UC Berkeley
UC Berkeley Electronic Theses and Dissertations

Title
Compounds of Modernity: National Order and the Other in Egypt (1940-present)

Permalink
https://escholarship.org/uc/item/7cc02032

Author
El-Husseiny, Momen

Publication Date
2015

Peer reviewed|Thesis/dissertation

Compounds of Modernity: National Order and the Other in Egypt (1940-present)

By

Momen-Bellah Mohsen El-Husseiny

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Architecture

in the

Graduate Division

of the

University of California, Berkeley

Committee in charge:

Professor Nezar AlSayyad, Chair
Professor Greig Crysler
Professor Ananya Roy
Professor Cihan Tugal

Summer 2015

Abstract

Compounds of Modernity: National Order and the Other in Egypt (1940-present)

by

Momen-Bellah Mohsen El-Husseiny

Doctor of Philosophy in Architecture

University of California, Berkeley

Professor Nezar AlSayyad, Chair

The dissertation *Compounds of Modernity* aimed at moving beyond meta-narratives and theoretical frameworks of neoliberalism and globalization to analyze the contemporary gated communities and spaces of exclusion. Instead of analyzing enclaves as products of neoliberalism and global culture, the dissertation looks at them as "processes of urban explosion" embedded in the history of power and control. Building new housing settlements on the periphery is not anew. The state technocrats, architects, and urban planners had always used these projects as instruments towards controlling population, hygienic development, and citizen formation. By looking at *how* the design of these compounds had changed with time, I generate a set of narratives concerning power, spatial governance, dealing with hygiene as a thing to control, the othering of citizens, and modernizing the nation-state. The changing rhetoric and underlying logic to manipulate the erection of these new compounds reveals how the state categorizes its citizens and invents the "other." The construction of the "risk society" is a mere political and social construct in Egypt's modern history.

In the countryside during late colonial Egypt and early post-colonial time (1940s and 1950s), the humans and non-humans were objects of governance and control in the architectures of Hassan Fathy (New Gourna Village) and Sayyid Karim (the Manor). The inferior fellah and dirty animal were the infectious species to produce national crises of malaria, typhoid, and Bilharzia. Modernizing species and standardizing the built environment was part of building the state and maintaining national order. Later in the early 1950s, a housing initiative called the "Cordon-and-resettling" led to walling out old unhygienic communities and relocating villagers to the modern "Village of Tomorrow," which included military training centers and new university villages. Under the social welfare state of Nasser, the housing mission in the city was to make new citizens, educate them through the state's secular curricula, alleviate social class antagonism, build the "happy family," and curb internal political struggles after the transition from monarchy to the Republic. The citizen and [his] experience was the main object of governance in the Villages of Tomorrow, such as Tahrir Province.

In Cairo, a similar hygienic revolution occurred under the "Connect-fill-and-expand" housing initiative. One spatial outcome was the new compound on the periphery of Cairo, the "City of Tomorrow" experiment of *Madinet Nasr* or Nasr City (late 1950s and 1960s). In the new settlement of Nasr City, Sayyid Karim and Mohamed Riyad designed residential quarters, governmental buildings, Islamic university campus of Al-Azhar, wide roads for army parades and military zones were erected side by side. The notion of a "disciplined society" was emphasized through zoning and land use. A hierarchy of state institutions and power characterized Nasr City with high visibility. The production of a disciplined society was further emphasized with the state's full control over the construction of housing after the rent control law that discouraged private real-estate developers from building new housing. The centralization of housing led to controlling the means of modernizing space, housing, and society. With *Infitah* or the open door economy developed under Sadat in the 1970s till the Structural Adjustment Program (SAP) of Mubarak in the 1990s, the object of governance and control became economic growth and desert land development. Technocrats experimented a set of new towns in the desert, which failed to attract population at the beginning until the erection of gated communities with new mechanisms and technologies of governance in the desert. Security and hygiene were used as underlying frameworks to attract residents as manifested in the gated community of "Al-Rehab City" in New Cairo. Using walls, gates, checkpoints, privatized security training, and the mapping of surveillance, together with private amenities and functioning infrastructure, gated communities started to attract residents. Turning those spaces into "zones of control" and surveillance became the new modern governing technology than simply enforcing citizens and disciplining them like the era of Nasser. The state security apparatus, however, still has its influence inside gated communities through partnerships and collaborations with the privatized security. The transformation of the society from a "disciplined society" in the Foucaultian sense to a "controlled society" in Nikolas Rose's sense is parallel to the change in political economy from social welfare to the free market mechanisms. The disciplined society depends on a central agency such as the panopticon to watch, monitor, and correct the behavior of citizens is fundamentally transformed into decentralized nucleated agencies (private sector) working laterally with the state to maintain order. The decentralization of security and non-hierarchical forms of domination characterizes the "controlled society" and housing projects that is made possible under the free market economy. The decentralization of the design process also takes place. Architects and urban planners of gated communities such as Mahmoud Yousry of Al-Rehab, design together with marketing sales team, Hisham Talaat (developer), and the security design element is covered by retired military generals. By understanding the interactions of local forces, spatial growth, how these spaces are realized in reality, and society construction through history, I theorize the contemporary gated communities moving beyond meta-narratives and grand theories of globalization.

To my mother Rawya,
my father Mohsen,
my sister Mennat, and
my brothers Moatasem and Moataz.

Table of Contents

Finally, this dissertation was conducted at a very critical time with the rise of people at Tahrir Square and for which I am, currently, visually impaired. I finished my Qualifying exam on the 5th of May 2010 at Berkeley, CA. I left for Cairo in the same month that the police brutally tortured Khaled Said (a young entrepreneur) to death. Later, on December 30th, 2010, I had a Lasik operation to get rid of my eyeglasses. On Jan 10th, I was arrested while conducting fieldwork for a joint research between UC Berkeley, Cairo University, and the American University in Cairo. The police lieutenant analyzed my sketchbook pages with every sketch as a threat to national security and charged me with bombing a neighborhood. The police held me in custody with a set of interrogations. Central security forces and secret police, *Amn El-Dawla*, arrived transfer me to an unknown prison. Luckily, Professor Samy Sabry of Cairo University, who was aware of my fieldwork, arrived at the police station in the right time begging the police officer to set me free. The experience I encountered and the harassment I endured during the interrogation was an eye opener. On January 25, 2011, I joined the peaceful protest calling for the end of police violence. This protest grew to become the revolution with a vicious response from the police using rubber bullets, steel bullets, chemicals and tear gas canisters. During this period, I completely forgot about my eyes' surgery within the larger pain and sufferings of the people. Later in 2012, I conducted an eyes' examination to discover deep ruptures and cuts into the corneas of both eyes. Since then, I have been writing the dissertation with continuous headaches and visual impairment.

In one of the regular examinations, a doctor explained to me the ruptures that the chemicals had created on my corneas. It was a revelation. For the first time, I was looking at the diagrams and cross-sections from a different perspective. The different chemicals

used during the protests, given to Egypt by USAID and American weapons industry, shaped the irregularities, voids, and bumps in my eyes. Now they look similar to an undiscovered surface of a planet in the outer space. The materiality, elasticity, dryness and roughness of some areas created interfaces, forms and shapes that speaks to encounters and collisions.

With time, my heavy feeling of despair and disability for being visually impaired and always behind in work changed. It took me some time to think of my work in light of our collective pain as a result of the revolution. Now when I look into the cartography and maps of my eyes, I visualize an archive of the revolution with the scars that the chemicals had left. The idea of carrying an archive inside my body was scary at the beginning, but as time went by, I began to look at it as extremely enlightening. It is interesting to see the waste and effects scientific progress produce to control the bodies. The idea of a "body" as an "archive carrier" to a historical event is incredible; my eyes had become an archive of the revolution's violence. This fact pushed me to read the literature of biopolitics and power in different manners. And this was when I started falling in love with my imperfect half-blinded eyes. I began to appreciate the "beauty of imperfections" and their invisible narratives that exist in life and all the ruptures between the visible and the invisible. It broadened my understanding to things and what they could add to the fields of history, theory, and social sciences.

My doctoral research is somehow connected; it is about historicizing the immediate present of disciplining the body (humans and non-humans), shaping citizens and making the nation. However, for the research purposes I used housing compounds as a unit of analysis instead of my eyes' corneas. To all the voices calling for dignity, freedom, and social justice, this dissertation is deeply shaped by our hope for a better tomorrow.

Introduction:
Settlements of Control

Preface

By the late nineties, satellite settlements were growing on the edges of Cairo. A satellite with the name of "New Cairo" expanded the metropolis on the northeastern axis, and was divided into parcels of "gated communities," such as Al-Rehab City, Katameya Heights, Mountain View, and so on. On the western side of the metropolis, a set of satellites such as Sixth of October and Sheikh Zayed expanded the metropolis. They were also divided into gated communities with names such as Dreamland, Hay Al-Ashgar, Beverly Hills, New Giza, and so forth. They implied a new spatial order of control and hygiene.

The quick urban explosion drove many Cairo scholars to think of these gated communities as spaces of global modernity and consumer culture. White flight and American suburbs became the source of reference for comparative analysis. Gated communities with the names of Dreamland emphasized this theoretical framework of borrowed "spaces of exclusion." Global flows and circuits of capital, ideas, and images of *Modernity at Large* became the argument for analyzing these compounds. Some Cairo interlocutors analyze gated communities from the lens of fear and how it grows out of a *Risk Society*. They view fear the reason why these enclaves have mushroomed. Other theorists have based their arguments on residents' desire for distinction and privilege. They analyze enclaves as status markers and social identities. Political economists analyze enclaves from a free market perspective. Their presence is only possible because of land privatization and housing deregulations; residents invest in these enclaves for speculative reasons.

All these arguments are well evidenced on their own right sharing a common ground that life inside the gates is deterriorialized and that their residents are more connected to a global circuit than being part of the local reality. What would have enriched these arguments was to have an inside story –an ethnographic research inside the gates, with supporting evidence to build a sophisticated analysis. What happens inside the gates remains strangely unexplored? Are all residents' motivations and narratives fall into the grand theories of society formation and political economy? Such detailed account is missing and leads many Cairo scholars to confirm that all gated communities are the same and products of a neoliberal global phenomenon.

The primary research question of the dissertation becomes, are enclaves a contemporary phenomenon? Is their logic and design rationale new and unprecedented? Is residents' urge for hygienic spaces new? Is technocrats' and officials' desire to control population by building compounds an entirely contemporary phenomenon? There are enough historical cases to prove that the design logic driving those compounds has its precedents. Compounds are not solely a neoliberal outcome. The means of their existence has been present since late Colonial Egypt under the name of hygiene, new spatial order, social control, and modern infrastructure. In fact, I argue that neoliberal entrepreneurs and businessmen were able to reproduce those compounds into the free market using security structures. The way real-estate developers use discursive mechanisms to build and manage gated communities within the Egyptian free market

uncertainties and political instabilities proves their ability to manipulate this housing model of "new housing compounds on the periphery." I discuss this issue in depth over the dissertation.

Using an ethnographic research and close reading of the actor-network forces, this dissertation argues that these compounds are deeply rooted in history and are territorially grounded in Egypt's local politics.

I conducted my doctoral fieldwork at a critical time in the history of modern Egypt. I finished my Qualifying Exam in May 2010 then left for Cairo the following month. The initial research aim started as depicting the local appropriations of building the global model of gated communities. As I arrived Egypt and started fieldwork the research direction changed drastically with the unfolding of political events. In June 2010, the police killed a young Alexandrian entrepreneur, Khaled Said. Police brutality casted a vast range of angry responses. This fueled the demonstrations to follow. From June 2010 till January 2011, the immediate environment was heating up with more police violations and State Security, *Amn El-Dawla*, arrests. Most interviewee I approached for my research on gated communities were either reluctant to talk or refused to meet. Entering the security checkpoints of the enclaves was an adventure in itself filled with suspense and anxiety. It was difficult to connect the dots and understand the relationship between the affluent housing compounds and incidents happening outside the gates. To my understanding at that time, gated communities are neoliberal spaces that are socially and economically excluded, and apolitical safe havens.

In the first visit, the private security held me for hours on the corner street beside Al-Rehab City's police station in a manner intended to scare me off. I decided to meet with the private-security manager and the enclave's mayor, two retired military generals, to have an easier access to the gates and take photos freely. I also requested to conduct a semi-structured interview. The Private-Security Manager rejected it in the beginning. However, I was only allowed to take pictures from inside the car in what they allowed as a "touristic tour" of the enclave. I made several follow-up visits and was continuously watched by the private security agents. Residents were reluctant to meet as well. It was difficult to conduct a productive fieldwork research under these constraints. I experienced such unwelcoming atmosphere despite many links and contacts in other gated communities, as well. The overall geopolitical climate was tense inside and outside the enclaves, in the city and beyond. The political corruption during the parliament elections in October and November of 2010 busted matters further. This was the entire pretext preceding the boiling point.

The revolution started in January 25, 2011 in Tahrir Square. The country was in a state of chaos until the ousting of Mubarak on 11th February 2011. However, an interesting event happened that raised a lot of questions and drove me into a new line of research inquiry. On January 28th, police withdrew from the streets and criminals were set free. Thieves and thugs sabotaged the city and rumors said they headed towards gated communities at the periphery of the metropolis to steal residents. Military tanks moved quickly to protect gated communities. There was no clear explanation other than the obvious logic that key personnel live inside the gates with links to the military. The connections were in fact deeper than that as I uncover in the dissertation.

I returned to request making interviews in *Al-Rehab City* at the northeastern edge of Cairo by the end of February 2011. Surprisingly, this time I was welcomed and supported. I met with the Mayor (a retired military general), the developer's representative, and sales team. I lived there for six months soliciting interviews with residents who belonged to antagonistic political parties. I attended the mosques and church of Al-Rehab. I sat in meetings that gathered liberal Copts and Muslim Brotherhood members of Al-Rehab residents. These months were precious ones. They were months of "strategic trust" amongst people. The Security Chief, another retired military general, was excited to meet me and talk. He showed me their security maps, explained their surveillance and control logic. Furthermore, I called for semi-structured interviews with Security Chiefs of other gated communities such as *Dreamland* and *Hay Al-Ashgar*. They were retired military generals as well, and gave me copies of their security handouts. In return, all of them wanted to hear about the revolution from inside Tahrir Square and the political party I cofounded with a group of youth activists before resigning later in the year. The 2011-Revolution was a key factor why talking about security in gated communities was possible. It opened up many doors and rendered invisible modes of governance inside the gates, visible. Under these conditions my research inquires changed and my findings were shaped by the revolution.

Due to the nature of my research questions about the design logic of new housing settlements and the experience of living there I had to rely on ethnography and semi-structured interviews. I also had to compare some interviews I conducted over the summers of 2008, 2009, and 2010 with those after the 2011-revolution to see how the revolution affected life inside the gated communities. I also relied on analyzing Internet blogs of Al-Rehab residents, and they framed as "virtual activism" before 2011. In total, I conducted an ethnographic fieldwork of more than 22-months inside these gated communities during the summers of 2008 and 2009, plus an extensive fieldwork from 2010 till 2012. As mentioned earlier, I relied on close reading of the "security manual" that security chiefs use to train security agents. I analyzed the "security maps" that they generate to animate control and surveillance in the compound. Moreover, I conducted over thirty semi-structured interviews with residents of various gated communities. Amid the constraints and limitations of the contemporary political situation, there were no reliable architectural publications discussing the reality inside gated communities. This was the reason why I could not rely on paper architecture as a primary source of research as I did with the historical case studies. However, the insights, continuations, and ruptures between the present condition and the past "settlements of control," built on the periphery, constructed the dissertation's argument, adding a historic depth and local agency to the question of gated communities.

Literature Review: Cairo Research Scholarship

Many urban historians of Cairo studied the effects of every regime of rule on the development of the city and its architectural identity such as the works of Janet Abu Lughod,[1] Andre Raymond,[2] Mohamed Riyad,[3] David Sims,[4] and Nezar Alsayyad.[5] These works dedicated their research to

---

[1] Janet L. Abu-Lughod, *Cairo: 1001 Years of the City Victorious*, Princeton Studies on the Near East (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1971).
[2] André Raymond, *Cairo* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000).
[3] Mohamed Riyad, *Cairo: People in Space and Time, Problems of Present and Future, [Al-Qahirah: Naseej Al-Naas fe al-Makaan wal-Zamaan wa Mushkalateha fe al-Hader wal-Mustaqbal]* (Cairo: Dar al-Shorouk, 2001).
[4] David Sims, *Understanding Cairo: The Logic of a City out of Control* (Cairo; New York: The American University in Cairo Press, 2010).

the city of Cairo as a sole central focus. Sometimes the research focused on housing as in the case of Sims, and at others the research focused on monuments as in the case of AlSayyad, however all within the context of the Greater Cairo Region. Using an analytical lens beyond Cairo, other architectural historians traced the work of early modernist architects in shaping architectural modernism across Egyptian cities such as the work of Mercedes Volait.[6] As a third approach, urban sociologists, anthropologists, and political scientists studied the trajectories of society, space and subject formation. Timothy Mitchell[7] developed this approach in *Colonising Egypt* covering late nineteenth and early twentieth century's technologies of discipline.

Expanding this line of inquiry to the present and its neoliberal consequences, a group of scholars formed the "Cairo Urban School" in 2006. They edited two volumes *Cairo Cosmopolitan*,[8] and *Cairo Contested*.[9] These edited volumes traced the different articulations of space and its development from the different angles of social movements, Islamist movements, and other political and social movements that started in 2005. All these movements were influential in using space to question the notions of the public and the private sphere. They highlighted the exclusive practices developing in the city that was hijacking people's agency. In hindsight, these movements and tactics are the pretexts for the millions of people protesting in Tahrir Square during 2011. The Cairo Urban School was framed by the study of economic liberalism and globalization discourse admitting to the challenges and research ambiguities in these inquiries. Moreover, there is the seminal work of Salwa Ismail,[10] Farha Ghannam,[11] Julia Elyachar,[12] and Mona Abaza.[13] These seminal works covered a variety of issues including gentrification, markets mechanisms, gender relations, consumer culture, and the global and local articulations of space.[14]

---

[5] Nezar AlSayyad, *Cairo: Histories of a City*, 1st ed (Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press of Harvard Universitry Press, 2011).

[6] Mercedes Volait, ed., *Le Caire-Alexandrie: Architectures Européennes, 1850-1950* (Le Caire: Centre d'études et de documentation économique, juridique et sociale : Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 2001).

[7] Timothy Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988).

[8] Diane Singerman and Paul Amar, *Cairo Cosmopolitan: Politics, Culture, and Urban Space in the New Globalized Middle East* (Cairo; New York: American University in Cairo Press, 2006).

[9] Diane Singerman, *Cairo Contested: Governance, Urban Space, and Global Modernity* (Cairo; New York: American University in Cairo Press, 2009).

[10] Salwa Ismail, *Political Life in Cairo's New Quarters Encountering the Everyday State* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006).

[11] Farha Ghannam, *Remaking the Modern: Space, Relocation, and the Politics of Identity in a Global Cairo* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), Farha Ghannam, *Live and Die like a Man: Gender Dynamics in Urban Egypt* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2013), Farha Ghannam, "The Promise of the Wall: Reflections on Desire and Gated Communities in Cairo," accessed August 30, 2014, http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/15864/the-promise-of-the-wall_reflections-on-desire-and-.

[12] Julia Elyachar, "Mappings of Power: The State, NGOs, and International Organizations in the Informal Economy of Cairo," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 45, no. 3 (2003): 571–605, Julia Elyachar, *Markets of Dispossession: NGOs, Economic Development, and the State in Cairo*, Politics, History, and Culture (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005).

[13] Mona Abaza, *The Changing Consumer Cultures of Modern Egypt: Cairo's Urban Reshaping* (Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2006).

[14] Gender embodiment in space and the politics of identity under the neoliberal era was another dominating issue covered in the work of: Saba Mahmood, *Politics of Piety: The Islamic Revival and the Feminist Subject* (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 2005), Anouk de Koning, *Global Dreams: Class, Gender, and Public Space in Cosmopolitan Cairo* (Cairo ; New York: American University in Cairo Press, 2009), and Paul Amar, *The Security Archipelago ; Human-Security States, Sexuality Politics, and the End of Neoliberalism*, 2013.

All these projects studied the neoliberal effect in the city and had successfully connected it to the larger framework of globalization. Many of the assumptions take for granted that the spaces and effects generated in the city, post the nineteen-nineties to the present, were in fact the byproduct of the neoliberal policies. Many of the researches highlighted the ruptures that neoliberalism had produced in terms of segregation and societal discrimination. However, surprisingly few scholars depicted that these spaces are mechanisms of control, discipline, and concentration of power, which had its long-standing history before neoliberalism. A detailed work that questions, whether those "compounds" existed before neoliberalism is surprisingly missing –more so missing, is a study that traces the authoritarian legacy and the military influences on the production of these compounds. In other words, a history of the evolution of these housing compounds in relationship to the local forces of governmentality and citizen-formation is still missing. Building new compounds is not anew and is deeply rooted in the modern history of the city and the countryside. And despite this fact, every time a settlement is expanded onto the periphery, it is branded as the *new moderne*.[15] It develops the same logic of ""de-populating the center" had proved its "mega-failure"[16] If building on the periphery did not succeed in attracting residents from the city proper, and yet, the state continues to do so –so why does the state insist on such project of spatial growth towards the desert on its edges?

In hindsight, there had been no research examining the new compounds as a form of spatial governmentality across the rural and the urban regions beyond the framework of neoliberalism and global influences. How did the architecture of control and dominance develop through time? How did discipline, subject-formation, and the control of hygiene play out in the design of these compounds? How did these registers differ from one political economy to another? In short,

---

[15] "The years 1999 and 2000 saw the official inauguration of another set of provincial twin towns. These were New Qena, New Sohag, New Fayoum, New Asyut, and Tiba (near Luxor), although some of these desert sites had witnessed earlier development. All were in Upper Egypt, target populations varied widely from 100,000 (New Fayoum) to 750,000 (New Asyut), and all were a short distance into the desert from their established twins. With this recent wave of six new towns added to the previously established fifteen, it would seem that the Egyptian government certainly had its hands full, with a total of twenty-one new towns, none of which (except Fifteenth of May) have yet to reach even a tiny fraction of their target populations. But no, the rollout continued. The NUCA website has a map that indicates that other new towns are in the works: these include al-Alamein al-Gadida, Port Said East, al-Akhmim al-Gadida, and al-Aqsur al-Gadida. There is also discussion of yet other types of new towns called '*mudun al-milyuniya,*' which, as their name suggests, are targeted at a million—or is it multiple millions? — inhabitants. One such new town has been suggested far in the desert west of Sixth of October, another west of al-'Ayyat (in Giza Governorate), and another at al-Alamein. Who knows what other new towns are yet to be invented? As far back as 1997 NUCA produced a list of forty-four new towns "proposed till 2016/2017," which pushed the fantasy of planners to new limits. In contrast to other already established new towns, these were liberally sprinkled over almost all of Egypt's deserts In total these forty-four new towns are to have an enormous 6.7 million "inhabitants at full implementation," with individual city (Sims 2015, 130) targets ranging from 60,000 to 400,000 persons. The combined residential areas are to extend over 153,000 feddans and the total allocated areas (presumably to include buffer zones and associated agriculture) amount to 1.79 million feddans. None of these forty-four new cities had appeared as of 2014." (Ibid., 133) To summarize, "these new towns were failing to attract even a fraction of their population targets. It seems that officials and planners were enamored with their own utopian and determinist approaches, where 'supply-side' concepts of social engineering held sway. This approach could be summed up as follows: "We design and build to an urban ideal, and the right numbers of the right kinds of people will necessarily follow." In fact, one NUCA official expressed precisely the same logic in another way in 1990, which said, "We have to complete our plans. We cannot look to see if people come or not. They will come." (Ibid., 126)

[16] David Sims, *Egypt's Desert Dreams: Development or Disaster?* (Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2015).

before jumping towards a universal theory of connecting the contemporary gated communities to the global circuits of capital flow, coming from the Arab Gulf states or Europe or the U.S., let's analyze the local forces at play and the design concepts of these "new" projects. As a different approach, why wouldn't we look at them as "spaces of modernity" reflecting the social control and the spirit of the age. What this research implies is that the housing compounds built on the periphery are historical projects of discipline and expansion. What we are witnessing today is just the latest version of this genre that is manipulated to benefit global capitalism.

It is true that the latest of these genres of compounds had been growing in an unprecedented manner due to the catalytic shifts in rules and regulations affecting the housing market. The mushrooming of gated communities and its rate of expansion, subsequently, became a research topic for some Cairo scholars, especially with the structural adjustment program,[17] which the International Monetary Fund (IMF) had supported.[18] Moreover, the 1996 housing rent law and the 2001 mortgage law, and government public spending added more spatial inequality through a biased distribution of public funding. This was evident in the extension of high roads and infrastructure to these private enclaves resulting in the institutionalization of socio-spatial inequality.[19] The real estate boom catered for the upper- and upper-middle-classes despite the fact that this boom was not resolving the Egyptian housing crisis.[20] Around forty percent of the units were left vacant because of speculation and affluent families securing future residences for their sons when they grow up and get married, continued to buy and invest in these units (ibid,

---

[17] Since the 1990s, and the law had been appropriated to serve the elite for the building of gated communities as Eric Denis (2006), and Wael Fahmi and Sutton (2008) pointed out. "The current regime redirects and displaces the urgency of law and the immediate interests of Egypt's elites through the affirmation of market and security systems, of which the gated communities are a prominent feature." (Denis 2006, 49) New Cairo city, built on the eastern outskirts of metropolitan Cairo, originally started as scattered satellite settlements. Later officials and planners merged settlements number, 1, 3, and 5, forming the new town-plan. Initially the area was named Katameya, and was inhabited in 1992 by earthquake victims officially relocated by the government to public housing in settlement 3. Private Gated Communities have been created at Katameya Heights with a first phase of 521 villas around an 18-hole golf course in 1994 with prices ranging from US $258,000 to US $430,000 (Fahmi and Sutton 2008). In 1996 an existing low-income tenement housing project overlooking Katameya Heights was stopped and truncated (287). The official reason given was "building irregularities," but Fahmi and Sutton argue that incompatibility with nearby villa developments and with "gated communities" appear more likely. This occurs when granting land for the elite especially on the periphery. In the case of New Cairo, settlement number 3 that consisted of earthquake shelters removed for its close proximity to *Kattemeya Heights* compound, a settlement resided by the extreme rich elite. It represents the extravagant congregate of political and economical power - a "fortified citadel" using Peter Marcuse's terminology, in, Peter Marcuse, "The Enclave, the Citadel, and the Ghetto: What has Changed in the Post-Fordist U.S. City," *Urban Affairs Review* 33, no. 2 (1997): 228–64.

[18] The IMF hailed the Egyptian regime and the inequality it pursued in the development of the housing market. In a state of denial, the IMF 1997 report published the Egyptian Stabilization Report hailing the economical progress, despite an aggravating housing crisis (Fahmi and Sutton 2008, 295). The economical and planning incompetence as intervening determinants to the explosion of Cairo gates are not all too simple, and incorporate wicked transformation in the local politics. The gates are the manifestation of the spatial injustices of the 1991 economical structural adjustment program orchestrated by the IMF (Singerman and Amar 2006).

[19] Wael Fahmi and Keith Sutton, "Greater Cairo's Housing Crisis: Contested Spaces from Inner City Areas to New Communities," *Cities* 25, no. 5 (October 2008): 277–97.

[20] Fahmi and Sutton argue that the housing crisis is structural in the housing laws' adjustments together with neoliberal policies and practices (2008). Fahmi and Sutton argue that, "The failure of official New Town policies and Master Plan guidelines have contributed to Greater Cairo's housing crisis" (285). As a result of the 1996 law the housing scene was characterized by increasing numbers of rural migrants and by the urban poor in Cairo quietly occupying state/public lands and cemeteries on the outskirts of the city, creating spontaneous communities (*ashwaiyyat*), in order to escape high rents.

295). Besides the formal laws, there were other "non-market arrangements" exacerbating the growth of gated communities such as the family network enterprises and blurred public-private partnerships.[21] The political regime fostered those arrangements.

Furthermore, to extend roads, build walled communities, a set of autocratic surveillance and policing measures took place. Mitchell was critical of the IMF reports that praised the housing boom while discounted the kinds of force and coercion that associated this boom. The remilitarization of power and no right to organize political opposition, no right to public activities, no free speech or freedom of expression with thousands of political prisoners detained without court orders or juridical process were some measures of many others.[22] As of today, many people are facing military trials based on the fluid article in the new constitution of 2014. According to Mitchell, "An economy is assembled out of a variety of agencies and forces, some human and some non-human."[23] The nonhuman elements are never passive and their outcome can be quite surprising, as the cement kiln, the real estate rudiment construction material, or ring road and expressways. His apotheosis is that, "The procure of economic reform in Egypt was a work of theory and violence."[24] In other words, the prerogatives of private ownership require new rounds of violence, policing, and economic argument.[25]

'Family-Business Networks' Analysis

The early studies of gated communities lacked am in-depth examination of the differences in between them, except for a few articles and book chapters. Timothy Mitchell,[26] Petra Kuppinger,[27] Eric Denis,[28] and Fahmi and Sutton,[29] are only a few examples drawing variations. One approach to studying the variations between the built gated communities is to trace the family of business networks behind each one. Mitchell provides a detailed account of the state-subsidized business families such as Bahgat, Seoudi, Mohamed Mahmud, Mansour, Arabian International, Osman, and Orascom. The latter count as no more than five percent of the population. Many activities largely involved constructions,[30] and operate through civilian and military contracts.[31]

---

[21] Timothy Mitchell, *Rule of Experts: Egypt, Techno-Politics, Modernity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 298.

[22] Ibid., 297.

[23] Ibid., 298.

[24] Ibid., 301.

[25] The means of realizing such economy is characterized with violence. Mitchell builds on Marx's definition of violence as a "common instrument" to capitalist development. Mitchell argues that "the violence becomes something residual", either the unexpected side effect of the development or merely the contingent instrument of its logic. (Ibid., 290-98)

[26] Timothy Mitchell, "Dreamland: The Neoliberalism of Your Desires," *Middle East Report* Spring 1999 (1999), %3chttp://www.merip. org/mer/mer210/mitch.htm%3e, Mitchell, *Rule of Experts,* (2002).

[27] Petra Kuppinger, "Exclusive Greenery: New Gated Communities in Cairo," *City & Society* 16, no. 2 (December 1, 2004): 35–61.

[28] Eric Denis, "Cairo as Neoliberal Capital? From Walled City to Gated Communities," in *Cairo Cosmopolitan: Politics, Culture, and Urban Space in the New Globalized Middle East*, ed. Diane Singerman and Paul Amar, 2006th ed. (Cairo; New York: American University in Cairo Press, n.d.), 47–71, http://hal.archives-ouvertes.fr/docs/00/37/92/02/PDF/2006_Denis_gated_communities.pdf.

[29] Fahmi and Sutton, Greater Cairo's Housing Crisis, 2008.

[30] Mitchell, *Rule of Experts,* 281-82.

[31] Ibid., 285.

One strong family business network is the Bahgat group, the biggest producer of televisions in the Middle East with a dominant position in the Egyptian market, were the builders of the Internet wired Dreamland. Dr. Ahmed Bahgat, the family head, was reputed to be a front man for unpublicized moneymaking by the Mubarak family, which may explain why the express road of July 26th was extended so rapidly to Dreamland,[32] connecting it to the city proper and accordingly increased its property value — its dwelling units were quickly sold out in the sales offices of Jeddah, Saudi Arabia and the other Arab Gulf states. The financial strategy was to attract the remittances of Egyptian expats as well as the capital wealthy Arabs offering them a resort summer vacation in Cairo, yet filtered from its pollution, traffic, and social diseases.[33]

The architecture of Dreamland gated community conforms to the international standards of an 18-hole golf course, a water and green spillover in the middle of the desert, and conforms more to the Arab and Muslim appearances of wealth and consumerism. Eric Denis writes: "Islam and Arabness are referenced in a way closer to the iconography of Disney's Aladdin or Sinbad rather than to the culture of austerity, modesty, and self-discipline identified with contemporary Islamic populism and militancy." Baghat explains that it was after a visit to Celebration (the private ideal community built by the Walt Disney Corporation in Orlando, Florida) that he conceived of Dreamland. He started with Dream-park, a private amusement park, mimicking Disneyland in the construction of a Mickey Mouse pacified utopian American society and Ritzer's sociological Macdonaldization.[34] Highlighting these articulations within reshaping the local and global space, the architectural design models and the forms of appropriations by residents are "hybridized," mixing local and Arab regional influences as much as they correspond to values from global cities.[35] There is a bitter sense of truth when it comes down to the production and experience of these spaces. The utopian vision of designing, building, and offering idealistic perfect accompanied a dominating control and an authoritarian business typology in which the Internet provider, the food stores, restaurants, cinemas, and satellite cable network was owned by the Bahgat group. The only exception was the operating companies of Hilton and Sheraton hotels that were still owned by Ahmed Bahgat. This monopoly worked against his favor with an increased despise of residents, who were not permitted to subscribe to other internet providing companies offering better service due to his control over the enclave's cables.[36]

A second strong family business network is the Talaat Moustafa Group (TMG). This one was close to the family of President Anwar Al-Sadat. Moustafa built his fortune through the construction of military infrastructures from the 1970s.[37] His son Hisham Moustafa leveraged the

---

[32] Ibid.

[33] Based on an interview with the sales manager of Dreamland in Cairo, 2010.

[34] Khaled Adham, "Cairo's Urban Déjà vu: Globalization and Urban Fantasies," in *Planning Middle Eastern Cities: An Urban Kaleidoscope Ina Globalizing World*, ed. Yasser Elsheshtawy (London ; New York: Routledge, 2004), 134–68.

[35] Nezar AlSayyad, "From Vernacularism to Globalism: The Temporal Reality of Traditonal Settlements," *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review: Journal of the International Association for the Study of Traditional Environments Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review: Journal of the International Association for the Study of Traditional Environments* 7, no. 1 (1995): 13–24.

[36] Based on an interview with a resident of Dreamland in Cairo, 2011.

[37] Eric Denis, "Cairo as Neoliberal Capital? From Walled City to Gated Communities," in *Cairo Cosmopolitan: Politics, Culture, and Urban Space in the New Globalized Middle East*, ed. Diane Singerman and Paul Amar, 2006th ed. (Cairo; New York: American University in Cairo Press), 55.

family business into the five-star hotel construction of the Four Seasons, Kempinski hotels in the Garden City of Downtown Cairo, and the luxurious San Stefano Hotel in Alexandria. These hotels hosted the meetings of the National Democratic Party of Mubarak. French interior architect designed condominiums inside the Four Seasons hotel and granted for Mubarak's wife, sons, and other key politicians of the ousted regime in exchange for business concessions. Moustafa built an entire satellite city, Al-Rehab, in the east of Cairo with 150,000 residents in 1996. Al-Rehab phase one was followed by a second phase in 2006. Later TMG embarked on an even grander satellite settlement called Madinaty with an expected 250,000 residents further to the east — branded as an "International City on Egyptian soil," in 2008. In 2006, Mubarak visited al-Rehab and praised Hisham Moustafa. Among those generals who lived in Al-Rehab gated community was Ahmed Shafik, a former candidate for the presidency of Egypt, the last prime minister of Mubarak, and a senior commander in the Egyptian Air Force.[38]

After the 2011 revolution and the rising power of the Muslim Brotherhood, Al-Rehab City private management offered them an office space to open a political party branch inside the private compound to serve residents belonging to the group. In the opening ceremony of the political branch, the Muslim Brother's Supreme Leader and General Guide, Mohamed Badie and the later to become Egypt's President Mohamed Morsi was received in the compound's ballroom. This event and the private management attitude stirred a huge backlash from some seculars, and Mubarak's— and the military's— supporting residents.

The architecture of Al-Rehab gated community conforms to the Egyptian community desire for a balanced density, sense of community with the availability of food services varying from traditional markets to franchised American fast food such as Macdonald's and Pizza Hut. Unlike Dreamland and Katameiya Heights, Al-Rehab does not include a golf course or specifically target wealthy Arabs as their homeowners. In an interview with the executive chair of its engineering sector, he explained that Moustafa's strategy was to address a pool of local homebuyers, young entrepreneurs, and professionals climbing the ladder. The lush boom of the real estate market had neglected the "ordinary citizens" and their purchasing power — in their pursuit of extracting maximum profit from the super-rich.[39] About seventy percent of the enclave is designated to five floors apartment buildings. It includes "50 different models having various apartment sizes that range from 58 square meters to 306 square meters to satisfy all needs and tastes of our clients."[40] The developer commissioned the architecture of the compound to several architectural and urban planning firms, Dar Al-Handasah, Mahmoud Yousri, Medhat Dorra, as well as others. They produced a wide range of late modern, postmodern and commercial architectures in a similar to Cairo neighborhoods of Dokki and Mohandeseen. In an interview with a famous local magazine, Hisham Talaat Moustafa presented himself as the inheritor of the Baron Empain, a Belgian settler and investor in Egypt who founded in 1905 the sumptuous urban oasis Heliopolis. Empain linked Heliopolis that was then in the middle of the desert -to the east of Cairo- to the city center by a tramway that he privately owned and profited from (Denis 2005, 55). Mimicking the tram of Empain in reaching out to the heart of the city, TMG established a private transportation service with buses covering all al-Rehab districts and connecting it with

---

[38] "Talaat Moustafa presented a Villa as a gift for Senior Air Force Commander Ahmed Shafik in Al-Rehab City," http://www1.youm7.com/NewsPrint.asp?NewsID=743888, in Arabic, 19th of July, 2012.
[39] A semi-structured interview with Al-Rehab developer's architect and executive engineer, 5th of December 2010
[40] http://www.alrehabcity.com/rehab2011/Appartments.aspx, accessed October 11, 2014.

Cairo throughout the day with a rigorous time schedule, exclusively and free of charge to its residents. During my interviews with Al-Rehab residents, who belonged to various political and social backgrounds, local and foreigners, there was an inherited sense of pride for living in Al-Rehab. This was evident in the way many expressed themselves in several occasions, "I am a Rehabian citizen."

A third strong family business network is IGI Real Estate, the development arm of the International Group for Investments.[41] IGI pioneered in the delivery of premium residential gated communities in Egypt since 1997,[42] building the infamous Hay al-Ashgar, or the Trees Neighborhood (written in their logo as only al-Ashgar), and Gardenia Park I and II.

The architecture of Gardenia Park is a gated community mimicking California's Irvine houses. It aims for the upper rich with a little over 82 acres and 250 villas. On the opposite side of the freeway, across Cairo-Wahat road, another gated community, Hay Al-Ashgar, of 250 acres was erected of 87% apartment buildings (3,000 units) with 2.7% villas and townhouses. Hay Al-Ashgar is designed for young families and starting professionals still within the reach of an upper-middle class (Kuppinger 2004, 46). The architect involved is Dar Al-Handasah, who has branches in Cairo and Beirut, expanded by buying the infamous American firm Perkins+Will. Mohamed Abdel-Mohsen Sheta, the frontrunner of the group is a well-known tycoon who benefitted from Sadat's open door economy. Established in 1973, IGI is the parent to a large family of diversified companies with activities including petroleum, industrial services, boiler and steel fabrication, trade in various commodities and consumer goods, cosmetics, electronics, communications and high-tech equipment, agricultural activities, food processing and dairy products, landscaping and real estate.[43]

IGI is also a partner in several joint ventures in the information technology business, the stock trading field, and the entertainment industry. The group spans the globe, located in Cairo, Geneva, Moscow, Baghdad, Damascus, and Khartoum. In an investigation report, INCOME -the parent company of IGI, was allegedly making business with the onetime fugitive billionaire Marc Rich, the most-wanted white-collar criminal in U.S. history until his controversial pardon on President Bill Clinton's last day in office in 2001. Hesham Sheta, vice-chairman of INCOME, confirmed in a 2005 interview with the business week that "Marc Rich has been INCOME's 'agent' [oil trader] since 1990" and that Rich bought Iraqi crude from INCOME in 2001.[44]

On the crony relationship with Mubarak, Mohamed Sheta was a member of the board of al-Nasr Company for steam boilers during the 1990s divestiture-drive, originally built during the state-led industrialization under President Gamal Abdel Nasser in 1962. Al-Nasr Company was among the first big enterprises sold for privatization in 1994 to an American-Egyptian joint venture company. His two sons Hesham and Khaled Shetta were shareholders in the purchasing company, Babcock and Wilcox-Egypt (which is a joint venture company with 49 percent of its

---

[41] http://www.igi-realestate.com/Default.aspx, accessed in September 13, 2014.
[42] http://www.amcham.org.eg/member_center/membersdatabase/View_Member_Details.asp?MI=1940,and https://www.linkedin.com/company/igi-real-estate, accessed in September 13, 2014.
[43] http://www.bizearch.com/company/International_Group_For_Investment_172060.htm, accessed in September 13, 2014.
[44] http://www.businessweek.com/stories/2005-07-17/the-rich-boys, accessed in September 13, 2014.

stocks held by Egyptians). Ironically enough, according to Amr Adly, the father's signature appears on one side of the contract whereas his sons' appear on the other. In September 2011, (post Jan-25 Uprising), the Supreme Administrative Court held the sale contract of the company to be invalid and restored the remaining assets to the state. The court case revealed striking details of corruption, conflict of interest and asset stripping in which big business were implicated with public officials. It is reported that Sheta was among the closest businessmen to Mubarak and the ruling family by the 1990s. It has been equally reported that his two sons, Hesham and Khaled were close associates of Gamal Mubarak, the president's son, as well.[45]

It is clear from the Bahgat, Moustafa, and Sheta families, the parallel patterns running across their cases — they are financially strong, diverse, and solid. However, the differences are uncanny. Moustafa's backbone is the Alexandria Construction Company that gave the Group a boost in building large-scale gated communities almost ten times the area of Al-Ashgar and one and a half times the area of Dreamland. It erected al-Rehab and was expanding to an even greater challenge of Madinat capitalizing on its reputation for handing in units in a timely manner including infrastructure and building amenities, and with a challenging market price. Also to offering free services like the bus transportation that appeals to the convenience and satisfaction of their residents. Unlike Ahmed Bahgat's case with Dreamland, Talaat Moustafa's Al-Rehab continued to boom after his crash. Ahmed Bahgat's business was a "one-man show" [sic], making Dreamland sales and real-estate stock fall acutely after fainting in a US business trip. On the opposite, Hisham Moustafa was imprisoned in 2008 for participating in the murder of his Lebanese girlfriend and singer. Al-rehab continued to phase II investment with his brother Tarek Moustafa taking over the company in an extraordinarily political and economical maneuver that saved the family's business. All and above, Al-Rehab is still private and exclusive, yet maintains a mixed social density reflecting its postmodern architectural style.

A Historical "Déjà-vu" Analysis

Departing away from the micro-analysis of family businesses, the free-market arrangements, and housing speculation (Mitchell 2002, Fahmi and Sutton 2008), some scholars envisioned the enclaves of Cairo as a revival of a colonial history of an urban renaissance, or *nahda 'umraniya* (Kuppinger 2004, Denis 2006). The new colonial Renaissance was a symbiotic sign of the new liberal and neocolonial city intertwined. According to Denis, it was built on the contours of risk, ecological malfunction, and the privatization of democracy that aimed at producing a new settler as well as producing a new peasant and a new urban resident (62). This phenomenon retrieved the material framework of colonial nostalgia referring to nineteenth century Khedive Ismail, the borrowing of Haussmann's Parisian urban-style and the later construction of the Oasis Heliopolis in the middle of the desert to the east of Cairo in 1905 (Denis 2006, 49:55). He highlighted the fake "liberalization" of the state in branding these enclaves; these liberties are only restricted to exclusive citizens. The walled communities represented a "privatized democracy" in restricted zones, which were contested by the revolution of 2011.

---

[45] Amr Adly, 2011. Mubarak 1990-2011:The State of Corruption, in Arab Reform Initiative. (p.16) http://www.arab-reform.net/sites/default/files/Mubarak_1990-2011_The_State_of_Corruption.pdf, assessed in September 24, 2014.

Using a different methodology, Kuppinger unfolds the variations between the gated communities and how some of them build on a colonial French, British, and Khedival's history.[46] She compared the promised lifestyle that each promoted in their advertising campaigns.[47] Though this breaks the misconceived homogeneity of Cairo's gates,[48] the remains a cosmetic analysis as it is based on advertised material (2004).[49] So far, the variations within the gates of Cairo are the products of the family-business network, its nature and capacity, and the material culture of its promotional campaign to address a targeted pool of residents, mediating between the Orientalist and the culturally appropriate norms.

Khaled Adham attempted to give the gated communities a historical depth beyond the material culture of paper brochures (2004). This depth was still limited to external observations, which were impressive but did not analyze how the new gated-communities were different or intersecting from the old suburban settlements in terms of spatial governmentality and subject-

---

[46] Kuppinger uses content and graphic analysis of their promotional materials, rather than analyzing them as an all-in-one group. She classifies gated communities in two respectively large categories, the localization of the abstractly global projects versus the globalization of local models. Building such analysis on a duality between the local and the global is itself problematic because it sets the theoretical engagement on basis of binary oppositions neglecting the wide array of possibilities and hybridity that exist in between. Hybrid urbanism is a sophisticated arena that negotiates the politics of multiple-identities (Bhabha 2004, King 1991, Jacobs 1996, Yeoh 1996). This literature offers a critique to globalization and postcolonial literature breaking away from traditional dualities, however and unfortunately Kuppinger dismisses the literature of global cultural studies.

