense since the scope of MNHD is mainly to enhance the connectivity and socio-economic integration between Nasr city district and New Cairo settlement, where Ezzbet AL Haggana is only part of the project that happened to lie physically and pose a threat to such project. Form this premise, the research highlights through this section that the shortage to fix the complexity of socio-economic and urban issues in Ezzbet Al-Haggana would affect the success of the whole project.

Table 7: Comparing MNHD proposal in terms of its contribution towards considering issues in Ezzbet Al-Haggana (Author)

	Issues	MNHD Project
Tenure	Location significance: Area of intervention in Ezzbet Al-Haggana	Only the area of benefit to the company is considered regardless and influences of the rest of Ezzbet Al-Haggana
Basic Urban Services	Accessibility, Streets, and transports	Regional scope regarding roads and bus station
	Utilities	No mention of relevant projects
	Solid Waste Management and Sanitation	No mention of relevant projects
Socio-Urban Services	Health	No mention of Health services
	Education	No mention of Education services
	Recreational	Youth Center
	Security	Police station, fire station
Local Job Market	Income (gap ,Generation)	Moderate intervention through commercial activities, t is mentioned that governorate is required to approve industrial buildings without any further clarification
	Local Jobs	No mention for intention or method to benefit from skilful labor within area

It is obvious from the previous table that MNHD proposal emphasized on the economic revenue, which is expected to be generated from renovating the zone located within the development spine. Subsequently, the research concludes that unless MNHD cooperates with local community and variety of actors within Ezzbet Al-Haggana, the success of urban development projects targeting the seven areas would be threatened. In this respect, the second layer of analysis is introduced to assess the potential of the proposal within urban governance framework, towards locating the gaps to be considered and countered.

6.2.2. MNHD proposal against Urban Governance Indicators

This section attempts to evaluate MNHD in terms of the UN urban governance indicators, in which the researcher used three scales to rate the level that MNHD achieved in addressing to each of the 7 indicators as follows:

- Weak: Processes serving the achievement of the indicator are not mentioned clearly in the proposal
- Moderate: either processes serving the achievement of the indicator are only implied within the proposal, or some of the required processes to achieve this indicator are missing while some are mentioned clearly.
- Strong: Processes serving the achievement of the indicator are mentioned clearly.

The arguments supporting these rates were concluded in light of reviewed literature on definitions of each of UN urban governance indicators as well as the analysis of MNHD proposal. Thus, the findings based on this analysis are illustrated in table 8.

Table 8: Measuring UN urban governance indicators within MNHD proposal (Author)

Indicator	Rate	Research Arguments & Views
Decentralization	Moderate	The project decision making process involves multi-stakeholders through implementation phase, and generated income is not over controlled by one party. However, all involved actors are formal officially representing the State (ISDF, Cairo governorate, and Military).
Equity	Weak	The project scope is mainly economic investment, which threatens equity of urban poor communities who cannot afford expected raise in living expenses in return for raising quality of area and land value.
Civic Engagement & citizenship	Weak	It was not clear if public surveys for community financial and social needs were conducted. Also, lack of participation and consultation of natural leaders or NGOs. No recognition as well for local skills and capacities to be subjected to further investment.
Transparency & Accountability	Strong	It explained roles, scope of work, land ownership status, and expected revenues to proposed stakeholders. However, there could be a counter argument that the accountability measures were not stated on who to monitor and how to evaluate and assess. The research argues in this context that MNHD solely is not qualified for such role.
Efficiency	Moderate	It appears in the well thought technical details concerning streets, underground high voltage cables, commercial activities. However efficiency of the project is threatened by informal economic base and lack of involvement of community needs.
Security	Moderate	Establishment of police and fire stations is mentioned, however, the informal contractors, thugs and drug dealers with large interest and power within area were not considered.
Sustainability	Moderate	Financial sustainability was well considered and presented within MNHD proposal. Although, dismissing local existing community which is estimated nearly to be 1million inhabitant threatens the sustainability and continuity of any of the proposed/implemented projects.

MNHD proposal achieved most of the urban governance indicators related to the clear description of the project, however, there was a clear shortage in terms of the civic engagement and recognizing the specific needs of the local community. This gap explains the previously discussed shortage of the proposal to tackle the complexity of local issues. Thus, a question can be raised on whether the weakly achieved indicators would negatively impact the other well achieved indicators in a later stage.

The good thing about MNHD proposal that it looks more coordinated and less authorized, in which this premise could be argued as a positive step towards multi-actors governance model. Furthermore, the fact that MNHD proposal is a reputable actor to support the provision of planned services, although it is preferable restructure the proposal after consulting the local needs and aspirations. In this respect, the next section of the research would examine integrating the pro-good governance aspects within MNHD proposal as well as integrating the exiting socio-economic capital within area of Ezzbet Al-Haggana.

6.3. Good Urban Governance Indicators towards Upgrading of Ezzbet Al-Haggana

Utilization of good urban governance framework is required throughout: coordinating among identified related stakeholders and correlating their roles to congregate the UN Urban Governance Model. In light of the previous mentioned research reflections, Ezzbet Al-Haggana was found to enjoy the presence of many actors and their willingness to participate in its urban upgrading, except that the proactive coordinator to kick off an initiation is not there yet.

Furthermore, assuming the governorate as the common and primary actor to play such a coordination role alone would be unrealistic; due to its complicated administrative framework and weak two way communication with the local tiers of districts and executive local councils. Additionally, the fact that each informal settlement is a complex case independently and requires grass root investigations, raises the researcher interest in proposing a semi-dependent coordinating committee to play such a role.

Table 9: Relation of relevant main stakeholder in Ezzbet Al-Haggana to UN urban governance model (Author)

	Related Actors	Recommended Collaborations: Towards better Performance
Decentralization	Governorate Line Ministries	On different tiers of governorate, <u>decentralization should be promoted for facilitating the process of interventions and decision making process.</u> However, <u>communication</u> among different levels is essential as well as with ministries and their affiliated directorates for service's provision.
Equity	Governorate MURIS/ ISDF NGOs	The existing <u>vulnerable community</u> living in Ezzbet Al-Haggana <u>increases the demand for equity measures</u> , which is the responsibility of the State and NGOs as advocacy agents of urban poor.
Civic Engagement & citizenship	MURIS/ISDF MNHD NGOs Inhabitants	In an attempt to support solutions that would resolve existing conflicts regarding tenure and sense of ownership, and <u>promoting the community participation</u> for that matter.
Transparency & Accountability	Governorate MURIS/ ISDF MNHD	Public Private Partnerships always perceived to be corrupted, thus, <u>certain measures and rules should be enforced to guarantee transparency and accountability</u>
Efficiency	MNHD Governorate Line Ministries	<u>Feasible and efficient plans</u> are required towards the area and <u>capacity development.</u>
Security	Governorate MURIS/ ISDF Line Ministries	The State should be responsible for <u>securing lives, resources and interests</u> of local community (inhabitants) and investors (MNHD)
Sustainability	Governorate MURIS/ ISDF MNHD NGOs Inhabitants Line Ministries Military	By this stage, all actors should have identified roles that are not overlapping but more like to be <u>harmonizing conflicts and integrating to reach a beneficial governance model</u> that could guarantee a <u>sustainable and responsive urban development.</u> Thus, optimum utilization of local resources and assets in a <u>sustainable manner requires the integration of all actors.</u>

It can be concluded from the previous analysis of ISDF and MNHD proposal that the governance process requires the effective contribution of each of the following stakeholders to guarantee the implementation of any of the development plans:

- Governorate
- MURIS/ ISDF
- MNHD
- NGOs
- Inhabitants
- Line Ministries
- Military

In this regard, the research emphasizes within this section that urban governance indicators remain theoretical unless the urban development projects are initiated and implemented; so, each actor fulfills its role. Thus, in light of reviewing the case of Ezzbet Al-Haggana, the research analyzes in figure 46 what is needed to be done to steer up the process of implementation.