[47] Kuppinger argues that the marketing variations play on "distance" as a branding tool to target particular pools of buyers and tenets. Distance subscribes to geographical distance and a cultural one. She places Al-Ashgar in the "globalizing the local" category, in which it brands itself as a duplicate of Cairo's neighborhoods yet without its ill architecture, ecology, social, unsafe, and traffic problems (46). This is further reflected in their Arabic logo, and their promotional language mainly addressing children's safety and schools' programs to attract families. In the second category, Kuppinger argues that it is an orientalist approach to "localizing the global abstract" (ibid).

[48] Following a detailed analysis of the use of English/French names on the compound and housing models, logo styles, lush amenities, and building amenities, she illustrates: Gardenia Park, Mena Garden City, Royal Hills and Belle Ville. She concludes that these cases disconnect from reality, investing on a cultural distance to aim for a wealthier elite (2004, 52). In Gardenia Park brochures, it promises a prospective community — a "very well selected community" where "extreme privacy and security is [sic] guaranteed … through only one entrance gate and a professional property-management team" (47). Royal Hills is another example of a small exclusive community with all models (for the only 200 villas) carry the names of modern female royalty. The largest and most elaborate models (both exceeding a royal 1100 square meters) are called Queen Victoria and Queen Elizabeth, drawing an interesting link to Egypt's former colonial power. The only model named after Egyptian royalty, Queen Farida, is barely 700 Sqm. Other regional royalty, Queen Farah (Iran) scores 670 Sqm, while Queen Alia (Jordan) is the namesake for the second smallest unit at only 346 Sqm (48). The French entitled gate of Belle Ville house only 77 units to emerge as a postmodern pastiche of elements drawn from a Southern Californian landscape, "dotted with Spanish names, brushed up with French elegance and history (see seal-like logo), and finally spiced up or localized with Middle Eastern arches and balconies." In such a context "eastern arches" are just one stylistic element of a larger repertoire to localize a global scheme. (48)

[49] What is ironic is that the Sheta family, the IGI group, developed both Hay Al-Ashgar and Gardenia Park, an example of mediating architecture in two distinct modes, of globalizing the local versus localizing the global, to generate capital and extract wealth from all potential buyers. It is a proof evidences how some developers care less for building an overall socially sustainable metropolis. Sheta distanced the possibility of any density mix between Al-Ashgar (mostly apartment buildings) and Gardenia (all villas), despite both were the group's seed projects, and despite of land availability. Clearly IGI is against any social-mixed of density between the upper-middle and upper classes. When they bought the adjacent land to Gardenia Park, they extended it to Gardenia Phase II with only villas. And even this, they set a gate between both, the newcomers versus the veteran wealthy members, a clear intention of separation between the upper elite and upper-middle, thirst for more and more status distinction and further segregation.

formation. The analysis of what he called an "urban (suburban) déjà vu" did not discuss the nuances and ruptures of the contemporary gated communities. The analysis lacks the discussion of the security mechanisms of surveillance and how it transformed the industry of enclave governance. Retired military generals are mostly running those enclaves. The analysis again depended on what is being advertised by the real-estate developers on media outlets or few visits of the compound.

Two seminal works depicting the historical role of the military institution and their influence on the emergence and transformation of desert towns on the planning level are: David Sims's recent book, *Desert Cities* (2015),[50] and WJ Dorman article, *Exclusion and Informality: The Praetorian Politics of Land Management in Cairo, Egypt*, (2013).[51] Both works highlight the role of the military institution in the management and control of desert land on the periphery of existing cities. Between 1952 and 2004 alone, there were twenty-four laws issued that govern dealings with the desert public land, in addition to six presidential decrees, nine ministerial or prime ministerial decrees, and four military orders.[52] The most important laws are the "Desert Land Law" (Law 143 of 1981), mainly related to the supreme power of the military over land; the State Private Domain Law (Law 7 of 1991), mainly about means of disposal of public land to the sectorial agencies (ibid, 264). The "sectorial agencies" created in retrospect are quite remarkable in their structure; their head chiefs are usually retired military generals. Sims theorizes the control over public land and its planning as a "sectorial approach."[53] So how does this "sectorial approach" actually work?[54] How is land assigned or allocated?

"According to Law 143 of 1981 and evolved practice, there is a hierarchy of institutions through which approval for a *takhsis* (assignment or allocation) of desert land must pass before it is assigned. As first right, the Ministry of Defense may declare any area a military zone or one of strategic importance. Following this, the Supreme Council for Antiquities may declare an area to have historical remains or archaeological interest. Third, the Ministry of Petroleum and Mineral Resources may claim areas for petroleum or mineral extraction. Following this, priority for desert land lies in the following order: the Ministry of Agriculture and Land Reclamation (for land reclamation), the New Urban Communities Authority (for new towns), the Tourist Development Authority (for tourist projects), the General Authority for Industrial Development (for industrial zones), and finally the Egyptian Environmental Affairs Agency (for conservation areas.) In effect, before desert land is even designated for development it must pass through a confusing structure representing entrenched institutions with varying political clout, and this structure has itself contributed to the confusion and conflict over desert land."[55]

---

[50] David Sims, *Egypt's Desert Dreams: Development or Disaster?* (Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2015).
[51] W.J Dorman, "Exclusion and Informality: The Praetorian Politics of Land Management in Cairo, Egypt," *IJUR International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 37, no. 5 (2013): 1584–1610.
[52] Sims, *Egypt's Desert Dreams,* 265.
[53] Ibid., 263.
[54] "Another theme was the importance of planning as the "scientific method of directing and guiding the national economy," along with the importance of "higher planning authorities," which, as we shall see, would become often-used concepts in subsequent government plans for the spatial development of the country. Ibid., 122.
[55] Ibid., 263.

Dorman and Sims explicate how the state created entities to control desert lands starting under Nasser in the 1950s. This was challenged later in the 1990s and 2000s, but was hardly put in effect. As part of shifting powers from the military institution, Mubarak passed an important piece of legislation in 2001 that set up the National Center for Planning of State Land Uses (NCPSLU).[56] It was a super-agency directly reporting to the prime minister that was, on paper at least, given a wide range of powers and responsibilities over public land nationwide. These included inventorying all public land and preparing land use plans for its development, earmarking lands under each ministry's control, coordinating with ministries—and in particular the Ministry of Defense—all plans for and pricing of state land, and so on.[57] Curiously, this law also lay dormant until 2005, when the Prime Minister Ahmad Nazif, made the NCPSLU operational with a board of directors, a budget, and a general manager. "An interesting feature of the NCPSLU is that, although it is the prime minister who appoints its head, this is done "on recommendation" of the minister of defense. The first director, Omar El-Shawadfi, who served an eight-year term from 2005 to 2013, when he was appointed governor of al-Daqahlia, had been a general in military intelligence. Thus the military and its interests, always very much in the forefront of public land control, were further cemented."[58]

The analysis of Sims's does not offer much insight into the military's internal role inside the subdivisions and in particularly the gated communities. How do the military generals, real estate businessmen, and the residing elite negotiate power inside gated communities? Sims does not delve into how these projects are designed to produce citizens of what he abstractly mentioned "integer-citizen."[59] Sims's view is frequently a Google Earth perspective — although the book is

---

[56] Ibid., 271.

[57] Ibid.

[58] Sims, *Egypt's Desert Dreams,* 271. Sims covered the desert cities of Egypt from 1952 to 2014. Sims writes that 1996 marked the beginning of the "megaprojects" era, in which massive new schemes of desert development were regularly announced, a time when the "hyperbole seemed never to stop." What is unique in Sims' contribution is that it provides a rare piece of analysis in a "near void" of desert development literature. Sims has assembled a puzzle in which many of the pieces are missing or misshapen. He exposes a "particular information malaise in the Egyptian development discourse, that is, the almost total lack of hard information about projects and a glaring omission of any feedback on what has actually succeeded or failed." The picture that Sims creates, marshaling unruly and disparate data, is stunning. Google Earth acts as a revelatory technology, compensating for poor quality and out-of-date official maps — providing a "reality check" that frequently exposes huge discrepancies about what the government reports, and the actual situation on the ground. Sims covers case studies from the Sinai Peninsula to the coastal north of Alexandria to Upper Egypt, passing by Cairo's desert town settlements. The book is good on the level of policy makers revealing the discrepancy between the state claims desert development goals and actual failures. It is a book that is about testing truth-claims. In the Los Angeles Review Books, Patrick Keddie writes: "Ultimately, any successes are dwarfed by failure. Sims's writing is lucid and brisk, with an 'unadorned eloquence' —avoiding, where possible, "tiresome development jargon." Frustration and bewilderment occasionally seep out of the patient structure of the prose. "Mega-embarrassment," "mega-money losers," "megafantasies." Sims jacks up the vocabulary of excoriation in order to match the scale of desert development failure. "It seems as if the whole process is a kind of charity scheme aimed at benefiting certain political classes, especially the rich and influential," notes Sims. This results in the "wide-scale abuse and downright plunder of the state's most important asset." In 2012, when calling for reform of the land management system, ex-Prime Minister Essam Sharaf described the system as being like a *basbousa* (a traditional Middle Eastern cake) that was cut up and divided between big businessmen and regime cronies. Patrick Keddie, "Egypt's Megafantasies," *The Los Angeles Review of Books*, accessed May 7, 2015, https://lareviewofbooks.org/review/egypts-megafantasies/.

[59] In chapter seven, Sims acknowledges some crucial issues but he did not delve into addressing them. Why do governments insist on these projects despite of their failure? What is it about governmentally in the biopolitics sense of control? Sims states this but does not address in the book. For government agencies, "it seems almost as if the

stuffed full of on-the-ground photos — at an empirical remove from the human stories and psychologies at play. My work interjects in this sense in contributing to this notion of spatial agency, experts, and the design logic of building new housing settlements on the periphery.

Research Contribution

My work stands on different grounds given the nature of the methodology, methods, research approach, and position towards grassroots social movements. First, I develop an architectural methodology for tracing the design registers of hygiene, discipline, and housing prototypes of the new settlements in the colonial, post-colonial, post-national, and neoliberal periods. This methodology sets a whole different research project. It encapsulates what I conceptualize as "historicizing the immediate present" as a methodology and a different school of thought in writing an Architectural History for a context or a region. This methodology can also be deployed to think of other ways for writing a Global History of Architecture. It becomes a history of themes, design problems, and solutions. This approach is something I aim to take on in my future research and teaching endeavors.

Second, in terms of research methods: Given my training in visual analysis, close text reading, and ethnography, I tend to look at nuances and anecdotes to the more general universal patterns — which is a different point of departure to that of Sims and other Cairo interlocutors. Third, in terms of a research proposal: My work is primarily a Foucaultian analysis of the urban and rural growth in Egypt; it is not a Marxist or Lefebvrian analysis. However, it still speaks to the latter in terms of territorial expansion and the varying modes of suburbanizing the rural and urban form. In hindsight, the chapters depict the cycles of metropolitan growth from the 1940's to the present. I focus on spatial governance and the role of agents in this rural/urban development. The political economy shaped the spatial-agency controlling the disciplining of space at each historical period. Experts varied from the modernists, real estate developers, to the private-security sector, which is dominated by retired military generals. Again, even though my work lies within the pool of Foucaultian studies, it offers a critique to its trajectories highlighting aspects that Foucault dismisses in his white Euro-centric body of work. My research sheds light on the exercise of power and contours of the citizenry created when it comes to the housing question under military and religious authoritarian structures.

None of this literature clearly analyzes the intersections of the "family-business network" and the "military's "sectorial agencies"" when both come at work inside the gated communities. In chapters four, I explore these intersections at breadth based on a research fieldwork over more than 22-months of ethnography between 2010 and 2012. There are key issues that are missing in the study of contemporary gated communities: who is governing and managing those spaces? Who is the governed? Are they all equal in their power relations? How does the structure of power and security operate? In the contemporary era, with the supposedly neoliberal choice of exclusivity, how are residents being governed and securitized? And how do residents inside the currently gated communities contest those regulations. More importantly how did the 2011-revolt change the gated-community residents' perception, and moral and social engagement? How have some residents of the upper-middle class become political?

people to be moved are considered abstract "integer-citizens" who will simply submit the required forms and applications and, presto, will go on to occupy the houses and factories and farms that have been built for them. To use a phrase favored by economists, it is very much 'supply-side' thinking." (2015, 248)

In short, my work explains some voids in the existing literature and scholarly works by bringing up the anatomy of security and subject formation processes inside these projects. Using an architectural and anthropological angle of analysis, my research aims for: a) historicizing the design logic of the "compounds of modernity", b) analyzing spatial citizenship and the subject formation, c) the dynamics of governmentally at play inside these housing settlements, and d) unfolds the diversity and contestations of residents, which complicates any simple narrative of homogeneity and universal conformity.[60]

Enclave Urbanism

I have used the terms "compound," and "gated communities" interchangeably without clarifying their theoretical foundation. In a seminal essay for Peter Marcuse (1997), he lays out the different definitions of "enclave," "ghetto," and "citadel."[61] He provides a framework within which "segregation that is socially acceptable may be differentiated from that which is

---

[60] Since the emergence of gated communities, there had been two waves of gated communities. The first one led by Egyptian real-estate developers building for the elite an "escapist urbanism" from the city's problems. This first wave included the compounds such as "Dreamland", "Al-Rabwa", "Al-Rehab", etc. Remittances and money many buyers of these compounds had accumulated came from their work abroad during the eighties. Not all units were occupied; some were bought as a second house, weekend residence, and others bought it for their children when they get married in the future. The first round is the "Occidental Enthusiasm" in which returning immigrants from the United States like Ahmed Bahgat invest their capital in the production of a simulacra of Disneyland and Celebration Community in what is to be named "Dreamland." The first round is characterized by an "escapist motivation". This "Elite-Fear-Flight" led to the mushrooming growth of gated communities since the late 1990s based on discourses of fear from the Islamic Terrorist Groups, *Gama'at Islamiya,* or the urban poor inside informal settlements, *ashwa'eyat.* The reality of this "Escapist Urbanism" is the flee from the dilapidated urban core of Cairo where the government had "rolled-back" from maintaining the urban services and infrastructure, leaving it to decay. The high-end social classes flee to the city's fringes into low-dense gated communities like "Al-Rabwa" whereas the upper-middle flees into higher-dense gated communities as "Al-Rehab." In 2007, a change in the investment law allowed foreigners to own land unanimously. Foreign ownership of desert land represented the second wave of gated communities growth. Capital flow from the Gulf States, Qatari and Emirati real-estate development companies expanded this business of building gated communities and opening the market widely. Following the Dubai Model was used for marketing those units. Real-estate housing units aggressively soared and who could afford those units bought them and kept them, holding on to them. These were frozen capital that their capital value increased with time. In 2008, a third wave of gated communities expansion took place. This wave was, however, oriented towards the lower-middle income classes. The minister of housing, Ahmed Al-Maghraby, back then in 2008, announced that the low-income and fresh graduates should enjoy gated communities, saying this was one way for social justice. This statement came to enact the presidential housing program of Mubarak in 2005, by building housing units for the youth. The twist in the "gated communities for the low-income" was that the youth would build it for themselves: Build your house." Many youths had no experience in construction and fell victims of the contractors' greed and soaring building materials on the market. Another incident that pushed for the habitation of gated communities for the poor was the rockslide of Muqattam hill causing the death of residents living in informal settlements underneath. The state decided to relocate residents to the periphery and in some cases to the inside of already built compounds like the case of "Haram City". The compound was divided into two zones of extremely contrasting social classes. The real estate developer Sawiris had no choice but to subdue to the state power, and in his turn he forced the status quo onto his residents. With time, the forced eviction of informal settlements inside the heart of Cairo was to make room for this space for master-scheme gentrification projects for urban renewal of the capital making up Cairo 2050. People's revolt in 2011 put an end to that master-scheme, of course.

[61] Peter Marcuse, "The Enclave, the Citadel, and the Ghetto: What Has Changed in the Post-Fordist U.S. City." *Urban Affairs Review*, vol. 33, No. 2, (November 1997), 228-264. Marcuse argues that the ghetto was the "result of the involuntary spatial segregation of a group that stands in a subordinate political and social relationship to its surrounding society"; the citadel "was created by a dominant group to protect or enhance its superior position"; and the enclave was "a voluntarily developed spatial concentration of a group for purposes of promoting the welfare of its members" (228).

undesirable."[62] Enclave is, "Generally seen as positive; members of a particular population group... It is an area of spatial concentration in which members of a particular population group, self-defined by ethnicity or religion or otherwise, congregate as a means of protecting and enhancing their economic, social, political and/or cultural development." Enclaves are typically composed of immigrants or cultural groups (in terms of religion, etc.), rather than [blacks], they are perceived somewhat differently. Since enclaves are largely seen as *voluntary congregations* rather than outcasts, they are free to participate in the outside economy, but many choose not to simply because of the prosperity already existing within their enclave.[63]

Marcuse uses the term "desirable clustering" instead of "segregation" when describing "upper class" and "voluntary enclaves." When a population comes together in a settlement by the virtue of their own will, it is a consciously determined action. This is not always the case for segregation. Segregation includes an act of force dictated by the state or a developer. "*Segregation* is the process by which a population group is forced, i.e. involuntarily, to cluster in a defined spatial area, in a ghetto. It is the process of formation and maintenance of a *ghetto*." The example of New Gourna fits into this category, as I will explain in the following chapter.[64] "*Congregating* is the voluntary coming together of a population group for purposes of self-protection and advancement of its interests, other than through domination or exclusion. It is the process of formation of an *enclave*." The Village of Tomorrow and Nasr City falls into these categories. Citizens moved there as for social advancement and to reside away from the dysfunctional old village and old neighborhoods respectively.

"Walling out" is another key term that Marcuse laid out. It "is the voluntary coming together of a population group for purposes of self-protection and advancement of its interests through the mechanism of excluding others." It is a process of building an *exclusionary enclav*e. Al-Rehab City is an example of this. Spaces inside the enclave are not all equal and the same. There is another level of distinction and special zones inside the enclave, the exclusive divisions inside the enclave. A case in point is the special subdivisions and areas zoned out within the walls of Dreamland compound in Cairo.[65]

---

[62] Ibid., 228.

[63] In many cases, immigrants/ cultural groups *have* chosen to expand their businesses outside of their enclaves, and in the process familiarize the outside population with their culture, opening the door to potential integration. Where outcast ghettos are seen as a burden, enclaves can present a wealth of economic opportunity, and sometimes are essential to the upkeep of the mainstream economy of an area.

[64] There is a difference between "clustering" and "segregation," the first is voluntary while the other is forced by the state or market mechanisms of dispossession. *"Clustering* is the coming together of a population group in space. It is the generic term for the formation of any area of spatial concentration." This is a mode or "area of spatial concentration of a population group. It is the generic term covering any concentration of members of a particular group, however defined, in space, at a scale larger than a building."

[65] "While divisions by function and cultural divisions are in general voluntary, divisions by status are not. No group desires low status; it is imposed on them. While those of higher status maintain their separation voluntarily, they need the means to impose it on those of lower status against their wills. Thus divisions by status require, implicitly or explicitly, the use of force, and in a civilized society such force is (at least in theory) a monopoly of the state." About New Gourna's partitioning: "The state's role in establishing the involuntary lines of division that reflect status/power is in both events central in the active process we call *partitioning* in our contributions to this book. It is this partitioning along lines of power, implemented by the state, with which we are primarily concerned, for it is they we consider the most threatening to the prospects for a democratic and just city. And they may be particularly damaging when they use and are reinforced by divisions of culture and/or function." See Marcuse, The Enclave, the Citadel, and the Ghetto, 1997, 228-264.

Pierre Hamel and Roger Keil (2015) depicted that the more recent use of the term "enclave urbanism" has come to mean less the ethnic enclaves of which Marcuse writes and more the urban "citadel" first described by Friedmann and Wolff (1982). They introduced the term "citadel" to refer to spaces that served the needs of transnational elites and their immediate retinues who rule the economic life of the city. But as Marcuse rightly notes, such "fortified communities" are widespread and thus no longer restricted to those "at the very top of the international hierarchy" (1997, 247). Building on Marcuse's analytical definitions, Hamel and Kiel suggest that the term "enclave" is a useful designation for spaces of habituation that embody distinction. In their study of "urban and suburban enclaves," they argue that it is not enough to consider protection; it is necessary to understand the need for sociological "distinction" (Hamel and Kiel 2015).[66]

The gated enclave is an example of "residential private government" (McKenzie, 2005). But it is also, as Low (2003, 390) notes, a "new spatial governmentally." McKenzie thus argues that what is at work is "the construction of a physical and institutional *pomerium*, or sanctified wall, around the affluent portions of an increasingly divided society" (McKenzie 2005, 188). Such fortified enclaves produce what Teresa Caldeira (2000, 4) has described as a "city of walls," "a space in which inequality is an organizing value."

However, gated communities are not universal. There are cultural differences that stand between the "exclusionary gated enclaves" based on their context. Anecdotal evidence and research in other regions defy the universal theory of attributing the global spread of gated communities to the US experience (Blakely and Snyder 1997, Glaze 2002, Low 2003). According to some cases, it would be wrong to assume that there are no indigenous innovations contributing to this global phenomenon (Webster et al. 2002, Atkinson and Blandy 2006). Nor should it be assumed that the drivers of local markets for private neighborhoods or the developments they produce are uniform between the same country and region. The spread of gated communities is subject to different theoretical explanations depending on the context's locality, culture, and its geopolitics. The spread of private neighborhoods, or common interest developments (CID), in the US during the 1990s may be interpreted as a continuation and aggravation of the "culture of privatism" (Judd & Swanstrom 1998, 426), a liberal urban development, which reflects an individualistic concept of democracy. There is a strong notion of "privatopia", building private utopias of self-distinction where the idea of individual freedom takes this priority over the idea of solidarity (McKenzie 1994).

Glasze conceptualizes the development of gated communities as "path-dependent" to local politics. Three kinds of institutions give particularity to "gated communities" in their contexts. Glaze referred to "formal state institutions" and "informal institutions," and I would add the third

---

[66] Pierre Hamel and Roger Keil, *Suburban Governance: A Global View*, 2015. Hamel and Kiel explain how it is necessary to interpret enclaves as the territorialization of freedom, in, Nezar AlSayyad and Ananya Roy, "Medieval Modernity: On Citizenship and Urbanism in a Global Era," *Space & Polity* Vol. 10, no. Issue 1 (Apr2006): 8. In a broader sense, gated enclaves give materiality to what Nikolas Rose (1999), deploying Foucault, has termed the "powers of freedom," the forms of governing that presuppose the freedom of the governed. In this sense, the gated enclave is an important technology of rule and of subjugation, one that operate through the double helix of liberty and property, freedom and protection, in, Nikolas S. Rose, *Powers of Freedom: Reframing Political Thought* (Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

one, which is "gated communities internal governance, management, and control." The third is what Atkinson and Blandy would refer to as "segregation within segregation". Developers offer those as a kind of concessions and provisional services for ascribing to their exclusive clubs. These services can be the quality of whole trade package of commercial, recreational, luxurious, and educational facilities. It also takes another shape of extra special covenants and exceptional allowances to affluent inhabitants seeking the exercise of their class power -a kind of "segregation within segregation", using Atkinson and Blandy's words.

The driving force to build gated communities varies from one place to another. In Lebanon, modern gated communities first emerged during the civil war (Glasze and Alkhayyal 2002). In South Africa, a post-apartheid society, "secure communities" proliferated as a result of institutionalized racism (Jurgens and Gnad 2002). In Saudi Arabia, gated communities proliferated as a "search for privacy and identity" for both the Saudis and the large community of expatriates. Both would enjoy their accustomed cultures and freedom privately, away from the culturally conservative public sphere (Glasze 2006). In Sao Paolo, gated communities were the haven for those who can afford them because of the "fear of crime" that increased to unbearable extents. Not all gated communities are built outside the city proper; some are erected as enclaves and condominiums with gigantic walls dividing the city into islands with relative security and resources (Caldeira 2000).

To contextualize the dissertation, I develop a history of the new housing compounds rising out of segregation, clustering, walling out, and enclaves. The state developed new settlements through involuntarily forced relocation and voluntary motivated relocation. I trace the experts' design logic of housing and the nature of citizenship that these spaces had promoted.

Research Methodology: Historicizing The Immediate Present

On one hand, the research methodology is based on historicizing the design logic of building "new" settlements on the periphery. On the other hand, the research methodology is based on historicizing the identity of the governed - the citizens who were relocated involuntarily or voluntarily chose to move to the new housing settlements. Architects, planners, and state officials have claimed three design principles to justify building new compounds on the periphery over the past sixty years.[67] These registers were: 1) hygiene, 2) discipline and control, and 3) housing variations. These registers have their roots in the modern history. I trace these registers historically until the present by testing the design claims of architects, planners, officials, and technocrats. In the 1940's, 1950's, and 1960's, modernist architects such as Hassan Fathy and Sayyid Karim, had been active in publishing their design statements in books and articles. Architectural magazines like the Egyptian *Majallat Al-'Imara wal-Fonoun*, the

---

[67] I conceive that the selection of research methodology depends on the nature of research problem in question. Paul Rabinow explains how research questions and methods are generated from probing the right research observations; "problematization" "directs our efforts toward inventing means of observing and analyzing how various *logoi* are currently being assembled into contingent forms" (Rabinow 2005, 41). In Rabinow's analyses, methods should provide us with the lens to observe the relationships of arbitrariness and contingency.

Magazine of Architecture and the Arts 1939-1957) was a forefront for disseminating knowledge in the field.[68]

Since the 1970's, architects, and urban planners were less active in publishing the design logic behind their own work. In analyzing the contemporary gated communities, I relied on semi-structured interviews with one of the urban planners of Al-Rehab City, Ahmed Yousry. Meanwhile, I also interviewed five retired military generals acting as Mayors and Security Managers of Al-Rehab, Dreamland, and Hay Al-Ashgar. Security Managers put a map over the urban plan design of the gated communities, originally set by the designer, to transform the enclave into a secured space. This process of securitization animate surveillance on the real ground. It summons what the 21st-century enclave represents. Having this as a key characteristic of today's enclave, it was essential to interview Security Managers to understand how security is rendered visible on the master plan. Besides this, I conducted an ethnographic fieldwork of more than 22-months inside these gated communities during the summers of 2008 and 2009, plus an extensive fieldwork from 2010 till 2012. I rely on close reading of the "security manual" that Security Managers use to train security agents. I analyze the "security maps" that Security Managers generated to animate control and surveillance over the compound. Beside that I conducted over thirty semi-structured interviews with residents of various gated communities.

Analyzing several cases of new settlements and studying the planning motivation logic since the 1940s, I hypothesize that three registers influenced the design of these settlements: hygiene, variations of housing units, and discipline. These three registers played varying roles in conceptualizing, implementing, and experiencing life inside the new settlements.

The visual material and advertisements of today's gated communities stress on the quality of green areas, open spaces, and often golf courses inside the compounds. Developers advertise the compounds of Sixth of October in particular as lying three meters above sea level claiming its air healthier and less polluted than that of the city proper. Salesmen market their product, the new housing settlements, by highlighting the differences between living on the periphery and the city proper. These differences are of course to the advantage of the compounds. Real estate developers and planners talk about the problems of the city in terms of pollution, crowdedness, lack of open spaces, adequate services, amenities, and infrastructure. Rather than thinking of ways and technologies for solving these issues, planners offer these new settlements as the answer to these problems. Instead of solving the issues at stake, experts and technocrats promoted leaving the city with its informality until it collapse and dilapidate. This spatial governing attitude is not new. Moreover, it has less to do with neoliberal economic structure or globalization, and more with a political framing for the future development. The answer to the lack of hygiene in the existing villages and cities was to build new housing settlements on the periphery.

---

[68] See Appendix showing the cover pages of the magazines with the main issues discussed. Issues of modernization, building materials, hygiene, technology, and planning and architectural design moved transversely with case studies across the rural and urban areas.

In the 1940's, Hassan Fathy and Sayyid Karim embarked on an individual mission driven by ethical positions and moral responsibility to modernize the dilapidating village condition. The peasant question and the issue of hygiene was one of the main concerns of modernist architects. Fathy tackled this issue in New Gourna (1944-1947) by reviving some elements that go back to Mamluk architecture. Additionally, he used vernacular Austrian furnaces and other traditional clothing materials used by Japanese farmers to protect the Egyptian villagers from Bilharzia worms inside swamps, and wetlands. As a design approach, Fathy leaned towards modernizing traditions and vernacular elements. Sayyid Karim had a different design approach to tackling hygiene in the village. Karim embraced the capitalist structure of feudal families and designed a Manor for the El-Alaily family (1946). In the Manor, he separated the livestock barn from the peasants' housing and created a different hanger structure for it believing this was a fundamental element in tackling hygiene. Furthermore, in his articles Karim promoted using advanced building materials of concrete and steel instead of clay. Nonetheless, in the Manor, Karim used mud-bricks for the peasants while used concrete for the livestock spaces. Fathy generated several housing models for the different social-class villagers. He argued that the New Gourna would offer better spatial arrangements than the old Gourna Village. On the other hand, Karim did not provide housing variations for the peasants. He designed only one model that would fit all peasant families regardless of size or social-class; peasants too had a social hierarchy amongst them.

In terms of discipline and control, Fathy urged on placing one of the Gourna tribes beside the police station to stay under their surveillance and scrutiny. He argued that the tribe inherited theft as a profession. Fathy's source of information was based on the government records. In Karim's design, on the other hand, the livestock was the central concern of the design. Karim allocated the livestock in a separate compartment with an intricate detailed circulation analyses. Karim "walled (them) out" inside a controlled environment; peasants were separated from the livestock compartment. The architecture of the barn was built with advanced building materials than that of the peasants' units, as I explain in chapter one. In other words, design protected and secured the livestock much more than the peasants of the Manor.

In the 1950s, the Modernist bloc of Architects -with the leadership of Sayyid Karim- proposed a National Program for Village Reform. On the pages of the *Magazine for Architecture and Arts*, Karim published their design projects and initiatives addressing the peasant question of hygiene, housing units, and discipline under the new political conditions after decolonization in 1952. With the military coup, a group of young military officers controlled the state bidding for a socialist pan-Arab agenda. Under the new conditions, Karim proposed a different configuration of space and design for the Village than the Manor project built few years earlier under the monarchy and feudal system. Advocating for building new villages, new tabula rasa on the periphery of existing ones, Karim called for cordoning off the villages and relocating the peasants. Under the new regime, the Transient Village or *Qaryet Al-Inteqal*, would be divided into two main compartments with separate functions: governmental bureaucratic institutions and peasants' housing. For hygiene purposes, the livestock circulation network inside the village was also separated from the villager's movement network. Hygienic control was done by creating "dirty corridors" on the perimeter of the new village separated from another "clean corridors" network inside the village. The latter network was only accessible to humans for "clean functions." Architects allowed for keeping livestock barns inside the peasants' housing units

until peasants gradually gave them up in the prescribed ladder for development and modernization. The spaces of livestock would then turn into green spaces in-between the housing units transforming the whole village into "The Village of Tomorrow." According to Sayyid Karim, this would add a different quality of hygiene to living in the village. Contrary to designing one housing model for peasants inside the El-Alaily Manor, inside the Village of Tomorrow, there were several housing design models acknowledging the variations of scale family and social class statuses present between the peasants. The modernist bloc did not design for security inside the nationalist village but focused on building peasantry discipline and subject-formation. Sayyid Karim designed a daily activity program for peasants; the village ascribed a military training onto peasants in small military centers inside the village. Karim designed a university village in the center with a curriculum called "Nationalist Upbringing" or *Tarbeiyah Qawmeiyah* was assigned — I will develop an analysis of these curriculums in a future research. Inside the bureaucratic quarter of the village, government buildings were designed as a vista at the end of wide green boulevards displaying another sign of power and control.

In the late 1950s and 1960s, Sayyid Karim introduced a new capital city for Cairo on its periphery. He framed it as, "A Capital inside a Capital" and was named *Madinet Nasr* or Nasr City. With the same symptoms of dilapidation, lack of green open spaces, and crowdedness with rural migrants squatting in the city slums, Karim proposed a slum clearance after moving citizens to the new "City of Tomorrow". Nasr City was planned as an L-shape with two quarters, one for governmental bureaucratic buildings, and the other was for residence. The residential apartment buildings clustered around a common open space. Public gardens were well distributed in the new housing settlement. In Nasr City, the architect presented variations in the housing units. There was a road network on the perimeter to cater for the industrial zone and dirty waste functions. Sayyid Karim offered three design models. In acknowledging the shifting political economy and change in private property ownership, he called for a gradual transformation towards the "socialist villa." There was the low-rise subdivision with limited private property ownership, yet sharing public services, infrastructure, and green spaces with the district. There were cooperative apartment buildings of five floors with shared facilities. Moreover, there were the public owned hi-rise apartment buildings with units that government rented to its employees. Displaying power and embodying discipline were critical registers in designing the governmental quarter. The main boulevards network emphasized grandness with a regular military parade on the full width of the main streets. At the geographic center of Nasr City, Karim designed a stadium and a green area at the heart of the settlement. Two university campuses were designed, one for the Ain Shams public university and the second was for Al-Azhar University. The latter was relocated and embraced inside Nasr City after transforming Al-Azhar from a purely Islamic theological school to include secular curricula and social sciences. The relocation of Al-Azhar campus had a major significance. Historically the national army owned the land, on which Nasr City was built. Also, there was tension between the military regime of Nasser and political Islamists —particularly the Muslim Brotherhood after they allegedly failed to assassinate him. Secularizing Al-Azhar University and embracing it inside Nasr City cannot be analyzed outside this contentious political history and formation of citizenship.

In the 1970s and 1980s, the state continued to expand new settlements on the cities' periphery but attracted little population. Things changed in the 1990s onwards with the involvement of a

wider range of technocrats, experts, and the return of architects and urban planners to the design of the gated communities and housing settlements. These enclaves were designed for consumption and were shockingly sold out. Even though the occupancy rates of the enclave were not high, over the years they attracted more population than the solely state-led housing projects in the 1970s and 1980s. In the dissertation, I focus on one case study, Al-Rehab City, after conducting several interviews with its urban planner, Ahmed Yousry — a Cairo University professor, and other interviews with the residents, real-estate developer representative, and two retired military generals holding the positions of: the gated community's Mayor and its Security Manager. This case study, Al-Rehab City, represents one of the first waves of gated communities for Egyptian real-estate developers, the family of Talaat Mostafa. The later two waves of enclaves' development I will leave for future research; these waves reflect the Arab Gulf States investment such as *Emaar* of Dubai and the state's expansion of enclaves for the youth in 2008.

Al-Rehab City is not a city as its name implies but rather an enclave with thirteen gated checkpoints. Designed for 250,000 inhabitants over an area of 2,500 feddans, as of 2010 it occupies more than 100,000 permanent residents. It was designed and built in five main phases. Being developed in an era of neoliberalism and global capital consumption, Al-Rehab's food court is well designed and situated inside the enclave serving a broad range of clientele by housing international food chains and restaurants. The fountain and green space in the food court is evident of the quality of landscape architecture embraced inside Al-Rehab. A network of walkways with green spaces in between apartment buildings separated pedestrians from the car and the affordable-bus network circulation inside the enclave. Of course, this good quality of street infrastructure, service, and open green spaces is presented in contrast the poor dilapidating condition of the city. In the heart of the enclave, Yousry planned longitudinal Sports and Social Club in the centre of the enclave acting as a breathing space to serve the well being of residents. Real estate developers presented variations of housing units accompanied with some varying loans and mortgage program. Housing units vary from a 72 square meters studio to 96 square meters apartment in a five- and six-floor apartment buildings to a vast range of Villa models with different areas and facilities. The diversity of units and loan programs allowed for various possibilities for the middle-class to think of investment in the real-estate business. Middle-class citizens took advantage of the real estate market, bought extra units and rented them out for expats, or another pool of middle-class citizens such as students and faculty coming from other cities to attend private university in the outskirts of Cairo. During my research fieldwork, many Iraqi families have settled in Al-Rehab enclave after the 2003 invasion of Baghdad. Many Iraqi families divided their savings into more than two housing units, having one for residence and the rest of investment to maintain an additional monthly income. The same pattern had happened in 2011 with Libyans and Syrians who were able to escape their countries. In these conditions, Al-Rehab and many other gated communities proudly offer themselves as safe and secure environments for their residents. Real-estate developers invested their money and energy to train the enclave's guards. Inside Al-Rehab, there are several schools: local and international ones. Moreover, Al-Rehab is located beside the new campus of the American University in Cairo, and the German University in Cairo situated in the "New Cairo" Desert town-plan. Because of its strategic location, Al-Rehab enclave came to play a fundamental role in another dynamic circuit of life inside desert cities that none of the Cairo interlocutors had vividly portrayed. Under these conditions, we can understand why Al-Rehab residents proudly refer to themselves with banners, as "I am a Rehaby Citizen" and insist on having a security magnetic identification card to access

their enclave and exclude non-Rehabians. The construction of the self with full awareness of their privilege is yet another project of discipline and subject formation in an era of neoliberal formation.

The dissertation deploys the themes of hygiene, discipline, and housing variations as registers to compare how they were appropriated in each of the case studies. Tracing these design concepts through the second half of the twentieth century and into the millennial becomes the research methodology, and what I mean by "historicizing the immediate present." The research methodology is helpful in showing how experts dealt with the peasant question, the slum dwellers, and neoliberal residents. The dissertation brings in cases of involuntary relocation to the voluntary congregation of an exclusive elite, who walled themselves out. This research is a close encounter of the transformative identity of the modern housing projects and citizenship since the 1940's to the present under an elite "Praetorian regime," as WJ Dorman (2013) describes it.

Research Methods Between Paper Architecture And Ethnography

Paper Architecture from the 1980s till the Present

Whereas I relied on architectural publications and the writings of modernist architects in the historical cases, in the contemporary cases this was not entirely possible given their scarcity and commercial propaganda nature.[69] There were two genres of architectural publications since the 1980s. There were the academic ones, and there were the commercial ones. The academic and design magazines ran out of the press and go bankrupt, as was the case with *Alam El-Benaa* in the 1980s.[70] After eighteen years, another magazine called *Medina* began to publish in 1998, but this did not last for long, either.[71] The government press of Al-Ahram published the commercial design magazines such as *El-Beit* or the House. This was concerned with cosmetic industrial products and flashy architecture publicizing the work of the super elite in Egypt — which was

---

[69] This goes back to the slim nature of architectural publications that speaks about current design practices.

[70] Remah Gharib introduces Alam El-Benaa as a local paper architecture in his chapter of "Urban Conservation Projects of Cairo: A Critique of the Local Literature" in Preiser, Wolfgang F. E., Aaron T. Davis, Ashraf M. A. Salama, and Andrea Hardy, eds. *Architecture Beyond Criticism: Expert Judgment and Performance Evaluation*. London ; New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2015, pp.121-127. Gharib writes: '*Alam El-Benaa* (AB) magazine started publishing in the 1980s, offering research studies and various criticism articles. The Center for Planning and Architectural Studies published AB monthly and in a bilingual format. The magazine led enormous research efforts in investigating the present and future of architecture and urbanism in Arab cities. Running for 20 years through 2000, AB covered various topics, scientific articles, field research, and in-depth interviews with both academics and professionals. Throughout its tenure, AB published more than 40 articles related to the preservation of monuments and conservation of historic quarters. Also, for five years the magazine established a section acknowledging the historic monuments from an archeological perspective." (23) As Gharib points out, AB was more technical and scientific methods of preservation in the critical commentary articles.

[71] Gharib writes on Medina Magazine: "In 1998, 18 years after the first AB issues, *Medina Magazine* (MM) produced its first issue; it had a new modern look with promising vision. The magazine was founded by a group of academics, designers, and artists related to the fields of architecture and urban design. This magazine presented various articles about culture and the built environment; it contested aspects of design, decoration, structural work, and student activities. With a wide spectrum, its ambition was to reach the markets of the surrounding nations in the Middle East, encouraging a focus of the surrounding cities, and again with English and Arabic languages. During ten years of publishing, MM produced a large number of articles concentrating on conservation efforts and revitalization (2015, 124).

apolitical in content, and often, interviewed supporting members of the political regime. I collected the brochures of the enclaves through visiting their dispersed showrooms, however seldom do they include any insights. The nature of the architectural publications was so telling of the discrepancies in the society as a whole.

The Medina's experience started in 1998 —eighteen years after *Alam El-Benaa*— and did not last over four years. Amr AbdelKawi, one of the co-founders of *Medina Magazine* (MM) explains that MM started with as small group of architects and artists. The main reason for launching the magazine was "complaints about the state of the profession, professional valises and ethics, students' declining standards, about frustrating public taste and market-driven priorities, are common and continue to overwhelm us."[72] Abedlkawi described the magazine as representing a non-institutional educational platform: "Medina is seen as a tool for education and awareness targeting several communities: the professional, the academic, and the public. In other words, it is a non-institutional approach to education."[73]

Just like *Majallat Al-'Imarah Wal-Fonoun* of the early modernist architects, *Medina* too wanted to act as a bridge between architectural knowledge between the East and the West. As Abdelkawi explains, Medina "also attempts to bridge the gap between the developed and developing worlds." Medina wanted to "act as an information dissemination tool, bringing the outside in and taking the inside out."[74] Medina sought international standards of quality. It was published as: "bi-lingual to reach the audience of both worlds, cover news and projects from both worlds to address the information vacuum that exists between them, and cross the interdisciplinary boundaries of the design and art worlds to solve the problem of their severed links."[75]

The reasons for the shutdown of MM varied, but mainly it was for commercial factors in which it failed to appeal for a varying pool of audience. The reasons depicted by Amr Abdelkawi were significantly relevant and reflective of the difficulties facing publishing architectural journals during the period. According to Abdelkawi, the professional audience's first response to Medina was quite positive but along the way, there were certain existing obstacles. These hurdles had been hard to overcome:

"'Getting published' is not as established a goal of most professional organizations in Egypt as it is in the West. There are certain residual social fears that might lie behind that, and make it less attractive to share achievements and information with others. Accordingly, we encounter difficulties getting the active involvement of professionals, because they are not prepared and are too busy to prepare special work for the magazine."[76]

---

[72] Abdel Kawi, "The Role of Magazines in Architectural Education: The Medina Experience in Egypt," in *Architectural Education Today: Cross-Cultural Perspectives*, ed. Ashraf M. A. Salama and William O'Reilly (Lausanne: Comportements, 2002), 143.
[73] Ibid.
[74] Ibid., 144.
[75] Ibid., 145.
[76] Ibid. Abdelkawi linked the professional ordeal to the political situation of Egypt, "Thirty years of political instability, economic hardship, and flailing social and ethical values, left the profession in virtual disarray… the Egyptian architectural profession approached the end of the twentieth century with empty baggage and virtually no adequate mechanisms or structures needed to constitute an effective profession, at least in its modern definition" (143-144), In addition to publishing architectural related articles, Medina aimed for creating a permanent

The academic response had been strong; students constituted 60% of the readership. The public response was however low. Abdelkawi acknowledges that this went back to the magazine's weak marketing efforts. Amongst all these answers, the market response was the tiebreaker, whether Medina would continue to exist or no. During the first two years, the advertising market gave Medina a tremendous boost, soon this faded out with other interior design new publications. Abdelkawi argues that the priorities of the four target communities did not necessarily coincide.

"… The widest gap and most difficult path to traverse was the balance between the public and professional priorities. The magazine has had to walk a fine line between professional and general interest subject matter and language, which was impractical with time. The multi-disciplinary format was part of that strategy. However, the ensuing responses from advertisers indicate some confusion regarding the targeted audience."[77]

Abdelkawi argued that the commercial dimension had heavily played a role in the temporal success and final shutdown of the Medina Magazine. "… a lot of the rules are heavily influenced, even dictated, by market constraints and determinants. Medina is an independent magazine depending fully on the revenues it is capable of generating. This is a fact that brings up -all too often- another set of questions: Can a magazine survive being purely an architecture magazine? How does it deal with the often-conflicting academic and commercial priorities?"[78]

For the historical case studies, the political economy and the architectural atmosphere of the 1940s and 1950s was not commercially driven, and modernist architects were keen to publish their work in the magazine venue they created themselves. For that purpose, I relied on "The Architecture and the Arts Magazine", or *Majallat Al-'Imarah Wal-Fonoun* (1939-1957). Furthermore, I relied on the world-renowned publication of Hassan Fathy, *The Tale of Two Villages,* and *Architecture for the Poor*. Fathy published them to explain his work through the Egyptian Ministry of Culture then by the Chicago University Press. Fathy also published an article in the *Majallat* 1945 issue, which I analyze in chapter three. Even though Hassan Fathy represented a different school of thought for the modernists operating the *Majallat* that was led by Sayyid Karim, he was still supported to publish in that outlet.[79] This shows the significant role that *Majallat* played during its time period of the 1940s and 1950s in contrast to Medina Magazine in the late 1990s and 2000s, when architects seldom published because they were mainly market driven with no culture and incentive to share their projects.

Paper Architecture in the 1940s and 1950s

Sayyid Karim was the power horse behind publishing the Architecture Magazine in 1939. Getting an architectural degree from ETH-Zurich, Karim encountered the inferior and Oriental image the West had cultivated about Egypt. In a 1937-architectural conference in

---

infrastructure of professional activities such as competitions, conferences, and exhibitions. Medina began a design competition program that started with a small students' competition the first year. The competition was followed with a second larger interior design one with both an open and a student category. Medina included competitions judged by a distinguished international jury (145).