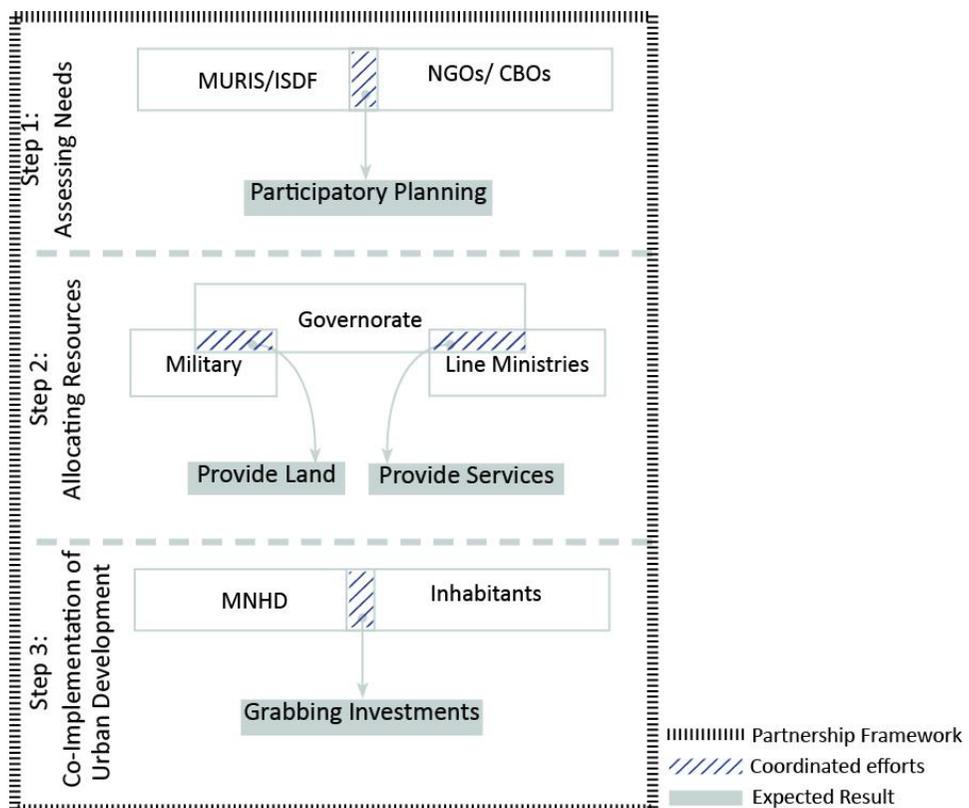


Figure 46: Partnership Framework for Ezzbet Al-Haggana, illustrating required coordination steps and expected results (Author)

Thus, the research concludes in this section that there should be implementable urban development projects; in order to exercise the urban governance within the context of Ezzbet Al Haggana, which is similar to many cases of Egyptian informal settlements that are listed by the government to be upgraded over many years with no on ground achievement. Thus, both Table 10 and Figure 49 supplement each other, however there should be an agreed upon local coordination entity that represents all actors and reflects their specific needs and roles; to further mobilize the process.

6.4. Conclusion

This chapter started by exploring two development proposals by ISDF and MNHD that target mainly the upgrading of the unsafe area under the high voltage cables. MNHD proposal was analyzed regarding the mentioned potential collaborations to serve the area development and the various solutions supporting the area physical enhancements.

Consequently, the researcher in this chapter reached a conclusion that the area of Ezzbet Al-Haggana needs to be considered within more participatory plans that serve their local needs as well as to incorporate the existing proposals by MNHD and ISDF. However, it is important to refer to the importance of evaluating the feasibility of these two proposals and amend them to be implemented within the area distinctive context. In this respect, the research continued to investigate what needs to be done and to investigate mainly the kind of abstract relations that the different actors should have to mobilize the upgrading process.

7. Research Findings and Recommendations

This chapter briefly highlights the research conclusions and findings, recommendations, and areas that require further investigations to be continued in the future. In this context, the researcher in this chapter builds the analyses and investigations conducted in the previous chapters to highlight set of guidelines; towards collaborative urban governance framework and enhancement of upgrading of informal settlements in Egypt.

7.1. Research Conclusions and Key Findings

This thesis investigated mainly the applicability of establishing an urban governance framework towards successful upgrading projects in Egypt. Thus, chapters 2 and 3 elaborated the international perspective on governance and agreed to apply the UN indicators: Decentralization, Equity, Civic Engagement & citizenship, Transparency & Accountability, Efficiency, Security, and Sustainability. These indicators are adopted by the research to measure the performance of urban development frameworks. In this context, the research concluded that absence of these indicators result in failure of cities to accommodate their urban expansions and the associated socio-economic challenges. This premise was further emphasized through comparing the percentage of the informal communities to the world developing regions that suffer corruption, in terms of the executed bad governance framework and lack of accountability measures.