[77] Ibid., 146.

[78] Ibid., 147.

[79] Hassan Fathy published his article in Arabic, "Problems facing the Egyptian Architect," in, *Magazine of Architecture*, (Arabic Trans. *Majallat al-'imārah*, (Cairo: 1945: 4-5), 25-26, accessed online: http://pds.lib.harvard.edu/pds/view/.

Czechoslovakia, Karim presented the contemporary architecture in Egypt mostly built through the self-endeavors of foreign real estate developers like Baron Empain. The latter had invested in the desert oasis of Heliopolis creating a different approach to development. Karim also presented other buildings in Maadi at the suburbs of Cairo. To his surprise, the presentation perplexed the European architectural audience. According to Karim, they were expecting a presentation on the Pyramids as a timeless signature of Egypt.[80] Karim wrote they could not renounce the image they conceived of *traditional* Egypt.[81] In another conference in 1938 at Warsaw, some architectural scholars asked Karim if there was an Egyptian architectural periodical as a point of reference. Karim responded that there were no architectural periodicals in Egypt. The Western reaction was not positive. Western scholars signified the lack of publication as a gesture of backwardness. Based on Karim's memoir that he published as articles later in the magazine — Egypt did not appeal to the European standards of "being architecturally modern."[82]

Karim had another motivation for publishing "The Architecture Magazine."[83] He staged it at the heart of a struggle between the new school of material technology in architecture to modernize the city, and the old school of preserving the past. The mission of the magazine was to create an Egyptian architectural community. He wanted to contest the royalist procedure of commissioning large-scale architectural projects. He solicited architectural competitions in the magazine's periodicals as initiatives to encourage creativity away from the domains of power surmounting the profession. In the opening article of the 1949-issue, Karim said these ideas were being fought after the royal monarchy had been initially supportive. This rising conflict between the modernists and the monarchy was self-revealing when analyzing Karim's language in his opening articles. In the first edition of 1939, he enthusiastically hailed the ruling court and King Farouk. After ten years in its anniversary edition of 1949, he and his colleague Tawfik Abdelgawad explicitly expressed their frustration. They subtly mentioned the role of the political power in framing architecture, how it was difficult to be autonomous, and the exerted pressure on the editorial team for publishing the magazine. They explained that the palace had reduced the number of issues they subscribed and restrained its distribution amongst the country's cultural and educational institutions.[84] Abdelgawad wrote, now it had become "a national duty," or '*wajib watany*' in Arabic, to advocate for a larger debate on the architectural freedom. So this freedom would not be attained without a unified front within the architectural society. The rhetoric of "national duty" invoked a lot of national sentiments that would soon fall into place with the military coup of the Army, just three years after, in 1952.

---

[80] Sayyid Karim, "Words from the Editor: From 1939-1949," in, *Magazine of Architecture*, (Arabic Trans. *Majallat al-'imārah,* (Cairo: 1949: 9, 1-2), 5-6, accessed online: http://pds.lib.harvard.edu/pds/view/.

[81] Building on the work of Edward Said, Timothy Mitchell argued, one consequence of Orientalism was that; "the Orient more and more became a place that one 'already knew by heart'," "…the colonial process would try and re-order Egypt to appear as *a world enframed.* Timothy Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988[1991]), 30. In such doing, the Orient "exclude the 'real world' from the world exhibition, a framework sets up the impression of something beyond the picture-world it enframes. It promises a *truth* that lies outside its world of material representation (33).

[82] Karim, "Word from the Editor: From 1939-1949," 6.

[83] First issue was published in 1939.

[84] Tawfik Abdelgawad, "Ten Years After*,"* in, *Magazine of Architecture*, (Arabic Trans. *Majallat al-'imārah,* (Cairo: 1949:9, 1-2), 7-8, accessed November 20, 2013, http://pds.lib.harvard.edu/pds/view/.

The ten years of struggle between the modernist and the ruling monarchy requires some historical background to understand its culmination. In the 1940-issue, one year after its release, Sayyid Karim and the board of editors took on translating the western theories of architectural design into Arabic away from the centrality of the monarchical and colonial administration. They translated all codes to standardize Egyptian architectural drawings with the international graphic representation. In his statement, Karim wrote, these theories first appeared in Germany and Switzerland. Then America and England followed these theories, and it was time for Egypt as "the world's cradle of architecture to rise again." The driving impetus for translation was threefold. First – based on the idea of Rousseau's ladder of modernization, Karim felt the need to catch up with the "civilized world," or *Al'alam Al-Motamadyan*, which itself was an imagined construct without a defined physical bound. To do so, Karim meant to follow up with the latest theories and research in the field published in the West. Second, in the process of modernization, following Anderson's work — to be modern also meant to prove to be ancient and authentic too within this race of civilizations. Karim referenced Ancient Egyptian's superiority in the use of human scale and mathematics in the design of architectural monuments. In that account, he was running the course of this race of nations. Third, the goal of translation was to generate a modern renaissance across the Arab-speaking region having Egypt at its center.[85] This period was at the epitome of de-colonization when the old super-powers of Great Britain and France colonized most of the Middle East and North Africa.

Rural and Urban Questions in Paper Architecture

Another pivotal reason I rely on the Architecture Magazine is that it is not Cairocentric. It solicited a vast range of issues about the Village and the City. This approach was a different attitude from the contemporary publications of *Alam El-Benaa* and *Medina Magazine*. The images on the cover page depicted this diversifying nature and geographical focus across Egypt. During the 1940s and 1950s, an oscillating shift of attention from the rural and the urban took place. *Majallat,* also, published experimental projects and critical commentary articles. The articles published in MA represented both genres of commentary pieces, being theoretical and conceptual, and at other times being scientific, empirical, and technical. The case studies varied in scale from the regional planning, urban scale, to the architectural detail. The architectural experiments and writings of many modernists during that period published in the Magazine of Architecture shaped a contextual modernism appropriated for the countryside and the city. In the 1940s both territories suffered from hygienic problems, dilapidated housing conditions, overpopulation, limited resources, inefficient planning circulation, lack of adequate infrastructure and public amenities.

Sayyid Karim sought to alleviate epidemics in the built environment by focusing on two questions on hygiene. The first issue was using advanced modern materials in the construction and the finishing of buildings. The second matter was building new towns from scratch, tabula rasa on the edge of existing cities and villages.[86] Using the graphic representations on the cover

---

[85] Sayyid Karim, "Theories of Architecture," in, *Magazine of Architecture*, (Arabic Trans. *Majallat al-ʿimārah,* (Cairo: 1940:1), 65-66, accessed November 10, 2013, http://pds.lib.harvard.edu/pds/view/.
[86] In adopting the project of development and modernization, contributors of the journal vehemently proposed design models for the future condition of the urban and the rural village. Hassan Fathy wrote an article for the *Majallat Al-'Imara* (1945: 4-5), situated Egypt's contemporary problem of architecture and the built environment with the economic recession and the limited resources post WWII. The economic shortcomings affected the

pages of the *Majallat* as the platform of the modernist bloc, one could analyze the oscillating issues of concern. I cover this issue at length in chapter three.

The graphics featured on the cover page of *Majallat* represented the focused subject of each issue- see Appendix. In the plates of the appendix, I inserted the cover pages of the digital archive for the Magazine. I also highlighted the Issue topic and rural/urban focus. The periodical featured combining issues of technology, science, and fine arts on the different scales of architecture and the built environment. It was published in Arabic as a beacon of knowledge to address the community of Arab-speaking architects with the aim of enhancing the quality of the profession, publish projects and provide solutions.[87]

Hygienic Development and Housing Programs

Housing programs were shaped by the hygienic crisis in the rural and urban regions. Building new compounds on the city's periphery represents a governmental methodology for development and control. Despite its failure to attract population according to many researches (Dorman 2013, Sims 2015), nonetheless, these programs persisted. These compounds pose a model of spatial governmentality. However, they are subject to variations to mediate the political economy of every period. So what were the different strategies towards housing development?

During the last seventy years, the state developed three main strategies for new housing settlements. These housing strategies aimed at modernizing the condition of the built environment. The first strategy was the "Cordon-and-Resettling" the Village. Modernist architects proposed this approach in the 1950s under Nasser. It aimed at modernizing the peasants' village under the claimed socialist regime. Chapter two covers this program in length and how it intersects with the peasants' subject-formation. The second strategy was the "Connect-Fill-and-Expand" the city during the 1950s and 1960s. This initiative aimed at building new healthy urban neighborhoods in Cairo on the vacant land in between some quarters. Under this strategy, Sayyid Karim passed the idea of *Madinet Nasr*, to connect the existing urban Cairo with the suburban edge of Heliopolis lying in the desert. The third housing strategy was the "Stand-Alone Towns" program under Sadat in the 1970s and continued under Mubarak during the 1980s. This program aimed at building entire towns with full services in the middle of the desert, midways between Cairo and the Suez Canal cities eastward, and midways between Cairo and Alexandria westward. These towns were mostly industrial congregates and low-middle class settlements. These cities failed to attract enough critical mass to make it habitable. The "Satellite Settlement" program during the late 1990s was the latest housing strategy. The state led this program under an overarching neoliberal political economy agenda. The program ended with subdividing land on the periphery for the construction of enclaves and gated communities for the upper- and upper-middle class.

---

channeling of resources to the devastated areas leading to a crisis of urban governance and development projects. More than anywhere else, the villages were adversely affected.

[87] While it was focusing on the latest advanced technology, it also featured the different historical periods of architecture in Egypt and ancient archeological sites. In several issues, the journal introduced itself as an intersection of tradition, identity, and modernization.

The "Cordon-and-Resettling" addressed the rural question rising in the 1940s and 1950s. Housing in the countryside faced severe damages in the villages as a result of the colonial government's negligence and feudal system's underdevelopment. In the 1940s, individual efforts from modernist architects resulted in two approaches to modernize housing. These approaches relied on leaving the existing old settlement and building new ones on the periphery. The methodology for building new villages differed considerably. First, there was the self-built approach by Hassan Fathy in the New Gourna. Secondly, there was the capitalist approach of restructuring the relationship between the livestock spaces and peasants' dormitories by Sayyid Karim. Based on these efforts, in 1950s, modernists put together a formal blueprint to organize this process with the title: "Cordon-and-Resettling Program." The program aimed at a systemic cordoning of the old village by building walls around it to limit its expansion and what modernists called "fungus spread" –describing the old villages as diseases. Modernists envisioned the old village as a cancerous disease that should be bounded or lest contaminate everything around it. Then modernists aimed for relocating villagers and peasants into new modern villages.

The "Fill-and-Connect-and-Expand" approach addressed the housing question in Cairo (1950s-1960s). One of the key modernists, Sayyid Karim, proposed to connect the empty spaces between the existing neighborhoods of Cairo. One of the pivotal cases he proposed was *Madinet Nasr* or Nasr City to fill-in the void between the City proper and Heliopolis desert settlement.

The "Desert Towns" program was designed after 1973 war, as a postwar strategy, to depopulate the city and achieve economic growth. Military officials and planners proposed the construction of new towns in the middle of the desert road that led from Cairo to Alexandria, and from Cairo to Suez. The outcome of this program is the initiation of a set of towns such as, Sadat City and Tenth of Ramadan City, which failed to meet their targets of attracting residents. The stand-alone settlements and industrial towns failed to attract population. As an evolution of the idea of "stand-alone" desert towns, satellite settlements emerged in the 1980s and boomed in 1990s with an economical shift towards neoliberal housing development. The program aimed at building satellite towns spread around Metropolitan Cairo.[88] These new towns such as New Cairo, Sixth

---

[88] In contribution to the discourse of "urban studies", I contend that new compounds are part of a process towards urbanizing and expanding the metropolis rather than the dual-city analysis, or core and periphery binary. The process of urbanization interjects with what Lefebvre called "implosion/explosion," and what Neil Brenner theorized recently as "planetary urbanization." According to Benner, in the last decade there had been serious revisions in the field of urban studies concerning the binary assumptions of core-periphery, city-countryside, that we had inherited from the nineteenth century with the industrialization of the city (Lefebvre 1991, Harvey 1996, Brenner 2014). Based on Lefebvre, a growing trend is interpreting cities as "processes of explosions/ implosions." Extending the legacy of Henri Lefebvre of the Urban Revolution (2003), Brenner argues that these Implosions/ Explosions are processes of capitalist urbanization, which he characterizes as "planetary" in attempt to supersede the "urban/ non-urban divide" towards a new vision of urban theory he calls: "without an outside" (2014, 15). The theory aims at unsettling the core/ periphery distinction and the typologies of the city versus village, town, or suburb. Lefebvre raised the phrase "implosion-explosion" as a function of capitalist urbanization. He introduced it "to illuminate the recursive links between capitalist forms of agglomeration and broader transformations of territory, landscape and environment" (Brenner 2014, 17). Brenner writes, "With the intensification, acceleration and territorial expansion of capitalist forms of growth, precapitalist and mercantile cities and towns are either peripheralized or remade into strategic locations within heavily industrialized landscapes. Subsequently a further round of sociospatial explosion occurs as urban practices, institutions, infrastructures and built environments are projected aggressively into and across the erstwhile non-urban realm, annihilating any transparent differentiation between city and countryside, and linking local and regional economies more directly to transnational flows of raw

of October, Sheikh Zayed, and others were sub-divided into enclaves and gated communities for the upper class. All these four housing programs are strategies of the "modernity compounds" project representing different approaches of spatial governmentality.[89]

Compounds of Modernity and the "Other"

There is a sociological discrimination that occurs with the construction of these new housing settlements. For every new settlement, a new *other* is created and citizens are defined as worthy of development. In the 1940s Gourna Village, the villagers were defined as the "other" and the new project targeted them. They were included and considered central to the new schemes of the colonial government and feudal system. In the 1950's and 1960's Cairo, the slum-dwellers and rural migrants were identified as the "other." However, the new project of Nasr City aimed at excluding them. The political inclinations of who to include and who to exclude, makes the housing projects at once inclusive and at others exclusive.

However, inclusivity and exclusivity take different forms of power and enforcements. In the case of the 1940s New Gourna, the government relocated villagers by the force of law and eviction decree. Villagers were involuntarily forced into the new village.[90] Inclusivity was played by the virtue of force. This case continued in the rural village at the beginning of the post-colonial rule of the 1950s. In the City, different means of governance applied. In the metropolitan capital, the cases of Nasr City and Al-Rehab City, residents were convinced to move to the periphery, voluntarily. The ways of inclusion, whether by force [or not], is quite revealing.

The neoliberal politics manipulated people's freedom of choice. As a way of governance, officials encouraged people to relocate and move to the new settlements using a truth-making mechanism. Officials portrayed the existing built environment and its residents as "inferior," whether that is the "outlawed slum-dwellers," or "terrorist Islamists." The government aimed at

---

material, commodities, labor and capital. In this way, processes of concentration and dispersion, as well as new patterns of core-periphery polarization, are superimposed upon one another across places, territories and scales, creating an almost kaleidoscopic churning of sociospatial arrangements during successive cycles of capitalist development. The notion of implosion-explosion thus comes to describe the production and continual transformation of an industrialized urban fabric in which centers of agglomeration and their operational landscapes are woven together in mutually transformative ways while being co-articulated into a worldwide capitalist system" (17-18). Capitalist Urbanization, when actualized on the planetary scale, produces a "net of uneven mesh."

[89] Urbanization produces sites of tremendous "concentration" of wealth, people, capital, resources, and "projections of disjunct fragments" — all of which are parts of *planetary urbanization*. This concentration is derived from capitalist production, exchange, and consumption. Urbanization proves that cities are "things" to urbanize, expand, contract, and evolve. It centers the global patterns of flow and continuous transformation of an industrialized urban fabric, with David Harvey suggesting that, "the 'thing' we call a 'city' is the outcome of a 'process' that we call "urbanization." Harvey, David. 2014. "Cities or Urbanization?" in, Neil Brenner (ed.). (2014, 61) The contributions of this edited volume are quite remarkable. However, stunningly, most contributors to this edited volume still focused on the north side of the planet, except a handful of cases that represent an extreme minority within the larger body of contributions. In effect, the framing of yet another "new theory" missed referencing the socio-political conflicts and (neo)-colonial history shaping (extending or/and limiting) these implosions and explosions from bottom-up and trans-lateral effects of identity politics, wars, and gender. To his credit, Brenner acknowledges that this is just as a starting point for further exploration. In other words, cities expand, disperse, and then accumulate sub-nuclear center. However, these multi-nucleated centers interject uneven development. The new compounds built on the periphery took several forms.

[90] This enforcement pattern of the villagers had its roots in the eighteenth century of Muhammad Ali Pasha's time.

creating a catalytic impulse to discourage urban dwellers from staying in the city, besides using incentive policies that were based on discriminatory measures.[91]

While this dissertation is about the historical development of the notion of "new-settlements" and their design logic; this dissertation can be read as a history of governmentality and the construction of the "other," as well. The dissertation tells the story of who partook role in these projects of modernity, and who was portrayed as the "other." Of course, this other was never uniform even for the same period, the construction of the other is always dynamic, changing, and political. Three main subjects I inherently bring into the dissertation is the "primitive fellah," the "outlawed migrant," the "slum-dweller," and the "political Islamist."

The Primitive Fellah

In 1945, at the same year that Hassan Fathy started his work in New Gourna, the *Majallet Al-'Imara* shifted its attention to the rural housing condition and the peasants' daily behaviors.[92] Modernists published articles covering the countryside from two angles, one that focused on the peasant and another that focused on the livestock. They concluded that without modernizing the fellah as a citizen, and the livestock's breeding spaces any development would be subject to failure. Dr. Iskandar Badawy, an archeologist wrote an article with the title, "The Eternal Story of the Peasant." Badawy blamed the underdevelopment of the rural areas to the peasants' practices. Using adjectives in a condescending tone, Iskander attacked the behavioral patterns of the peasant, who did not develop the farming techniques, technologies of management, and livestock keeping since Ancient Egypt. He condemned the *Egyptian Fellah*, calling [him] ignorant and inferior —a citizen that was living behind our time in "the medieval dark ages." He blamed them for the hygienic and dilapidating question. Furthermore, Iskander called on experts to intervene and save the future of agriculture and livestock.

This pretext fueled the discourse and changed its course to think of "rural development" as a top-down approach since the fellah was unqualified to participate. Modernists viewed the peasants as "disabled" and it is their role to advocate and think on their behalf. They saw peasants as behind in time and old in their solutions. Accordingly any solution, problem-solving tradition driven by the fellah was automatically discredited and judged as outdated. Such attitude of disqualification and constructing the other fostered the inclination of many modernists to start planning the Villages from scratch rather than reinforcing the existing housing structures and rehabilitating the original built environment. Constructing the "other" was the sociological contingency based upon which the modernists proposed the Cordon-and-Resettling Village Housing Program. I develop this analysis further in the dissertation.

The Outlawed Migrant

Planning the future growth of the city in the 1950s emanated as an issue of modernization to solve crowdedness but also to resolve the quality of residents. Sayyid Karim called for screening

---

[91] The state developed a politics of stigmatization for the "old" built environment and its inhabitants. The state hardly worked on developing the structure of urban governance. The existing built environment was left to dilapidate. It was as if officials, technocrats, and experts, were intentionally leaving the "old" built environment behind to get wasted while expanding outward in space to build the "new."

[92] Sayyid Karim, "Words from the Editor," in, *Magazine of Architecture*, (Arabic Trans. *Majallat Al-'imārah,* (Cairo: 1945:1), 1, accessed February 28, 2014, http://pds.lib.harvard.edu/pds/view/.

the citizens inhabiting the city by eliminating the illegal migrants coming from the countryside. Karim called them "thefts" that were destructive and exploitative of the City. Karim claimed the slums as the harbinger of thieves, given that it was itself an architectural act of violation. Outlawed migrants created unhygienic and low-quality architectures, and they managed unsolicited activities of an informal economy outside the state's control. Meanwhile, in Karim's conviction, slum dwellers occupied vocational professions of domestic services without education leading to ignorant and unqualified labor. Slums were also spaces where released prisoners reside and retain their previous illegal activities of drugs and smuggling. All those of which were unhygienic to the design principles of modern planning.[93]

By the statistics published in the *Majallat Al-'Imara* based on government documents, in 1952 there were twenty thousand dangerous criminals in the records living in Cairo. They were working and living in the "crowded markets" swaging their way amid the busy city. There were one million and a half living in the cemetery, three million living in popular neighborhoods, and internal migration added thousands of unemployed labor per day. The way the Majallat Al-'Imara modernists listed the statistics, mixing the illegality of criminals with residents living in old popular neighborhoods, mixing slums with old popular areas. These cases were only a few examples that revealed the modernists' discomfort with any citizen not conforming to the overarching social-engineering master plan.

"Citizens breathing air filled with decay, blood, destruction, and terrorism. The 'virus of degeneration' spreading from slums into the heart of Cairo required action[94]… the population explosion is number one responsible for producing terrorism: Treatment must begin by stopping the flow and preventing any illegal internal migration. The state must construct a close screening of citizens residing in the city. It must cleanse popular neighborhoods from the diseased citizens. ...We need a political restructuring of the society by focusing on public policy not on security (by this Karim meant fighting the ideology of terrorism through spatial elimination and not killing them)[95]… Terrorism came from the hinterland provinces and the countryside and populated the inner city through informal settlements. ...Informal settlements were the open trash cans polluting the air of Cairo.[96]"

In the process of contouring risk, the other must be invented and reconstructed. The subjects of the other were slum-dwellers and certainly the over-politicized issue of the Islamists, becoming part of the rhetoric driving a homegrown urban modernity. Sayyid Karim renounced what Western media call on Islamists, "Allah in their heads, and Terrorism in their blood."[97] Fully convinced with this argument; Karim wrote, "Treating terrorism entailed a rational scientific thinking just like any contagious disease.[98]" Moreover, "we" needed to stop it before crusaders invade us to fight it instead.[99]

---

[93] Karīm, Sayyid. *Al-Qāhirah 'umruhā 50 Alf Sanah!*. Cairo: al-Hay'ah al-Miṣrīyah al-'Āmmah lil-Kitāb, 1999: 154.
[94] Ibid. 155
[95] Ibid. 156
[96] Ibid. 156-157.
[97] Ibid. 156
[98] Ibid. 156
[99] Ibid. 156

To avoid these unhygienic spaces of risk in their entirety, modernists recommended two actions, politically and spatially. The state must build new spaces while the existing ones should be emptied, then renewed and redeveloped at a later stage. The resulting sociological construct was a risk society. Experts did contour one, and they demanded reform in the education system. They called for revisiting the Islamic Schools. In these contingencies, Nasr City was planned, and the main campus of Al-Azhar University was, also, relocated from Old Historic Cairo to this new quarter. Secularizing Al-Azhar was in the process keeping its administrative power under the military and governmental scrutiny. I expand on this argument in chapter three.

The Political Islamists and Slum Dwellers

In the 1990's, while gated communities were booming there was a growing number of vicious terrorist attacks. The growth of gated communities was in commotion with the rise of terrorism in the city. Terrorist attacks were spread all across Egypt. Nonetheless, the state spotted few neighborhoods as the hotbeds of terrorism. Those neighborhoods were incorporated into the urban fabric of Cairo, yet they were recalled as informalities in the media. Bulaq Al-Dakrour and Imbaba were one of those stigmatized residential quarters.[100] In the beginning, the state did not challenge their presence. However, they became sites of Islamists oppositional activities. Salwa Ismail writes, "In dealing with the Islamists and with the informal housing communities, the state —in particular, its security apparatus and urban planning directories— constructed the challenge in terms of an urban pathology. The communities and their residents were represented as problematic, marginal, disintegrated elements of the urban setting" (2006, xix). One method of this urban pathology was mapping them out as spaces of political insurgency, informality, and violence —and a security approach was deployed to deal with the problems presented by the informal settlements. As Julia Elyachar points out that urban "informality" was more than just an actual violation of land, but a political manipulation of mapping to serve a political project.[101] Officials represented informal settlements in the city as disease carriers, yet many researchers challenged this misconception of the "urban poor" by focusing on the strategies of survival to meet their economic needs (Singerman 1995, Hoodfar 1997, Ismail 2006, Sims 2010). In hindsight, the regime's propaganda machine was strong and influential on the decisions of the upper-middle class to seek primary or secondary residences on the periphery.

Dissertation Outline

Chapter One: The New Village in Late Colonial Egypt

The 1940's witnessed World War II when Egypt was a colony under the British Mandate and administratively ruled by a Monarchy and a feudal, capitalist, structure. The British government did not invest in Egypt's planning, development, or the modernization of its rural and urban infrastructure. There was no comprehensive plan or strategic project to modernize the villages of Egypt. The British Empire came out of the World War II with a financial crisis, and colonies

---

[100] Diane Singerman and Salwa Ismail discussed that in breadth in their work. Ismail discusses the case study of Bulaq Al-Dakrour since the 1970's. Ismail calls the informal housing communities, "new quarters" that houses one third of Cairo's population. Residents built them through illegal private housing to solve the shortage problem. The state's tolerance of informal settlements turned into hostility, as a number of these areas became sites of Islamist oppositional activities (2006, xix). Ismail, Salwa. *Political Life in Cairo's New Quarters Encountering the Everyday State*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006.
[101] Elyachar, Mappings of Power," (2003): 571-605.

were seen as political burdens onto the Empire —especially with the growth of popular uprisings calling for independence. Amid this developmental vacuum and state attention, there was a substantial deterioration of hygiene and public health in Rural Egypt. Modernists took the leadership in addressing these concerns individually without an overarching state plan. Hassan Fathy tried to mobilize for a rural mass project of development across the State using his social network and family connections with the ruling party, but this approach did not work. The feudal families controlled agrarian land in Rural Egypt with much focus on their own interests and less so with the *fellah's* condition. The modernist experts alluded to building new housing settlements to overcome the hurdles of dealing with the existing structure and its setbacks. This chapter depicts two of these approaches through discussing two case studies that were designed and built in the same period, the New Gourna Village, and El-Alaily Manor. Two Egyptian modernists designed those projects in the periods between 1944 and 1947, Hassan Fathy and Sayyid Karim respectively. Both equally viewed the fellah or the peasant, as incapacitated. They discussed how the peasant encapsulated unhygienic methods of living and building their housing units. For that reason, both Fathy and Karim agreed that experts must intervene to save the countryside. Both identified the peasant-housing crisis as that of hygiene and lack of peasantry discipline to control their environment.

New Gourna: Laissez-Faire Governance, Hygiene, and Modernizing the Fellah

How were the new housing projects built under the feudal colonial system? How did the production of space take place? This chapter argues that the housing compounds during late colonial Egypt were a self-driven impulse of modernist architects to develop the countryside focusing on the question of hygiene. These self-initiated endeavors implemented a break from the ways that old villages were designed and built in somewhat relative degrees.

Hassan Fathy envisioned the new village of New Gourna as a self-governed housing settlement, however he placed a police station to punish the tomb-robbers. Fathy introduced New Gourna Village as a self-built project to defy the economic constraints of no state budget. The colonial administration agreed to this approach. Self-construction projects also meant free labor; it was an opportunity to discipline the villagers. Fathy created working sessions and theater plays to make the villagers aware of the dilapidated and unhealthy living conditions they were living. Moreover, Fathy focused on developing the *fellah*'s sanitizing technologies — sewage system, and lakes. He designed special trousers for the peasants to wear during cultivating their crops and collecting water from the river. The Gourna villagers — feeling humiliated — abstained from participating in building their village as an act of revolt leading to the failure of the project.

In terms of architectural identity and modernity, Fathy argued that the New Gourna'a architecture should develop its character from the Arabian medieval houses of the merchants social class built in old historic Cairo. These medieval merchant houses were inspired by the representations of le description d'Egypt according to Steele (1997). Fathy's design became one of the early architectural projects to impose an Arab national identity. It casted other sub-identities and overshadowed the character of the rural diversity. He dismissed the rich material culture and colorful architecture of the Nubian Upper Egypt and replaced it with lush, clear-cut, fare-face and whitewashed surfaces.

Manor: Feudal Governance, Livestock Hygiene and Body-Scalar

As a different approach, Sayyid Karim envisioned the new Manor as a continuation of the feudal governance and rule of the elite, feudal system, and capitalist structure. Karim embarked on a completely different "modern project" in the countryside. He argued that this modern project should be different from the spatial organization of the existing old village. Karim enforced a new organization of spaces that would separate the livestock storage and breeding barns from the housing units of the peasants. Rational design logic drove this separation of functions. Such separation did not occur in the case of New Gourna as striking as it appeared in the Manor. Instead of focusing on fine details for hygiene like Fathy such as the trousers and the domestic furnace, Karim analyzed the hygienic problem in terms of conflicting presence of species in the same space under the same roof leading to an overall health crisis. These species were the human body represented by the peasant and the livestock animals. Nonetheless, he acknowledged that this utter isolation was difficult to implement, so he designed a small room in the housing unit to keep a limited number of birds and livestock inside the peasants housing. The main space for keeping livestock was a mega structure hanger. For Karim, the solutions to the countryside's shortfalls were the lack of efficiency in design. Accordingly, he used the Universal Modular System of human scale and proportions of space to optimize the size of rooms in relation to its function. Karim based the design of the compound on the Modular that was translated from Le Corbusier and Neufert to the Arabic language after its appropriation to fit the cultural norms of the Arab society.

Both cases had two different approaches to modernize the peasant and [his] village. Despite the differences, both projects included a disciplinary mission to modernize and educate the *fellah*. In the New Gourna, the fellah was educated to build [his] own housing unit. In the Manor, the fellah was educated on keeping and managing the livestock for better breeding to generate maximum profit.

In conclusion, both projects demonstrated two single-handed efforts of modernity under the colonial administration. None of these cases was developed and replicated on a national mass scale. They remained minute in effect. Nevertheless, they inspired other rural projects that were implemented under the succeeding pan-Arab socialist regime as I discuss in the following chapter.

Chapter Two: Rural Modern Compounds

The decolonization of Egypt in 1952, and its full independence in 1954, brought in a new regime that embraced nationalism. Under the new military regime, President Nasser pursued a socialist political economy. The first law he decreed was granting ownership of land to peasants. The "peasant question" continued to represent a main concern to the post-colonial era. This occurred however, in a different manner. For the first time in Egypt's modern history, the state recognized and empowered the *fellah* by granting [him] land ownership. With the rising sentiments for rural development, the modernist bloc of Sayyid Karim lobbied to push for a comprehensive national plan. The plan that the modernists demanded was yet another Modernizing Project. This time it was a massive scale with a recommendation to deplete the old villages and build new ones. They dubbed it as a "Village Reform" project. The modernists' understanding of "reform" was confusing, however. While reforming the village implied enhancing the existing village in terms of reinforcement and maintenance, they meant, in fact, a complete different thing. In the *Majallat*

Al-'Imara Wal-Fonoun, where they consistently published their opinions, they explained their intent. They explicitly meant "cordoning" or "walling" the existing old village and building an entirely new one to relocate the villagers in what they called the "Cordon-and-Resettling Village Program." Moreover, their linguistic use of "reform" in *Islah Al-Qaryah* or "Village Reform" was to discipline the peasant's innate behavior— it was a human development kind of reform. Under the military regime, they pushed forth this program to enforce nationalist sentiments and a large-scale control over the State's countryside.

Nationalist Governance, State-led "Rural Modernism"

The national village reform project included the cordoning and walling off the existing fabric while building a new modern-grid village. It was a state-led public housing project. The aim was to resettle villagers in an incremental process. First, villagers would move to *Qaryet Al-Inteqal* or the Transient Village, which was a preliminary phase of rural development. After completing the construction of the public amenities and housing facilities and full relocation of peasants the village would become *Qaryet Al-Ghad*, or the Village of Tomorrow. It is not a mere coincidence that this name followed Le Corbusier's magnum opus "A Contemporary City of Three Million People." The magazine of architecture and the arts, co-edited by Sayyid Karim, extensively published Le Corbusier's work, Brasilia, and the new Baghdad project as models of development in the global South.

The Village of Tomorrow and the Transient Hygiene

In terms of hygiene, there were ample of open green spaces in the new Village of Tomorrow. The new village comprised of two separate compartments connected with a wide road, a governing administrative zone, and a residential area. In the first phase of this housing program —inside *Qaryet Al-Intiqal* or the Transient Village, the livestock had a place inside the housing unit of the peasant. However, Sayyid Karim explained that after teaching the peasants the hazards of having animals inside the unit, these livestock storage spaces would be destroyed and turned into small green yards. Removing the rooms of animals' barn inside the attached housing units would create more green breathing spaces within the residential area, and turn the village more hygienic, according to Karim. Furthermore, the livestock had a separate corridor for movement by the perimeter of the village to maintain the clean quality of internal streets for the humans. This sets an indigenous Rural Egyptian appropriation of the Universal Modernism. The "gradual" characteristic makes the "transient" Egyptian rural village a different mode of modernism than the International Modern Movement. Moreover, Karim placed the main governmental building as a vista for the wide-open boulevard that consisted of a green space in the middle. This added more green spaces and a sense of nationalist grandeur to the overall planning of the "Village of Tomorrow."

Social Housing Variations and Military Discipline

The socialist regime constructed the modernist rural program to create standardized housing. However still, there were variations in the housing models of peasants on the basis of class status and family size. In terms of discipline and subject formation, Karim included a military training center in the transient village. The architect produced a chart explaining the everyday activities of the peasant. Moreover, the Village of Tomorrow included schools, university, theater, animal

and plant museum, and medical centers. In conclusion, the socialist military regime and the modernists appropriated the project to meet its ends of controlling and disciplining the peasants.

Chapter Three: Post-Colonial Urban Modernity

In 1958, Sayyid Karim succeeded in convincing President Nasser and Anwar Sadat for building a new housing settlement for the capital of Cairo. The new town plan was called *Madinet Nasr* or Nasr City. Karim's arguments and larger scheme for Cairo's development were all too remarkable, besides Nasr City itself. During the 1950's there was a massive influx of internal migration from the countryside to the city. According to Karim, one-third of Cairo's population, turned into slum-dwellers creating a condition of chaos and unhygienic. The modernist experts named most slum-dwellers outlaws suggesting the state would screen them as they entered the city. They were the new other of the urban realm. However, Karim argued that slum clearance was beyond the government's budget at that time. Accordingly, it would be more pragmatic to build new housing settlements from scratch to attract urban citizens while leaving the old neighborhoods to dilapidate and collapse with time. Then the government and real estate developers would reconstruct them. Karim argued that there were considerable empty lands across Metropolitan Cairo. One such land was the space between Abbasiya and Heliopolis, a land that was owned by the military barracks. By conceptualizing a housing program called "Filling-and-Connecting Housing Program," Karim requested that the army barrack become a new town, today's Nasr City.

Socialist-Business Governance

The state-funded and built the project. Despite that the new settlement was state-funded, it operated outside the domain of the Governorate of Cairo unlike any other neighborhoods. It remained within the control of its board of trustees' -mostly of who were high rank officials. In the meantime, regardless of the claimed nature of the regime's socialist political economy, Sayyid Karim proposed a corporate body of governance that would effectively run the services and housing projects to generate profit to cover the loans taken for constructing the infrastructure, and to preserving the city's costs of self-maintenance. This demarcated one of the early projects of self-control in the Egyptian modern history, under the post-colonial military rule. Here, self-management was a mechanism that did not fall neatly within the public sector, given that only technocrats and special officials would benefit from this structure, nor was it a private domain mechanism operating with the market forces. The Nasr City's managing company played along the strings of public and private sector, having the military personnel as in-between. This characteristic would again resonate in the neoliberal era with partnerships between the public, the military, and the private sector as I explain in the upcoming chapter. Karim proposed that the Madinet Nasr for Housing and Development (MNHD) would invest in real estate for generating money to preserve the public amenities and infrastructure. This project exposed the claimed politics of the socialist regime and to what extent did it hold the 1952-revolution's values. While the targeted citizens for Nasr City were from the middle class, it ended up with upper-middle classes and high rank officers.

Public Hygienic Spaces

In terms of hygiene, the master plan of Nasr City was composed of two compartments in a similar zoning to the Village of Tomorrow, which was discussed in the earlier chapter. An

administrative compartment was separated from the residential compartment by a wide-open road. A stadium occupied the heart of the administrative zone with an open boulevard used for military parades. Unlike the Village of Tomorrow, there was no building that acted as a vista. However, in Nasr City, there was an intensification of monumental buildings on both sides of the road. This created a sense of grandness. The quality of openness and greenness in the urban design of Nasr City is quite intricate. The planners Sayyid Karim and Mahmoud Riad oriented some of the buildings at 45-degrees to the main roads for claimed environmental planning measures according to the Universal Modern design principles. There was a continuity of smaller scale green spaces inside the housing compartment. This created a green passage crossing through the settlement. This proliferating green passage certainly achieved what Karim was arguing for inside the Transient Village phase when he called for replacing the livestock spaces inside the peasants' housing units with green spaces.

Housing Variations: From the Socialist Villa to Public Housing

Sayyid Karim proposed three housing models in Nasr City, the "socialist villa", the corporative apartment units, and the public housing units. The argument for introducing the oxymoronic so-called socialist villa was quite remarkable. Karim explained that transforming the political economy from private ownership under the monarchy to public state led housing under the military socialism required a mode of transition. Karim depicted that the richer residents of Nasr City would have their own subdivision situated in the middle of the residential nucleus yet sharing infrastructure, green spaces, and amenities with the public. Karim argued that this would be a mode of limited ownership, not too private or too public. Cooperative apartment housing units represented a group of residents sharing the same building with its services yet owning their own apartments. The public housing units were government owned apartment buildings that ministries granted for their employees. And there were strictly state-owned units.

Disciplining the Political Islamists

There were various ways that discipline played out in Nasr City. One way to look at it is to observe the political construct of the "other" during that period. Nasser's regime was extremely antagonistic to political Islamists, mainly the Muslim Brotherhood, especially after they allegedly tried to assassinate Nasser in Alexandria, 1954. The construction of a regime-loyal religious model as an alternative to the insurgent other became a necessary. The choice lay on Al-Azhar University as one of the oldest teaching schools of Islamic teaching. In 1961, it included secular subjects in its curriculum in a gradual transformation process. The aim was to modernize the epicenter of religious education in Cairo, and the Middle East and North Africa, and make it more aligned with the political regime. Al-Azhar University campus was relocated to Nasr City, which is a symbolic twist of irony. The once military owned barrack and the nationalist regime proudly invested in a secular pan-Arab sentiment, was embracing Al-Azhar University campus in Nasr City. The military power and religion were superimposed in space in the new housing settlement of Nasr City. This was one of the significant characteristics of the modernist settlement, that of constructing the *other* during the 1950's and 1960's.

Chapter Four: Neoliberal Modern Compound

In the late 1960's and 1970's, the involvement of Egypt in regional wars and border conflicts put a halt to any civic development. At the end of the 1970's, Egypt signed a peace treaty with Israel,

and the national military army began to receive an annual grant from the United States Agency for International Development (USAID). The late 1970's also coincided with the beginning of neoliberalism worldwide. However, this neoliberal drive did not echo in Egypt until the 1990's. During the 1970's and 1980's, there were several failed housing programs to build stand-alone town settlements in the middle of the desert such as Sadat City and Tenth of Ramadan City. These were quite distant from Cairo without a convincing economic and sociological attraction for people to relocate. In the 1990's, officials directed the housing program towards a different end. Under a new phase of the neoliberal political economy, an aggressive plan for the deregulation of land and privatization of the public sector —in particular, the public housing program took place. The New Urban Community Authority (NUCA) launched a full-fledged planning scheme for the construction of satellite settlements around main cities such as Cairo. These satellite settlements became mostly residential, partitioned for investments between large-scale subdivisions for real-estate developers and small-scale subdivisions for individual upper-middle class residents.

Private Governance: Developer, Police, and Privatized-Security

This chapter focuses on one of the large-scale subdivisions in the satellite town of "New Cairo," which was built on the western edge of Cairo. By analyzing the subdivision of "Al-Rehab City" enclave, the chapter argues that a neoliberal form of governance comprised of three main agents governing the contemporary mode of the compound. These three main agents constitute the Egyptian real-estate business of private governance. The concept of a private company managing neighborhoods has its roots in Nasr City. The private governance of Al-Rehab is, however, more sophisticated given the privatized nature of its security body and means of discipline that I discuss at length in the chapter.

The three agents that play major roles in the neoliberal project of "housing compounds" are the real-estate developer, the police state, and the military agents. These three key players partake an important role due certain economic, sociological, and political constructs in the city that push residents to buy or rent housing units in the new enclaves. Residents moved to the gated communities either for investment, real-estate speculation, escaping the dilapidating urban condition or because of fear of the proliferation of informality to the formal sections of the city.

The urban problems related to a set of variables deteriorated maintenance of infrastructure, public services, and urban amenities. Real-estate developers filled in this vacuum by offering a better quality of private housing and services in controlled environments bounded by security gates. Furthermore, a private mode of governance managed the amenities, services, and infrastructure inside the enclave.

The media coverage of terrorist attacks and Islamists' presence in informal and popular neighborhoods was exaggerated (Kuppinger 2008). The political Islamists and urban informality were the new other that private enclaves stood in contrast. Despite the exaggerated media response in portraying the other, it was, in fact, small in proportion. The construction of Fear had an effect on the decision of upper-middle class to relocate to the gated communities. It was then a question of security and the ability of real-estate developers to provide safety from crimes that badly defamed the urban neighborhoods. As the contour of fear increased, security turned from a service into a necessity, an indispensable commodity. The military has a historical role in the

planning and the construction of the desert towns (Doorman 2013, Sims 2015). However, their role in maintaining stability and security in gated communities was astonishingly unexplored. Using Al-Rehab City, I highlight how military agents use their training in the national army to construct private security units to securitize gated communities. I further explore the role of the police agents in collaborating with the security personnel using specific incidents after the 2011-Revolution.

Disciplining the Gates

The chapter further delves into the dynamics of discipline, and governmentality. The chapter embarks on answering the research question of how does control; governance, and the securitization of these neoliberal-housing compounds take place. The chapter pursues in exploring the underlying logic of security: the tools, technologies and modes of representation through exploring the "Security Map." The Security Chiefs of gated communities treat the enclaves as a "field of surveillance" and a "Securitization Operation," or *Magal Morqbah wa 'amaleyet Ta'meen*. They utilize a language with the Security Guards, that is a combination of religious Quranic verses and national sentiments. Surveillance and control is animated in the everyday language and the security map. It becomes a practice the forestages the power relations. In hindsight, securing the gated community tends to become an arena for disciplining space and subject formation that invokes nationalism and religiosity in these neoliberal compounds of modernity.

Membership to Hygienic Spaces

Hygienic spaces are zones of privilege in these neoliberal housing compounds, distinguishing a quality of life and privilege than the rest of the metropolis. However, some similarities remain with the design of the "City of Tomorrow" of *Madinet Nasr.* In the same zoning manner that a Sports Stadium for playing football —a stadium, occupied the heart of Nasr City's first master plan, a Social Sports Club occupied the heart of Al-Rehab City enclave. Whereas, the government built green fields and stadium in Nasr City for public and national occasions, the Sports Club and green spaces inside Al-Rehab City was only exclusive to residents who pay for its membership. In other words, the privatization of hygiene was at the heart of the neoliberal compound physically and materialistically speaking.

The developer Talaat Mostafa built Al-Rehab City, in a set of phases with an internal ring road for cars circulation passing by the main commercial functions of shopping malls, food court, and mosques. Each stage consisted of a cluster of residential apartment buildings or villas with a common green heart acting as an open space. The urban planner, Ahmed Yousry, connected the small green spaces of each group through a pedestrian promenade. The similarities with the first phase of Nasr City are quite uncanny.

Neoliberal Housing Variations

There were several housing models with a broad range of areas and loan programs that suit many residents. Al-Rehab real-estate salesmen marketed the homes first amongst Egyptians followed by marketing it amongst Egyptians living abroad and citizens of the Arab Gulf states. They wanted a community of homeowners that live and inhabit the enclave, and not just use it for holidays on an annual basis. In other words, Al-Rehab developer aimed for densification.

Variations are functions of housing areas; studios would start from 48 square meters. Al-Rehab salesmen targeted young employees of international companies, banks, and others. Al-Rehab's strategy was to attract a relatively young age community. Such strategy also meant to encourage a Cairene pool of residents for social mobility. Ultimately these private banks, investment companies, and others are the byproducts of the neoliberal economy. So it made sense that the neoliberal housing-compound —the gated community, would serve the pool of employees working in the neoliberal sector. It is only the new loyal citizens of the regime's adopted political economy that could afford the inflated cost of housing in the neoliberal real-estate market. Constructing the new settlement for a particular type of residents is another aspect that Al-Rehab City is equivalent to Nasr City. Both attracted the citizens embracing the political economy of their times. Nonetheless, Al-Rehab City also included large-sized and high-end villas for extremely rich and big-sized families. There were military generals appointed by the Supreme Council of Armed Forces (SCAF) that ruled the country until holding the presidential elections after the revolution, living in Al-Rehab City. Also the military commander Ahmed Shafik, who reached the second run off for the Presidential race and was the last Prime Minister of Mubarak, also owned a Villa inside Al-Rehab gated community.

The chapter argues that there is a particular dynamics of residents attracted into Al-Rehab as a result of the enclave's mode of private governance, hygiene, and housing variations. The chapter demonstrates how the three agents involved in the neoliberal private governance mediated their positions after the 2011-Revolution to maintain the enclave's stability and distinguished status.

Chapter One:

New Villages in Late Colonial Egypt

1.1. Introduction

This chapter discusses the design and inception of two housing projects built on the periphery of existing built environment in Egypt's countryside in attempt to control villagers and animals during the 1940s. The designs of Hassan Fathy and Sayyid Karim speak to the dissertation's central argument of rationalizing hygiene and modernizing citizens as instruments to build new compounds. Humans and non-humans were the objects of governance. Building new housing settlements became experiments of control and discipline. Treating mosquitoes, malaria, bilharzias, and livestock feces were the basis to create a hygienic housing modernity in the countryside. Fathy conceived mud-bricks, domes and vaults as sustainable building technologies in New Gourna Village (1944). Karim believed in scientific rationality, the universal body's scalar system, *Modulor,* and advanced building techniques of bricks and steel as vehicles to alleviate diseases in the countryside. The common element in these two projects falls in their search for solutions: building a new spatial order, making a new *fellah* and create a new animal space. The material determinism of Fathy and Karim in finding technologies to solve hygiene and the peasant question defines their architecture and controlling ethos. The design process and final outcome was hierarchical and top-down. Through publications and conferences, both architects aimed that their work would gain attention to mobilize for a rural-mass housing development. However, such national housing project in the countryside came one decade later under Nasser with a different plan towards discipline and hygiene, the "Cordon-and-Resettling" program, as I will discuss in the following chapter.

The 1940's witnessed World War II when Egypt was a colony under the British Mandate and administratively ruled by a Monarchy and a feudal, capitalist, structure. The British government did not invest in Egypt's planning, development, or modernize its rural infrastructure. There was no comprehensive plan or strategic project to modernize the villages of Egypt. The British Empire came out of the World War II with a financial crisis, and colonies were seen as political burdens onto the Empire —especially with the growth of popular uprisings calling for independence. Amid this vacuum for developmental projects together with a substantial deterioration of hygiene and public health in Rural Egypt, modernists took the leadership in addressing these concerns individually without an overarching state plan. Hassan Fathy tried to mobilize for a rural mass project of development across the State using his friendships and family connections with the ruling party, but this approach did not work.[102]

The feudal families controlled agrarian land in Rural Egypt with much focus on their interests and less so with the fellah's condition. The modernist experts alluded to building new housing settlements to overcome the hurdles of dealing with the existing structure and its setbacks. This chapter depicts two of these approaches through discussing two case studies that were designed and built in the same period, the New Gourna Village, and El-Alaily Manor. Two Egyptian

---

[102] In the 1940s, a village placed 15 kilometers from Maadi, Ezbet El-Basry, on the eastern hinterlands of Greater Cairo Region was completely flooded, and the Red Crescent funded the reconstruction of a new village for them. Hassan Fathy approached the commissioners and convinced them of building a prototype using his dome rooftop that would save construction time and money. Another royalist architect designed the project, and Fathy's experiment failed to draw the attention of officials administering Egypt under the British mandate.

modernists designed those projects in the periods between 1944 and 1947, Hassan Fathy and Sayyid Karim respectively. Both equally viewed the fellah or the peasant, as incapacitated. They discussed how the peasant encapsulated unhygienic methods of living and building their housing units. For that reason, both Fathy and Karim agreed that experts must intervene to save the countryside. Both identified the peasant-housing crisis as that of hygiene and lack of peasantry discipline to manage their spaces.

1.1.1. Laissez-faire Governance

How were the new housing projects built under the feudal colonial system? How did the production of space take place? This chapter argues that the "compounds of modernity" during late colonial Egypt were a self-driven impulse of modernist architects to develop the countryside focusing on the question of hygiene. These self-initiated endeavors implemented a break from the ways that old villages were designed and built in somewhat relative degrees.

Hassan Fathy envisioned the new village of New Gourna as a self-governed housing settlement; however he placed a police station to punish the tomb-robbers. Fathy introduced New Gourna Village as a self-built project to defy the economic constraints that entrapped the poor and a modern approach to the deteriorated conditions of their old village. Fathy created working sessions and theater plays to make the villagers aware of the dilapidated and unhealthy living conditions they were living. Moreover, Fathy focused on developing the fellah's sanitizing technologies — sewage system, and lakes. He designed special trousers for the peasants to wear during cultivating their crops and collecting water from the river. The Gourna villagers — feeling humiliated — abstained from participating in building their village as an act of revolt leading to the failure of the project.

In terms of architectural identity and local modernism, Fathy argued that the New Gourna'a architecture should develop its character from the Arabian medieval houses of the merchants social class built in historic old Cairo. These medieval merchant houses were inspired by the representations of le description d'Egypt according to Steele.[103] Fathy's design became one of the early architectural projects to impose an Arab national identity. It casted other sub-identities and overshadowed the character of the rural diversity. He dismissed the rich material culture and colorful architecture of the Nubian Upper Egypt and replaced it with lush, clear-cut, fare-face and whitewashed surfaces.

1.1.2. Feudal Governance

As a different approach, Sayyid Karim envisioned the new Manor as a continuation of the feudal governance and rule of the elite, feudal system, and capitalist structure. Karim embarked on a complete "modern project" in the countryside. He argued that this modern project should be different from the spatial organization of the existing old village. Karim enforced a new organization of spaces that would separate the livestock storage and breeding barns from the housing units of the peasants. Rational design logic drove this separation of functions. Such separation did not occur in the case of New Gourna as striking as it appeared in the Manor. Instead of focusing on fine details for hygiene like Fathy such as the trousers and the domestic

---

[103] James Steele, *An Architecture for People: The Complete Works of Hassan Fathy* (New York: Whitney Library of Design, 1997).

furnace, Karim analyzed the hygienic problem in terms of conflicting presence of species in the same space under the same roof leading to an overall health crisis. These species were the human body represented by the peasant and the livestock animals. Nonetheless, he acknowledged that this utter isolation was difficult to implement, so he designed a small room in the housing unit to keep a limited number of birds and livestock inside the peasants housing. The main space for keeping livestock was a mega structure hanger. For Karim, the solutions to the countryside's shortfalls were the lack of efficiency in design. Accordingly, he used the Universal Modular System of human scale and proportions of space to optimize the size of rooms in relation to its function. Karim based the design of the compound on the Modular that was translated from Le Corbusier and Neufert to the Arabic language after its appropriation to fit the cultural norms of the Arab society.

Both cases had two different approaches to modernize the peasant and [his] village. Despite the differences, both projects included a disciplinary mission to modernize and educate the *fellah*. In the New Gourna, the fellah was educated to build [his] own housing unit. In the Manor, the fellah was educated on keeping and managing the livestock for better breeding to generate maximum profit.

In conclusion, both projects demonstrate two single-handed efforts of modernity at an early stage under the colonial administration. None of these cases was developed and replicated on a national mass scale. They remained minute in effect. Nevertheless, they inspired other rural projects that were implemented under the succeeding pan-Arab socialist regime as I discuss in the following chapter.

1.2. New Gourna: Laissez-Faire, Hygiene, and Modernizing the Fellah

In 1944, the Department of Antiquity was involved in a great scandal related to the damage and loss of Ancient Egyptian tombs of the Nobles in the Gourna Village by Luxor in Upper Egypt.[104] The state officials did not secure the tombs and had hardly any guards keeping them. State officials were in trouble. The tombs to extended underneath the Gourna Village. However, the village had been residing for decades on the tombs of Ancient Egyptians. Without any record of investigation,[105] the government issued a royal decree calling the Gourna Villagers, tomb-robbers, and outlaws. The government criminalized the whole village regardless of their age or gender. The government decreed a law to relocate the 7,000 villagers to a new location as a punitive action. Villagers moved out of their village involuntarily even those who were not involved in such theft. All villagers were equal in this unjust collective punishment. In general, under the monarchy and the feudal system, the peasants were the least group of citizens to gain any benefits or equal rights from the government. This subjugation of peasants was the case for

---

[104] A whole rock carving in one of the tombs of the Nobles —a well-known and classified ancient monument—was cut out and stolen. It was as if someone had stolen a window from Chartres, or a column from the Parthenon. The Ministry of Antiquities was under pressure for failing to protect the archeological sites. And in an act of saving their governmental positions, they blamed the peasants. And in an act of saving what is remaining of the national heritage, they evicted the peasants from their existing village, claiming it was illegal, together with the peasants' inability to live in civility with the tombs of the old Egyptian Nobles. Accordingly, the decision was to move them to a new village designed from scratch, while their existing village was to be turned into a touristic site. Ibid., 23-25.
[105] Timothy Mitchell, "Making the Nation: The Politics of Heritage in Egypt," in *Consuming Tradition, Manufacturing Heritage: Global Norms and Urban Forms in the Age of Tourism*, ed. Nezar AlSayyad (London; New York: Routledge, 2001), 212–39.

as long as Egyptian history existed; villagers were subjugated even to the working labor who worked in the industrial sector. Villagers and workers might have shared the same low-income class, yet they received different attention from the government. What happened in the Gourna Village of involuntary relocation was not a matter of social segregation based on class. At the same period in the early 1940's the government built a new settlement for workers at Imbaba in Cairo; it cost one million Egyptian pounds. This budget is a high cost for its currency time. While there was a budget for the workers' class, there was no budget allocated for the peasants' class. It is hard to tell whether setting a minimum budget was a punishment because of peasants being accused of stealing, or for some other reason.

During the 1940's, Fathy was developing a version for a new housing project.[106] It was a self-built approach for housing projects using low-cost materials and efficient construction techniques within a larger vision for a Rural-Mass Housing Program. It was a different building method from the common trend of erecting the conventional villages inspired from Nubia in Upper Egypt. However, it was different from the common flat roofs of many other villages. Fathy approached the government, and the Egyptian Red Crescent to win a bid for an emergency shelter project in Maadi, a Cairo suburb to use this housing approach. However, Fathy was denied the project and lost the bid. The government's position towards the new endeavor of self-built housing was hard to define. The government gave no statement how it evaluated the new self-built approach on such large scale housing settlements. The case for New Gourna Village was different. Not having a budget for the villagers, the government paid attention to Fathy's low-cost housing proposal. Also, given the circumstances of the Gourna scandal, and the possible generating friction between the administration and the villagers as a result of the collective eviction. The self-built approach would decrease the confrontation between the government and the villagers. Accordingly, the officials gave Fathy full authority and laid the project's responsibility onto Fathy.[107] It acted in a laissez-faire manner as long as the project remained within the low assigned budget limit. Nonetheless, the government was only interested in Fathy's work for the single commission of the New Gourna Village and not for the entire mass transformation of the Egyptian Villages as he hoped with his overarching vision. For the government, it was a circumstantial project. It was a matter of saving money and minimizing contact with the Gourna villagers. The government hoped for a new village that would break from the past. Moreover, Fathy wanted to modernize the villagers by engaging them in the process. In that sense, the government called it a "new" Village, the "New Gourna", a project that would transform the old village and its villagers. This transformation took place on two levels, the spatial arrangement as well as the mode of governmentality.

Fathy trained the peasants on building with mud-bricks; he hired bricks-foremen to create a brickyard and teach the villagers on molding their bricks. An onsite assembly line for the

---

[106] Fathy had been experimenting in Cairo's periphery through the commission by his friends and family network. The New Gourna Village was different given its scale as well as being a government's commission.

[107] Fathy held the government accountable for the project's failure. The government did not pay the builders' wages that he hired, nor paid his commission for many months during the first two years of the project (1969). After being commissioned Fathy wrote: "To tell the truth, my delight had from the beginning been flavored with more than a dash of incredulity. It was uncanny enough that a whole village should be projected without reference to the State Building Department, but it was even more unnerving to find myself with the sole responsibility for creating this village, and free to do what I liked with the site." Hassan Fathy, *Gourna; a Tale of Two Villages* (Cairo: Ministry of Culture, 1969), 27.

manufacturing of mud-bricks was built. Fathy argued that peasants "traditionally" built their houses, so better if done in an efficient, sustainable, and hygienic manner. The foremen were builders from Aswan in Upper Egypt. They trained villagers to erect domes and vaults as rooftops. Fathy's underlying premise was that villagers built houses for themselves. In his memoir, Fathy argued that this was because they were either poor to hire a builder or because it was a culturally inherited tendency to build one's house in the rural areas. That some peasants were poor, was partly true but in different given conditions. The most common rooftops of villagers' housing were, in fact, flat. The flat roof was a practical and socially sustainable solution for many villagers. They would expand their units by raising more floors after securing more money, or securing more space based on family needs with time. However, Fathy depicted that flat rooftops were more expensive to build than domes and vaults. Nonetheless, for villagers flat roofs were an immediate expense that could be bearable for long-term benefits.

According to Fathy's account, many villagers did not participate in the self-construction process. With time, they began to react passively towards the new village, feeling less connected with the little agency. Moreover, the government did not pay the builders' wages that he hired, nor paid his commission for many months during the first two years of the project.[108] Fathy complained in his memoir all these factors as the contributing registers for the project's failure. Fathy was aware of the challenges as he explained in his memoir. Between a sense of excitement, there was an ultimate anxiety. After the government had initially commissioned Fathy, he wrote, "To tell the truth, my delight had from the beginning been flavored with more than a dash of incredulity. It was uncanny enough that a whole village should be projected without reference to the State Building Department, but it was even more unnerving to find myself with the sole responsibility for creating this village, and free to do what I liked with the site."[109]
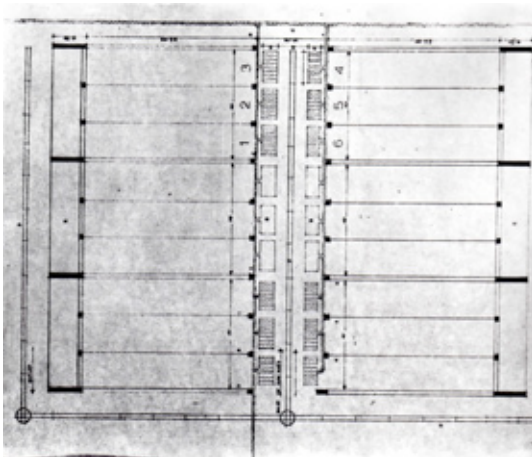
Fig. 1.1 The Brickyard in New Gourna. Source: Fathy 1969, plate 106.
Fig. 1.2 Standardized Modules for the Roof. Source: Steele 1997, 73.

The government manipulated the self-built approach to the maximum. It laid the project's responsibility and logistics totally onto Fathy. At first, the officials proposed an incompetent engineering team for Fathy, who in turn requested a substitute but officials put down his request. As a resolution, Fathy worked by himself and dismissed the lousy engineers assigned by the

---

[108] Hassan Fathy, *Gourna; a Tale of Two Villages* (Cairo: Ministry of Culture, 1969), 246-248.
[109] Ibid., 27.

government. Furthermore, the government did not pay the project's installment at the beginning; it did not provide infrastructure, public services, or amenities. Officials manipulated the project's ideology of self-built approach in a "laissez-faire" sense by almost doing nothing. The New Gourna Village was built under the colonial administration that, however, had little influence or power over its outcome. The laissez-faire approach was a quite oxymoronic "mission to civilize" compared with the colonial experiments elsewhere. In the other colonies, whether, in North Africa or India, the colonial government imposed its architectural design and planning strategy. The new village of "New Gourna" was quite different in retrospect.

1.2.1. Self-built Approach

The self-built approach of Fathy is synonymous with the ideology of the "self-help" literature in the developing world that was published afterward through the work of John Turner and his critics. Nonetheless, Rod Burgess drew the line between "self-help" and "self-built."[110] Self-Built housing is about building from scratch, while "self-help" encompasses any additions or appropriations after that. Both are modes of governmentality nonetheless, and enact personal empowerment outside the realm of the state's control. Turner advocated self-help as a mode of liberation, *Freedom to Build*, by pushing the public sector and private sector to support users and popular sector in their quest for "autonomy" and self-determination. In *Housing by People*,[111] Turner depicted the virtues of "autonomy" (self-determined) over "heteronomy" (other-determined), and personal responsibility over corporate control.[112]

Turner used the rhetoric of empowerment in political terms, which could be manipulated by a laissez-faire form of politics as happened with the Colonial Administration in the case of New Gourna. Such laissez-faire approach eventually leads to retracting the role of the state from its duties and responsibilities towards its citizens. In New Gourna, the government adopted the procedure for the purpose of population control. The New Gourna Village was not a project to celebrate the ideological rhetoric of "the authority of people over housing in their localities."[113]

In the critique of Turner, Hans Harms argued that at moments of crises, governments use self-built "to increase the overall amount of unpaid labor in society."[114] Harms analyzed how the occurrence of self-help coincided with crises in capitalism through history not only in the developing world, but also in areas like the United States and Germany.[115] Burgess depicted how under conditions of worldwide recession, regimes of power would "see in self-help systems the economic and ideological means necessary for the maintenance of the status quo and the general

---

[110] Rod Burgess, "Self-Help Housing Advocacy: A Curious Form of Radicalism, A Critique of the Work of John F. C. Turner," in *Self-Help Housing: A Critique*, ed. Peter M Ward (London; Bronx, N.Y.: Mansell ; Distributed in the U.S. by H.W. Wilson, 1982), 56.

[111] John F. C Turner, *Housing by People: Towards Autonomy in Building Environments* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1977).

[112] Ibid., 5.

[113] Ibid., 106.

[114] Hans Harm, "Historical Perspectives on the Practice and Purpose of Self-Help Housing," in *Self-Help Housing: A Critique*, ed. Peter M Ward (London; Bronx, N.Y.: Mansell ; Distributed in the U.S. by H.W. Wilson, 1982), 20. Economically, also, when the land value booms after people's development of the site, the government would reallocate them to another area, and so would the cycle turn with the capitalist production of housing.

[115] Hans Harm, "Historical Perspectives on the Practice and Purpose of Self-Help Housing," in *Self-Help Housing: A Critique*, ed. Peter M Ward (London; Bronx, N.Y.: Mansell ; Distributed in the U.S. by H.W. Wilson, 1982), 17–53.

conditions for capitalist development."[116] Reducing paid labor would then become the real interest in self-help systems despite their self-proclaimed radicalism, which is nothing, but to survive a recession or maintain the status quo. In 1944 when this project started, most resources and raw materials were exhausted in the WWII, and there was a worldwide economic recession with pressures from within the Great Britain to downsize its colonies that can no more be under control.[117]

What is important in the case New Gourna is that "self-built" was deployed to break from the old village and create a new rural pathology to deal with the villagers accused with theft. By "doing nothing" and developing a laissez-faire policy, the government did allow the self-built approach to becoming a mode of governance. This spatial mode of governance broke from the old towards a new mode of housing settlement that generated the failed "New Gourna Village."

1.2.2. Vernacular Modernity

The New Gourna Village was 50-acres of virgin land designated for 7,000 peasants located on the west bank of the Nile. The new location was still in proximity to the old village. The government had forcefully evicted the villagers by the rule of law to an empty land. Hassan Fathy convinced, the villagers, to erect their new housing settlement from scratch. The settlement was an involuntary congregation for the Gourna villagers. Peter Marcuse defines such "involuntary congregate" as a ghetto that is formed by segregation. "Segregation is the process by which a population group is forced, i.e. involuntarily, to cluster in a defined spatial area, in a ghetto. It is the process of formation and maintenance of a *ghetto*."[118] Though by definition, it

---

[116] Burgess, "Self-Help Housing Advocacy," 57.

[117] It is in these historic, political, and economic contingencies that the government considered Fathy's approach. It was a feasible solution that served the regime of power with no intervention while still reallocating the Gourna villagers. In fact, there was an intervention but on a minute and unethical scale — but quite significant to how self-help projects produce what Rod Burgess criticized as the petite bourgeoisie benefiting from this process (1982: 87). Some officials tried to extract money out of the project by interfering in Fathy's choice of peasants who were hired for building (low-paid wage), requesting Fathy to subcontract the builders only through them. An official used a moral argument to twist the malfeasance he was requesting. He claimed that some peasants that Fathy was hiring were directly involved in the theft of the tombs and should be eliminated from the team. Fathy replied back to the official's requests that this project was a device to turn the villagers into better human beings (1969). On both sides, the officials and Fathy, there was an obvious valorization of the labor force. The New Gourna Village was a construction camp for experimenting the self-built housing under the colonial administration that stigmatized the Gourna Village in a collective punishment of reallocation. In the New Gourna Village, it became a construction site to manufacturing lines of mud-bricks, experimenting domes and vaults rooftops, sewage collectors, and hygiene housing furnaces. Eventually, the villagers stopped participating. There is no historical document that represents the voice of the peasants: how they perceived the project and their exact sentiments of dissent. Nonetheless, it is obvious that it was a collective action that disrupted Fathy's vision and the government's politics of laissez-faire. Fathy hired another crew of builders from outside the village to build his vision of New Gourna. The new village was indeed constructed using low-cost materials and affordable technology of roof structures. However, the idea of the self-built community was enmeshed with a politics of injustice and stigmatization of the peasants — which is the dividing line between the two villages. The old village was stigmatized in the process of eviction and pushing peasants out of their home. This was the justification for building the new village, logic to be the design from scratch and envision a "self-built" housing project.

[118] Peter Marcuse, "The Enclave, the Citadel, and the Ghetto: What has Changed in the Post-Fordist U.S. City," *Urban Affairs Review* 33, no. 2 (1997): 228–64. Also, lecture of Peter Marcuse in Toronto, Canada, http://www.urbancenter.utoronto.ca/pdfs/curp/Marcuse_Segregationandthe.pdf, accessed May 13, 2015, (University of Toronto, 2001).

would pass as a "ghetto" in Marcuse's terms.[119] However, what was happening in the New Gourna Village of Egypt was not a conventional North American or European ghetto given the presence of an architect orchestrating the process, and an enforcement coming from a colonial administration. Despite that the settlement was an involuntary congregate, the architect was aware of the "*fellah* question" and accordingly, offered design solutions for the hygienic crisis to defy the spread of *Bilharzia* and Malaria. In that sense, it does not neatly fit the "ghetto" category.

Rectangular in shape, the plan was bounded on two sides by a light railway that curved the southeast corner. The C-shape spine formed the village's main corridor. It connected many public activities cutting through the village. At the beginning and end of the spine, there were two artificial lakes, one at the far northwest end, and another at the east corner. The boys' primary school was by the Northwest Park while the girls' school occupied a similar position on the east edge. An entrance from the southern edge at the middle of the village marked its main thoroughfare and defined the village's center, the community's hub for its main activities. Around the center, mixed-used buildings were situated, the Mosque, the Khan, the theater, and the permanent exhibition hall. On the south of this axial thoroughfare, the little Coptic Church was placed, and to its north, there was the Turkish bath, the police station, and the dispensary.

Fathy divided the village into residential quarters of tribal affiliation. The main C-shape spine linked the village's four main residential tribal-quarters as shown by Fathy's sketch. The concave enclosure of the spine embraced a tribe, to the south of it another tribe was placed, and a third one was placed to the west. Fathy situated a fourth tribe on the far west edge in a rectangular longitudinal form. Each quarter represented a group of modular houses separated on the basis of kinship relations. In the old Gourna village, the five tribal groups that made up the population lived in four distinct hamlets. "In the new village I planned to keep this physical distinction by setting the tribal groups into the four well-marked quarters."[120]

The layout of the main streets separated the four quarters of the village. The hierarchy of streets' width emphasized an order and separated the residential quarters of each tribe. The wide streets separating the quarters were intended as main thoroughfares. The secondary streets were ten meters wide to ensure circulation of air and proper ventilation. The narrow streets leading to the semi-private spaces were no more than six meters wide to provide shade and intimacy and included many corners and twists to discourage strangers from using them as thoroughfares. On the plan, they appeared interlocking as they were meant to facilitate communication between the families of the single tribe.[121]

Each tribe represented an enclosed camp on its own. The *Hassassna* and *Atteyat*, who had lived in Assassif — the hamlet lying in the middle of the Old Gourna — were to be housed in the midst of the new village, to the north of the square. They inhabited the semi-circle. The Hassassna was said to have a bloodline descending from Al-Hussein, the grandson of the Prophet Mohamed. Sheikh ElTayeb, a very holy old man who was venerated all over the region,

[119] Peter Marcuse and Ronald van Kempen, *Globalizing Cities: A New Spatial Order?* (Oxford; Malden, Mass: Blackwell Publishers, 2000).
[120] Fathy, *Gourna; a Tale of Two Villages*, 95.
[121] Ibid., 96.

belonged to this clan. In respect, Fathy assumed it was relevant to group the well-respected Hassassna with the mosque, the two primary schools and the women's social center attached to the dispensary — as the buildings that represented religion and education. The Atteyat was placed with the Hassassna as they used to live in the same hamlet in the old village.[122]
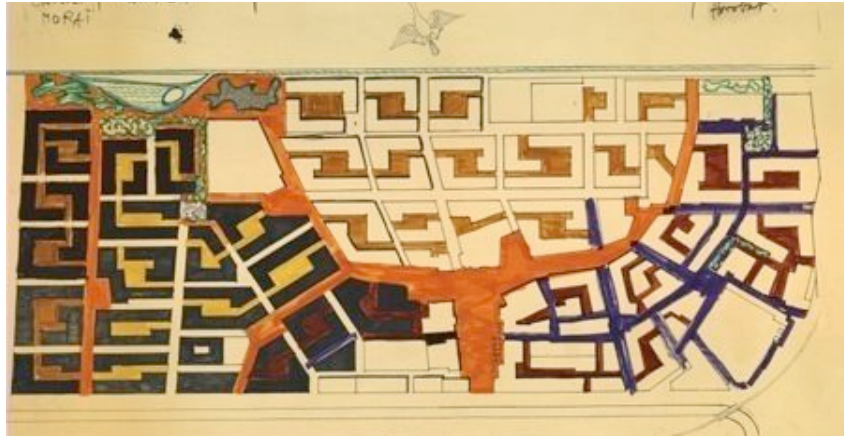

Fig. 1.3 Hassan Fathy's Conceptual Layout of New Gourna. Source: American University in Cairo, Rare books archive, digital website.

As for the Horabat clan, Fathy placed them in the quarter south of the main road adjacent to the police station, to remain under surveillance in yet another stigmatizing practice.[123] Fathy argued that their clan's name meant "the warriors," and according to him — they were a family of the most prominent tomb robbers.[124] Placing them beside a law-enforcing unit like the police would ensure their discipline and good behavior. Fathy also arguably believed that situating them beside the frequently visited buildings like the marketplace and the community's hub would provide an additional watch over their activities. Fathy believed that such zoning would change their thinking and behavioral pattern. Fathy's architectural and urban zoning internalized the politics of collective punishment that the colonial administration had decreed onto the villagers. In the case of Horabat clan, he embraced the colonial logic of tribal zoning and spatial segregation.

The Ghabat, the fourth tribe, takes its name from the word "forests." In another direct metaphor, Fathy placed their residential quarter by the artificial lake and the park in the northwest. The fifth tribe, the Baerat, which lived mainly in the neighboring village of old Gourna, was included in the new village at the far western end of New Gourna. The architect separated the tribe by a broad street from the rest of the village.[125] They maintained their partially autonomy by following the mayor of Baerat despite their geographical affiliation to the Gourna Village.

In zoning the new village, Fathy laid out the master plan in a vernacular form and organic street shapes. He chose a vernacular design style for his new project. The usage of crooked streets in a tabula rasa project seemed odd given there were no site restrictions or spatial challenges. There was a broad range of design solutions and simple forms the Village could have become using the

---

[122] Ibid., 95.
[123] Ibid.
[124] Ibid.
[125] Ibid., 96.

51

"iron-grid" plan for instance. However, Fathy argued for the impracticality of the modern principles of the "iron-grid" in a desert climate. Some critics criticized Fathy for mimicking the winding streets of old Islamic Cairo like Darb El-Labana Street with its seventeenth-century houses. In detaching himself from the urban form of Historic Cairo, he interpreted its form as an accumulation of problems and their subsequent unique solutions.[126]

In the New Gourna Village, there were no problems yet to agglomerate; it was a tabula rasa. He interpreted his organic design in terms of environmental efficiency. It was a different spatial problem than that of Historic Cairo. He considered New Gourna a fresh start, a pilot project to develop a hygienic and more environmentally designed settlement. The underlying logic of building new village was to provide hygienic spaces and control of diseases. Building new village was a promise for a better built environment and living condition.

1.2.3. Hygiene and Modernization

The "fellah question" occupied the concerns of Fathy in designing New Gourna. He developed techniques to enhance the built environment using technologies borrowed from the vernacular-East in Nubia such as the roof domes, and technologies borrowed from the vernacular-West in Austria and Japan such as the domestic furnace and sanitized farm trousers. On the other hand, he also worked on developing the non-physical dimension of hygiene related to the social behavior of the villagers. Fathy conducted extensive health-care awareness workshops and built sanitary mechanisms for better hygienic spaces inside the housing units. He also developed hygienic solutions on a larger scale for the common public spaces of the New Village.

"It seemed to me that we could not cure the general crisis in Egyptian architecture simply by building one or two good model houses as examples, nor even a whole village. Rather we should have to try and diagnose the disease, to understand the root causes of the crisis and attack it at these roots. The cultural decay starts with the *individual* himself, who is confronted with choices that he is not equipped to make, and we must cure [him] at this stage."[127]

By stressing on the "cultural decay," Fathy takes on the development of the peasantry subjects. The new village became a fertile opportunity to modernize the peasants' social diseases and "understand the root causes" of housing. Fathy criticized the condition of the peasant's housing unit, leveling it to "a barn… with storage spaces," where people lived in between those spaces. Fathy equaled the fellah to the livestock in such comment. Fathy, however, elaborated further by explaining: The unit crammed with fuel, faggots, maize and cotton stalks, and dried dung. They all heaped up against the walls of piled on the roof. Fathy was critical of the way the house was internally organized with material stuff creating thermal and ventilating hazards.

Consequently, Fathy grouped the household functions of cooking, washing, and latrines around a central courtyard. The courtyards are comprised of a loggia where the family sits for eating. On the ground floor, he placed the guest room and the cattle sheds while upstairs; he placed the bedrooms and the fuel storage bin. Fathy admitted that this was not an efficient design for the separation of functions, especially for hygienic purposes. However, he exclaimed that the

---

[126] Ibid., 97.
[127] Ibid., 34.

scarcity of space on the building site with limited money and technologies left no option but to optimize the circulation and spatial arrangement of the old housing prototype.[128]

Fathy aimed at modernizing the household appliances to enhance the indoor air quality. He imported a simple oven from Austria, the "kachelofen," as an effective and cheap method for heating to replace the traditional unhealthy one. In the traditional way, the ordinary baking-oven was placed in the courtyard corner and was used to warm the whole house. An additional one was placed inside the bedroom taking a lot of space and the room gets black with soot especially with poor ventilation, becoming insufferably dark and stuffy. Because of the baking-oven's inefficiency as a heating unit, the whole family usually had to sleep on top of it — after it had gone out, naturally— and the cows were frequently brought in the house to share and add warmth, according to Fathy.[129] The "kachelofen" could be made of simple materials, its internal coating was fireclay, and its outside coating was glazed with tiles called "kachel" that represented folkloric art. Fathy taught an old woman who was making the ordinary baking-ovens out of mud and donkey-droppings, how to make "kachelofens" out of the same materials. In his book, he explains how "[s]he learnt very quickly, and could soon turn them out for the same price as the baking-ovens, for about 30 piasters. They would burn anything, even the household sweepings and kitchen refuse; I designed one type for the richer families that worked with oil and water drops, and burnt like a furnace."[130] Fathy wanted to improve the peasants' living conditions and believed his role as expert was beyond just an architect and a designer, but also an educator.

Fathy aimed at modernizing the household appliances to enhance the indoor air quality. He imported a mere oven from Austria, the "kachelofen," as an efficient and cheap method for heating to replace the traditional unhealthy one. In the traditional way, the ordinary baking oven was placed in the courtyard corner and was used to warm the whole house. An additional one was placed inside the bedroom taking much space and the room gets black with soot especially with poor ventilation, becoming insufferably dark and stuffy. The baking ovens were inefficient for heating. They family needed to be warmed, which led the whole family to sleep on top of it after it had gone out, naturally. The cows were frequently brought in to share and add warmth, according to Fathy.[131] The "kachelofen" could be made of simple materials, its internal coating was a fireclay tile, and its outside coating was glazed decorative tiles called "kachel" that represented folkloric art. Fathy taught an old woman who was making the ordinary baking-ovens out of mud and donkey droppings, how to make "kachelofens" out of the same materials. In his book, he explains how "[s]he learned very quickly, and could soon turn them out for the same price as the baking ovens, for about 30 piasters. They would burn anything, even the household sweepings and kitchen refuse; I designed one type for the richer families that worked with oil and water drops, and burnt like a furnace."[132] Fathy wanted to improve the peasants' living conditions and believed his role as the expert was beyond just an architect and a designer, but also an educator.

---

[128] Ibid., 121-122.
[129] Ibid., 127.
[130] Ibid., 128.
[131] Ibid., 127.
[132] Ibid., 128.
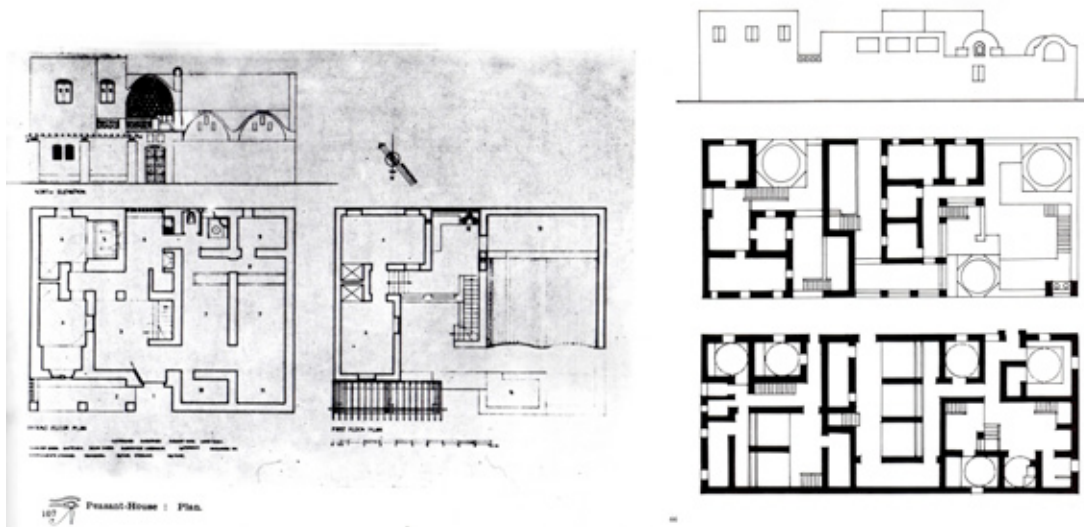
Fig. 1.4, 1.5 Peasants Housing. Source: Fathy 1969, plate 107, on the left. Source: Steele 1997, 66 (based on original plate of Fathy 1969, plate 108), on the right.
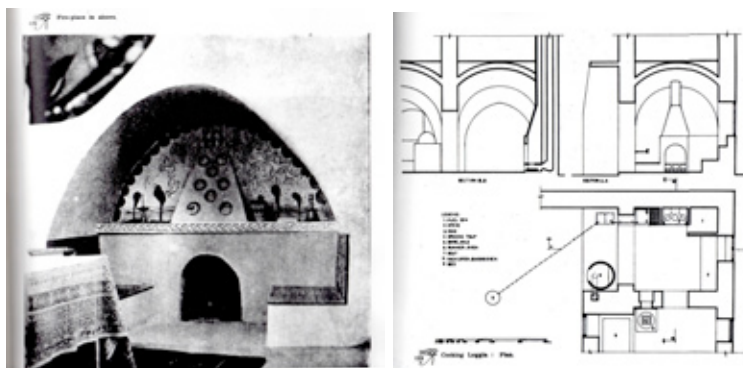
Fig. 1.6, 1.7 Kachelofen: plan and section. Source: Fathy 1969, plate 122.

A third sanitary crisis that Fathy articulated as "combating Bilharzia" – a chronic disease coming from an endemic Worm in parts of Africa caused by infestation with blood fluke, required three procedures to alleviate. First, he dug an artificial lake based on research on water sciences and chemical engineering. Second, through modifying peasant's dress code he engineered an alternative to protect them from water parasites. Finally, he launched an educational awareness campaign against the disease through cultural and theatrical plays to entertain the peasants. Dr. Barlow, an American scientist, proposed a radical idea of decontaminating the whole Nile River using powdered copper sulphate. Fathy asked the assistance of the Director of the Parasitology Section at the Ministry of Public Health, Dr. Mahmoud Mustafa Hilmi, to design an artificial decontaminated pool adjacent to the village based on Dr. Barlow's research. He dug an "ante-pond" in the shape of a channel some 200-meters length upstream of the lake beside the main canal. Then the pond's gates would be locked at each end. Water could be held in the channel, chemically treated before being admitted to the lake proper. The powdered copper sulphate would dissolve in the water from a bag hung in the stream by the locked gate to kill snails, Worms and larvae, but wouldn't kill the free-swimming Bilharzia worms. This needed a 48-hours treatment in a snail free ante-lake, and then they would all die. As for the mosquitoes, this would be overcome by changing the top 10-centimeters of water, which would be automatically

54

done every time the peasants opened the gate to the lake.[133] Fathy hoped that the lake together with the park would provide something "quite new" in the Egyptian village — "a place for relaxation and recreation." He argued, the park was not complimentary for amusement as Ismail Pasha's ornamental lake in his palace's gardens at Giza. It was for public health and environmental reasons.

The peasants used the lake for many farming purposes. Accordingly Fathy designed "protective clothes" for them. The Japanese rubber boots of farm workers inspired the protective garments, which had greatly contributed to reducing their Bilharzia. Fathy sent the newly designed peasant's trousers to be tested in Cairo's lab that proved to be one hundred percent efficient. Fathy's role was then to convince peasants to use the new dress code for farming.[134]

He organized an awareness campaign. Fathy wrote, "[t]he people must be persuaded to wear the trousers, to use the disinfected lakes. For this, they must be made to see the Cercaria in the water, made to see its progress through the body."[135] He believed that an all-out propaganda campaign must be persuasive using every trick and device of mass communications that must be instituted to make the peasants save themselves. He used a multimedia campaign of film shows, brought microscopes to magnify the bilharzia on the wall. He persuaded the peasants to fish a bucket of water out of the river and let the whole village see a three feet long Worm swimming across the wall of the village hall. He channeled another campaign for children using role-model plays. Fathy wrote a fairy story, the horrid tale of Bill Harzia. The protagonist dressed up as a terrifying demon in a goggle-eyed gas mask, and a white sheet -all puffed up by an inner tube round his shoulders, and showed it as a play.[136] Fathy played the role of a demon called "Bill Harzia." Bill sucked the blood of peasants and left them dying slowly. The show became an entertaining cultural event for the peasants and their families taking place in the theater hall. The symbolic trajectory and embedded meaning of the play go beyond the scope of the chapter. The colonial invocations in the name of "Bill," being the foreign parasite, the white man, sucking the wealth and resources of the peasants reflected the political view of Fathy towards exploitation. "I wrote a play for them, the horrid tale of Bill Harzia and dressed myself up as a (fairly) terrifying demon in a goggle-eyed gas-mask and a white sheet."[137]

The sublime characteristics of flat abstract walls with no decoration: openings were just for ventilation and lighting purposes. The structural system created a rhythm and an order emphasized in the modular units of the plan. The domes were staggered but in a designed pattern.

Fathy believed in the Arabic identity as a platform for contemporary and modern Egyptian architecture.[138] Unfortunately, his deliberation was patriarchal and was based on excluding the

---

[133] Ibid., 139.
[134] Ibid., 143-144.
[135] Ibid., 144.
[136] Ibid.
[137] Ibid.
[138] There were multiple critiques, responses, and interpretations to Fathy's work. Hassan Fathy's work stirred a theoretical debate over the genesis of his "indigenous modernity." In historicizing the literature written on Fathy, there are several schools of interpretation that positioned his architecture differently. The first cluster of theorists analyzed his work from the lens of binary dispositions: colonial versus anti-colonial, modern versus vernacular,

Gournis from their fundamental right to self-determination. He might have been anti-colonial, but ironically in practice, he encamped the Gournis in a similar way by designing a representation of the state of exception and choosing to be apolitical. However, New Gourna had failed. Fathy was at once an architect, scientific researcher, a fashion designer, a play writer, and an entertainer. James Richards argued that as much as Fathy had always distrusted the Modern Movement, he had nevertheless been part of it in the sense that he too aimed at reorienting architecture in the direction of improving human living conditions.[139] Fathy offered the Modern Movement what it had missed in connecting and contextualizing architecture with the society. His work must be viewed beyond the limitations of the architectural vocabulary and the building

---

universal versus local, mechanical versus humanistic, invented homogeneity versus authentic identity (Richards 1985, Celik 1992, Steele 1997, Hamid 2010). The architectural historian William Curtis criticized Hassan Fathy's work as a revival of traditional architecture (1996). Serageldin hailed Fathy's pioneering thinking of finding a social and economic habitat solution. The solution to the problem of a "new" human habitat in urban areas was not technological, but social and economic (1997: 42). Hamid called Fathy "a condenser of an older intelligence," he argues that "[t]he poor and underprivileged, whom he aspired to serve, viewed him as a protagonist of their customs and traditions" (2010: 45). Hamid's statement dismisses how the Gournis rejected Fathy's camp and his endeavor of transforming them into self-builders. In fact, they passively resisted his village in a Gramscian sense and attributed to his failure. The second line of thought viewed Fathy's selective use of traditions as part of a national political project related to the state's self-framing of its Arab identity (Mitchell 2001). In so forth, Fathy flattened the diversity and richness of Egypt's sub-culture into an architecture that he claimed to represent rural Egypt (Pyla 2009). The third line of writing theorized Fathy's local experiments in light of his transnational training with a Mediterranean-based firm, which contributed to his modernist thinking and technical rationality. Panayiota Pyla argues that Fathy was a pragmatic-interpreter whose work with Doxiades reshaped his views and self-interpretation of New Gourna depending on the local-regional conditions and audience. The change of Fathy's analyses of his own work developed in the course of his life: 1) scientific rationality and economical efficiency merged with cultural sensibilities, 2) locality, and particularity, 3) environmental and passive energy optimization. Zeynep Celik, James Steele, and Ahmed Hamid stressed that Fathy's work was an exemplary of a modernity sensitive to culture. Celik and Steele root Fathy's modernist approach to cultural selection and representation of French colonialism in North Africa. Steele views Fathy's selection of the 18th century merchant houses of old historic Cairo, an actual inspiration from the French scientific expedition to Egypt in 1801 circa, who generated rich details of those houses that later became Fathy's frame of reference. He bases his argument on Fathy's interpretive sketches and details. Celik parallels Fathy's New Gourna to General Lyautey, who reproduced Moroccan traditional forms in the new madina project (1992: 194). While Hamid dismisses Celik's argument as "misrepresentation that assumes a decidedly inferior position for the people of New Gourna" (2010: 119), he still interprets Fathy's work on the level of cultural modernity. Celik describes Fathy's attitude to saving the peasants and representing their culture, a "self-assigned mission" and "benevolently paternalistic." The selective way Fathy picked on traditions and reincorporated it with modern aesthetics is reminiscent of the French colonial practice under Lyautey in North Africa (Celik 1992: 193). She aligns Fathy's insistence on returning to the oldest and purest building traditions of Egypt to Franz Fanon's analysis of the "passion with which native intellectuals defend the existence of their national culture." Fathy aspired for a modern indigenous architecture, and in doing so he abstracted culture into images and forms — elements coming from the merchant houses of medieval Cairo like the qa'a and the courtyard prototype (Celik 1992: 193-194, Steele 1997). He juxtaposed and reorganized key spaces as the square domed unit, and the rectangular vaulted unit. He relied on the power of volumes and masses and abstained from using color or texture on his walls, "light constructions, simple, with the clean line of the best modern houses." (Fathy 1973). Celik argues that Fathy's experimental modernity of continuing traditions grew out of French colonial architectural experiments in North Africa (194). Arguably, she concludes that, Fathy's courtyards, private streets, and residential clusters; his aesthetic founded on simple volumes. Fathy's public buildings (market, crafts khan, mosque, bath) and his socially ambitious program had counterparts in Laprade's new Medina. However, it had its counterparts in Old Historic Cairo. Celik, however, meant that Fathy paralleled the French colonial modern in the way of revitalizing the traditional way of life demonstrated in Laprade's new Medina. Such recycling was replicated at the level of the built environment and the patterns of production for crafts and construction materials, namely bricks (194). However, again Fathy relied on mud-brick.

[139] J. M Richards et al., *Hassan Fathy* (Singapore: Concept Media, 1985), 10.

techniques he would acknowledge. The message to be taken was his approach and way of thinking that, "in solving human problems one must not remove oneself too far from the human individual… Fathy's use of mud-brick moreover is not an archaic fad, a choice of primitive methods for a primitive way of life. Using a contextual material was admirable in terms of the strict scientific use of available materials, of the relations of building costs to habitable space, and of optimum thermal efficiency"[140]

Fig. 1.8 New Gourna Artificial Lake to contain Bilharzias. Source: Fathy 1969, plate 135.
Fig. 1.9 White, fare face, and clean material finishing for the theatre. Source: Richards 1985, 108.
Fig. 1.10 White, fare faced, and clean material representing housing units in New Gourna. Original drawings of the New Gourna housing painted Gouache on paper c. 1948. Source: Steele 1997, 60.