Respectively, the research highlights the Egyptian context; where a lot of concerns are raised from the disparity between the luxurious gated communities against the poorly serviced and inadequate informal encroachments. The researcher examined the Egyptian governance framework involved in such contradictory patterns of urban developments that are overloading the Egyptian cities and its failure to provide adequate housing to the poor. Hence, the research investigated the existence of many relevant State actors, however, all of them proved to be incapable of coordinating their efforts towards successful upgrading process. Subsequently, viewing the different managerial tiers of each of these actors elaborated more the urban governance deficits such as: unidentified and non-transparent description of roles, severe centralization, absence of accountability and civic engagement. Consequently, the informal settlements continued to spread throughout different types and standards; in which metropolitan area of Greater Cairo in particular is suffering such urban overloads.

In that order, a closer layer of analysis was provided within chapters 5 and 6; where the case of informal settlement of Ezzbet Al-Haggana was demonstrated. The research investigated the different urban and socio-economic challenges within the area; in which the relevant stakeholders were identified towards overcoming the existing coordination gaps. Later, upgrading attempts by two of the stakeholders, MNHD and ISDF were reviewed to provide a quicker comprehension of how they foresee the area, and what they plan to do towards achieving such ambition.

Eventually, the case study analysis resulted in proposing the development of a collaborative framework towards the successful upgrading of Ezzbet Al-Haggana, as a primary step that requires further investigation. Accordingly, a set of key findings were recognized regarding the Egyptian informal settlements as follows:

7.1.1. Raising the interest of the different stakeholders towards Win-win cooperation

The Research reaches a conclusion that each group of stakeholders blames the 'other' for failure of its plans. For instance, some officials at the State blame the people for following the informal behavior in forming their settlements, and perceive them as burden rather than admitting the deficits within the State framework. On the other side, the local community justifies its reluctance to improve their living conditions and restructure themselves through bottom up development coalitions; due to their weak capacity, and long working hours that leave them no time space to volunteer in the development of their own areas. Additionally, they claim that the State is not cooperative and never considers the needs of the poor; however, many similar informal settlements are attempting to initiate creative and low cost solutions against their urban and social problems.

Therefore, the problem of informality keeps spreading and gaps of coordination continue to weaken the resources and abilities of each of the stakeholders. Hence, the research demonstrates below a preliminary view on how every weak actor is strong and vice versa, and it is all about shifting the paradigm of each group towards collaborating with this 'Other' that they used to blame.

Hence, it was found within this research that the government has poor funding and managerial capacities, and weak law enforcement; however on the other hand, it has high power of decision making and authorization in terms of legalizing tenure and provision of services. Additionally, when investigating MNHD role in Ezzbet Al-Haggana, it was found that regardless the fact that the company is the land owner and possess strong managerial and technical capacities; yet it lacks the land control. Thus, MNHD

cannot benefit from such high land value that remains only as a frozen asset. Furthermore, the inhabitants of the informal settlement of Ezzbet Al-Haggana, who are poor and powerless, can play an important role due to their strong social ties that protects them against any eviction or displacement attempts by the government.

In this respect, informal settlements can rise up towards improving their own deteriorated urban context, which prologue to the second phase of the research findings as follows.

7.1.2. Informal settlements and giving a second chance of adding value to cities

Informal settlements are not only poor urban communities to be evacuated, displaced or traditionally upgraded then deteriorate after quite some years. Hence, informal settlements are interactive and sensitive parts of the city fabric that should be effectively integrated. Subsequently, introducing good urban governance model supports the true participation of stakeholders to be involved for achieving the desired values within this model; thus:

- Indirect actors such as line ministries should be involved through decentralized and efficient channels.
- Participation of informal actors (inhabitants, commuters, and contractors) should be considered in a sense of empowerment and engagement.
- Desired outcomes should be listed transparently and divided in terms of actors, roles and collaborations in order to effectively measure all of the exerted effort, time and money in an accountable manner.