Fathy played the role of the mediator — the expert who interpreted what was best for the peasants. Many peasants passively collaborated with Fathy. New Gourna was doomed to fail. Years after, the rich elite recycled Fathy's —already appropriated— domes and vaults to erect new touristic resorts, tabula rasa village architectures, by the Red Sea. Fathy's initial appeal for "a new attitude to rural rehabilitation through collaborative building" of rural mass-housing to address "the world's desperate poor" turned Faustian, a tragedy of development. The New Gourna Village failed, but the design solutions of hygiene, environmentally appropriate earth materials, housing variations did remain. Also, these design registers were further developed in the New Bariz Village in 1967, in another replica of Fathy's initiative.

1.3. The Manor: Feudal Governance and Solving Hygiene through Importing Knowledge

In 1946, Sayyid Karim took on another initiative to address the "fellah question." There was a feudal family invested in the agrarian and livestock capital, El-Alaily family that assigned Karim to build a Manor. The government had no enforcement or rule over the villagers this time, unlike the Gourna Village. This time it was the feudal-capitalist powers that were leading this project; the feudal families were the other arm of the monarchy controlling the nation and its resources. While the New Gourna represented the government's force to impose power over the villagers through eviction, the El-Alaily Manor represented a capitalist family's power in imposing control over the peasants. The Manor maintained the feudal power in disciplining a limited population of peasants and their livestock; it was a project of "rural bio-politics." The experts

---

[140] Ibid., 14.

and the feudal system became the vehicles of rural development in a colony characterized by the absence of the Colonial administration and a strategic plan for villages' reform.

1.3.1. The "Eternally Primitive Peasant"

Karim and the modernists published a set of articles in Majallet Al-'Imara (MA), explaining that the village's housing crisis was a function of the peasant [himself]. They defined the peasant in terms such as "eternally primitive," "naive," and "living in the dark ages." In 1945, at the same year that Hassan Fathy started his work in New Gourna, the MA shifted its attention to the rural condition stressing the need for a more modernist approach to development.[141]

The editors presented the countryside from two angles. The first angle focused on the "peasant as a subject that needed modernization." The second angle focused on the "livestock as the object of capital growth" — which would generate profit for further development. The livestock dimension was an economical approach to development. It was a different approach from the one that Hassan Fathy had ended up with in New Gourna Village. The Manor was an opposite approach to the laissez-faire governance and the self-built development. Here, modernists aimed at controlling every detail in the design and production of the Manor. These details resulted in changing the spatial relationship between the peasants and their livestock. The ultimate goal was to develop the livestock's breeding spaces and barnyards to generate capital.

However, this was not possible without disciplining the peasant as a first step. Many experts of that period looked down onto the fellah. Dr. Iskandar Badawy, an archeologist, wrote an article with the title, "The Eternal Story of the Peasant." This title could also be translated as "The Eternal Peasant" in a direct personification of the rural crisis. In a condescending tone, Iskander attacked the behavioral patterns of the peasant who has not developed their farming techniques and livestock management since Ancient Egyptian. He condemned the Egyptian Peasant as ignorant and inferior, who was still living in "the dark medieval ages." Iskander blamed the peasant for the underdevelopment of the rural condition in Egypt. Attentively, he called for the intervention of experts to save the future of agriculture and livestock from the "peasants' hands."

Iskander was gradually alienating the peasants from the agricultural and livestock cycle of production with the logic of their incompetence with the future modernizing hopes of the experts. He claimed the need for experts to take the leadership and isolate the peasant. Iskander did not address the colonial condition and the political responsibility that abstained the rights of villagers to education, dignified housing, and infrastructure. He did not question the socio-economic forces that expropriated their land resources and extracted their wealth. In his article, Iskander injected an elite critic that reduced the worthiness of his "fellow citizens," the peasants. Iskander described them as "naïve as [his] dress code" and "eternally primitive" as "[his] houses that did not change since four-thousand years ago." Iskander laid the housing crises onto the peasant expressing his shock with the over-simplicity of their units. The housing unit was a rectangular in form with a courtyard and entrance from one of the long sides, which opened to the street. The interior space was for sheltering the animals, fodder, and the peasants' family, using a light wooden shed as a roof structure.

---

[141] Sayyid Karim, "Words from the Editor," in, *Magazine of Architecture*, (Arabic Trans. *Mujallat al-'imārah,* (Cairo: 1945:1), 1, accessed February 28, 2014, http://pds.lib.harvard.edu/pds/view/

Fig. 1.11, 1.12 Graphic represents the contemporary peasant as ancient and old fashioned. Source: Harvard University Library PDS, *Majallat al-'imārah*, (Cairo, 1945:1), accessed February 28, 2014, http://pds.lib.harvard.edu/pds/view/.

Fig. 1.13, 1.14 The Dilapidating Mud-brick Structures. Source: Harvard University Library PDS, *Majallat al-'imārah* (1940:1), 216-245, accessed February 28, 2014, http://pds.lib.harvard.edu/pds/view/.
Left: The only image for mud-brick houses in Upper Egypt was an aerial view with hardly identifiable details, an overall shot showing a flooded collapsing village. Right: Image of ruined vaults built with mud-bricks in an archeological site of Ancient Egyptian Architecture in Upper Egypt.

1.3.2. Hygienic Spaces Solved Through Translation: The Arabic Modulor and Modern Materials

Modernists connected the peasant condition with the deteriorating hygienic condition of the Village. Both, the human subject, and the built environment, was correlated. The underdevelopment of one led to the other. According to the modernists, the village was poorly designed. Things were getting worse as long as the peasants were designing and building their settlements. A new approach was needed. Moreover, it should not be a self-built one as the proposal of Hassan Fathy.

Karim took on a modernist design approach in the Manor dealing the issue of hygiene in a different manner than that of Fathy. He developed a design thinking based on efficiency and technical rationality. Karim believed in the power of machines and functionality that would meet human design needs. Instead of Fathy's approach in borrowing global and local vernacular technologies to modernize the Gounra Village, Karim accommodated the Universal standards of international modernism to the Egyptian rural context. He believed that designing spaces with the right proportions and scale of the human body and its movements would ultimately create a hygienically controlled built environment. This belief was based on an unquestionable doubt in scientific progress especially after the age of the machines and its superior deployment in WWII.

Sayyid Karim's presence in Europe during the 1930's had a strong influence in shaping his career path in Egypt. Karim graduated from ETH-Zurich after getting a doctoral degree in Architecture. His advisor, Otto Rudolf Salvisberg, was involved in architectural projects in Basel and elsewhere. Universal Modernism and functionalism shaped the architecture and design thinking of this period. This period was also the aura of CIAM and Le Corbusier with his path-breaking design proposal of Plan Voisin in 1925 and other influential projects later to come.

59

However, what directly affected Karim was Le Corbusier's development of the Modulor Study and the general belief that it was the key to design problems. Karim believed the Modulor could be a solution for the fellah's unhygienic village. The body proportions, scalar, and the volume it occupies in space had largely inspired Karim in publishing articles on it in *Majallat Al-'Imara wal Fonoun*, the Magazine of Architecture.

Sayyid Karim wanted to develop the peasants' housing in a modern way, borrowing ideas from the West, yet without compromising Egypt's longstanding superior position as the cradle of civilization.[142] Karim wanted to display the abilities of the indigenous modernist architects to compete with the international ones in what he framed as "the race of nations" in developing architectural theories. He aimed at translating international theories, modifying them to the local context, then exporting the Egyptian experience back to the world. Karim's struggle to showcase the expertise of Egyptian architects on the international level had its roots back in Europe in 1937. Karim got his architectural degree from ETH-Zurich. The inferior and Oriental image the West had cultivated about Egypt struck him. In a 1937-architectural conference in Czechoslovakia, he presented the contemporary architecture in Egypt mostly built through the self-endeavors of foreign real estate developers like Baron Empain, who invested in the desert oasis of Heliopolis, and other buildings. The European architectural audience was surprised with Karim's presentation. According to Karim, they were expecting a presentation on the Pyramids as a timeless signature of Egypt.[143] Karim wrote they could not renounce the image they conceived of traditional Egypt. In another conference in 1938 at Warsaw, some architectural scholars asked Karim if there was an Egyptian architectural periodical as a reference. On knowing that architects in Egypt did not have an architectural periodical, they signified the lack of publication as a sign of Egypt's lack of technology and infrastructure. Based on Karim's memoir that he published as articles later in the magazine — "Egypt for them did not qualify to the European standards of being architecturally *modern*."[144] .[145]

---

[142] Ibid., 65.

[143] Sayyid Karim, "From 1939-1949," in, *Magazine of Architecture*, (Arabic Trans. *Majallat al-'imārah*, (Cairo: 1949: 9, 1-2), 5-6, accessed online: http://pds.lib.harvard.edu. Building on the work of Edward Said, Timothy Mitchell argued, one consequence of Orientalism was that; "the Orient more and more became a place that one 'already knew by heart'," "…the colonial process would try and re-order Egypt to appear as a world enframed." Timothy Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988[1991]), 30. In such doing, the Orient "exclude the 'real world' from the world exhibition, a framework sets up the impression of something beyond the picture world it enframes. It promises a truth that lies outside its world of material representation." (Ibid., 33.)

[144] Karim had another motivation for publishing *Magazine of Architecture* (First Issue was released in 1939). He staged it at the heart of a struggle between the new school of material technology in architecture to modernize the city and the old school of preserving the past. The mission of the magazine was to create an Egyptian architectural community. He wanted to contest the royalist procedure of commissioning large-scale architectural projects. He solicited architectural competitions in the magazine's periodicals as initiatives to encourage creativity away from the domains of power surmounting the profession. In the opening article of the 1949-issue, Karim said these ideas were being fought after the royal monarchy had been initially supportive. This could be traced through the content analysis of his opening articles that were written in Arabic. In the first edition of 1939, he enthusiastically hailed the ruling court and King Farouk. After ten years in its anniversary edition of 1949, he and his colleague Tawfik Abdelgawad explicitly expressed their frustration. They subtly mentioned the role of the political power in framing architecture, how it was difficult to be autonomous, and the exerted pressure on the editorial team for publishing the magazine. They explained that the palace had reduced the number of issues they subscribed and restrained its distribution amongst the country's cultural and educational institutions. (Tawfik Abdelgawad, "Ten Years After," in, *Magazine of Architecture*, (Arabic Trans. *Majallat al-'imārah*, (Cairo: 1949:9, 1-2), 7-8, accessed November 20,

In the 1940-issue of the *Majallat Al-'Imara,* one year after its release, Sayyid Karim and the board of editors took on translating the western theories of architectural design into Arabic. They translated all codes to standardize Egyptian architectural drawings with the international graphic representation. These theories first appeared in Germany and Switzerland and then followed by America and England, and it was time for Egypt as "the world's cradle of architecture to rise again." The driving impetus for translation was threefold. First – based on the idea of Rousseau's ladder of modernization, Karim felt the need to catch up with the "civilized world" or *Al'alam Al-Motamadyen*, which itself was an imagined construct without a defined physical bound. To do so, Karim meant to follow up with the latest theories and research in the field published in the West. Second, in the process of modernization, following Benedict Anderson's work — to be modern had also meant to prove to be ancient and authentic too within this race of civilizations. Karim referenced Ancient Egyptian's superiority in the use of human scale and mathematics in the design of architectural monuments. In that account, he was running the course of this race of nations. Third, the goal of translation was to generate a modern renaissance across the Arab-speaking region having Egypt at its center.[146] This was at the epitome of colonization when the old super-powers of Great Britain and France colonized most of the Middle East and North Africa.[147]

2013, http://pds.lib.harvard.edu/pds/view/) Abdelgawad wrote, now it had become "a national duty," or '*wajib watany*' in Arabic, to advocate for a larger debate on the architectural freedom. Moreover, this freedom would not be attained without a unified front within the architectural society. The rhetoric of "national duty" invoked a lot of national sentiments that would soon fall into place with the military coup of the Army, just three years after, in 1952.

[145] Imagining the concept of a nation in itself is a modern construct; that Egyptian architects had participated in its construction under the heroic notion of duty, or wajib watany. Partha Chatterjee argued that some scholars had been mistaken in equating political nationalism with the national construct. Using India as his case study, he showed how anti-colonialist nationalists produced their domain of sovereignty within the colonial society well before beginning their political battle with the imperial power. Chatterjee showed how middle-class elites first imagined the nation in a spiritual dimension and readied it for the political contest. He argued against Benedict Anderson, "we have all taken the claims of nationalism to be a political movement much too literally and much too seriously." Partha Chatterjee. The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1993), 5. In political science, according to Benedict Anderson, the nation is argued to be "an imagined political community that is once sovereign and limited" using print capitalism as a device to create collective unity and national imaginings. Benedict Anderson, Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism (London: Verso, 1983[2006]). Here Chatterjee highlighted the role anti-colonialist/nationalist middle classes that act as the social agency in the imagining of the nation state before its political realization. Akhil Gupta argued that the nation-states' rhetoric in their struggle to "liberate" from the colonial powers indicates that the concept of the "nation" and its long-awaited "Renaissance" or "modernity" is something already there in the national imaginings waiting to be born again. Akhil Gupta, The Song of the Nonaligned World: Transnational Identities and the Reinscription of Space in Late Capitalism, in, Akhil Gupta, and James Ferguson, eds., Culture, Power, Place: Explorations in Critical Anthropology (Durham, N.C: Duke University Press, 1997), 190.

[146] Sayyid Karim, "Theories of Architecture," in, *Magazine of Architecture*, (Arabic Trans. *Majallat al-'imārah,* (Cairo: 1940:1), 65-66, accessed November 10, 2013, http://pds.lib.harvard.edu/pds/view/

[147] On Translation: Walter Benjamin depicted "translation" as a political practice. It implied the displacement of the original text across boundaries between languages. The displacement takes place on multiple levels about its initial meaning and significance. In the meantime, meaning is not only constructed grammatically, but also historically, culturally, socially, politically and economically, such a displacement is never a simple process. Benjamin proposed that the translation was a "practice" that served to unsettle the predominant position of the original in relation to the translation. (Benjamin wrote various essays on literary translation however his work had implications in many fields outside literature, including cultural and postcolonial theories, as well as architecture. The "Task of the Translator" was on of his most celebrated and indeed, influential essays. It was written as the introduction to his own translation of Baudelaire's Tableaux Parisiens into German. Walter Benjamin, Hannah Arendt, and Harry Zohn, Illuminations (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1968 [1991]), 70-82.) He defined the task of the translator as an active one as

1.3.2.A. The Universal Body Translated

The human scalar became the Zeitgeist of modern architecture; the mathematics of the human body became *universal* across race. It consequently flattened ethnicities, gender, and diversity to determine the aesthetics of the universal space. Building on the work of Vitruvius, Leonardo da Vinci, and Leone Battista Alberti, in the nineteenth century the German researcher Adolf Zeising discovered the golden ratio. Zeising found it expressed in the arrangement of natural things, branches along the stems of plants, leaf veins, and the skeletons of animals. He found it also in the proportions of chemical compounds and the geometry of crystals and even in the proportions of artistic endeavors. In these phenomena, he observed the golden ratio operating as a universal law. In 1936, a Bauhaus graduate, Ernest Neufert-Bauentwurfslehre published "the Architects' data," one of the most influential surveys on architectural graphics. In Germany alone, it has been published in thirty-nine editions with numerous revisions. Moreover, had been widely translated into seventeen languages across the world.[148]

During the 1940s, the metric system in Europe was creating a range of communication problems between architects, engineers, and craftspeople. Governments, in the meantime, around the industrialized world realized that the lack of dimensional standardization was as a serious setback to efficiency in the building industry. It was in these contingencies that the "Modulor" was born.[149] Between 1943 and 1955, Le Corbusier developed the Modulor in an era displaying the widespread infatuation with mathematics as a source of universal truths. Le Corbusier

a result of three registers. First, languages are always in a process of historical development (evolution or becoming). They are not inert constructions or dead, but rather dynamic systems, which change historically and never, stop changing. Consequently, as languages are always changing, then translation can never be total, it is always provisional, and as languages change new translations will be needed. Second, languages are linked to one another; a feature Benjamin called the "kinship" of languages. Even though languages are interconnected, some aspects of language remain untranslatable, something he called the "foreignness of languages." Some objects in different languages may have gained alternative socio-cultural significance throughout history. As a result, when used in literature or in speech, they might intend to signify one thing but the mode of its intention might open a gap of meaning between the intended meaning and what the listener makes out of them. Meaning is influenced by a number of non-grammatical factors; it is not only found in the "object of intention," because it is determined by the "mode of intention." This mode might make some languages exclude one another, yet as Benjamin argued they also supplement one another because the objects remain the same. The other intentional meaning keeps adding to it. In other words, translating the graphics standards originated in the western power becomes a practice to unsettle the hierarchy of power and reproduce a different mode of meaning. Thirdly, translations are independent from the original, or become so once they are produced. When Karim was translating and representing the human body as a scalar reference to contextualize the "Universal Man" — the "object of intention," the body, remained the same but the "mode of intention" based on its imposition into a different context opened up a broader range of social, cultural, and political circumstances of representation. The hypothetical body proportions in Europe varied in shape and form from that of Egypt. And the way it is dressed becomes a different story. In such circumstances, the practice of translation gives agency to the translator to alter the language (graphics and representation) of the original text in order to convey its intended effect in another language. The Arab translation became a variegated echo of the original. The analogy of the "echo" (or reverberation) goes back to Benjamin, in which the original and the translation are at once separate entities, which follow different paths, yet in the meantime they are also inseparable (Ibid, 77.). Benjamin viewed the translation as a "re-creation" of the original, not a "copy" (Ibid., 72.). In Bhabha's work in postcolonial studies, this dismantles the hierarchy that grants authority to the original over the translation – it becomes a process of deconstruction (Bhabha, 2004).

[148] Ernst Neufert, and John Thackara, *Architects' Data*, (London: Granada, 1980), accessed February 15, 2014, http://bauhaus-online.de/atlas/personen/ernst-neufert

[149] Le Corbusier, *The Modulor: A Harmonious Measure to the Human Scale, Universally Applicable to Architecture and Mechanics*, (Cambridge, Mass: M.I.T. Press, 1968).

explained that the industry needed a system of proportional measurement that would reconcile the beauty inherent in the Golden Section and translate it to the means of the design process. If such a system could be devised to deliver the Golden Section proportional simultaneously with the height of a human, then this would create the perfect basis for universal standardization.
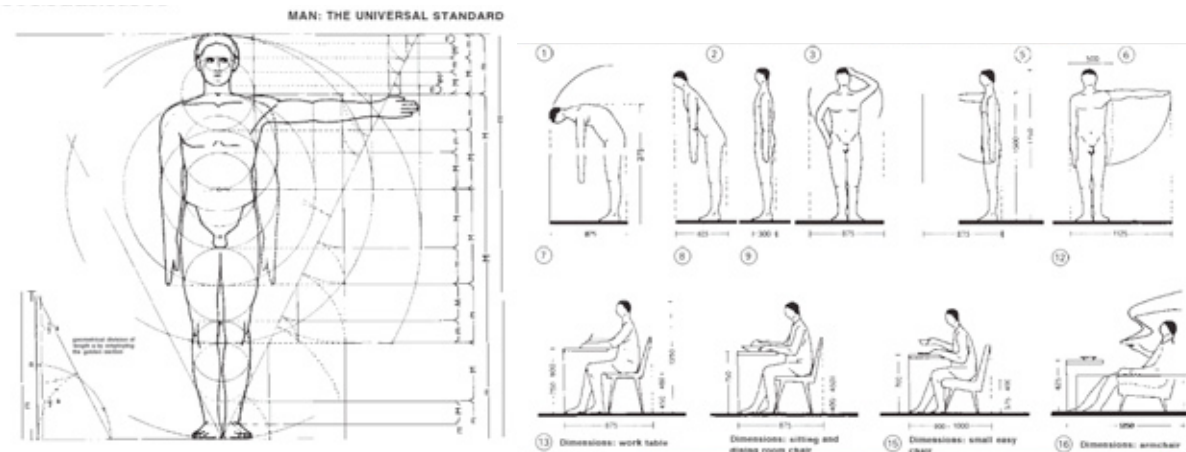

Fig. 1.15, 1.16 Neufert-Bauentwurfslehre: Man as the Universal Standard. Source: Ernst Neufert, and John Thackara, *Architects' Data*, (London: Granada, 1980), edited from the original edition of 1936.

Mathematics was the majestic structure conceived by "Man" to grant [him] comprehension of the universe.[150] Like Vitruvius and Alberti before him, Le Corbusier sought to reconcile biology with architecture through the medium of geometry. Just as Vitruvius described the human body pierced with a pair of compasses and inscribed with Euclidean geometry as an allegorical connection between humanity and architecture,[151] so Le Corbusier used a Euclidean geometric overlay on the body for similar purposes. After much experimentation, Le Corbusier settled on a six-foot-tall (1.828m) English male body with one arm upraised. The French male was too short for the geometry to work well,[152] and the female body was only belatedly considered and rejected as a source of proportional harmony.[153] According to Le Corbusier, the initial inspiration for the Modulor came from a vision of a hypothetical man inscribed with three overlapping but contiguous squares.

Le Corbusier's Modulor represented a curious turning point in architectural history. In one sense, according to Michael Ostwald, it represented a final brave attempt to provide a unifying rule for all architecture; in another it recorded the failure and limits of such an approach.[154] Le Corbusier was quite open when he noted that the Modulor had the capacity to produce designs that were "displeasing, poorly put together" or "horrors."[155] Ultimately he advised that "[y]our eyes are

[150] Ibid, 71.
[151] Pollio Marcus Vitruvius, *The Ten Books on Architecture*, Morris Hicky Morgan, trans. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1914).
[152] Ibid, 56.
[153] Robin Evans, *The Projective Cast: Architecture and its Three Geometries*, (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1995).
[154] Michael Ostwald, "Le Corbusier (Charles-Edouard Jeanneret), the Modulor and Modulor 2 - 2 Volumes. (Basel: Birkhäuser, 2000)." *Nexus Network Journal*, (3.1, 2001), 145-148
[155] Le Corbusier, *The Modulor*, 130.

your judges."[156] Moreover, the "Modulor does not confer talent, still less genius."[157] He also completely abandoned the Modulor when it does not suit and persistently reminded people that since it was based on perception, its application must be limited by practical perception. Large dimensions were impossible to sense with any accuracy, so Le Corbusier did not advocate the use of the Modulor for such scales. Similarly, construction techniques rendered the use of the Modulor for minuscule dimensions impractical. This proviso was important to remember, and Le Corbusier eventually was careful in applying the rule. As he was the one to develop the Modulor, he used it selectively in a few designs that then became largely invisible (and also immeasurable) in Le Corbusier's later works. Le Corbusier's Modulor remained an important keystone in architectural history in its attempt to relate architecture to mathematics and the building industry. It also revealed the short backs and incompetency of such relation. Le Corbusier's volumes, Modulor and Modulor 2 described the grand and quixotic search for a universal system; they recorded the practical and metaphysical problems of such an approach and they showed how difficult it was to meld the human form with geometry and with architecture.[158]

The Universal Man was the same according to the world dominating architectural theorists, but every country adjusted its scalar Man. Karim reiterated what Benjamin discussed as the gap occurring in the translation process between the "object of intention" and "mode of intention." The object of translation was a mathematical rubric that connected the human body to space in a standardized design process. However, the cultural norms and sizes of the human body differed from one nation to another. The translator here became the agency to deliver the intended meaning. Karim justified, "Man is the measuring unit of any structural context."[159] His movements were the unit of analysis and module that conjures to feet, yards, and arm as measuring components throughout the history of civilization. His movements were the unit of analysis and module that conjures to feet, yards, and arm as measuring components throughout the history of civilization.

Karim argued, "Modern science had overcome "emotions and feelings."[160] Now mathematics, geometry, the engineering of texture, light distribution, and the study of colors' relations made the design of modern space different from before. In re-creating the Egyptian copy of the Universal Man, Karim changed the graphics as well as the dimensions of the human being. The height followed Neufert's man as 1.75 meters, whereas Le Corbusier based his Modulor on the English man changing it to 1.828 meters — Karim did not follow the "English Man" in that regard. The width of the Universal Man for Neufert was 0.50 meters, whereas Karim modified the Modulor to be 0.44 meters. When the Scalar stretched his left-hand stretched sideway, the length of the human body was 1.125 meters for Neufert and 1.16 meters, according to Karim's calculations. Karim stressed that the human scale differed from one nation to another, culturally and politically. Each country developed its scalar measurement, its own "Universal Man."

---

[156] Ibid, 130.
[157] Ibid, 131.
[158] Ibid.
[159] Sayyid Karim, "Theories of Architecture," in, *Magazine of Architecture*, (Arabic Trans. *Majallat al-'imārah,* (Cairo: 1940:1), 65-71, accessed November 10, 2013, http://pds.lib.harvard.edu/pds/view/
[160] Ibid., 67.

These measurements relied on the scientific and mathematical standards that there arguably the same across the universe. Nonetheless, they different from culture to culture. Soon, the scalar Modulor, as the unit organizing architectural spaces in the architectural design process, receded to the rise of "environmental psychology" as a design discipline.

The Modulor scale signified the "modern man," arranging space on the basis of technical rationality. The scalar constituted the foundation of the modern space with the claim of meticulously calculating the interior based on the mathematics of the human body and its movement. The exterior materials cladding this space had to be modern and universal as well, along the scientific claim. Modernizing building materials was part of the systemic modernization of the ordinary practice of architecture. Sayyid Karim and his modernist colleagues translated the operative mechanisms of using steel and advanced construction materials. Translating these technologies into Arabic paved the way for the building industry and the science of materials to take place.

Few months after publishing the edition of the "Universal Man," Sayyid Karim and the modernist community published another edition centered around the brick and other modern materials as hygienic building materials. The issue was released in 1940, four years before the New Gourna project came into being. The lengthy articles presented brick as a modern material in contrast to the old traditional mud-brick. Here too, the concept of "being modern is to be ancient too" was relevant (as was the case with the Modulor discussed in the previous section). Karim and others tracked the genealogy of bricks to the ancient architecture of Egypt dating it back to 4,200 years ago.[161]
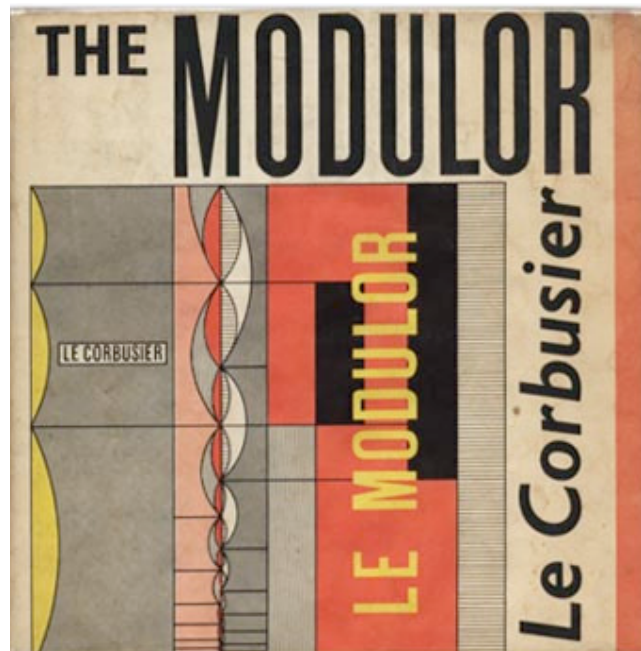
Fig. 1.17 Le Corbusier's book of the Modulor published in 1954. Source: Unknown from the Internet.

---

[161] Sayyid Karim, "Bricks," in, *Magazine of Architecture*, (Arabic Trans. *Majallat al-'imārah,* (Cairo: 1940:3-4), 143, accessed December 20, 2013, http://pds.lib.harvard.edu/pds/view/
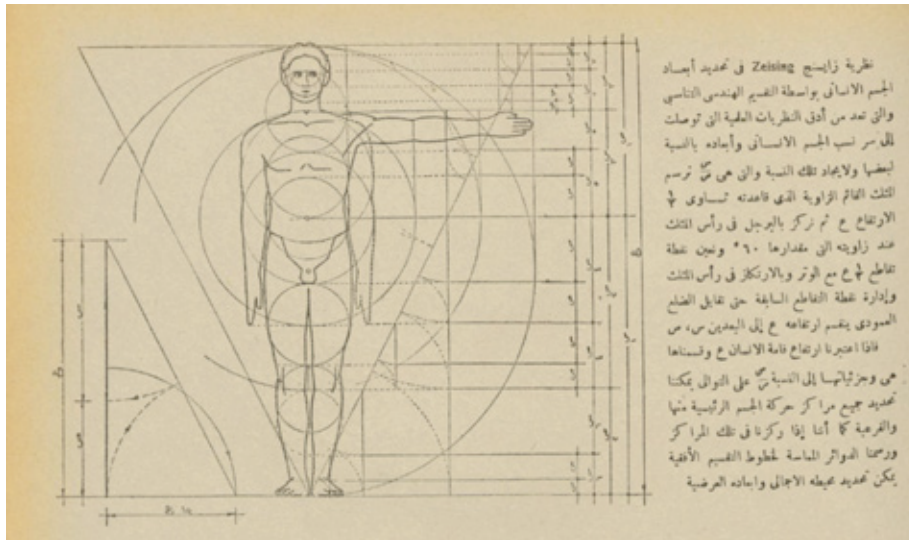
1940 issue1, p.67
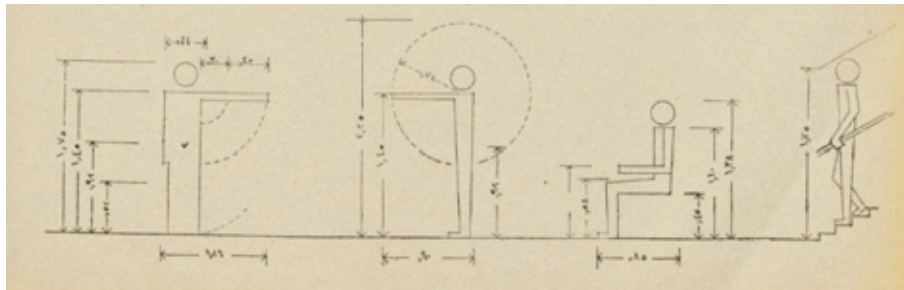
p.66
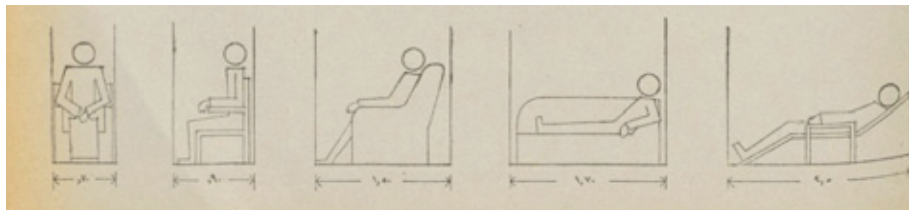
p.67

p.68

Fig. 1.18, 1.19, 1.20, 1.21 "The Universal Man" appropriated into the body scale of the Egyptian Citizen. Source: Harvard University Library PDS, *Majallat al-'imārah* (1940:1), 65-71, accessed December 20, 2013, http://pds.lib.harvard.edu/pds/view/.

1.3.2.B. Modern Bricks and Steel

They reproduced history and might have even invented it. Karim laid out the genealogical use of bricks from Old Egyptian architecture to the contemporary moment. He argued that the modern brick had its historical roots in Egypt as evident in the 1940s archeological findings. He discussed all the different genres of bricks across England, Switzerland, Germany, and the United States, stretching to geographies of the East such as Iraq, and South America like Brazil. Modern brick was represented as a material of all climates and different cultures. Karim argued that bricks were un-alien to the local context as much as it was a modern material across history.

A wide variety of brick included the hollow brick, glass brick, and others, promoting its industry with its isolating characteristics to heat, sound, and humidity.

In his opening article, Karim stressed the flexibility of bricks and its varying arrangement that provided its ability for isolating the air in double layers. Such arrangements would reduce the amount of bricks used in construction however such money saving would pay for the high quality of labor required for accuracy and precision. Steel reinforces brick creating more opportunities for larger spans, the number of floors per building, which ultimately led to more creativity and design flexibility.[162] It was clear the interdisciplinary nature of the Edition including, artists, architects, construction engineers, and archeologists who subscribed bricks in different fields. There was also a survey on its application to various projects of housing, industrial, and education. Categories included private and governmental buildings of villas, multistory apartment buildings, factories, and schools. Contributors stressed on the characteristics of bricks, and its features of durability, adaptability, and money-saving aspect.[163]

In 1940, Engineer Sayyid Azab[164] wrote an article with the title, "Bricks in the Village," focusing on its earth-mud constituent, a blend that would make it low in cost, available, and easy to manufacture. He referenced the use of mud-bricks in old villages for domes and vaults roofing of tombs for honorable imams, or '*Awleya*'. He argued that it was widespread in the ancient times among peasants, but "rarely used" recently and instead peasants used wood ribs for roofing. Using some calculations, he showed how the mud-brick had a bearing stress of two kilograms over the centimeter square whereas the brick held double this stress. Moreover, despite this, the mud-brick was the popular building material for peasants. According to Azab, the modern brick was only affordable to the well-to-do community of peasants, making it a "less used material" among the younger generation and poorer peasants. Using it in itself was a status marker for the social class. The challenge was to make the modern brick affordable.[165] However, the contributors to the issue never discussed the "how" of making it affordable under the stringent colonial policies that were unjust to the peasants.

Overall the *Majallat* issue on the brick, (with its lengthy articles except for Azab's two-pages only), introduced it as instrumental for modernization. The brick was even portrayed as a possible roofing material in the village using a hollow block type. Vivid diagrams depicted the forms and sized of the redbrick, represented in scientific-based charts, mathematical, and structural calculations with axonometric and plan section sketches. On the other hand, the mud-brick representation in the publication was a series of dilapidated images of a flooding village and an old Egyptian archeological. The industrial images representing the brick building were in contrast to the inferior and backwards old material.

---

[162] Ibid., 144-154.
[163] Ibid., Charle Ayrout, 155, R. Antonious, 166, Albert Zananiri, 188, Ali Labeeb Gabr, 204, Sayyid Mortada, 206, Ali Hafez, 229, Emile Mansour, 242, Michel Votti, 270.
[164] Sayyid Azab, "Bricks in the Village," in, *Magazine of Architecture*, (Arabic Trans. *Majallat al-'imārah,* (Cairo: 1940:3-4), accessed December 20, 2013, http://pds.lib.harvard.edu/pds/view/. Azab was an engineer in the Amiri school buildings institute that Fathy had widely criticized because of its outdated design of schools. The Amiri buildings, (see Appendix figures), translated as "Princely buildings," were the reproduction of European Renaissance palaces and appropriated as school buildings. That was one reason Fathy refuted the government's schools and designed the New Gourna School following a different design philosophy.
[165] Ibid.

Fig. 1.22, 1.23, 1.24 Cover page and glossary of bricks for the *Majallat* issue of 1940, 3:4. Source: Harvard University Library PDS, *Majallat al-'imārah* (1940, 3:4)*,* accessed December 20, 2013, http://pds.lib.harvard.edu/pds/view/.

1.3.3. Animal Circulation, Alienating Livestock

In 1945, the Architecture Magazine published an issue on the design principles of the Manor or *El-'Ezbah*. Most of the published articles stressed the need to develop the livestock capital as a vehicle to modernize the rural village and peasants' housing. Karim built a prototype for the Manor of El-Alaily family using the Arabic Modulor. The Universal Body became the modern signifier of the Egyptian fellah and [his] animals' bodies. The translated Arabic signified the right spatial dimensions that would ultimately lead to hygienic spaces. The magazine's cover page depicted the plan with an analytical table of the animals' area requirements. All animal actions were programmed and planned to make the maximum profit from their raising and breeding. The modernists were shifting the course of the design principles in architectural practice towards standard regulations that guarantee a maximum profit.

The Manor, a private funded commission, was celebrated in the magazine as a building typology representing feudalism at its epic. It aimed at separating the livestock from the peasants' housing with a controlled space for an animal optimized environment. The new livestock space maximized breeding, and accordingly optimum profit. The erected Manor in Gharbia Governorate on the Nile Delta closer to the Mediterranean began at the same period of Fathy's first design phase of New Gourna, 1944-1945.

The '*Ezbah* was a complex of two separate structures of two different functions — one was the peasants compound and the other was the livestock barn. The layout was a modern appropriation of a neoclassical layout with a blend of an English style barn. On one side, there was the administration compartment with the livestock storage, and on the opposite side there were the peasants housing. Three parallel wings arranged the sequence of functions in a mechanical order. A central spinal corridor cut through the three wings. The first wing separated from the other wings formed the office spaces and storage areas covered with vaults for cotton, crops, and grains. This wing was the front façade of the barn complex overlooking the street. It was symmetrical in composition. There was an emphasis on the façade's centrality through its arched entrance covered with a grand pitched-roof structure resembling the architectural style of an

English countryside barn. The highest point of the pitched-roof balanced the symmetry of the two ends with a set of three vaults on each wing of the façade. A conventional English barn blended with Egyptian local materials of modern red brick, and a hybrid roofing of wooden trusses with some vaults, created a hybrid character for the Manor.

The stables in the second wing comprised horses and donkeys with their carts and fodder. The last wing comprised a storage space for livestock, followed by a space for slaughter then a selling space. A prestigious curved reception area embraced the half circled playground that displayed the animals. There was a second entrance to the reception hall from the other parallel street for the business meat-trade merchants and customers. The barns and stables were double height built with red brick and concrete structures. The slightly tilted flat roof asserted a horizontal rhythm with an emphasis on the central axis raised by a pitched roof built with trusses.
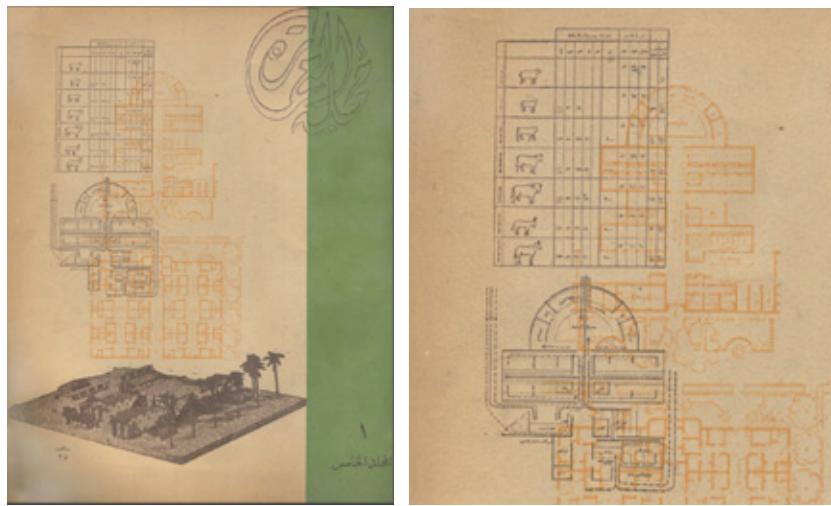
Fig. 1.25, 1.26 Cover page of the *Majallat* issue of 1945: 1 that demonstrates animals' circulation and calculations of occupancy rate. Source: Harvard University Library PDS, *Majallat al-'imārah* (1945:1)*, accessed December 20, 2013, http://pds.lib.harvard.edu/pds/view/.
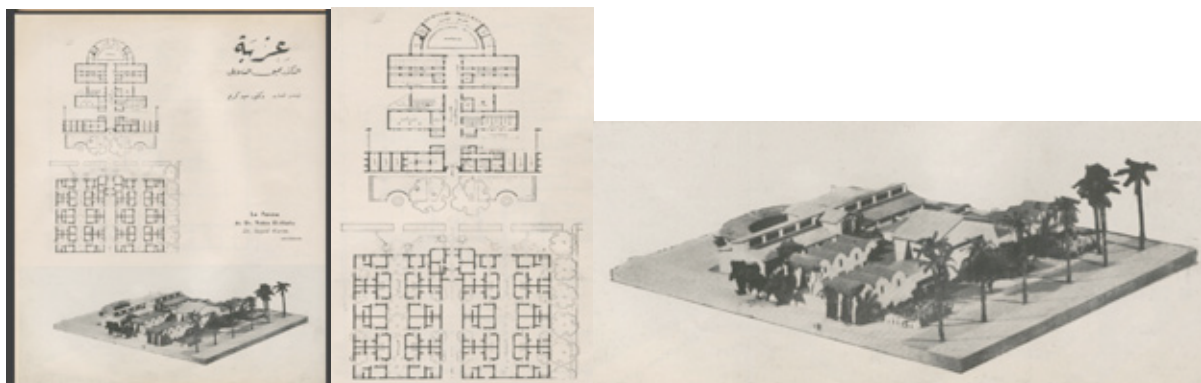
Fig. 1.27, 1.28 Architectural drawings and models of the Manor designed by architect and urban planner, Sayyid Karim. Two zones separated by a main street, the livestock administration and storage on the upper side while the peasants' housing area lies underneath consisting of 16 dwelling units for peasants. Source: Harvard University Library PDS, *Majallat al-'imārah* (1945:1)*, accessed December 20, 2013, http://pds.lib.harvard.edu/pds/view/.
Fig. 1.29 The architectural model published in *Majallat* issue was only for the livestock compartment. Source: Harvard University Library PDS, *Majallat al-'imārah* (1945:1)*, accessed December 20, 2013, http://pds.lib.harvard.edu/pds/view/.

Fig. 1.30, 1.31 The model reveals meticulous qualities of its making, leveraging the local architectural profession and its means of representation. Source: Harvard University Library PDS, *Majallat al-ʿimārah* (1945:1)*,* accessed December 20, 2013, http://pds.lib.harvard.edu/pds/view/.
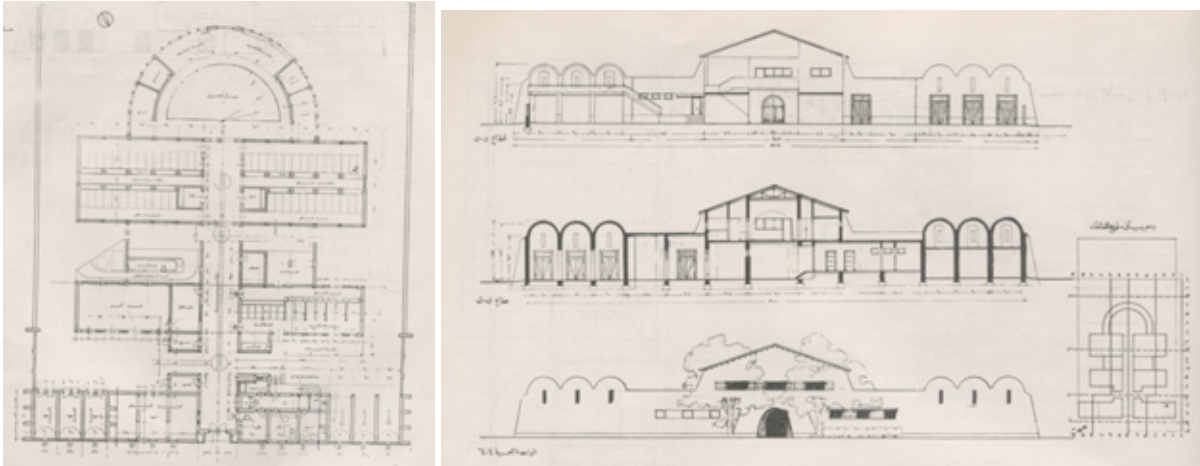
Fig. 1.32, 1.33 Rigorous architectural drawings reflect a high quality of professionalism with details of sections, windows, and doors, codes and key diagrams. Source: Harvard University Library PDS, *Majallat al-ʿimārah* (1945:1)*,* accessed December 20, 2013, http://pds.lib.harvard.edu/pds/view/.
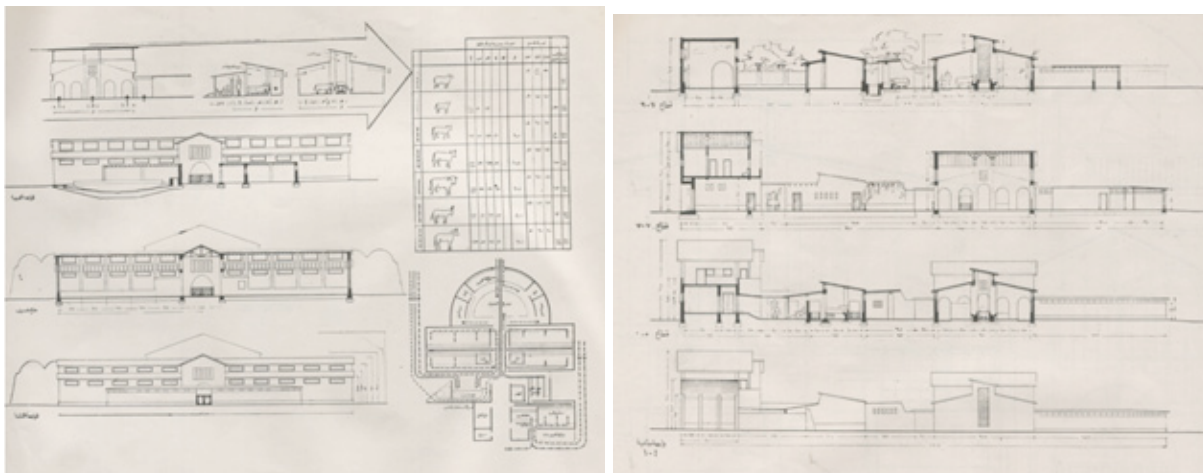
Fig. 1.34, 1.35 Circulation analysis study, standard ratios of livestock height and occupancy rate, determines the size of space. Source: Harvard University Library PDS, *Majallat al-ʿimārah* (1945:1)*,* accessed December 20, 2013, http://pds.lib.harvard.edu/pds/view/.
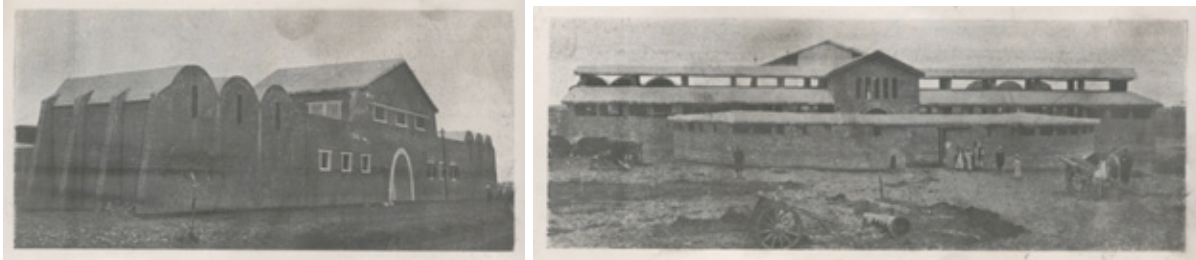
Fig. 1.36, 1.37 Manor's main building designed for the livestock administration (on the left). The second figure shows the backside of the building with the customer's reception built on the shape of a half-circle (on the right). Source: Harvard University Library PDS, *Majallat al-'imārah* (1945:1)*, accessed December 20, 2013, http://pds.lib.harvard.edu/pds/view/.