Therefore, the urban governance of informal settlements in metropolitan areas is not anymore something to avoid and assess as risk factor within any urban development. On the contrary, the involvement of the right actors in the right places secures a second chance for these communities to fit within sustainable cities.

7.2. Recommendations

In light of the thesis analyses and findings, this section proposes four guidelines towards the efficient integration of all stakeholders within an interactive atmosphere that considers the participation of: local community regardless their diverse socio-economic interests, the official actors represented in the state, the private sector, and the civil society organizations as follows:

- Abstracting relationships towards proper diagnosis of the existing gaps and overlaps
- Establishment of local coordination unit per each informal settlement
- Empowerment of this coordination unit to achieve the urban governance indicators
- Identifying the relevant membership terms: Involvement level

The research recommends to consider these guidelines when establishing an urban governance framework towards the successful upgrading of informal settlements.

7.2.1. Abstracting relationships towards proper diagnosis of the existing gaps and overlaps

During the interviews conducted in Ezzbet Al-Haggana some interviewees referred to the fact that they are only familiar with Cairo Governorate, Electricity Company to connect to the grid, Nasr City police station to issue their IDs. Some of them recognize the social services provided by NGOs and approach them. The role of local municipalities or district in improving the area conditions was not recognized by the interviewees in Ezzbet Al-Haggana, and they were not aware of ISDF role. The research provides below an insight of some of the communicated confusions by the inhabitants when conducting the stakeholders' analysis:

- MURIS/ ISDF and Civil society organizations: there is an overlap on the ground between both groups in communicating with local community and conducting participatory needs assessments of unsafe areas and supporting vulnerable communities, which has always been the job of NGOs and CBOS. In this respect, ISDF and MURIS interact with informal areas through grass-rooted organizations. This raises questions regarding the necessity of MURIS role to supplement the civil society organizations not only to communicate through them to gather the required data, but rather to develop frameworks and implement upgrading projects.

- District and local inhabitants: there is a gap between both entities and corruption reputation regarding the district employees, in which some of the interviewed inhabitants mentioned that they follow up through the media the statements of the governorate, which reflects a gap between the district officials and the communities that they are assigned to support.
- District and Local Directorates: lack of regular reporting and coordination between both entities; although they work in the same local area of interventions.

Thus, the research recommends that relationships and mandates of all involved actors to be listed clearly to the public in a comprehensive way that they know who to address for what. Moreover, the research recommends that there should be diagnosis for all existing and potential gaps and overlaps between different actors prior implementing any upgrading project.

7.2.2. Establishment of local coordination unit per each informal settlement

The research emphasizes the fact that the informal settlements in particular require such coordination unit, and not only the existing local government due to the variety and complexity of issues that these settlements suffer from. For instance, the informal expansion implies insecurity of tenure as well as absence of quality assurance of buildings adequacy and inhabitants' safety. Also, the lack of social inclusiveness of local community needs in these areas results in their lack of sense of ownership, thus, the coordination committee would be useful in communicating with local community and represent its needs in the form of interventions. Hence, such coordination process would encourage ownership that would result in socio-economic development in the area and maintaining any physical upgrading efforts.

In this respect, the research promotes for the importance to develop an on-ground urban governance model towards the integration of all stakeholders within an interactive atmosphere that considers the participation of: local community regardless their diverse socio-economic interests, the official actors represented in the state, the private sector, and the civil society organizations.

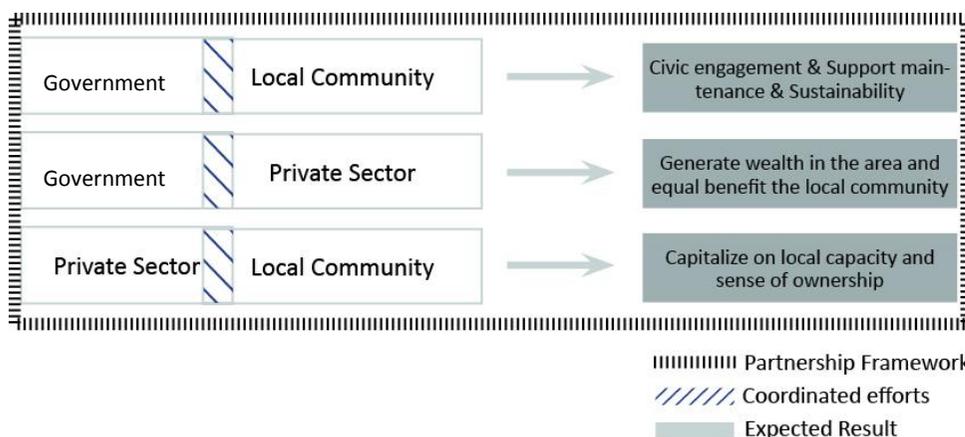


Figure 47: benefits from coordination between stakeholders (Author)

7.2.3. Empowerment of local coordination unit within informal settlements

Throughout the research review on Egyptian context, the research highlighted the weak capacity of local government and lack of legal framework to lead large economic scale projects within their area of work. Moreover, when examining the proposal of ISDF in Ezzbet Al-Haggana, the absence of fiscal and technical capacity could be concluded which required the involvement of the governorate and MNHD. Also, the research highlights the lack of all groups' representation in ISDF and MNHD development proposals for the areas; which indicates their weak capacity to enforce their proposals for implementation. Thus, the researcher emphasizes on the importance of enforcing the coordination process through bylaws, financing, and technical support within the proposed local coordination unit. From this premise, the research concludes the below guidelines to be incorporated within coordination process and measure its liability.

- Representation of all groups
- Defined level of fiscal autonomy
- Technical support
- Regulating bylaws
- Monitoring measures

Hence, certain member should be involved in this model to guarantee the achievement of the previously mentioned measures.

7.2.4. Identifying the relevant membership terms: Involvement level

The research recommends in this section that it is important to set up terms and membership mandate towards turning the abstract model of local coordination unit for

informal settlements into an on-ground model. Thus, these terms should secure the presence of:

- Authorization: which requires the presence of governmental representatives that are liable to support the implementation of the agreed upon plans. Thus the research recommends that such members should be delegated by the governor and the district chief to have the full responsibility of managing the process of issuing the required official decision.
- Participatory needs assessment: the projects should reflect the real needs and aspirations of local inhabitants; in which they should elect their own representatives from their independent natural leaders or specific NGOs and CBOs.
- Investment: developing an informal settlements require innovative project ideas that could lead a successful local economies, secure jobs and grab investments to the area. Thus, the presence of private sector is mandatory in this coordination unit, however the research suggests to have it on temporary basis upon technical or financial relevancy to the identified community needs.

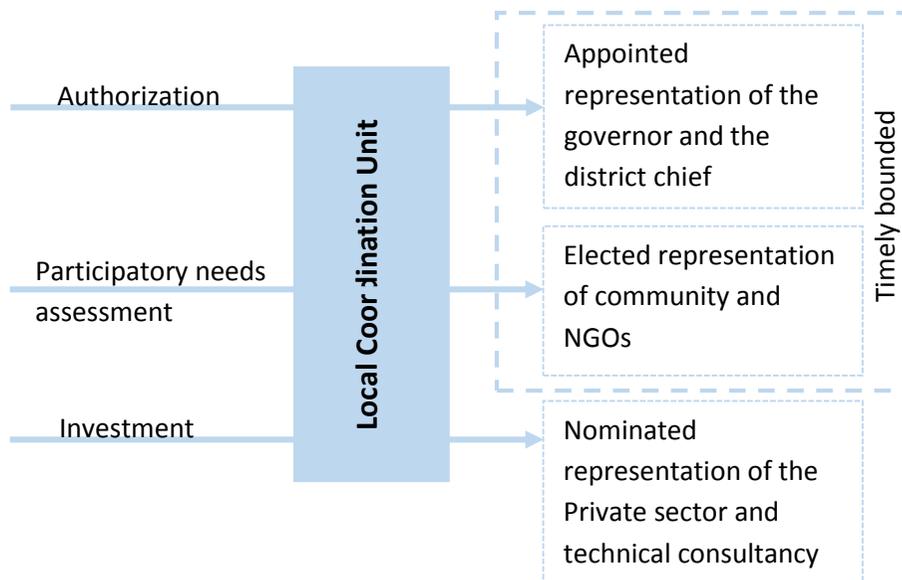


Figure 48: Membership terms in local coordination units within informal settlements (Author)