المداخل الخلفية للزرائب   مداخل مخازن الحبوب
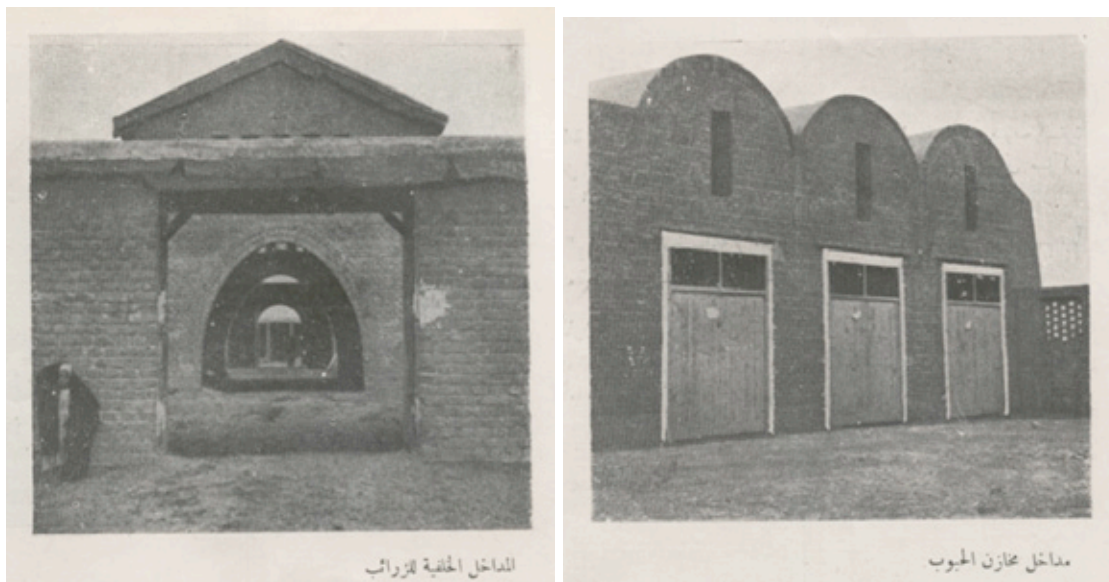
Fig. 1.38, 1.39 Back entrance of the barn and fodder's vaulted storage built from redbrick. Source: Harvard University Library PDS, *Majallat al-'imārah* (1945:1)*, accessed December 20, 2013, http://pds.lib.harvard.edu/pds/view/.

A dividing road set the peasants' housing zone detached from the livestock and its management. The housing cluster included the administration's housing unit at the center with the peasants' housing at the surrounding ends. They formed two linear clusters on the right-and-left-hand side from the center. Each peasant's unit was divided internally into a clean and dirty zone according to the modern design principles. The bedrooms looked over the clean linear internal path, whereas the open-court with the storage, kitchen, storage, and the possible animal would be overlooking the external street side.

The design scheme was extremely rational and based on functional segregation. The programmatic elements were arranged separately in terms of arrangement and sanitary aspect. A study of the animals' movement and their food-waste relations articulated the barns and livestock spatial configuration. While the redbrick and concrete used for the administration, and the livestock trade and exchange zone signified an advanced materiality, the housing zone built in mud-brick reflected a backward stereotype. The roofing of the housing zone was flat, whereas the other compartment was a display of different roofing systems whether trusses, vaults and tilted flat roofs for day lighting and ventilation purposes.

71

The rigorous architectural drawings reflected a high quality of professionalism, the marks and details of sections, windows, and doors with codes and key diagrams. A physical a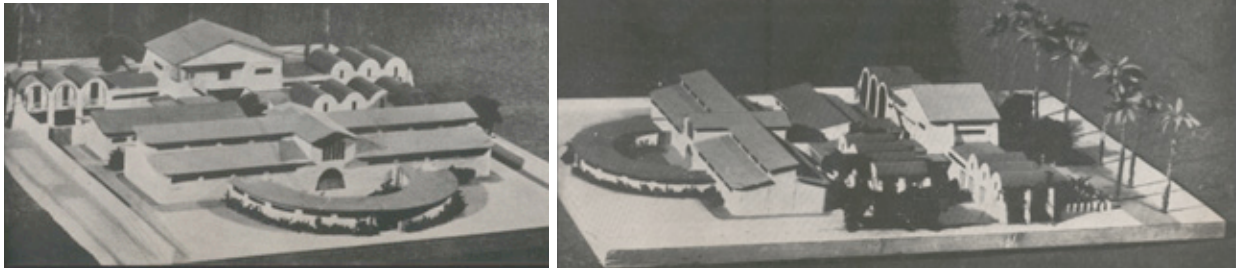rchitectural model was built only for the livestock capital compartment. The model revealed the meticulous quality of its making, leveraging the local architectural profession and its means of representation. The study of the spatial circulation inside the barn detailed the standard ratios of livestock height, and square foot capacity. Further cross-sections of the manor's livestock compartment, turning architectural drawings into a detailed illustration for the sub-contractors incorporating them into the cycle of the building industry. More drawings for construction details and zoomed-in blow-ups scaled down the project to the finest detail. Insulation materials and roofing conjunctions, with arches' centers and manufacturing, was provided as a blueprint to the profession. The manual reflected the industrialization of the architectural practice, the conceived representation of institutions and professionals.

The peasants' housing drawings were of a different kind of representation than that of Hassan Fathy's gouache pastoral paintings, despite the fact that Sayyid Karim also used mud-brick for the peasants housing units. Karim's architectural drawings were ink drawings in black and white. The roofs were flat with wood-rib construction. Arches signified the alley entrances. It ended up that Karim used the "traditional forms" he widely criticized Fathy for using (1945, 20). However, they were represented in the modern aesthetics of architectural professionalism.

The design depicted in the Manor project represented a paradigm of rational economics and mechanical functionality to address the "fellah question" and the countryside's hygiene crisis. The design was a prototype for rural development and modernization. There was a deliberate alienation of the product, (the livestock), from its original incubators, (the peasants); there was an alienation of the product from its traditional means of its production. The manor was designed to rationalize the livestock as the objects of investment from its subjects and conventional authors, who were the peasants. This separation manifested itself in the division of buildings, the use of materials for each compartment was based on a rationale, and so was the use of the variegated architectural roofing. The livestock inhabited an English-architecture barn style of red brick and clearstory windows with hanging pitched roof trusses. On the other hand, the peasants housing units remained in mud-brick — the modernist experts built for the peasant as "inferior" style of units with the primitive mud-bricks those architects had once despised. Ironically, the architecture of the livestock accommodation was higher in its exchange value than the use value of the peasants housing built of mud brick.
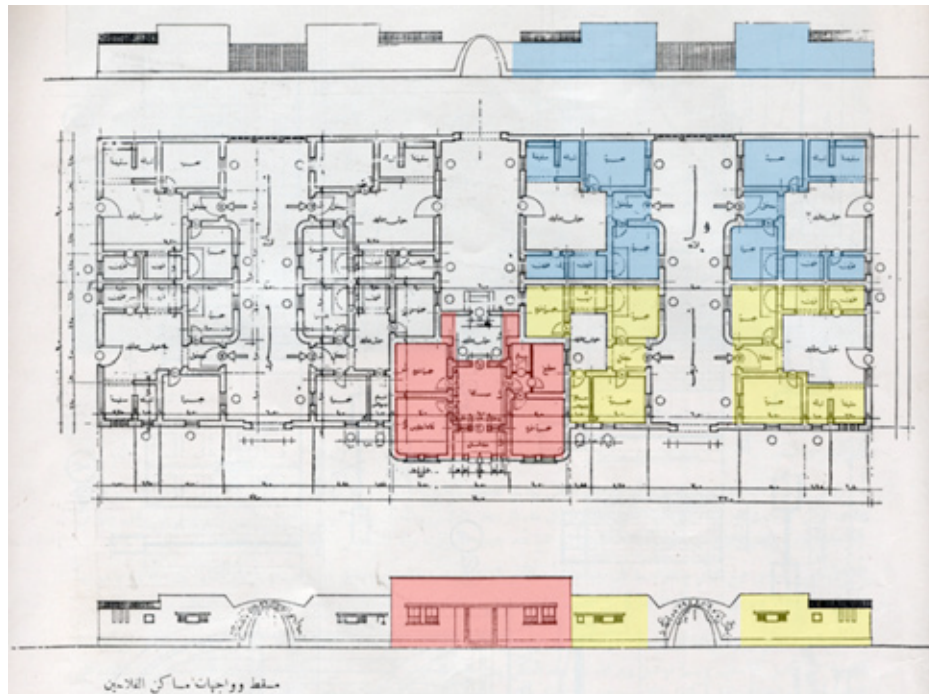
Fig. 1.40 Plan and elevations of the peasants housing compartment in the Manor. Source: Harvard University Library PDS, *Majallat al-'imārah* (1945:1)*, 20, accessed December 20, 2013, http://pds.lib.harvard.edu/pds/view/.

Fig. 1.41 Façade of the peasants housing. Source: Harvard University Library PDS, *Majallat al-'imārah* (1945:1)*, 20, accessed December 20, 2013, http://pds.lib.harvard.edu/pds/view/.

1.4. Concluding Remarks

There was no state-led housing program in the late 1940's; Britain was recovering from WWII, and the monarchy was struggling to maintain its power amid internal political conflicts. Two structures remained intact, the government that was assigned from the King and approved by the British Cabinet, and the elite, feudal families. This chapter depicted two projects in Rural Egypt, one that was an assignment by the government and another by a feudal family. Both projects designed by the modernist architects, Hassan Fathy, and Sayyid Karim respectively. Both attempted to address the fellah question of underdevelopment in two different manners that align with the modernizing project. Both of them started from scratch and based their projects from condescending the peasant and the way [he] was managed [his] village and the livestock.

New Gourna Village, designed in 1944, built after an archeological scandal within the Department of Antiquities for the disappearance of a large rock in the Noble Tombs by the old

Gourna Village. A governmental decree held the villagers the responsibility of this theft and set an order for eviction. In the middle of a possible friction between the villagers and the government, Hassan Fathy was given the design assignment as well as unconditional authority to complete the New Village that was to house the evicted villagers. The new village ended with a laissez-faire mode of governance. The government allocated little resources for the project. Fathy developed his self-built housing approach as a methodology within a larger framework he envisioned for rural mass housing. The self-built approach that Fathy imposed was a housing technique that broke the norms of the Old Village. Fathy brought builders from Aswan to teach the Gourna villagers new construction techniques of building domes and vaults, and molding bricks.

Fathy believed in modernizing the old traditions and the vernacular technologies to address the hygiene question and the deteriorated built environment. He imported global and local vernacular techniques from Austria, Japan, and Nubia into the New Gourna Village. The project ended with an appeal towards a vernacular modernity.

Sayyid Karim designed the El-Alaily Manor, designed in 1946, on the basis that it was a feudal, capitalist kind of mansion. The family owned the agrarian land, and the peasants were either rented small farmlands or worked as hired labor at the disposal of the owner family.

Karim and his modernist team were aware of the hygiene crisis and held the peasants its accountability. They were developing a new design approach that also broke with the prior traditions. They implemented a mechanical order for the design and distribution of functions. They imported the universal standards of efficient proportions believing in the power of mathematics, science, and proportions in producing a hygienically efficient design of spaces.

Both projects were minute in effect, and none of the suggested blueprints had a mass impact on the development of the rural region. However, few years after Egypt's independence in the 1950's, Sayyid Karim and his modernist bloc development a large scale Housing Program to reform the Egyptian Villages. It was called "Cordon-and-Resettling Program," based on the rational thinking developed in the Manor. The new villages under the post-colonial nationalist administration separated the livestock circulation from the peasants' housing — an attribute that holds much in concept to Sayyid Karim's design practice for the feudal structure under the colonial administration. The architect alluded to the separation of livestock and human species as a problem solving approach to the hygienic crisis fundamentally linked with the fellah question and [his] modernization. The discipline of the human body using the Modulor, and the livestock circulation network were the basis of rural modernism. This modernist discipline of mechanical order and technical rationality started in the modernizing projects under the late Colonial state-less control. This project developed fully under the Postcolonial Village as I explain in depth in the following chapter under the Housing Program of "Cordon-and-Resettling."

<h1 style="text-align:center">Chapter Two:</h1>

<h1 style="text-align:center">Rural Modern Compounds</h1>

2.1. Introduction: Post-Colonial Egypt

Modernist thinking affected the design of new rural villages during late Colonial Egypt in the 1940s and continued to do so through the 1950s after national independence. The concepts of discipline around the separation and control of livestock versus peasants in the Manor, in chapter one, developed fully under the military regime of independence creating a standardized modernity, Rural Mass Housing. This chapter elaborates on the development of the design registers of hygiene, discipline, and housing-unit variations in the post-colonial era, with the continuities and ruptures with the past period. In the post-colonial phase, a primary concern was to build a modern society that was loyal to the regime through building standardized modern villages with new schools and education centers, "The Village of Tomorrow." Architects socially engineered these villages to build the New Egyptian citizen –the modern peasant.

The chapter addresses an era still dominated by the "peasant question." It was an era occupied with modernization, how to implement control and manage growth of the "contaminated" old village. Empowering the peasant and planning the expansion of the village was at the center of Nasser's project for the Republic. Nasser confiscated the wealth of feudal families and decreed a law permitting the distribution of their lands over the peasants, who became landowners of small fields. He granted the peasants the right to tenure and property. Nasser's regime was also interested in redressing the peasants' living conditions inside the village.

The political climate prepared Sayyid Karim and his modernist colleagues to mobilize for a "National Village Reform Program." The proposal consisted of a lot of modern attributes. The old villages were cordoned to allow no further growth, while new villages were built on the edge of the existing ones. Continuing the legacy of "rural modernity" and creating a hygienic environment that started in late Colonial Egypt, modernist architects separated animal's circulation from the peasants' circulation network inside the Modernist Village. The approach to "rural modernity" was, however, different from the Colonial time. Building the new village was done in phases. It occurred incrementally and gradually rather than an abrupt transformation to a complete new village like New Gourna and the Manor. Instead of an abrupt spatial transformation from the old village to the newly built one, an intermediate phase was included. This phase would allow peasants to keep unhygienic traditional patterns of raising livestock in their residences until they are "fully modernized." With time, peasants would be educated and aware of the unhygienic consequences of their behaviors. The intermediate phase was called *Qaryet Al-Inteqal*, or the "Transient Village," a phase preceding the "Village of Tomorrow."

Architectural experts disseminated the idea of the "Cordon-and-Resettling Village Program" in the Arab Medical and Public Health Conferences. The idea was to turn the Egyptian rural compound into a hygienic prototype for most Arab villages. In the architectural realm, Egyptian modernists promoted the "transient and gradual transformation" as a path to modernism across the Arab-speaking world. Egyptian modernists led the discourse through extensively publishing articles in *Majallet Al-'Imara*. They published guidelines and blueprints to emphasize the standardization of the human scale, peasants' activities, and several alternatives of rural zoning for *Qaryet El-Ghad* or the "Village of Tomorrow." The new-village proposal stressed the

separation of housing from the government and public mixed-use sector. The strict division of functions and zoning predominated the planning of the modernist compound during the post-colonial era. Such characteristic was transferred from the rural to the urban context, as I will explain in the next chapter of Nasr City.

2.1.1. Incremental Modernism

The national project of rural reform included the cordoning and walling off the existing village in the first phase. Simultaneously, architects would erect a newly modern-grid village on the periphery of the old one. The proposal was designed as a state-led public housing project in the Village. The aim was to resettle villagers in an incremental process. First, villagers would move to *Qaryet Al-Inteqal* or the Transient Village, which was a preliminary phase of rural development. After relocating the peasants and finishing the public amenities, the village would become *Qaryet Al-Ghad* or the Village of Tomorrow. It was not a mere coincidence that this name followed Le Corbusier's ideals in the magnum opus, "A Contemporary City of Three Million People." The Magazine of Architecture and the Arts, co-edited by Sayyid Karim, extensively published Le Corbusier's work also to Brasilia, Chandigarh, and the New Baghdad projects as models for development in the global South.

2.1.2. Transient Hygiene

The architect's design of the Transient Village addressed the hygienic crisis. Sayyid Karim aimed at replacing the livestock storage spaces inside the peasant house to empty green yards, but with time after changing the Village's cultural habit of keeping animals. Such approach resulted in conceptualizing ample of open green spaces in the new Village of Tomorrow. In the first phase of the rural village —inside *Qaryet Al-Intiqal* or the Transient Village, the livestock had a place inside the housing unit of the peasant. However, Karim explained that after teaching the peasants the hazards of having animals inside the unit, these livestock storage spaces would be destroyed and turned into small green yards. Removing the rooms of animals' barn inside the attached housing units would create more green breathing spaces within the residential area, and turn the village more hygienic. Furthermore, the livestock had a separate corridor for movement by the perimeter of the village to maintain the clean quality of internal streets for the humans. These characteristics set the bar for an indigenous rural appropriation of the Universal Modernism. The "gradual" characteristic makes the "transient" Egyptian rural village a different mode of modernism from the International Modern Movement. Moreover, the new village comprised of two separate compartments connected with a wide road, a governing administrative zone and a residential area. Karim placed the main government building as a Vista for the wide-open boulevard that consisted of a green space in the middle. The boulevards added more green spaces and a sense of nationalist grandeur to the overall planning of the "Village of Tomorrow."

2.1.3. Social Variations and the Transformative Housing Unit

The socialist regime constructed the Modernist Rural Village. A claim put forth by many socialist regimes that had been nationally independent after years of colonization was to rectify the gaps between social classes. This was translated into a monotonous design of housing units under the concept of egalitarianism. Many regimes of power decided to allude to Modernism for its democratic appeal and equal representation of housing units. Modernism adopted the mission of no visual identification for wealth in architecture, no class distinction, and no decorations –

brutal architecture. In practice, modernist cities pursued a different track. Rural Modernism in the Egyptian Village was no different. It started off as an attempt to create standardized housing units in theory. However in practice, there were variations in the housing models of peasants on the basis of social class distinction on one hand, and family size on the other hand. This was part of the transformation of Rural Modernism into the local context.

Moreover, the modernist rural village was built under a nationalist military regime making it different from modernist cities in the global south, which did not experience colonization and its aftermaths. On the other hand, in terms of discipline and subject formation, Karim included a military training center in the Transient Village. The period of proposing this project entailed a political affiliation to the establishment. The architect produced a chart explaining the everyday activities of the peasant and their associative loyalty to the regime of power. The Village of Tomorrow included schools, university, theater, animal and plant museum and medical centers. In conclusion, the socialist military regime and the modernists appropriated the project to meet its ends of controlling and disciplining the peasants.

In conclusion, the modernist village in the rural context appropriated the universal principles of modern design to address the questions of hygiene, subject formation, and housing problem given the local political, economical, cultural, and social contingencies. Such contingencies were part of the contextualization of modernism.

2.1 National Governance: State-led Rural Modernism

> "The major metropolis in almost every newly industrializing country is not a single unified city, but, in fact, two quite different cities, physically juxtaposed but architecturally and socially distinct. These dual cities have usually been a legacy from the colonial past."[166]

Abu-Lughod argues that the legacy of dual cities in the post-colonial time extended from the colonial past. There is truth in that statement, but not in its entirety and general assumption across all post-colonial newly independent states. Stuart Hall reminded us that "it need not follow that all societies are "post-colonial" in the same way and that in any case the "post-colonial" does not operate on its own but is in effect a construct internally differentiated by its intersections with other unfolding relations."[167]

Internal forces and regional alliances across colonies led to the dual cities formation. There was a lateral connection as much as there was a vertical flow from the northern metropole to the southern colony. Brenda Yeoh argued that the "colonial city" was, in fact, a product of what natives improvised and appropriated as much as what the superpower imposed.[168] In chapter one, I explored two case studies, the New Gourna and the Manor, which included much improvisation and appropriation of building technologies under a negligent colonial apparatus. As a result there

---

[166] Janet Abu-Lughod, "Tale of Two Cities: The Origins of Modern Cairo," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 7, no. 4 (July 1, 1965): 429.
[167] From Brenda S.A. Yeoh, "Postcolonial cities," *Progress in Human Geography* 25, no. 3 (2001): 464.
[168] Ibid.

were multiple agents operating in various directions that unsettled the neatly theorized dual city; this made each case unique in its right.

In Egypt, the indigenous architects were actively participating in imagining projects for development and modernization during the colonial time with a dynamic flow of ideas laterally and regionally across the Arab world and the global North. In Egypt the experts of the modern compounds, which shaped the dual cities' physical stratification, were Egyptian architects not foreign commissioners. Local modernists mediated a role between the power structure of the state and the people. This mediation, however, created a different logic of modernism than the Universal Modernist Movement in the 1940's and 1950's, or the modernism produced in colonies by the colonized architects –a case in point here are was the French architects in North African cities.[169]

For Sayyid Karim, the key architect and urban planner post-1952 involved in rural modernization, this era was an engaging moment between architecture, power, and people. To mediate the historical, political events, he advocated a more flexible approach than an abrupt track for modernism or an aesthetic one like the French Modern in Morocco. The shock therapy mechanism was more harmful than useful, so was the cosmetic association with culture on the level of motifs and Oriental facades. For Karim, modernization meant transforming the behavioral patterns of Egyptian peasants gradually in an incremental process. It was about people absorbing modernity, which usually took time. He designed the "Transient Village" to relocate the peasants and enroll in the newly built public schools within a larger project for a Public Education System. The new public housing of the Transient Village was a preparatory phase towards the "Village of Tomorrow" or *Qaryet El-Ghad*, as an end project.

This gradual design approach was also different from Le Corbusier's magnum opus of Algiers, which left no space for negotiation between the socio-cultural habits and modernity. For the Egyptian rural villages, there were blueprints for how the design of the Modern Village would unfold in step-by-step manner. This approach evoked a smooth transition and change for the unhygienic behaviors of the peasant inside the traditional village. This gradual transformation in space was a design exercise of contextualizing the modernist principles. This "gradual" characteristic projected the "transient" Egyptian village as a unique example of the "dual city" theory of postcolonial urbanism. It stood up as a different example of "Modernism in the Third World" shaped by the international forces of Universal Modernism.

Nonetheless, the Egyptian rural model was influenced by the "cordon sanitaire" spatial mechanism coming from the neighboring colonies in North Africa under the French colonial administration. The external flow of ideas intersected with the local knowledge and internal realities in Egypt. The cordoning and walling-off the old village was inspirational to the indigenous modernists for its hygienic rational logic. Architects implemented it differently in Rural Egypt. They conceived its manifestation in a phasing scheme called "Cordoning-and-Resettling" program in the 1950's, particularly after a Congress for Arab Technocrats concerned

---

[169] Paul Rabinow, *French Modern: Norms and Forms of the Social Environment* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1989). Shirine Hamadeh, "Creating the Traditional City: A French Project," in *Forms of Dominance on the Architecture and Urbanism of the Colonial Enterprise*, ed. Nezar AlSayyad (Aldershot; Brookfield, U.S.A.: Avebury, 1992), 241–60.

with the reform of the village. Egyptian modernists then experimented those ideas in the countryside and later in the city in the late 1950's and 1960's.[170]

2.1.1. Local Contingencies

In 1952, a military coup took place in Egypt to end a monarchy and decolonize the state from the British Mandate. A group called the "Free Officers" ruled the country forming the "Revolutionary Command Council." Internal political struggles evolved between the Free Officers, which ended in 1954 with another coup bringing General Gamal Abdul-Nasser as the President of Egypt. Nasser continued to rule the country till 1970 enforcing pan-Arab national sentiments, and claiming a socialist agenda that transformed the housing market[171] and the class structures of the society.

The "Cordon-and-Resettling" scheme was about changing the status quo by urging the peasants to move into state-funded planned villages while cordoning and isolating the unhygienic existing ones. On September 11, 1952, the Revolutionary Command Council issued the Agrarian Law Number 178 to regulate land ownership, control feudalism, slowly diminish it, and redistribute tenure amongst a wider group of peasants. Prior to the 1952 coup, less than six percent of the population owned more than 65% of the land in Egypt. The law gave the state the power to confiscate land from the feudal class and redistribute it amongst the peasants by dividing and parceling it out. The state prohibited old owners from possessing more than 200-feddan.[172] Moreover, the new owners were obliged to join cooperatives for the collective production of crops, marketing, and credit bank accounts. The state also regulated the tenancy conditions replacing the traditional terms; rent could not exceed fifty percent of the unit's value, nor could a tenant hold more than 50-acres to avoid subletting. An interesting feature of the reform was the special attention given to college graduates by allowing them to hold parcels of 20-feddan. All these state regulations encouraged the peasant to move out of the existing village. The Arab modernists' approach was gradually seeking to destroy the old village. The Nasser regime evoked social justice and the redistribution of agrarian capital while the architects and urban planners invoked a language of hygienic measures.

In 1953, the twenty-first conference for Arab Doctors was held in Cairo on the 24th and the 29th of March to discuss the public health and the architectural design of housing projects in the Arabian Villages. The interdisciplinary nature and participation of experts from a broad range of field characterized the conference. There were experts from the areas of medicine, engineering, agriculture, social and life sciences.[173] They focused on the peasant as a subject for development and his village as a site of reform. The cover page incorporated two figures. The first figure on

---

[170] I will discuss this idea through the case of Nasr City in the following chapter as another appropriation of the universal modernism and the "New City of Tomorrow" in the urban context of Cairo.

[171] President Nasser forced a rent control law with a fixed rate, Wael Fahmi and Keith Sutton, "Greater Cairo's Housing Crisis: Contested Spaces from Inner City Areas to New Communities," *Cities* 25, no. 5 (October 2008): 277–97.

[172] Afaf Lutfi Sayyid-Marsot, *A Short History of Modern Egypt* (Cambridge [Cambridgeshire]; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 129.

[173] *Magazine of Architecture and the Arts*, Arabic Trans. *Majallat Al-'imārah. Al-Qāhirah*: [Majallat Al-'imārah, 1939-. Continued by Majallat Al-'imārah Wa-Al-Funūn. Al-Qāhirah : [Majallat Al-'imārah Wa-Al-Funūn, 1952-Harvard University Library PDS," accessed February 21, 2014, http://pds.lib.harvard.edu/pds/view/ (Cairo, 1953:1-2), 4.

top was the modern-designed village with its organized iron-grid plan while the second one on the bottom was a perspective drawing for the peasants cultivating the agricultural field in the traditional way. The modernists represented peasants as half-naked in bent postures holding the water paddle. Technocrats formed think tanks and research working groups to exchange experiences of rural development across the "Arab-world," or *El-Alam El-Araby*. These conferences reinforced the need to resurrect a national Arabic identity amid a larger global sentiment for decolonization. These conferences asserted the need to unite in front of the colonial powers, the need for creating independent solutions relying on self-development away from the imperial West. In this Congress, a scheme of rural development emerged and the Egyptian technocrats took the lead to experiment it. The program was the "Cordoning-and-Resettling of Villages."

Fig. 2.1 Cover of the special issue, "Village Reform," 1953 (1:2). Source: Harvard University Library PDS, *Magazine of Architecture and the Arts*, Arabic Trans. *Majallat Al-'imārah Wel-Fonoun*, (Cairo, 1953:1-2), accessed February 21, 2014, http://pds.lib.harvard.edu/pds/view/.

Sayyid Karim led the modernists in publishing the findings of this Congress in a thematic issue: "Reforming the Village." It developed a socialist agenda having the *fellah* at the center of the modernizing project. This attitude of "reform" demarcated a complete shift in the development approach from the earlier schemes published in the 1945-issue. As discussed in the previous chapter, the 1945-issue focused on the '*Ezbah* or the Manor, with a capitalist bias towards developing the livestock breeding space through separating completely from the peasants' housing. This separation dictated a whole spatial restructuring of the peasants-livestock relationship. The design centered the livestock barn as the main component in the project using the international graphics standards. The barn was a superstructure hanger conceived as a factory with many assembly lines. There was the fodder line input feed, and there was the waste line output feed with spaces for veterinary treatment in-between. This was a sophisticated modernist design —different from the simple traditional barn — with occupancy rates and calculated ratios for animals' circulation and the spatial need for reproduction. Across this complex, Karim situated the peasants' housing in an annexed compound separated by a street from the livestock and its administrative management cluster.

2.1.2. The Human Body, Control, and the Politics of Caring

In contrast to the colonial modern legacy and spatial configuration of centering the animal at the heart of the colonial new village, the "Cordoning-and-Resettling" scheme of post-independence

in Egypt focused on the fellah's space as the center of the design project. The biological determinism and descriptions captured in Karim's analyzes viewed the villages and cities as metaphors of the human body. Signifying the city as a human body was yet a modernist approach in the North African colonies amid a larger international Green City Movement. During the colonial time in North Africa, Le Corbusier foresaw the human subjects as sites of development and construed relations between the body and the city. One such example was the veiled female figure as depicted in his magnum opus – "the plan obus as colonial urbanism."[174] The body curves of the Algerian female body inspired the curves of his Obus Plan for the new Algiers. Utilizing a female body in such manner was a strikingly orientalist and gender driven design that unveiled many notions of colonial prejudice and white male supremacy. In his sketches, explored later in his design book, he drew out naked Algerian women and veiled women. He established a connection between the veiled woman whose body was hiding and illegible and the old traditional Qasaba where its spaces were illegible to the Colonial French. He wanted to liberate Algerian women by unveiling them and making their bodies legible, as much as he wished to liberate Algerian cities by removing the compact Qasaba and make it legible. The issue of Western Modernists in reading the old fabric was an issue of legibility.[175] In drawing the connection between the veil and the city, Le Corbusier represented the old housing structure of the traditional spine, Al-Qasaba, as a tent with meshes featuring the Algerian woman wearing the "niqab."[176] From his colonial perspective, he saw the *niqab* woman as a site of underdevelopment that needed liberation and freedom. The niqab was, in fact, a symbolic figure for the whole nation seen as a place of inferiority.

If Le Corbusier's figure of subjugation was the niqab, the Egyptian architects' figure of inferiority and underdevelopment was the figurative fellah (male and female). The Egyptian modernists represented the fellah on the cover page of *Majallat Al-'Imara Wa El-Fonoun* or the Magazine of Architecture and the Arts (MAA), as naked. They wrote about the peasants as helpless human subjects. There is a politics to sympathy that generates a sentiment of "caring through controlling." It was the same motivation driving the Egyptian modernists just like Le Corbusier. He wanted to "liberate" the women from the niqab by unveiling them, even if by virtue of colonial enforcement. However, the use of power had to be morally adequate for a grander mission to save them and their innate bodies. This mission of civilization and caring became the powerhouse to state's enforcement post-1952. The inner soul of the peasants had to be saved. To modernize the village, architects had to control space, which also entailed saving the peasants' state of affairs. Modernist had to control their bodies, minds, activities, and behaviors. Such spatial and human control was at the heart of the modernization and the "mission to civilize" in the colonial legacy and later in the post-colonial project. At a time of

---

[174] Michele Lamprakos, "Le Corbusier and Algiers: The Plan Obus as Colonial Urbanism," in *Forms of Dominance on the Architecture and Urbanism of the Colonial Enterprise*, ed. Nezar AlSayyad (Aldershot; Brookfield, U.S.A.: Avebury, 1992), 183–210. Zeynep Çelik, "Le Corbusier, Orientalism, Colonialism," *Assemblage Assemblage*, no. 17 (1992): 59–77.

[175] According to Lee in, Kah-Wee Lee, "Feeling like a State: Design Guidelines and the Legibility of 'Urban Experience' in Singapore.," *International Journal of Urban & Regional Research* 38, no. 1 (2014), 139. "Legibility", political scientist James Scott (1998: 183) states, "is a condition of manipulation." The rationalization of space into something that is visible and manipulable has been a long historical project of the state and various "technicians of space" (Mitchell, 2002; Osbourne and Rose, 2004; Pickles, 2004).

[176] Ananya Roy, "Traditions of the Modern: A Corrupt View," *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review* 12, no. 2 (2001): 7–19.

political transition from the feudal monarchy into a Republic, the "New Fellah" was a paramount project. The fellah represented a critical mass of Nasser's popularity. Nasser felt committed to the peasant-citizen through a politics of "care yet control" to maintain his popularity amongst them in the Rural Region.

If for Le Corbusier, the niqab was the material element of inferiority that should be removed; for the Egyptian modernists, the naked body and old techniques of farming were the material elements of backwardness that should be diminished. Modernists felt the urge to "save" the *fellah* and the *fellaha*, the female peasant, through liberating them from their traditions. Mohamed Hammad, a famous urban historian, wrote: "Since 4000 years… It is the same fellah with his pickaxe on his shoulder… his water paddle… Moreover, his archaic plow… Moreover, the same fellaha carrying the earthenware jug on her head… going to fetch for water on the river shores… to pour it into the millenary recipient designed by her ancestors thousands of years ago… she remained the same with the load she carries on her head… walking on the road between the house and the market… at the market dragging her cow behind… it is the same style of housing with the ailing thatched roof… where the peasant lived with his family, his animals and his poultry-yard… nothing had changed… except for the trace of his struggle with time… for his survival…"[177] Tawfik Abdelgawad, one of the key modernist architects and co-founder of the Magazine of Architecture and the Arts explained in an article that "we should build the "New Fellah" before the "New Village,"[178] he added: "the mission of building the new village is the mission of rebuilding the state."[179] His argument was based on an essentialist perspective of the village as "poor with building materials of low-quality and the peasants are simple, naive characters, which is reflected in their village's spaces."[180] The important motto in the re-construction process of villages was to, "treat the patient, help the poor, and educate the ignorant." - "'*elag Al-Mareed, wa Mosa'adet 'Al-Faqeer, wa Ta'leem Al-Gahel.*"[181]

The "politics of caring and controlling" was an oxymoron, but pretty much shaped the modernist movement in the Egyptian villages. Karim elaborated on this simile – buildings and housing are reproducible human cells, its streets and traffic are veins, the people are the flowing blood cells, and the open green spaces are the lungs. He identified unplanned growth as "spreading cancer" that is hard to control or cure, preferring to limit its expansion by walling it.

---

[177] Ḥammād, Muḥammad. *Miṣr Tabnī*. ([al Qāhirah], 1964), 34. Also mentioned by Architect Tawfik Abdelgawad in, Re-Planning the Egyptian Villages, "*Islah wa-Takhteet Al-Qaryah*," in, *Magazine of Architecture and the Arts*, Arabic Trans. *Majallat Al-'imārah. Al-Qāhirah*: [Majallat Al-'imārah, 1939-. Continued by Majallat Al-'imārah Wa-Al-Funūn. Al-Qāhirah : [Majallat Al-'imārah Wa-Al-Funūn, 1952- Harvard University Library PDS," accessed February 21, 2014, http://pds.lib.harvard.edu/pds/view/ (Cairo, 1953:1-2), 25.
[178] Abdelgawad, Re-Planning the Egyptian Villages, 27.
[179] Ibid., 20.
[180] Ibid., 21-22.
[181] Ibid., 20. Abdelgawad invoked religious concepts of the duty of the educated Muslim to teach the less fortunate, "the issue is not about reform, the issue is to "believe" in reform, it is part of faith and we should know that reform is a *holistic process* that cannot be divided or partitioned" Ibid., 21.
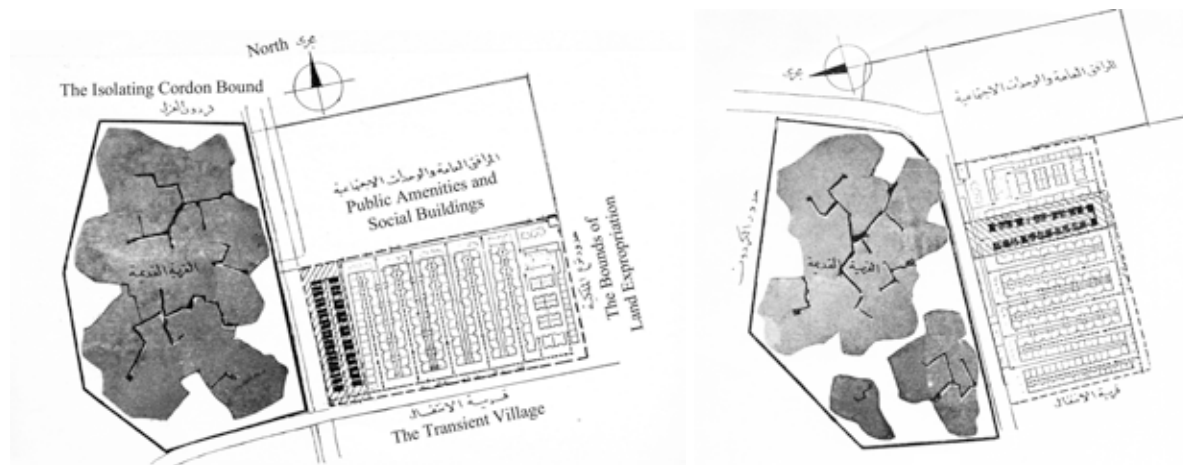
Fig. 2.2, 2.3 Diagram of "Cordon-and-Resettling" Village. Source: Harvard University Library PDS, *Magazine of Architecture and the Arts*, Arabic Trans. *Majallat Al-'imārah Wel-Fonoun*, (Cairo, 1953:1-2), 5, accessed February 21, 2014, http://pds.lib.harvard.edu/pds/view/.

2.2 The Village of Tomorrow and Transient Hygiene

The Arab Modernists aimed at encamping the old village and walling it off. The first phase of the project was named "Village Reform." However, reform meant saving the rural life patterns inside the village, reforming the conditions rather than reforming the physical structure of the village. The idea of "cordoning" was to surround the existing village with a wall to deter any future growth. Karim diagnosed the existing villages as contaminated zones, "septic-focus," spaces of disease-accumulation, which required abolishment — "tumor resection,"[182] rather than any surgical intervention for enhancement. He identified unplanned growth as spreading cancer. Those "septic-focus" villages should be cordoned with a wall and left to dilapidate while the government would develop new villages on the periphery where villagers would be encouraged to resettle.

As a second step, a new village on the periphery was to be built from scratch on the basis of "hygienic rationality." However, this new tabula rasa was implemented in two phases. Karim proposed Qaryet El-Ghad, the Village of Tomorrow as a two-phase project divided into sub-stages. The first phase was called "The Transient Village" or *Qaryet Al-Inteqal*. The second stage was termed "The Modern Village" or *Al-Qaryah Al-Hadeethah*, as the last phase towards the "Village of Tomorrow." The first phase was designed to persuade villagers to move and leave their old housing units. It was a socio-engineering program that initially allowed the livestock to stay within the housing units. The livestock room was demolished and turned into an open space creating small in-between green spaces amongst the units. Removing the livestock kinship with the peasants would come after changing the culture of raising animals and birds in the house, as part of the modernists' mission to civilize.

---

[182] Sayyid Karim, "Comprehensive Reform and Program of Village Treatment," *Al-Islah Al-Shamel wa-Bernameg 'Elag Al-Qaryah,* in, *Magazine of Architecture and the Arts*, Arabic Trans. *Majallat Al-'imārah. Al-Qāhirah*: [Majallat Al-'imārah, 1939-. Continued by Majallat Al-'imārah Wa-Al-Funūn. Al-Qāhirah : [Majallat Al-'imārah Wa-Al-Funūn, 1952- Harvard University Library PDS," accessed December 9, 2013, http://pds.lib.harvard.edu/pds/view/ (Cairo, 1953:1-2), 6.

2.2.1. Disciplining Space: The Hygienic Division of Circulation

The proposed new village was an iron grid plan representing modern planning standards. It was designed to relocate 1,500 peasants. The reallocation was a strategic plan of control and containment based on modernizing principles of sanitation and separation of hygienic and unhygienic functions. The concept was to create two unconnected circulatory networks; one would be for the circulation of clean human-related functions whereas the second network would be for the Dirty livestock-related functions. The clean network, described as the sanitized corridor, connected the main square with the central mosque, the mayor's house or *El-'Omda*, the Qur'anic teaching school or *'Al-Kottab*, the sanitarium, and the bathing hammam. The second corridor located on the perimeter surrounded the village. This "dirty corridor" led to the livestock market, fodder storage, and their utilities. Both corridors had their separate route leading to the housing units from two opposite entrances. This division of corridors and their intersection at the courtyard of the housing unit where the livestock would stay typified the Egyptian experiment of rural modernism, which was to be carried out in other villages across the Arab-region.

The urban planning principle of "clean versus dirty zones" reflected the internal arrangement of the new village. The housing units were stacked side by side with no space in between. Architects arranged the units in long rows. This linear arrangement lied between two parallel streets. Each housing unit had two opposite entrances with access to each of the two corridors. Inside the housing unit, there was the clean socializing zone, and there was the other dirty livestock zone. The animals' zone inside the unit was strictly controlled and accessed only through a storage space locked with a door. There was also high window from the storage room overlooking the livestock space, where the peasants could use to feed their animals and birds without having to enter the barn. The storage room acted as an intermediary space between the hygiene and unhygienic zones of the housing unit. It was the intersecting node of the whole clean-dirty village circulation corridors, and dual isolated networks. The courtyard in the center of the unit had an access door to the small barn that kept the livestock. As part of the design phases — in the future "village of tomorrow," this door was to be closed, the barn would demolish, and the livestock would move to a collective warehouse.

The "parallel" corridors were not purely parallel but opened up at an oblique angle creating V-shaped. Karim assumed that opening up the streets at an oblique angle would enforce clean air movement, where the inlet (street width) was narrow and so creating pressure difference. The difference in street widths and the v-shape design were hardly felt in the architectural drawings. The obsession with the iron grid form — to appear as modern and ordered — preceded any other consideration even for the hygienic claimed ones.

In another proposal for the modern village, Tawfeek Abdelgawad proposed a diagrammatic sketch to break the monotony of the linear arrangement by creating u-shape clusters. Each leg of the u-shape consisted of three parallel spaces: 1) the housing unit, 2) a green buffer, and 3) the livestock utilities. This arrangement produced a fortified medieval enclosure asserting extra control and domination over the livestock entrances and additional probability for the contamination of diseases. This study plan was later transformed and modified into a village model at Marg on the rural edges of Cairo allowing for livestock alleys and an enclosed children's playground on the opposite side.
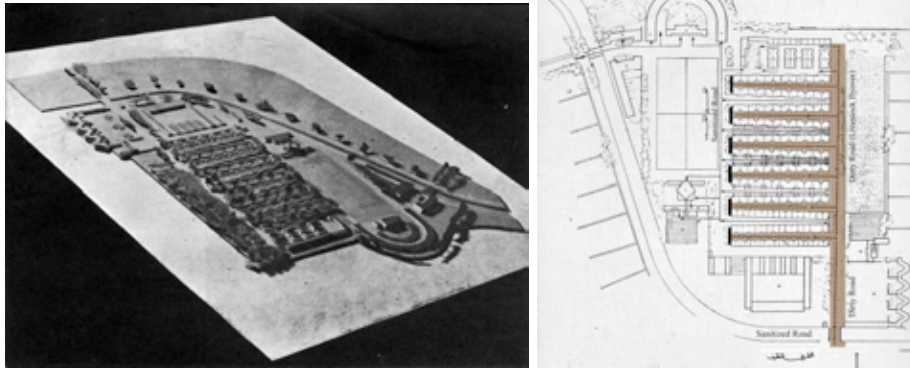
Fig. 2.4 Model of Transient Village, or *Qaryet Al-Inteqal.* Source: Harvard University Library PDS, *Magazine of Architecture and the Arts*, Arabic Trans. *Majallat Al-'imārah Wel-Fonoun*, (Cairo, 1953:1-2), 8, accessed February 21, 2014, http://pds.lib.harvard.edu/pds/view/.
Fig. 2.5 Diagrammatic analysis of dirty livestock corridor in the "Transient Village." Source: author based on *Majallat Al-'imārah Wel-Fonoun*, (Cairo, 1953:1-2), 29.

Fig. 2.6 Analytical study of circulation in the "Transient Village." Source: Harvard University Library PDS, *Magazine of Architecture and the Arts*, Arabic Trans. *Majallat Al-'imārah Wel-Fonoun*, (Cairo, 1953:1-2), 10.

2.2.2. Disciplining Peasants: The Security Dimension in Rural Village

Karim mentioned "security" as an attribute of the modern village. He defined modern security design as a twofold issue, one that was about hygienic defense from diseases, or *Al-Amn Al-Waqa'ee*. The other side of security related to protection from any violent offense. He designed the village putting in mind the security element placing watchtowers and few control anchors at the entrance. The idea of placing watchtowers was to enhance maximum vision and the visibility of any suspicious action.[183] The security dimension was indeed a military technology of

---

[183] Ibid., 10.

governance proposed in the rural village invoking a post-colonial domineering rule after the supposed decolonization and national independence.

Karim proposed two guard points at the village's entrance and one by the main public square. Such watchtowers design features were unprecedented. Amongst the spatial activities of the design program for the "Transient Village" was the military training center. James Scott argued that most of the high modernist projects persuasively shared a common goal of resorting to military imagery and techniques. They use strategies, regimentation, chains of command, discipline, drill, and uniforms to inspire and intimidate the populations who are the objects of their ambitious designs. Such techniques of governance became evident in the modern rural village proposed in Egypt, where the peasants' program of activities included military training. Modernizing the village meant a comprehensive control of the day-to-day operations through programming the human social behavior of peasants in space.
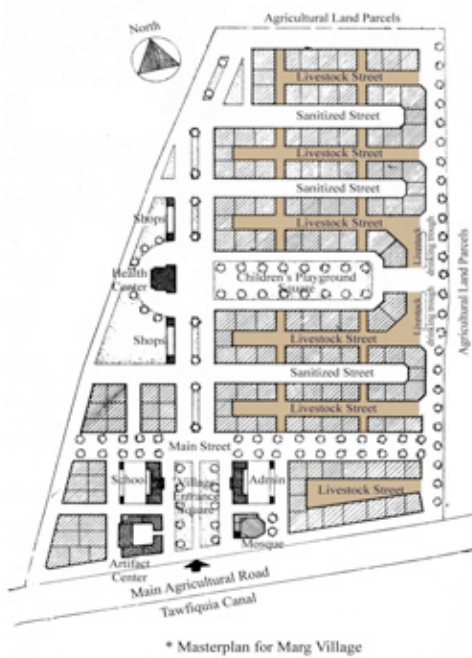
* Masterplan for Marg Village
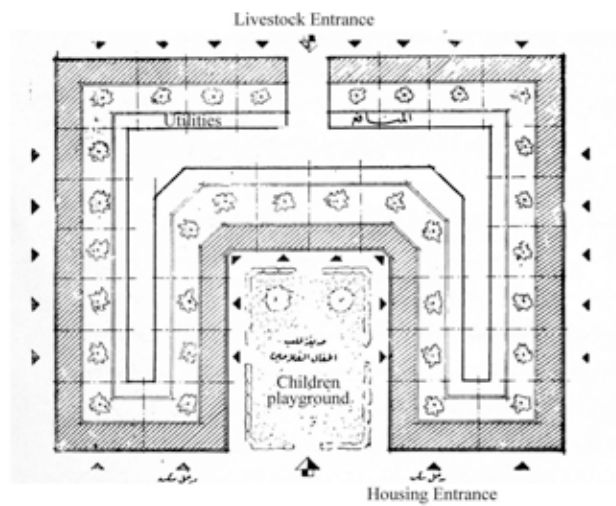
* Floor plan of a housing prototype for a closed village. The shaded area is the living and bedrooms, followed by an openly extended courtyard, then the utilities comprising wet and the dirty functions of restrooms, furnace room, and stable are situated.

Fig. 2.7 The highlighted cul-de-sac street network in the "Transient Village." Source: author based on *Majallat Al-'imārah Wel-Fonoun*, (Cairo, 1953:1-2), 25.
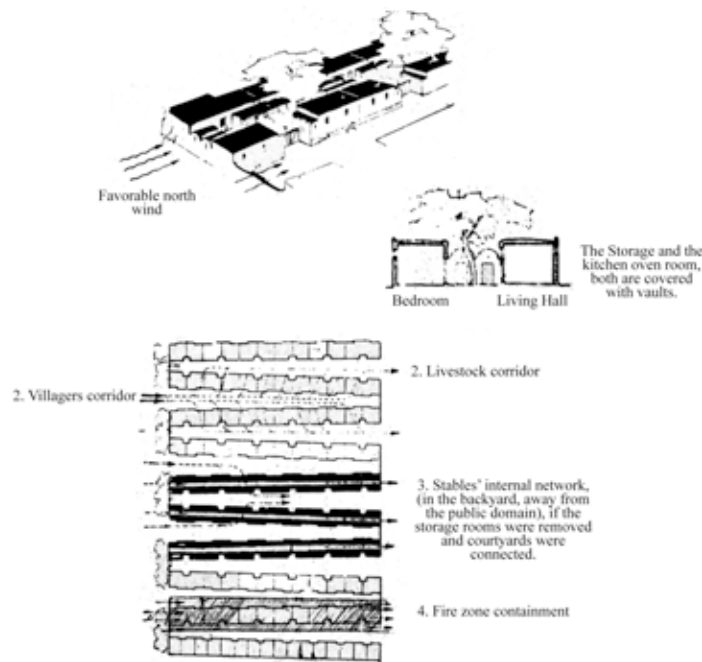
Fig. 2.8 Cul-de-sac loop in the "Transient Village." Source: Harvard University Library PDS, *Magazine of Architecture and the Arts*, Arabic Trans. *Majallat Al-'imārah Wel-Fonoun*, (Cairo, 1953:1-2), 21.

Sanitized Activities / Hygienic Corrdior

House of the Mayor   Mosque   Market   Weddings

Quranic School   Coffee-shop

Health Unit   Community Symposium

Washing Clothes basins   Shower rooms   Military Training

→ Living Room
→ Courtyard
→ Bedrooms
→ Barn

Water transport for domestic use   Livestock Route

Domestic sewage disposal

Dirty non-sanitized Activities / Unhygienic Corridor

Fig. 2.9 Diagram of peasants everyday life activities, divided between sanitary and non-sanitary functions. Source: author based on *Magazine of Architecture and the Arts*, Arabic Trans. *Majallat Al-'imārah Wel-Fonoun*, (Cairo, 1953:1-2), 9.

2.2.3. Discipline through Education: The Village of Tomorrow, Qaryet El-Ghad

The inception of the final phase of the "Cordon-and-Resettling" scheme gave particular attention to building educational facilities with the aim of teaching the peasants with the modern technologies of agriculture and livestock breeding. The layout of the village of tomorrow, designed as a renaissance architecture, comprised the "Village University" as a major feature. The semicircular buildings with patios, verandas, and terraces for viewing pastoral landscapes characterized the design of the schools. The University Village departments included advanced sciences of agriculture, animal studies, medicine and management related courses.

The mission of the University Village aligned with the state's national campaign for eradicating illiteracy. The national campaign aimed at building the peasants' capabilities, making them "educated citizens to pull them out of the dark."[184] The program was set to consist of eight classrooms, each with its veranda overlooking a Gazon garden and Poinciana trees. The mission statement dictated as follows, "The university spaces are programmed to benefit the fellah with his animals and birds, making learning an enjoyable experience as they entered the campus with the aim of taking off the fellah's cloak of illiteracy."[185] The modernity of *Qaryet el-Ghad* offered an opportunity to enjoy learning in spaces integrated with the outdoors. This joy was programmed and orchestrated; it was not a liberal arts kind of education but in contrast, it was hierarchical and persuasive.

Building a superstructure of multiple activities in the village became another sign of modernization. Sayyid Karim writes, "I urge on what I conceptualized few years ago in the Village University, the idea of concentrating all activities in one structure to reform the village community. The superstructure was a horizontally spread campus that connects compartments that operate on their own like rural school classrooms, sports facilities, vocational training department, rural artifacts, health units, child care, rural convention center, a miniature of the model farm, veterinary medicine, and the rural theatre. The university spaces aimed eradicating illiteracy in the different domains of life."[186] The intensified activities enclosed inside a campus created a miniature walled village was constructed in the rural countryside.

The Village University also included a prototype of "the perfect farm" or the "agricultural model" – *Al-Mazra'ah Al-Namozageiyah*, attached to a set of gallery rooms with technical information, equipments and the advanced technologies of farming. There was also a display of the best fertilizers to yield the maximum crop in an efficient manner. The optimum farm would introduce the mechanization of agriculture to reduce labor and increase the number of turnouts per year. The university village campus had a veterinary with a poultry farm. It also included a health unit and a multi-purpose room acting as a ballroom for occasional events. The university had a playground with some track fields for the different sports. The systemic layout of activities and their arrangement beside each other resembled the disassembly lines in factories.

The Village Plan was another neoclassical layout with a mixed-use program for a prototype alternative of the "Village University" for the "The New Agro-industrial City" in Koum-Umbo Valley.[187] On the far left side was the library compartment of plants, chicken, and cattle with access to their associated exhibit stalls arranged in a linear form. On the other end of the plan, there was a set of classrooms arranged in a semi-circle with an auditorium. In between there lied "the typical industries division" arranged in a corridor overlooking a court enclosing a swimming pool with a gym. It was a prototype for teaching life sciences related to peasants. The architectural plan beheld many neoclassical influences. The program involved curricula for teaching culture, economics, cooperative management, and public health sciences. It also had an auditorium space with some extracurricular activities.[188]

---

[184] Ibid., 17.
[185] Ibid.
[186] Ibid., 15.
[187] Ibid., 16.
[188] Ibid., 15.

Part of the modern village principles was to classify objects, put things on display and set them in a legible way. Expositions were part of the educational process; it was a selective practice of what to highlight and what to fade away. A permanent exhibit of artifacts and the village's products displayed the potential benefit of industrialization. Indeed, some of the artifacts were transformed into assembly lines: small-scale textile factory, palm-leaves industry for roof shading, furniture industry, carpenter, ironsmith, and the village pottery industry. The exhibit rooms were housed vocational training workshops to teach peasants on how to turn their works into mass-consumptive products. The "Village of Tomorrow" became a project to encourage the industrialization of the cultural artifacts of the rural region.
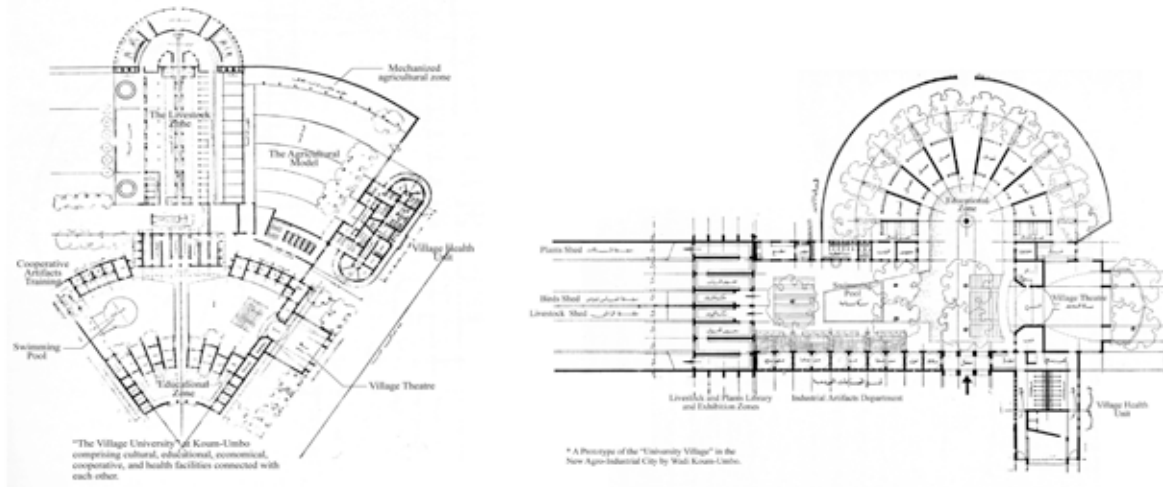
Fig. 2.10 The Village University in Koum-Umbo. Source: Harvard University Library PDS, *Magazine of Architecture and the Arts*, Arabic Trans. *Majallat Al-'imārah Wel-Fonoun*, (Cairo, 1953:1-2) 15.
Fig. 2.11 Village University in the New Agricultural-Industrial Compound in Wadi Koum Umbo. Source: Harvard University Library PDS, *Magazine of Architecture and the Arts*, Arabic Trans. *Majallat Al-'imārah Wel-Fonoun*, (Cairo, 1953:1-2), 16.

2.2.4. Clinics: A National Plan to Build Hospitals across the Countryside

The project for modernizing the village equally articulated a human development element. And, that was the "new fellah." Modernizing the villagers, educating them, and the provision of public amenities was one step towards making the New Fellah, which fundamental to the building of a post-colonial State and the construction of a national identity. Clinics were less important in attracting the State's attention, unlike the University Village. Karim criticized the government's presumption that building a modest health clinic in the rural villages would alleviate diseases in the countryside without a comprehensive strategy of clinics spread over the region with specialized fields. He proposed a grand master plan of specialized health unit network distributed according to population rates and growth in the countryside. The kind of diseases and number of outpatients would determine the required number of doctors and nurses. Medical Reform required preparing physicians and building the necessary residences for them to move to the "modern village."

2.2.5. Alternative Models for the Modern Village of Tomorrow

Not only did Karim promote this rural makeover, Tawfik Abdelgawad also adopted the same strategy of building tabula rasa modern villages. Within the modernist bloc, Abdelgawad criticized developing the existing villages proposing a "laissez-faire" mode of governance as the ideal action till the cordoned-villages would completely degrade automatically with time. Moreover, at the same time, he supported the erection of new villages on the periphery.[189] He argued that we need to "build the village" all again: culturally, socially, spatially and economically. The village and the peasant had awaited development since a long time ago.[190]

The security of the livestock and its robbery was a design determinant that Abdelgawad highlighted. Barns tended to be the space keeper of peasants' livestock and their long-time investment, which required safety protection. If peasants were to revenge from one another, they pursued this through harming the livestock of one another, because of its material importance for the everyday life of peasants. The number, scale, and hereditary lineage of cattle represented a social status marker of peasants in the village. Abdelgawad supported the firm attachment of peasants with their livestock; he backed up this sense of belonging. Accordingly he did not encourage the design of a collective barn to place all the peasants' livestock in one superstructure. He argues this would end in hostility and a state of sabotage.

The modernist architects designed another transient village in a neoclassical sense with a wide-open boulevard, linear street gardens leading to a main square. The mosque, school, clinic, and social community center were arranged around this plaza. The housing units were symmetrically aligned on an iron grid plan while the market and sports playground situated at the other end of the boulevard. Architects presented a complete layout for the Village of Tomorrow to be built as the New Mahallet-Ziyad. The residential quarters comprised an L-shape of the master layout whereas the community amenities were at the corner. The L-shape allowed for residential expansion along the axes if needed for future growth. The dotted lines illustrated an imaginative growth. There was a variation of housing prototypes based on social class and family size. The premier locations were exclusively allotted in the plan as "privileged housing." Those were in either, proximity to the main village center or overlooking the open landscape on the periphery. The in-between blocks marked the middle-class families overlooking the main road's traffic.

The New Mahallet-Ziyad designed for 2,500 housing unit, with an intended expansion of 5,000 unit, a mosque, rural school, clinic units, commercial market. The project scheme covered an area of twenty-four feddan subject to phasing and future extension. The village was estimated to inhabit a population of no more than 5,000 villagers with 10,000 housing units. Architects stressed the government's responsibility to provide the infrastructure for future expansion. Modernists requested building an economic cooperative market. They called for building public buildings for the mayor, police station, post office, and government offices, cultural facilities like the rural schools, and religious buildings of mosques and churches. The space program enhanced a quality of mixed-use and day-to-day functions for enhancing peasants' life. For every transient village in the national scheme for the "Rural Reform" project, modernist experts pressured for

---

[189] Ibid., 19.
[190] Ibid., 25.

the presence of these spaces. The project claimed it would be for social justice, modernization, and development.[191]
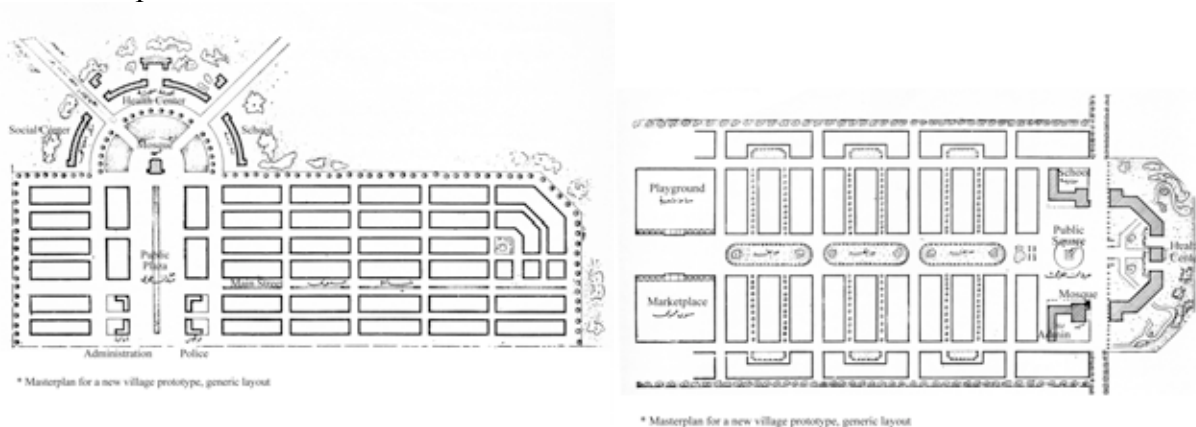
Fig. 2.12 Generic Master plan for a New Village Prototype. Source: Harvard University Library PDS, *Magazine of Architecture*, Arabic Trans. *Majallat Al-'imārah Wel-Fonoun*, (Cairo, 1953:1-2), 25.
Fig. 2.13 An Alternative Masterplan for a New Village Prototype. Source: Harvard University Library PDS, *Magazine of Architecture*, Arabic Trans. *Majallat Al-'imārah Wel-Fonoun*, (Cairo, 1953:1-2), 24.

2.3 Social Variations and the Transformative Housing Unit

The housing unit was the resident of both the villagers and their livestock with separate entrances each lying on the opposite side. The spatial arrangement of the housing unit was different from that of the Manor built under the feudal, and colonial rule though both designed by the same architect. The unit divided the village into two zones, the clean and the dirty, with an overlapping space, where the peasant navigated between both structures of hygiene. This space for negotiation was an appropriation of modernism that otherwise had a strict division of functions.

Both, the clean and the dirty corridors flowed into the housing unit from two opposite direction. The unit became an intersection of two otherwise separate circulation systems. In the final design phase, the planned "Village of Tomorrow," there would have been no livestock inside the unit. However, this last stage of the modern village never came to the realization. The resulting unit did not push the peasant to compromise leaving behind the personal livestock and place it in a communitarian hanger. The resulting village turned as a spatial mediation, a third approach to hybrid realities instead of strict binaries of modern versus traditional, clean versus dirty, and hygiene versus unhygienic.

This framework of mediation included the use of modern and traditional building materials and construction techniques. Karim and his colleagues at the Architecture Magazine were critical of mud brick as an outdated building material; they were promoting the standardized redbrick. They suggested mud brick for the peasants' housing in their "modern village" proposal. They ended up saving time and money in using mud-brick for the same pragmatic reasons of Hassan Fathy. However, Fathy had another deeper meaning and purpose. The rooftop of the livestock barn and the fodder's storage was a vault. Karim proposed using a paint wash to cover the interior surface of mud-bricks as a "hygienic mechanism." The paint would kill many germs and insects

---

[191] Ibid., 28.

transmitted through the porous mud-brick walls. He suggested turning the paint wash into an annual event, a cultural festival. Karim encouraged generating this as a costume or talked, in commotion with the Eid event. Inventing this "tradition" was used as the means to the modernist hygienic rationality.

Karim belonged to the modernist school of problem solving, where the design derived from scientific research, in this case, it was the hygiene rationality. As Fathy did in recalling the support of European furnace technology and the American scientist to overcome the Bilharzia swarm in New Gourna Village, Karim utilized several rational procedures to alleviate the diseases transmitted from the livestock or the peasants' behavioral patterns. For the livestock waste, Karim used a German hygienic procedure to get rid of the organic waste. The procedure recommended designing a sealed well to place the manure for fermentation in every house that included a livestock yard.[192] As for peasants' behavioral patterns, Karim reported the increasing rate of pneumonia disease a result of the peasants' sleeping pattern over ovens. He argued that the redistribution of space inside the housing unit would alleviate the spread of the disease. The disease was the effect of cold winters and limited heating options. In response, Karim moved out the oven into the living space and designed a built-in bed as an alcove inside the bedroom. The built-in bed located over a stepped plateau would act as a gas chamber connected through the wall of the oven in the living room. This mechanism was not tested, but Karim assured it would effectively reduce the peasants' inhalation of carbon monoxide and other gasses accumulating in the bedrooms — accordingly, would enhance an indoor quality of health.

2.3.1. Maintaining Social Class Differences

Karim promoted the "Cordon-and-Resettling Village" scheme under a socialist regime, yet he designed several prototypes to maintain class hierarchy within the village. The modern village or *'Al-Qaryah 'Al-Hadeethah* model attuned to the different social classes. Karim proposed three prototypes based on social class. The first one, a model designed for the wealthier families, would cost thirty to forty Egyptian pounds (three bedrooms, storage, furnace, barn, and stable). The second model, designed for the middle-class peasant, is a core nucleus of one bedroom subject to future extension and would cost twenty to twenty-five Egyptian pounds. The third model, a low-income housing arrangement of shared restrooms, would be placed near the village's coffee-shop that would be the residence of the construction workers building the village. Also to this, there was the housing model of the village's mayor — it was distinct in character and style and constructed of red brick as a status marker.

---

[192] Ibid., 10.
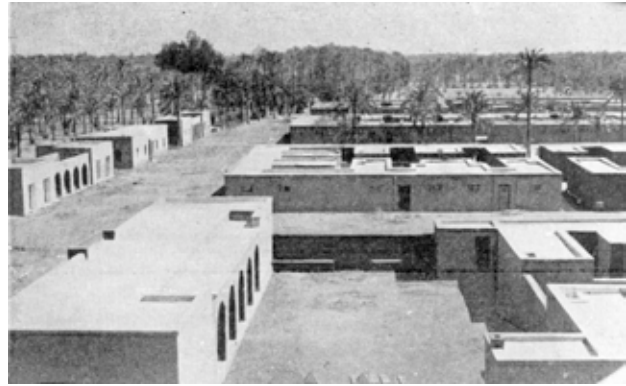
Fig. 2.14 The Village of Tomorrow for 2,500 housing units – Mahallet-Ziyad Village, showing "Big Family housing" versus "Middle-class housing." Source: Harvard University Library PDS, *Architecture Magazine*, Arabic Trans. *Majallat Al-'imārah Wel-Fonoun*, (Cairo, 1953:1-2), 26.
Fig. 2.15 The New El-Marg Village. Source: Harvard University Library PDS, *Architecture Magazine*, Arabic Trans. *Majallat Al-'imārah Wel-Fonoun*, (Cairo, 1953:1-2), 27.

2.3.2. The Big Family Unit

The "big family" unit, or *Beit El-'eila*, was designed to discount the stable and leave an in-between space when removed after the peasants were trained to give up raising livestock inside the house. As part of Karim's futuristic vision of the Village of Tomorrow, he conceived open green spaces penetrating throughout the village. Karim conceptualized the elimination of the stables with time — as part of the modernizing stage of development — to allow for more openness and in-between greenery. He aimed at promoting the western aesthetics of Ebenezer Howard's Garden City within the Egyptian rural context. The architectural inception of the Garden City attempted to feature characteristics of the countryside inside the city; it aimed for permeating openness and greenery lost as a result of the industrialization of cities. Howard aimed to reduce the alienation of humans and society from nature. Hence, he proposed the "garden" cities. Karim reversed the cycle of rural-modern flow of ideas; he injected a densely packed linear arrangement of attached units into the countryside.
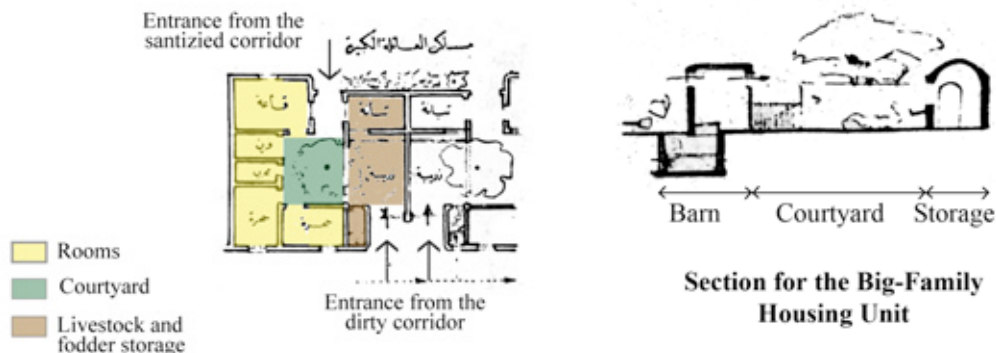
Fig. 2.16 The 'Big Family' housing prototype and vaulted roof of the livestock storage Source: author based on *Magazine of Architecture and the Arts*, Arabic Trans. *Majallat Al-'imārah Wel-Fonoun*, (Cairo, 1953:1-2), 10.

93

Peasants Housing Units
From Attached to Semi-attached

Phase 1: The Transient Village

Entrance from the santizied corridor

Haymaker Lobby Hall

Stable Courtyard Oven

Storage

Rest room Bedroom Bedroom

Entrance from the unsantizied corridor
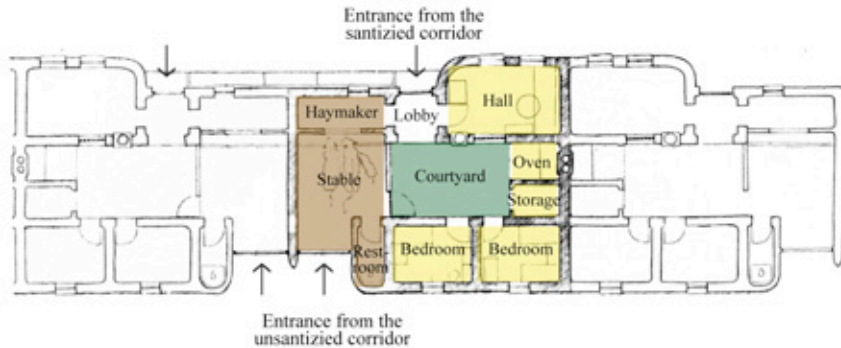
Peasant's housing arrangement with the street's alignment. An important feature is the separation of entrances based on hygiene, people versus the livestock.

Phase 2: The Village of Tomorrow
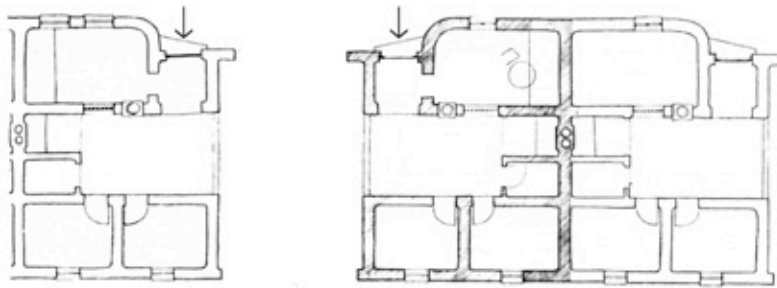
Peasant's housing arrangement after moving the stable into a collective barn and turning the village into a "Garden Village" with many open spaces in-between units. This will turn the attached units into semi-attached ones.

Fig. 2.17 The Two Transformative Phases of the Housing Prototype to remove the Livestock from the Unit. Source: author based on *Magazine of Architecture and the Arts*, Arabic Trans. *Majallat Al-'imārah Wel-Fonoun*, (Cairo, 1953:1-2), 11.

2.3.3. The Workers' Units

There was the "working-class" of villagers whose units existed in cube clusters. Each cube divided into four units with each one designated for a family. There were two design prototypes, one with entrances on the edge and another with entrances from the middle of the cluster. The washing and storage rooms in both prototypes always located in the midst of the cube. There was also a small livestock barn for every unit. However, it did not have a separate entrance as the big family villagers' unit. Here the workers and the livestock shared the same entrance. The hygienic rationality compromised the lower social class. In other words, modernization and the mission to civilize was a selective process based on class structure. Ironically, this was a project calling for social justice in the rural areas. However, injustices were deeply structured even in the designs aiming to change the status quo. These projects of rural development from the feudal system to the Republic were producing other structures of power and hierarchy.

Workers housing Units

"The Big Family" housing Units

◐ Common wells
■ Wet areas (bathrooms)

Village Workers Housing

Model 2 مساكن عمال القرية نموذج ٢   Model 1 مساكن عمال القرية نموذج ١

Unit Entrance →

Courtyard

Barn

Living Room

Living Room

Barn

Unit Entrance

Courtyard
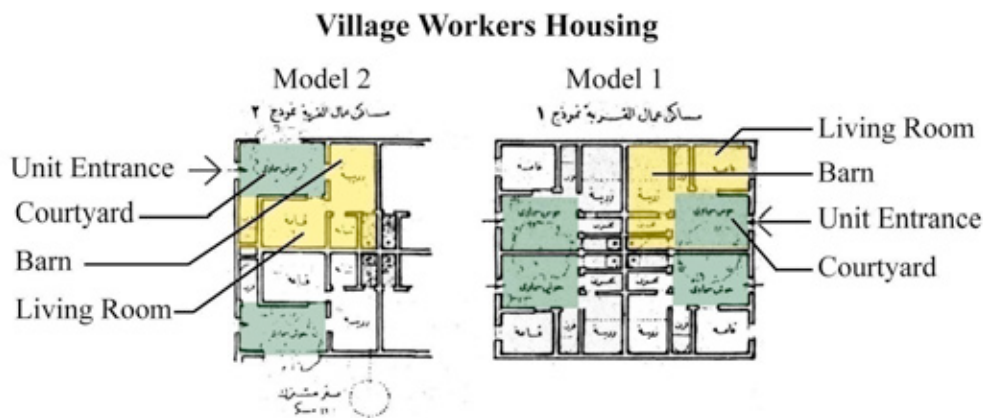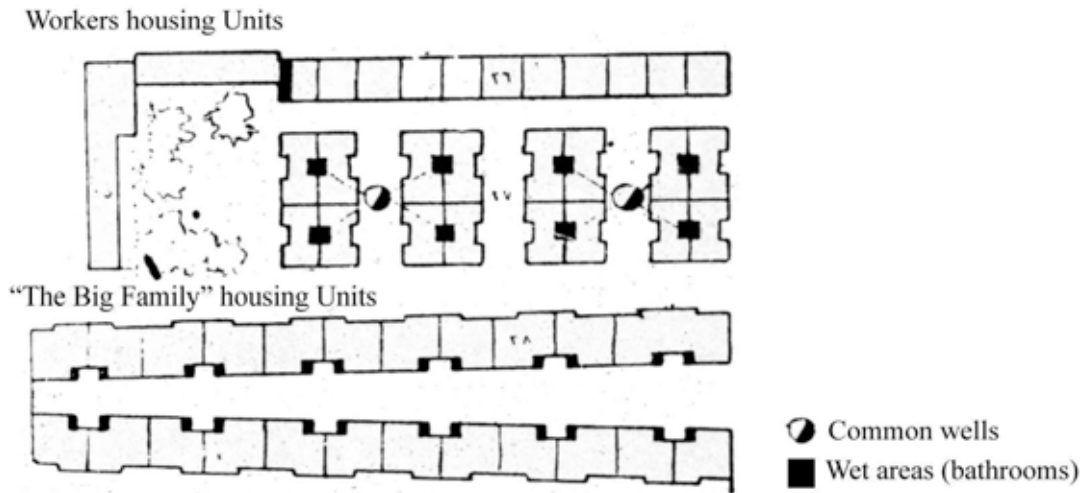
Fig. 2.18 The Two Housing Models of Village Workers. Source: author based on *Magazine of Architecture and the Arts*, Arabic Trans. *Majallat Al-'imārah Wel-Fonoun*, (Cairo, 1953:1-2), 10.

2.4 Concluding Remarks

This chapter explored the modern settlements project in the rural region at a postcolonial time. Resulting in a rural modernism appropriated from indigenous architecture, the public housing village conjured discipline and hygiene in several ways. The Village of Tomorrow constructed a national identity in a post-colonial time. This chapter furthermore showed how indigenous architects and urban planners embraced the "cordon-sanitaire" as a governing technology and colonial instrument of spatial domination. The "Cordon-and-Resettling" program aimed at building the "New Fellah" was a project of subject formation, as much as it was about building the "new modern village." In the construction of the new fellah, architects worked on re-establishing the relationship between the peasant and the livestock in spatial terms. Sayyid Karim advocated for the gradual removal of the animals from the peasant's housing unit in his blueprint of the "transient village," while Tawfiq Abdelgawad did not quite support this idea. Nonetheless, modernist experts advocated for a completely new design for the "village of tomorrow" based on hygiene**,** rationality, security control, and containment, as well as enhancing rural education

95

through university villages. The aim was to civilize the villagers and construct a class of educated modern peasants that were to be loyal to the new military regime and the new Republic. The modern peasant, their transformative housing, the transient village, and the village of tomorrow, shaped the rural modernism in Egypt. Experts arranged Arab Hygiene Congresses to disseminate the idea and experience throughout the rural landscapes of the Arab-speaking region. The Egyptian rural modernism supported the idea of leaving the existing villages to become dilapidated, cordoning them off, and building new modern ones. At this period, under Nasser, Egypt represented a hegemonic power across the political, social, and rural design projects, inheriting with it the colonial legacy of domination and citizens' subjugation.

In the late 1950's, internal migration from the countryside transformed the character of the city of Cairo and ITS social structure. Internal migration coincided with a military regime striving to showcase Cairo as a capital of the Arab world. The idea of rural modernity was soon transferred into urban modernity. The state's center of attention in early 1950's towards the Village of Tomorrow shifted in the late 1950's towards the City of Tomorrow in Cairo. The concepts of "hygienic rationality" and the making of "new citizens" became determinant registers in the design of the new periphery of Cairo. Amid a political turmoil following the 1956 Suez War, modern settlements became a governing spatial mechanism for displaying power and control of an expanding population. There were certain common characteristics between the Village of Tomorrow and Nasr City such as the separation of the governmental sector and housing zone, the wide boulevards to display military parades, as well as others. Building on the periphery, new settlements became the project of biopolitics, governmentality, and subject formation, as I analyze in the coming chapter about Nasr City.

Chapter Three:

Post-colonial Urban Modernity

3.1. Introduction: Building the State, Discipline, and Urban Hygienic Development

This chapter argues that building a modern nation-state was achieved in the city through a similar methodology of hygienic development and citizen formation implemented in the countryside, which was discussed in the previous chapter. This methodology included building a disciplined society through creating new hygienic spaces, advanced building materials, and modern housing compounds. "Fill-Connect-and-Expand" housing program was the urban development approach to alleviate unhygienic slums just like the "Cordon-and-Resettling" program in the countryside, which aimed at controlling dirty spaces in the old villages. However, the difference between the City's housing program and the Countryside comes from its point of departure and source of reference. The City's housing program was inspired by Khedive Ismail's "Urban Hygienic Renaissance" guidelines in late nineteenth century as I will prove through analyzing the urban planners' articles published on Ismail in the *Majallat Al-'Imara wal-Fonoun*. The national housing project resulted in the first master plan of Cairo and as a set of urban experiments, some of which were published in *Majallat* to promote multi-story apartment buildings using "hygienic" and advanced building materials of glass, steel, and concrete. One experiment of such master plan was the modernist settlement, Nasr City. The project was a pilot project for future city growth according to state official documents.

Chapter three develops two central arguments. The first argument in the chapter pertains to the nature of the City's housing program and Cairo's master plan development, its continuities and ruptures with the Countryside program. The second argument in the chapter moves from the urban planning policy to the urban scale and architectural design concept using a critical analysis of one resulting outcome of Cairo's master plan, Nasr City. The design concepts of Nasr City were intersections of local and international flow of ideas. The International Modernist Movement of the "City of Tomorrow" as well as local politics of post-colonial transition from the monarchy and containing opposition, the *other,* shaped Nasr City. In short, this chapter demonstrates the paradigm of spatial growth during that period, the housing program of "Fill-Connect-and-Expand" and Nasr City. Both represented the State-led initiatives of an urban modernity in Cairo for the sake of discipline and hygiene during the 1950s and 1960s.

In order to prove my argument, I will discuss the registers of hygiene, discipline, and containing the other that shaped both the "Fill-Connect-and-Expand" program and Nasr City settlement. The chapter is organized in two parts. First, I elaborate on the "Fill-Connect-and-Expand" program, its origins, continuities and ruptures from the modernists' ventures in the Countryside together with its historical reference of Khedive Ismail's Cairo urban renaissance. Modernists such as Sayyid Karim were involved in the national planning programs of both the Countryside and the City. In the second part, I elaborate on Nasr City, as a design project recommended by the City's housing program – another project that Karim participated in its inception. Furthermore, I explain the international influences and local spatial politics generating the character of Nasr City. Both, 1) the housing program and 2) the settlement, summarizes Nasser's urban modernity of hygiene, discipline, and curbing the other.

Chapter three interjects with the larger argument of the dissertation that the registers shaping the present neoliberal compounds of: hygiene, control, discipline, and distinction from the *other*, are not new registers or sole outcomes of global capital flows, but rather have their historical roots in the local politics of spatial growth.

3.1.1. Background

In the 1950's, internal migration from the countryside transformed the character of Cairo and the social structure of the city as a whole. Internal migration and urbanization coincided with a military regime thriving to showcase Cairo as a capital for the Arab world. The idea of a rural "new village of tomorrow" in the countryside transferred into an idea for creating an urban "new city of tomorrow" on the periphery of Cairo. The goal was to solve the growing hosing crisis. But this concept developed after a set of initiatives.

In the 1960's, the post-colonial government launched the first public housing project, *El-Masaakin El-Qadima that* aimed to provide housing for low-income groups and immigrants. El-Masaakin was placed on the periphery of the city such as *Al-Zawiya Al-Hamra*, but failed to shelter all immigrants.[193] The rate of internal migration increased with the military defeats in the 1956 war and 1967 war that resulted in the evacuation of the Suez Canal Cities.[194] Despite the fact that the Nasser regime relied on bureaucracy and the centralization of governance, they were unable to offer housing solutions for everyone. Accordingly, urban informality hiked, and *Biyuut Ahali,* private families' constructed houses, soared.[195] An increasing number of internal migration resulted in squatting on agrarian land surrounding the city, living in unplanned areas, and even claiming the necropolis with the dead.[196] The city was crumbling in a state of decay without a master plan to develop Cairo.

In *Majallat Al-ʿImara wal-Fonoun,* the first Arabic architectural magazine, modernists published issues speaking to hygiene, decay, and modernity. Modernists discussed issues oscillating between the Rural and the Urban Question. They defined the problem endemic to the village and the city as a result of bad governance, residents' behavior, and inferior building technology.[197] They urged for a national state-led housing intervention. They lobbied for new settlement

---

[193] Farha Ghannam, *Remaking the Modern: Space, Relocation, and the Politics of Identity in a Global Cairo* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 6.

[194] President Nasser himself approved of the conceptual master-plan of Nasr City after a private meeting with Lieutenant Anwar Sadat, later to become his vice president, and urban planner Sayyid Karim, in 1958. Karim notes that he explained the project's political gains in boosting a national pride after the military's struggle in 1956. Sayyid Karīm, *Al-Qāhirah ʿumruhā 50 Alf Sanah!*. (Cairo: al-Hayʾah al-Miṣrīyah al-ʿĀmmah lil-Kitāb, 1999), 154.

[195] Ghannam, *Remaking the Modern,* 6-7.

[196] Galila El Kadi and Alain Bonnamy, *Architecture for the Dead: Cairo's Medieval Necropolis* (Cairo ; New York: American University in Cairo Press, 2007), 281-82. According to Galila El-Kadi and Alain Bonnamy, in 1966 a law decreed the regulation of development in the historic necropolis acknowledging illegal construction of tombs and housing between the dead. Laws empowered the Morticians. In articles 36 and 39, the law prohibited morticians to allow citizens build tombs without permit, and forbid them from spending the night or using the cemeteries for any other activity after sunset. However, there was no state mechanism to regulate and watch morticians leading to regular housing south and east of the Qarafa, northeast of the Mamluk cemetery, and inside the cemetery of Sayyida Nafisa. El-Kadi and Bonnamy write, "The ambivalence of the state in its attitude toward the necropolitan heritage of Cairo, combined with its collaboration in reallocating the residential tombs of the old aristocracy, paved the way for housing development and for moving the homeless into the hawshes," 282.

[197] *Magazine of Architecture and the Arts*, Arabic Trans. *Majallat Al-ʿimārah Wel-Fonoun*, (Cairo, 1953-54:7-8), 63.

housing projects to be built on the periphery, as the case of the Village that I explored in the previous chapter. The state's center of attention that started in the early 1950's with projects of the "Village of Tomorrow" soon shifted in the late 1950's towards the "City of Tomorrow" in Cairo. Such a shift in attention led to the expansion of the city towards its periphery and the construction of the state-led *Madinet Nasr* or Nasr City.

The concepts of "hygienic rationality" and the making of "new citizens" became determinant registers in the design of the new periphery of Cairo. The "inferior fellah," the *other* in late Colonial Egypt and early Post-Colonial Egypt, was the subject of attention and was seen as the citizen to develop. At the end of the 1950's, things changed significantly. The "outlawed migrants" coming from the countryside and squatting in the informal "fungus slums" were the new "other." Instead of developing the other — as what happened with the fellah in the countryside, Sayyid Karim called for screening the illegal migrants coming from the countryside and even imprisoning some of them. Karim called them "thieves" who were destructive and exploitative, more than being productive and useful.[198] Karim claimed the slums as the harbinger of thieves, given that it was itself an architectural act of violation. Outlawed migrants created unhygienic and low-quality architectures, and they managed unsolicited activities of an informal economy outside the state's control. Meanwhile, in Karim's conviction, slum dwellers occupied vocational professions of domestic services without education, leading to ignorant and unqualified labor. Karim saw them as spaces of released prisoners, citizens of previous illegal activities such as theft, drugs, and smuggling. All those of which were inept to the moral principles of modern planning.[199]

By the statistics published in the *Mujallat Al-'Imara* based on government documents, in 1952 there were twenty thousand dangerous criminals in the records living in Cairo. They were working and living in the "crowded markets" swaging their way amid the busy city. There were one million and a half living in the cemetery, three million living in popular neighborhoods, and internal migration added thousands of unemployed labor per day. The way the *Mujallat Al-'Imara* modernists listed the statistics, mixing the illegality of criminals with residents living in old popular neighborhoods, mixing slums with old popular areas. These cases were only a few examples that revealed the modernists' discomfort with any citizen not conforming to the overarching social-engineering master plan.

"Citizens breathing air filled with decay, blood, destruction, and terrorism. The 'virus of degeneration' spreading from slums into the heart of Cairo required action[200]… The population explosion is number one responsible for producing terrorism: Treatment must begin by stopping the flow and preventing any illegal internal migration. The state must construct a close screening of citizens residing in the city. It must cleanse popular neighborhoods from the diseased citizens. …We need a political restructuring of the society by focusing on public policy not on security[201]… Terrorism came from the hinterland provinces and the countryside and populated

---

[198] Sayyid Karīm, *Al-Qāhirah 'umruhā 50 Alf Sanah!*. (Cairo: al-Hay'ah al-Miṣrīyah al-'Āmmah lil-Kitāb, 1999), 154.

[199] Ibid.

[200] Ibid., 155.

[201] By this Karim meant fighting the ideology of terrorism through spatial segregation, denying them services, rather than killing them. Ibid., 156.

the inner city through informal settlements. ...Informal settlements were the open trash cans polluting the air of Cairo.[202]"

In the process of contouring risk, the *other* must be invented and reconstructed.[203] The subjects of the *other* were the slum-dwellers and, certainly, the over-politicized issue of the "Islamists," becoming part of the rhetoric driving a homegrown urban modernity. The Islamists, particularly the Muslim Brotherhood, seen as disavowed citizens, became a threat to the state and Nasser's regime. Aligning with the state's position against them, Sayyid Karim renounced what Western media call on Islamists, "Allah in their heads, and Terrorism in their blood."[204] Fully convinced with this argument, Karim wrote, "Treating terrorism entailed a rational scientific thinking just like any contagious disease.[205]" Moreover, "we" needed to stop it before crusaders invade us to fight it instead.[206]

To avoid these unhygienic spaces of risk in the city, modernists recommended a housing strategy for new settlements, the "Fill-and-Expand" project. Experts called for demolishing slums, but an urban renewal plan where all slums would be developed was extremely costly. Karim argued that there were considerable empty lands across Metropolitan Cairo. One such piece of land was the space between Abbasiya and Heliopolis, land that was owned by the military barracks. Through conceptualizing a housing program called "filling-and-expanding," Karim requested that the army barrack would become a new town, today's Nasr City. The project would be the first planned town in the city, post independence, under this expanding territorial approach. The program would target landfills and empty spaces on the periphery, inspired by Khedive Ismail's approach. Moreover, these new settlements would be connected with ring roads and flyovers.