7.3. Research Suggestions for Further Investigation

The research proposes an abstract model towards urban upgrading of informal settlements in Cairo; however, the implementation of such a model within the complexity of the Egyptian context requires series of advanced research schemes. In

this regard, set of considerations are listed below to be subjected for further investigation:

- Introducing bylaws and regulations that support such model in light of the current national legislative framework. This is considered an important step by the research; in order to identify required articles to be modified and the legal methodology to do so.
- Identifying the responsible entity to kick off the establishment of the proposed coordination process.
- Data collection and needs assessment, in which building database on the different informal areas should be transparently gathered and communicated to all actors.
- Capacity building of local communities to restructure themselves and develop an accountable method to select their true representatives; hence, investigating how to utilize roles of natural leaders and NGOs in this regard.
- Embedding measures on the operational level of the proposed model to guarantee the establishment of unbiased committees.
- Applicability of this model to promote for fiscal autonomy on the local level, and methods to empower the proposed committee to: kick off local projects, enhance the competitiveness of the area, and sustainable local investments.

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المخلص

يشكل الحكم الحضري للمجتمعات اللا رسمية في القاهرة تحديا حاسما في وجه الحكومة المصرية. وبالتالي، أصبح تعريف شركاء التنمية و تحديد سبل التكامل والتعاون بينهم من اولويات هذه المرحلة من اجل انجاح مشاريع الارتقاء الحضري و تحقيق الاستدامة. ونتيجة لذلك، يهدف هذا البحث إلى دراسة نماذج جديدة لحكم الرشيد و تطويعها بما يحقق المشاركة الفعالة لكل أصحاب المصلحة. في هذا الصدد، تم إنجاز ثلاث مراحل من البحث: المرحلة الأولى تضمنت مراجعة الأدبيات نحو تحقيق معايير الحكم الحضري الرشيد في المجتمعات اللا رسمية من المنظور العالمي. بعد ذلك، تم تحليل نظرة عامة على السياق المصري، نحو فهم السياق الإداري والتحولات السياسية على المستوى الوطني مقابل انتشار المجتمعات اللا الرسمية. لاحقا، والمرحلة الثالثة من البحث تمثلت في الدراسة الميدانية من خلال دراسة عزبة الهجانة في القاهرة لتسليط الضوء على التحديات الحضرية والاجتماعية والاقتصادية المرتبطة بنظام الادارة الحالي. وفقا لذلك، أجريت زيارات ميدانية والمقابلات مما أدى إلى استيعاب مدى تعقيد القضايا والجهات الفاعلة داخل منطقة الدراسة. وأخيرا، ينتهي البحث الى مجموعة من الاستنتاجات اهمها ان القطاع الرسمي و الهيكل الإداري الحالي في مصر غير قادر على توفير السكن اللائق والخدمات الكافية للجميع. وبالتالي، لا بد من وضع إطار أكثر ديناميكية واستجابة لمثل هذه التحديات، بما ينطوي على تكوين فريق عمل مخصص على حدة لكل من هذه الناطق الغير رسمية، و يقوم هذا الفريق بالتنسيق بين جميع شركاء التنمية. لذلك، يوصى البحث بتحديد وظيفة هذا الفريق لتسهيل عملية التطوير في كل مستوطنة غير رسمية على وجه الخصوص، كأداة لاتخاذ القرار على المستوى المحلي و التنفيذي.

جامعة عين شمس

كلية الهندسة

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عنوان الرسالة : الحكم الحضري الرشيد للتجمعات العمرانية غير الرسمية
للمدن الكبرى
اسم الدرجة : ماجستير العلوم الهندسية في التصميم العمرانى و التخطيط

التوقيع:

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الدراسات العليا:

الموافقة:

التاريخ: / / الختم

موافقة مجلس الجامعة
التاريخ: / /

موافقة مجلس الكلية
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رسالة ماجستير

- اسم الطالب : نوران عزوز اسماعيل عزوز
عنوان الرسالة : الحكم الحضري الرشيد للتجمعات العمرانية غير الرسمية
للمدن الكبرى
اسم الدرجة : ماجستير العلوم الهندسية في التصميم العمراني و التخطيط

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العنوان:

الحكم الحضرى الرشيد للتجمعات العمرانية غير الرسمية للمدن الكبرى

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