In planning Nasr City, modernists developed a design approach of "hygienic rationality" that correlated the design of an efficient "human body" to the design of functional neighborhoods. The new "City of Tomorrow" was divided into smaller districts and functional zones. Each zone would be a self-sufficient autonomous community with its own green open spaces and public amenities. These zones were connected to each other through a strong circulation network of roads and pedestrian walkways. There were certain common characteristics between the "Village of Tomorrow" and Nasr City such as the separation of the governmental sector and housing zone, the wide boulevards to display military parades, as well as other such features. At the heart of Nasr City was the stadium and green playgrounds. These greenery zones were similar to the green central boulevards of the Village of Tomorrow.

Nasr City's design followed the International Modern Movement and CIAM's Universal Modernism, yet there were several nuances that differentiated the Egyptian case study. Nasr City was developed and built at a moment of political transition from a colonial structure to a national socialist regime. The political transition aimed at enhancing public ownership over large-scale private monopolies. There was a national claim for building Nasr City as a city for the public, a

---

[202] Ibid., 156-57.
[203] Especially reconstructed, and yet in the process older discourses are mobilized, e.g. class discourses about peasants that already existed before the migration.
[204] Ibid., 156.
[205] Ibid., 156.
[206] Ibid., 156.

city that would celebrate nationalism and military parades. However, Sayyid Karim, the architect of Nasr City, proposed another vision for its governance and control.

3.1.2. Modernist Proposal of Spatial Governance

First, Karim proposed that a corporate company be established to manage Nasr City. The proposed corporate body was a business body investing in real-estate development for profit, which defied the political claim of socialism. However, Karim proposed that the company would generate money to maintain the public amenities and infrastructure. The blurry mission of the company between socialism and benefitting a certain group revealed the state's obscure definition of socialism.

The policies that Nasser embarked on with the redistribution of the property of the feudal wealth amongst the peasants under the name of "distributive justice" in the early 1950's, took a different track with time. There was a social welfare state, the notion of the public was growing, but this did not diminish the presence of an elite class profiting from land and housing. A military class of elite controlling housing development replaced the feudal families, as I will elaborate at the end of the chapter. The problematic practice of who benefits from state-led initiatives continued to exist throughout the twentieth century. The "actual beneficiaries" ended up different from the "targeted ones" who were the main cause of initiating these projects. While Nasr City was built to defy the proliferation of slums, their dwellers had no access to such modernist spaces. And while the targeted citizens for Nasr City were from the middle class, it ended up that only upper-middle classes and high-rank officers had access to this new space.

Later in the century, the confusing beneficiaries from state-led initiatives would exacerbate under neoliberalism. The partnerships between the public-sector housing ministry, the military, and private sector operate across blurred boundaries. These partnerships continued in the 1990's with neoliberalism.[207] What is at stake here is that the Egyptian housing model proved that there had never been a purely private sector or public-sector in the strict sense of governance, whether under Nasser or who would succeed him.

3.1.3. Housing Variations

Second, Karim proposed three housing models in Nasr City, the "socialist villa", the corporative apartment units, and the public housing units. Karim's argument for introducing the so-called socialist villa was quite oxymoronic. Karim explained that the transition from a monarchy system to a socialist political economy was not simple, and could not be abruptly achieved. He argued that transforming the political economy from "private ownership" under the monarchy to "public state-led housing" under the military's socialism required flexibility and transitional designs. Karim depicted that the richer residents of Nasr City would have their own subdivision

---

[207] Timothy Mitchell, *Rule of Experts: Egypt, Techno-Politics, Modernity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 303. He writes that: "The projects of economic reform in Egypt [under neoliberalism] had to excite the desires that fueled the building of Dreamland an Toshka, yet capitalism could not discipline those desires. Such desires, such forces, such other logics, are presented as something exterior to capitalism. They appear as a noncapitalist excess that details capitalism from its course. Yet this outside, these excesses, are at the same time vital to capitalism. They are a source of its energies, the condition of its success, the possibility of its power to reproduce. They are a heterogeneity that makes possible the logic of capital, and thus ensures both its powers and its failures," 303.

situated in the middle of the residential nucleus yet sharing infrastructure, green spaces, and amenities with the rest of the residents. This would achieve a partial private ownership as well as a partial public sharing of the fundamental services. Karim argued that this would be a mode of "limited ownership" —not completely private or too public. Cooperative apartment housing units represented a group of residents sharing the same building with its services yet owning their apartments. The public housing units were government owned apartment buildings that ministries granted for their employees; these were strictly state-owned units.

3.1.4. State-Controlled Education and the Other

The third nuance in the Egyptian model of the "City of Tomorrow" was the relocation of some departments in Al-Azhar Islamic School from Old Historic Cairo to the newly built Nasr City. Experts demanded a reform in the education system. There were various ways that discipline through controlling education and building "New Egyptian" played out in Nasr City. One way to look at it is to observe the political construct of the "other" during that period. Nasser's regime was extremely antagonistic to political Islamists, mainly the Muslim Brotherhood, especially after they allegedly tried to assassinate Nasser in Alexandria in 1954. The construction of a loyal religious model as an alternative to the insurgent other became part of planning. The choice lay with Al-Azhar University, one of the oldest teaching schools of Islamic teaching. In 1961, it began to include secular subjects in its curriculum in a gradual transformation process. The aim was to modernize the epicenter of religious education in Cairo, and by extension the Middle East and North Africa, and make it more aligned with the political regime. The state relocated parts of Al-Azhar University campus to Nasr City, which was a symbolic twist of irony. Al-Azhar was relocated on land previously occupied by military barracks. The secular military regime that was ideologically in opposition to the Islamist movements and traditional teachings seemed to be embracing the Ulama, from one point of view. From another perspective, this relocation could be analyzed as "segregatory" and "assimilative," making the state's religious authority work under the regime's wings. "Al-Azhar in Nasr City" would turn to be a political association of power, secularism, and Islamism. During the 1960s, technocrats worked on revisiting the teachings of the Islamic Schools. Building citizens and surveillance of the other in space by keeping them under scrutiny under Nasser would become one of the significant registers shaping the Egyptian modernist compounds in the following decades, as I will discuss in the coming chapter.

In conclusion, Nasr City represented an urban modernity of a post-colonial state to solve housing crisis –an outcome of the "Fill-Connect-and-Expand" program– through creating open hygienic spaces, displaying national power, disciplining education and secularizing the other.

3.2. Development Debates: From the Rural to the Urban Question

The pre-independence period was marked by a "negligible focus on urban areas,"[208] and lack thereof for containing urban growth. Despite the creation of Planning Higher Advisory Council in 1929 and the elaboration of a general town plan for Cairo in 1932, plans were minimal in

---

[208] Omnia El Shakry, "Cairo as Capital of Socialist Revolution?," in *Cairo Cosmopolitan: Politics, Culture, and Urban Space in the New Globalized Middle East*, ed. Diane Singerman and Paul Amar (Cairo; New York: American University in Cairo Press, 2006), 83.

scope and deferred in implementation.[209] Such indefinite development remained until 1949, when an autonomous urban municipality for Cairo would be put in place.[210] There were projects in the interwar period in Cairo such as the Mohandeseen project. However, according to El-Sharky, these plans aimed not at containing the growth of the city, but rather at increasing zones of urban habituation.[211] Such dismissal of urban core development led to an urban crisis, meaning a crisis of governance. And this was the urban legacy that Nasser took over.[212]

From the 1950's to the 1960's, Nasser focused on rural development, land reclamation and resettlement:

"Nationalist discourse, and social reformers, posited the *city as the quintessential site of the modern* (the seat of rational state planning and the development of modern forms of power), and *the rural as the site of national identity* (with the peasantry as representative of the demographic masses). In a sense, throughout this period the city became the locus of governance, while the countryside became the object of governance."[213]

In many senses, the uneven development and urban planning of Cairo was intertwined with the rural project. Building the peasant-citizen was the founding basis of building the nation-state and modernizing the country. This is why the development of urbanism cannot be understood except in conjunction with the "rural question," its privileging within the social-welfare mode of regulation of the 1930s to the 1960s, and its erasure under the successive regimes.[214] Therefore, El-Shakry argues that an isolated study that focuses on Cairo is, in effect, misguided.[215]

The situation exacerbated further in the following years with internal immigration. The newly independent state did not have a planning strategy to house the migrating masses from the countryside. The housing situation turned to a double crisis with the military defeats in the 1956 war and 1967 war. The conquests led to another mass migration from the Suez Canal cities. The government was impotent in offering housing for everyone. Accordingly, urban informality accelerated, and the densification of neighborhoods occurred.

---

[209] Mercedes Volait, "Making Cairo Modern (1870-1950): Multiple Models for a 'European-Style' Urbanism," in *Urbanism: Imported or Exported?*, ed. Joe Nasr and Mercedes Volait (Chichester, England ; Hoboken, NJ: Wiley-Academy, 2003), 17–50.

[210] El Shakry, Cairo as Capital of Socialist Revolution?, 83, and Volait, Making Cairo Modern, 38. Mercedes Volait denotes that even the projects selected for implementation in the interwar period, such as Mohandeseen project, "plans were intensive and extensive in scope."

[211] Volait, Making Cairo Modern, 38.

[212] El Shakry, Cairo as Capital of Socialist Revolution?, 83.

[213] Ibid., 75.

[214] Ibid., 93.

[215] Ibid. El Shakry writes: "Paradoxically, the contemporary megacity of Cairo can be seen as the product of two antiurbanization spatial modes of regulation. From the 1930s to the 1960s, rural Egypt was viewed as the pivot of national wealth and was privileged in the reconstitution of space, while Cairo was perceived as a revolutionary planning hub, its urban organization neglected. After Infitah, economic development, particularly of urban-based capitalist sectors, was privileged, while the urban density of Cairo (especially of the popular classes) was demonized. Social planners perceived urban density as consuming economic growth and the solution posited was that of creating relatively autonomous new desert cities." 2006, 94.

As a result of the military defeats and the after effects leading to a housing crisis inside Cairo, the state shifted its attention from the rural question, that I discussed in the previous chapter, to the urban question. This shift happened at the end of the 1950's. The architectural experiments and writings of many modernists published in the Magazine of Architecture, during that period, shaped a local modernist approach to housing and development in the countryside and the city.[216] Both territories suffered from hygienic problems, dilapidated housing conditions, bad governance, overpopulation, limited resources, inefficient planning, messy circulation, inadequate infrastructure and inappropriate public amenities.[217]

The first master plan of Cairo, begun in 1953 and completed in 1956, and put forth by several Egyptians trained in the U.S. and Great Britain, was explicitly addressed to the remedying of these urban problems.[218] The idea of planning was geared towards the scientific nature of socialist planning. The first master plan for Cairo was initiated in order to accumulate

---

[216] *Magazine of Architecture*, Arabic Trans. *Majallat Al-'imārah*, (Cairo, 1939), accessed February 21, 2014, http://pds.lib.harvard.edu/pds/view/ The 1939 Article: In the first year of issuing the Magazine of Architecture, Karim highlighted the hazards of war destruction on Cairo if bombarded in WWII. With Egypt's possible involvement in the war as a colony under the British Mandate, and having the Suez Canal as a strategic channel connecting the Mediterranean with the Red Sea. There were concerns amongst Egyptian experts. Karim suggested that architectural experts and urban planners should prepare some emergency plans and survival strategies for the city, should it be bombarded. For Karim, the question was, how would the city operate to save the disenfranchised citizens. The outcomes of this article were a set of guidelines that foregrounded architectural theory during a state of an emergency in Cairo. Despite the fact that Egypt did not play a role in WWII, the question of if Cairo was attacked opened a discussion to diagnose the city's malfunctions and epidemic problems. It was an opportunity to draw an imaginary vision for a better operating city. This ultimately became the pretext to plan for Cairo's modernization and future growth. In his essay "Towards a Medical Defensive City", Karim defined the city's problems with a set of schemes on the intersections of space, hygiene, and efficiency. The set of schemes focused on mitigating human losses through redistributing hospitals in the capital by appropriating schools and other building for hospitalization. The "medical defensive city" aimed at dividing the capital, turning some neighborhoods into semi-autonomous quarters decentralized from the central government at a time of exception and no communication. These neighborhoods would self-manage themselves the purposes of medication, emergency housing, and distribution of resources. Ironically this notion of semi-autonomy and self-securitization of spaces was adopted informally with no expertise in the 2011-revolt when the Egyptian government of Mubarak fell and popular groups formed the "Neighborhood Committee Watches" that operated in every district in Egyptian cities. In the 1939-article, the schematic guidelines urged that certain squares would open and buildings would transform and be appropriated for temporal functions. At the end of the essay, Karim explained that even if Egypt did not partake a role in the war, exploring the city's problems of hygiene, its circulation, and its sanitization should be the founding principles for rethinking the future development of the city. Moreover, this is why the article remained important in shaping later modernist master-plans. Karim urged the production of a set of master-plans for Cairo highlighting the sanitized spaces versus the dense unsanitized neighborhoods, the easily accessed spaces for circulation versus the inaccessible ones. The result was to produce an efficiently circulating and hygienic city. Karim proposed a master-plan scheme for Cairo dividing the city into a grid of 14-districts with anchor buildings for hospitalization. Each building would act in a self-organizing mechanism for the immediate surrounding together with connecting with other anchor buildings in the other districts. These emergency architectural buildings would work within a larger urban planning framework. Avenues of circulation and network would connect them together. In analyzing why the existing urban fabric would fail to survive and save its citizens during any war period, Karim listed 9-points that would then lay the ground for his strategic "medical-defensive city" plan and opening up the city.

[217] Towards saving the status quo; In an attempt to deal with the status quo and existing malfunctions, Karim proposed four schematic layers for transforming Cairo into a "medical defense" city. The first scheme was laid as a "permanent surgery for the city." This suggested dividing Cairo into fourteen zones of self-sufficient neighborhoods, operating as hospital wards, with their own resources, food supplies, and appropriated hospitals.

[218] Galila El Kadi, ""Trente ans de Planification Urbaine au Caire," *revuetiersmonde Revue Tiers Monde* 31, no. 121 (1990): 187-88.

information regarding "the distribution of industry, commerce, and other land uses, housing conditions, labor conditions, transport and communication problems, streets, and highways."[219] The elaboration of a master plan for Cairo was part of the larger objective of improving knowledge of and exercising control over urban reality.[220] The master plan aimed at the creation of industrial areas in the immediate vicinity of Cairo; six satellite industrial zones (workers' cities) were planned in Helwan, Shubra Al-Khayma, Imbaba, and Giza.[221] Secondly, beside the industrial complexes, of which only Helwan as a satellite town came into effect, urban planners embarked on programs for public housing. They consisted mainly of heavily subsidized low-cost housing located near the industrial centers, styled along the lines of the so-called "Khrushchev blocls": five- to six-story pre-fabricated walk-up flats, common to Soviet-bloc mass-housing projects.[222] Thirdly, there was the development of Nasr City on the periphery of the existing city. It was planned in 1958, intended to be a bureaucratic administrative town, containing all the major ministries, with housing and community facilities for the growing technocratic-civil servant class.[223] These three schemes, the industrial towns, public housing, and administrative towns, were all part of the modernization development, also dubbed as the five year plan (1960-65).

In recommending a road map for the modernization project in the Rural and Urban regions, Sayyid Karim focused on two issues concerning hygiene. First, he highlighted the need to use advanced modern hygiene materials in the construction and the finishing of buildings. Secondly, he urged the building of new towns from scratch using modern planning principles on the edge of existing settlements.[224] Using the graphic representations on the cover pages of the Majallat as the platform of the modernist bloc, one could analyze the oscillating issues of concern.

The graphics on the cover pages represented the focused theme of each issue as well as the journal's mission statement. The publication was characterized by combining issues of technology, science and fine arts in Architecture and the Built Environment. It was published in Arabic as a beacon of knowledge to address the community of Arab-speaking architects with the

---

[219] Janet L. Abu-Lughod, *Cairo: 1001 Years of the City Victorious*, Princeton Studies on the Near East (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1971), 229.

[220] El Kadi, "Trente ans de Planification Urbaine au Caire," 188.

[221] Ibid., 189-90, Abu-Lughod, *1001 Years of the City Victorious,* 231-32, Agha Khan, "Cairo, 1800-2000: Planning for the Capital City in the Context of Egypt's History and Development." In *The Agh Khan Award for Architecture. The Expanding Metropolis: Coping with the Urban Growth of Cairo,* (Cambridge, Mass.: Agha Khan Program for Islaic Architecture/MIT Press, 1985), 97-98, El Shakry, "Cairo as Capital of Socialist Revolution?," 84-85.

[222] El Shakry, "Cairo as Capital of Socialist Revolution?," 84-85, Farha Ghannam, *Remaking the Modern: Space, Relocation, and the Politics of Identity in a Global Cairo* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).

[223] Ibid., 85, El Kadi, "Trente ans de Planification Urbaine au Caire," 191-92.

[224] The *Architecture Magazine*, Arabic Trans. *Majallat Al-'imārah*, (Cairo, 1945:4-5), accessed February 21, 2014, http://pds.lib.harvard.edu/pds/view/ In adopting the project of development and modernization, contributors of the journal vehemently proposed design models for the future condition of the urban and the rural village. Sayyid Karim and Hassan Fathy, who contributed with an article for the *Majallat* (1945: 4-5), situated Egypt's contemporary problem of architecture and the built environment with the economic recession and the limited resources post WWII. This affected the channeling of resources to the devastated areas leading to a crisis of urban governance and development projects. More than anywhere else, the villages were adversely affected.

aim of enhancing the quality of the profession, publish projects and provide solutions.[225] Architects and planners deployed Majallat as a vehicle to modernize the built environment.

3.2.1. Hygienic Modern Materials for Rural and Urban Regions

Hygienic housing programs, master plans, building the Villages of Tomorrow and Nasr City would not have been possible without having a supporting industry that manufactures modern building materials, and a public culture backing such transformation of aesthetics. Majallat played a key role in publicizing concrete, steel, and glass towards their goal of creating a hygienic modernist development. In the first issues of the MA, hygiene was addressed through supporting new construction materials and finishing materials to be used instead of the traditional unhygienic materials. The contemporary buildings in Cairo with their minimalist architecture dominated the cover pages of the first year of publication in 1939. The focus was on pragmatism, functionality, and tall buildings[226] (see the introduction appendix for the issues of 1939: 1,2,6). Building heights ranged from eight to sixteen floors, designed mainly for residential apartments and office buildings. Modernists proposed the design of modern multi-story buildings instead of the crumbling old short apartment buildings or mud-houses in villages. Modern materials gained more attention in the following issues of Majallat to encourage their use in construction.[227] Most buildings on the cover pages were shot from an angle celebrating the material object: paints, glass curtain walls, and solid beams. The images captured a brutalist architecture focused on strength and durability. In a direct communication of visual culture, three issues of Majallat featured modern materials and construction tools on their front pages. The use of advanced materials was encouraged as a drive towards modernization in the city as well as the countryside to alleviate the epidemic diseases increasing in the rural region.

The cover page of the 1940 issue number 3-4 featured a collage representation of "construction materials": bricks, chisel, and a primitive cement mixer. Meanwhile, the cover of the 1942 issue number 1-2 depicted "finishing materials" in an interior space of a modern bathroom with ceramic, an enameled bathtub, and antiseptic toilet. The warm colors used in the bricks cover page reflected the heated nature of the Egyptian context that Sayyid Karim kept stressing in his editorial opening article. In his article, Karim depicted a wide array of uses, building techniques, heat insulation, and sound proof purposes that bricks could provide. He stressed its adaptability to the microclimate of the different areas in Egypt including the countryside.[228] Engineer Azab Hussein of the Amiri Buildings Institute, which belonged to the Palatial Engineering

---

[225] While it was focusing on the latest advanced technology, it also featured the different historical periods of architecture in Egypt and ancient archeological sites. In several issues, the journal introduced itself as an intersection of tradition, identity, and modernization.

[226] There was particular attention paid to moving away from traditional cultural expressions through highlighting the aesthetics of brutalism and abstraction. The first issue of 1940 included a residential building in Zamalek, Cairo, designed by the non-Egyptian architect Charles Ayrout. The eight-floor apartment building abstracted the traditional lattice window, *Mashrabeya*, using glass and aluminum placed at the corner of the building. This appropriation gave the traditional window an elegant modern look. The design managed a fine mix of materials, bricks with paint, protruding balconies, and half-circled arches.

[227] The building industry advertisements comprised one-third of the *Majallat* issues, such as elevators, steel, and concrete.

[228] *Magazine of Architecture*, Arabic Trans. *Majallat Al-ʿimārah*, (Cairo, 1940:3-4), 143-54, accessed February 21, 2014, http://pds.lib.harvard.edu/pds/view/.

Consultancy — a prestigious group that designed and built for the monarchy during the British Mandate, wrote an article about the history of using bricks in villages.[229]

The Majallat addressed building materials within a post-war context after they were depleted to help the British Empire during WWII. While the 1940 issue focused on the exterior facades and infill use of materials, the 1942 issue focused on the interior hygienic role of finishing materials — one such case covered in length was the bathroom space. The different uses of anti-bacterial materials featured on the cover pages offered a clean, modern outlook. It was an architectural modernity of expression: one that was hygienic, standardized, industrial, efficient, and subject to mass-production in a receding economy.

Asserting the Majallat's urge for standardizing building materials, Karim wrote a set of articles to stress an idiosyncratic national identity. In the following issue of 1940, number (5-6), Karim discussed in his editorial piece the need to rethink how to deploy materials, and create building laws based on our locality. The article, "National Identity and Architecture in Egypt,"[230] was a summary of a talk he delivered at a conference on "Reforming the Egyptian Society." The Royal Administration in the Geographic Association organized this Congress on the 19th of April 1940.[231] During that time, architecture was not a stand-alone discipline; the political regime engaged in debates concerning rural and urban development within the larger context of sociology, the economy, and public health. The political regime created an atmosphere where experts of the different fields came together and integrated transversely to address the real problems of the society in an interdisciplinary approach.

National architecture, according to Karim, should reflect the cultural diversity and the heterogeneity of Egyptian society rather than copying the architecture generated in the West. According to Karim, we should come to terms with borrowing hygienic ideas invented in the west but appropriate them for our microclimate and economic challenges. For Karim, architecture was shaped by the political economy of a particular era. We should not be captives of our history, nor be captives of western technology, but instead should extract lessons from both to generate our modernity.[232] In hindsight, laws, building regulations, and urban planning principles should be flexible for this economic and contextual mediation from the West and our locality. Architecture in the 1940s was shaped by scientific determinism, mechanical optimization, and advanced technology in service of the local problems.

"We are becoming followers of the world's programs of development and adopting their architectural styles of neoclassical styles. Every style has its own history of development. We should not build our architectural expression of national identity on the remnants of others. We should develop our own architectural character and program of development. This does not mean receding to our old historical styles. People must convene to a role model of national identity in the architecture of their public administration and government buildings. If government buildings

---

[229] However, Hussein mixed up some concepts, however, such as that of the cheap mud-brick with the modern bricks in his analysis of the architectural character of the countryside. Ibid., 216-17.
[230] *Magazine of Architecture*, Arabic Trans. *Majallat Al-'imārah*, (Cairo, 1940:5-6), 271-75, accessed March 19, 2014, http://pds.lib.harvard.edu/pds/view/.
[231] Ibid., 271.
[232] Ibid., 274.

has no specific identity, then we should not blame the people for the eclectic architecture of their buildings as there is no viable model and they have lost their track."[233]

Sayyid Karim stressed that architectural laws should be tailored, and become situational and contextual:

> "We are in need for architectural laws in the service of our contemporary moment like no other time; building laws generated in the West do not fit our condition. We need laws tailored to deal with the *unplanned growth* of our built environment. We need regulation and meticulous monitoring of the building process at every detail from the construction material to the building process, the shape of buildings, architectural character, and buildings relation with the surrounding context. We need strict architectural laws benefitting the public good and controlling individual anomalies that deviate from the norms. We need to define clear-cut responsibilities, rights and duties for each of the architect, the contractor, the client, and the real-estate broker. We are in deep need of a *guardian and regulator* of our architecture, an urban governance and spatial management — only then we can have a structure to revive our architectural national identity."[234] (Italics added)

In the article, Karim addressed the need for making laws to curb the unplanned growth and criminalize such activities. He called for a strong presence of urban governance and spatial management —a regulator so to say to control development. In retrospect, such regulation would lay the foundation for an architectural identity that would adjust the building process and construction materials deployed in the city and the village through strict management and building codes. Karim observed the spawning of slums as a case of unplanned urban growth. However, he acknowledged the lack of housing units during that time. Instead, modernists began to promote high-rise apartment buildings in the city as an alternative. They explained its functionality in terms of using the optimum foot square area in the urban plot by growing vertically. They argued that it was a better model of housing and more hygienic than the degraded slums. This was the rational behind featuring them as the cover pages of the following two issues of 1940, (7-8) and (9-10), see the introduction appendix.

3.2.2. The Interventionist Debate: Two Approaches To Building New Settlements leading to 1950's Urban Modernism

Between architects and urban planners there was a clear agreement on the need to build new settlements, but the question of where and how to do so was debatable. Experts viewed building new settlements as part of the modernization project. There were, however, two possible approaches. The first modernizing approach was based on the assumption that borrowing a western model with some appropriations would ultimately end with development. The second modernizing approach was based on developing a model of "modernization from below" relying on traditions as they represented the inherited legacy of problem-solving issues. The second approach was based on modernizing the traditions themselves, rather than borrowing a material product from Europe that was contextually and socially problematic.

---

[233] Ibid., 275.
[234] Ibid., 275.

Many of the MA experts believed in the need for building new settlements while cordoning the unhygienic old ones,[235] see figure below. Some modernists believed that the state should renew old settlements. On the other hand, there was Hassan Fathy, who contributed with an article in 1945 to the Majallat, issue number (4-5), criticizing this methodology of rapid "mass destruction." Fathy did not believe that the old fabric should be entirely cordoned, or demolished. Some buildings were invaluable and historical. He called for a careful, intricate treatment rather than a borrowed western model of industrial development.[236]

In the meantime, Fathy, equally, believed in building new towns. He conceded the need for "building new settlements" but his question was how to create from scratch and remain relevant to the context: historically, culturally, socially, and climatically. These initiatives called for the destruction of the old neighborhoods and villages, and build new towns and centers. Fathy criticized this line of thinking, as it was generic and not based on a case-by-case study. Without a detailed field survey of neighborhoods and villages, such mass destruction would erase our urban heritage, spatial memory, and layers of experience that existed in the built environment. He acknowledged the presence of slums but also acknowledged that amid slums, there were valuable buildings to be renovated. He slammed the burgeoning process of modernization through complete elimination of the ailing villages and cities. He believed that we should keep them and develop them without cordoning and unmapping them. He called, such, "cordoning" as an utter destruction of the past. He believed in modernization and building new settlements but not using a Euro-American urbanization model, viewing those attempts as off-context. They were based on borrowing the lush aesthetics of Italian Renaissance, or borrowing an industrial aesthetics of post-war mechanized modernism.

In his piece, Fathy seemed frustrated with the hasty results of "urbanizing the rural, and the suburbanizing the urban." He was distressed with the deep contradictions of the modernizing project of new settlements disjunctive from the social, cultural, and economic challenges. He criticized the importing of Parisian-style architecture in Downtown Cairo during the Khedival era or the adopting of twentieth-century concrete modernism later on. He criticized the logic of borrowing modernity from outside under the name of efficiency and functionality; he called it banal, and "fake architecture."[237] Fathy claimed it was assimilative and dismissive of the long-standing, traditional legacy of indigenous architecture. Fathy claimed that it was equally harmful for the western architecture to be uprooted from its origins and implanted elsewhere. Uprooting

---

[235] In 1945, the first issues of the year focused on the agrarian condition of peasants and their built environment as depicted on the cover page that featured a design project in the countryside by Sayyid Karim. The project was one of a series of self-assigned endeavors by modernist architects such as that one, 1945, and Hassan Fathy's experiment in New Gourna, 1944, to modernize the village. Sayyid Karim was the architect of the minor, which belonged to one of the feudal families in the countryside proposing a solution to the crisis of livestock and peasants living side by side. His proposal aimed at the maximization of profit through efficient raising and breeding of cattle using mechanized systems. This offered a whole different approach to Fathy's proposal of appropriating the traditional building elements to provide affordable housing and serve the modern needs of a sanitized hygienic village. While Fathy's design premise was founded on self-built housing, Karim's design premise was founded on the appropriation of capitalism as a drive towards modernization. The issue covered in breadth Sayyid Karim's project with articles written on the rural question by several modernist experts.

[236] The *Magazine of Architecture*, Arabic Trans. *Majallat Al-'imārah*, (Cairo, 1945:4-5), 25-26, accessed April 21, 2014, http://pds.lib.harvard.edu/pds/view/.

[237] *Magazine of Architecture*, Arabic Trans. *Majallat Al-'imārah*, (Cairo, 1945:4-5), 25.

it defied its purpose of being functional and efficient. These imported modernisms were misplaced, and Fathy saw them as obstacles to the development of a local modernism.

Instead, Fathy advised development from within rather than borrowing from outside. He demonstrated the rich heir of problem-solving techniques embraced in the traditional and indigenous architecture that architects should capitalize. Developing heritage was a frame of reference addressing our architectural stagnation in developing a cultural identity. Architectural experiments should be pursued to break this stagnation. The legacy of traditions was based on a long history of trial and error with a feedback loop of problem solving. According to Fathy, we should develop and modernize them, rather than put an ending to our heritage. He believed traditions could be modernized; they were more contextually appropriate than any offshore architectures. He called for the moral responsibility of intellectuals to social reform, develop, and "urbanize the villages and cities," *ta'meer al-reef wel-modon*, without destroying our problem-solving heritage.

In retrospect, Fathy developed what he framed as an urban anthropological study that would precede any development plan. He proposed to conduct an analysis of the existing context before the decision to cordon any village. He advocated for a bottom-up approach to development, a modernizing from below, that acknowledged the embedded traditions and center them as a point of departure. Moreover, in the construction of the new settlement, the old mechanisms of problem solving should be modified to meet the modern hygienic needs of the present.

Fig. 3.1 Plan of Modernizing Existing Village. Source: Source: Harvard University Library PDS, *Majallat Al-'imārah Wel-Fonoun*, (1953-54:7-8), 63.[238]

In the following issue, 1945 (6-7), the MA celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of Khedive Ismail by covering his modernizing project during his reign from 1863 to 1879. The issue came promptly explicating the motives behind his urban renaissance, one that aimed for fighting diseases and improving the public health of Egyptian residents. Mostafa Bek Fahmy, the principal architect of the royal court, described Ismail's era as a "Hygienic Renaissance."[239] The

---

[238] *Magazine of Architecture and the Arts*, Arabic Trans. *Majallat Al-'imārah Wel-Fonoun*, (Cairo, 1953-54:7-8), 63, accessed April 21, 2014, http://pds.lib.harvard.edu/pds/view/ Presented at the fifth Arab Engineering Conference on Hygiene and Public Health in Cairo. The new settlement is on the right hand, while the old village is on the left hand. A meddling proposal to open two wide roads into the old village to connect with the new one.
[239] *Magazine of Architecture*, Arabic Trans. *Majallat Al-'imārah*, (Cairo, 1945:6-7), 9.

project created a modernity of sanitization. It was more than a modernity of aesthetics, architectural style, and importing of Parisian urban design.[240]

In a lengthy article, "Ismail's Cairo: A History of Architecture In Trial" Sayyid Karim analyzed his project of development in details. The essence of Ismail's "urban renaissance projects" was a reform program on the urban, health, education, juridical, and on many other levels.[241] He tried to subvert the systemic orientalist view of the west towards the east significantly, as evident in their ridiculous image of Egypt. The Oriental image was always distorted, characterizing Egypt as contagious, diseased, a landscape filled with mosquitoes and bed nets.[242] Faithful to the matter, Cairo was in fact filled with swamps that led to Malaria and Typhoid, but there were embedded potentials, as well. It was not all too gloomy.

Fig. 3.2 "The Fine Arts" cover of issue number 4-5. Source: Source: Harvard University Library PDS, *Majallat Al-'imārah Wel-Fonoun*, (1945:4-5).[243]
Fig. 3.3 "Khedive Ismail (1895-1945)" cover of issue number 6-7. Source: Source: Harvard University Library PDS, *Majallat Al-'imārah Wel-Fonoun*, (1945:6-7).[244]

The project of Ismail in Cairo or "Paris of the East" was a national reform project with a comprehensive program of development. When Ismail came to rule, the housing and urban condition was in crisis, and many residents died because of Malaria and Typhoid. There was a scarcity of clean, fresh water with no sewage system, and instead swamps were the running water and material ground for the spread of diseases. Many ruins and debris surrounded the capital.

Khedive Ismail started by renovating the damage inside the old city followed by building an extended new suburban development, the Ismailiya Quarter, what is known today as Downtown

---

[240] Ibid., 8-11.
[241] Ibid., 17.
[242] Ibid., 18.
[243] *Magazine of Architecture*, Arabic Trans. *Majallat Al-'imārah*, (Cairo, 1945:4-5), accessed February 21, 2014, http://pds.lib.harvard.edu/pds/view/ At the foreground, the cover page depicts an old Egyptian statue and a color paint board, while at the background, it shows slim columns unlike the usual columns of the Old Temples of Egypt with an open Lotus flower as the column capital.
[244] *Magazine of Architecture*, Arabic Trans. *Majallat Al-'imārah*, (Cairo, 1945:6-7), accessed February 21, 2014, http://pds.lib.harvard.edu/pds/view/.

Cairo and Tahrir Square. It was a strategic shift in the political, economic, and cultural centers making it the new capital — inspired by the Parisian urban design principles of roundabouts and axial avenues. While the construction of the Ismailiya Quarter from scratch was quite remarkable and European in its aesthetics, what Sayyid Karim and Mostafa Pasha Fahmy were arguing is that a hygienic reasoning underlined this appealing driven project.

Khedive Ismail began his urban renaissance development with the core problems of the old city. He first removed all slums and ruins surrounding old Cairo, "Al-Telal wa Al-Khara'eb" and paved the land for new construction. Secondly, he filled the ponds and swamps scattered in all the districts of Cairo, together with wetlands that separated the city from the Nile River due to floods, ebb and flow. Ponds were the fertile grounds for the spread of mosquitoes. At least twenty ponds and swamps were filled with an area of more than two hundred acres. Thirdly, Ismail relocated the cemetery, which had been in the center of Cairo and turned its into green squares and hygienically designed housing quarters. Fourthly, he started an infrastructural development project to supply Cairo residents with clean drinking water. To prevent people from using stagnant muddy water for drinking purposes, he filled all ponds and dried its land for constructing neighborhoods in the future. Fifth, he paved the main roads and planted them with trees along their sides as a protection from dirt. Sixth, he created public gardens, acting as lungs for the city affecting the general public health of residents. Seventh and finally, there was a project for the reconstruction of slums and impoverished neighborhoods, by fixing buildings and providing them with clean water for drinking and washing.[245] All this besides repairing the entrances leading to old Cairo, eliminating the ruins that distorted its image, and connecting it to the new capital center through transportation and paved streets. To pursue these goals of development, Khedive Ismail initiated seven grand projects,[246] each would revitalize a whole

---

[245] Ibid., 18-20.

[246] Ibid. The modernizing projects of Cairo during Khedive Ismail: 1- The project of diverting the course of the Nile towards the east to reduce the landfill that affected the public health of residents

2- Developing the main entrance of Cairo during that time, represented in 1) the railway area of Ramsis and Faggala, 2) the agricultural road entrance through Shubra, and 3) the entrance desert road through Al-Ahram or the Pyramids. According to Sayyid Karim, an orientalist campaign of western historians and travellers called the Ramses railway central station "Faggala" in reference to the fields of radish, which in Arabic means "fegl" that the residents of the Village "Koum Reesh" used grew to feed themselves. They reduced the image of Egypt to radish focusing on its unbearable smell and the impression they experienced as they entered the city. To that end, they called radish the national food of Egyptians. In reaction, Khedive Ismail used the ruins between Fagala and Sakakini neighborhood to fill the contagious swamps for a better city for the residents and build up open spaces to subvert this entrenched western image, 21.

3- Developing Abdeen neighborhood through filling the wetlands of Fara'een, Fawalah, Nassereiyah, Al-Sakayyeen, and others. Besides that, he erected the Abdeen Palace in 1874, which became the ruling court for the country instead of Mohamed Ali Citadel. It was built on the remains of a Mamluk palace and expanded to an area of 9-feddan. In general, he revitalized the whole area and built up the street of Abdelaziz, which was called after the visit of Sultan Abdelaziz to Egypt.

4- Azbakeiya Area, which covered an area of 20-feddans and included a public green space, building an Opera House, the famous Opera Square, and others. It was done after filling the wetlands of Azbakeiya in 1867. He further opened up main streets Mohamed Ali and the Moski Street reaching to the citadel and the old neighborhood of Cairo; the street was named after his grandfather Mohamed Ali. He further connected the Azbakeiyah area with Midan Al-Mahatta through Ibrahim Pasha Street and Claude Bek Street, named after (the French doctor who advanced the health and medical condition of Egypt during that era). He enhanced the Ataba Al-Khadrah square and decorated it with the statue of his father, Ibrahim Pasha. Moreover, he connected Azbakeiyah with Abdeen neighborhood through Abdeen Street and Abdelaziz Street.

area leading to the "largest project of urban development that Cairo had witnessed throughout its architectural history."[247]

Sayyid Karim and the modernist contributors of MA nullified Fathy's argument about Khedive Ismail's modernizing project as one that was borrowed from the West and that lacked local insight. By situating Ismail's work in relation to the urban problems of its time, they defied such simple narratives by projecting his larger projects as a "Hygienic Renaissance" rather than a "Downtown Reconstruction Project" borrowed from the West. They re-introduced Ismail's project of development as one that was driven by an inside-out approach: one that analyzed the anatomy of the city, its internal core that affected its local inhabitants, then moved outside to the external edges and new suburban quarter that catered for the expatriates.

The effect of these debates was a modernist resolution amongst the leading editorial board to pursue a "hygienic renaissance" in Cairo in order to defy its growing slums. The debate of Cairo's redevelopment started in the 1939 articles of Sayyid Karim with many bumps along the way. The development strategy addressing the urban question was not ready until the 1950's, which coincided with decolonization and national independence. With a new government in place, Karim proposed a new housing approach to treating the slums exponentially growing in the 1950's with the internal migration from the countryside. Slums were growing as dispatched territories on vacant land between neighborhoods and on the perimeter of the city; slums were making use of the existing infrastructure and public amenities. They were squatting in vacant areas close to the current built environment and within the urban fabric of the city proper. Accordingly, Karim proposed that the Cairo municipality take the initiative of filling in the vacant territories by planning them and constructing them before being squatted. The idea was inspired by the Khedive Ismail's "urban planning" development project to achieve a "hygienic renaissance." Taking this as a point of departure, modernists aimed to defy unhygienic spaces of the slums. Accordingly, they presented their modernization proposal for the new conditions of the mid-twentieth century as the "Expand-and-Fill" development strategy. This was a bi-folded project; it was based on building new settlements using advanced technology and industrial standardized finishing materials.

5- Developing the Eastern Nile Bank and built Ismailiya Quarter from scratch; its name had been transformed along the years until what is known today as Tahrir Square

6. The Western Bank of the Nile River: Some wetlands on the western bank resulted from diverting the course of the river. Ismail assigned a Parisian Company together with the government to fill the northern half of the wetlands. Moreover, on the southern part, the land was left to dry then transformed into a 465 feddan park, which encompasses today the area of the Orman Garden and the Zoo theme park.

7- Developing the Zamalek isle, ramifying its Nile edges as a result of diverting the Nile course, building the Gezira Palace in 1868, and building a bridge to connect its bank with the Eastern Cairo of Ismailiya and Abdeen areas in 1871. He initiated a lot of public works, government and institutions, public buildings, administrative offices, places -what any capital city would need to establish itself. Khedive's development program, or as said in Arabic "Albernameg Al-Islahy" -- or the reform project had different motivations, aims and challenges than Haussmann's Parisian project that came across during the same period drawing on similar comparisons with allegiances of borrowings. Many critiques focused on the aesthetics rather than the essence and driving forces of hygienic development that goes beyond the external surface. Ismail died in exile by the Bosphorus River, 26.

[247] *Magazine of Architecture*, Arabic Trans. *Majallat Al-'imārah*, (Cairo, 1945:6-7), 20.

3.3. The "Fill-Connect-and-Expand" Development: Designing A Local Hygienic City

Before 1952, there was no housing policy in Cairo.[248] The only publicly constructed housing project was Workers' City in Imbabah, with about 1,000 dwelling units.[249] The Egyptian modernist approach was not only shaped by Khedive Ismail's "hygienic renaissance," it was also shaped by a modernist belief in biological determinism. There was a rising belief in the intersections of the organic human body with the "green city." Modernists analyzed neighborhoods as cells and organs connected to each other through a network of veins. This biological determinism founded the basis of the "Green City Movement" and Universal Modernism. International modernists became morphologically oriented, seeing the city as a machine, or the city functioning as a human body. Egyptian modernists were no different. The Cairene organic city was, however, appropriated in local terms for a distinct end. There were the healthy and green neighborhoods such as "Zamalek" and "Garden City," and there were the unhygienic old neighborhoods. These bipolar categories limited neighborhoods into being defined either as right or wrong, thus flattening the wide range of conditions in the middle. These categories became politically instrumental for the subjugation of slums, defining them in terms of diseases such as bacterial, virus, and cancer.

3.3.1. Out of Control Cells

Egyptian modernists read the city as a human body with a set of organs and cells. The neighborhoods of Cairo were clustered into three groups. First, there were the "out of control" cells. Modernists used such descriptions to define slums and informal neighborhoods squatting in the city; slums were carcinogenic and construed a threat to the city and the overall national order. They were the "contagious cells" with irregular behavior, and their residents were "unsteady citizens" lacking the ability to comply with the rules, norms, and regulations of modern citizens. Experts concluded that these cells should be treated, disciplined, regulated, or removed. Sayyid Karim argued that the Governorate and municipality "ignored these areas after failing to reform them."[250] As a result, these cells were left with no clean water access — except for one water tap for an entire area. They were the city's "countryside," the most inferior and backward districts. In some cases, the tap water only existed because of Khedive Ismail's nineteenth-century "hygienic renaissance" project without which some areas would have been still suffering from water shortage. By the mid-twentieth century, many neighborhoods still had no sewage system or no electricity.

With a central focus on modernizing the city and stimulating an economic boom, Sayyid Karim concluded that the only approach for treating squatters was an aggressive project of "slum clearance."[251] Using the terms of urban economics, Karim proposed destroying these areas in the city and reconstructing them. He believed that the post-colonial government should benefit from the difference in land value after building new roads and infrastructure. The government would benefit from these reconstructed neighborhoods by investing in them and owning some residential and commercial parcels. Karim suggested that the seed capital would be borrowed as loans from the Bank; he considered this a national project for the Capital development. This

---

[248] Abu-Lughod, *1001 Years of the City Victorious,* 231.

[249] Ibid., 231. These had been rental units but, after the revolution, they were sold to their occupants.

[250] *Magazine of Architecture*, Arabic Trans. *Majallat Al-'imārah*, (Cairo, 1945 issue number 6-7), 120.

[251] Ibid.

would, ultimately, generate revenue for the municipality, developers, insurance companies, and banks.

Karim proposed that the government expropriate slum areas and recycle them in order to fund public housing projects. These planning projects showed the incomprehensibility of the so-called "comprehensive plan of modern Cairo." This sense of neglect ceased to exist since the early beginnings of the Republic throughout the second half of the twentieth century to the present. In fact, it could be argued that the seeds of these ideas continued to persist from the late colonial era with the modernists' design initiatives. The less than privileged citizens were given no space to vocalize their options or participate since the time of the British Mandate. In a twist of irony, one of the seven slums that Karim said should be cleared — though not all of them were slums — was Bulaq Al-Dakrour, the place that protestors gathered before heading to Tahrir Square for the revolution on January 25, 2011.[252] The budget for slum clearance was, however, beyond the state's capacity.

3.3.2. Disconnected Cells

The second type of cell was the "disconnected" cell. These were neighborhoods built by the State or individual initiatives but, according to Karim, that needed maintenance to meet the modern standards of amenities and infrastructure.[253] They also needed new roads and connections to the main thoroughfares leading to the downtown center.

3.3.3. Modern-Slum Cells

The third type of cell was the "Modern Slum."[254] The coining of the term was quite oxymoronic. Karim explained that these neighborhoods were planned, designed, and implemented according to a modernist rationale. However, residents added irregular practices to the buildings in the form of windows, balconies, or improvisations in parts of the facades. These buildings distorted the urban harmony of the city as they looked over the boulevards and main streets. The juxtaposition of the informal practice of the modern design constructed a "performative modernism," one that was based on appearance rather than authenticity. Karim called for the monitoring of these "performative" practices of residents. In hindsight, Karim urged the punishment of any illegal appropriations to prevent the spread of, what he called, and the "fungus urbanism" in Cairo.[255]

---

[252] Sayyid Karīm, *Al-Qāhirah 'umruhā 50 Alf Sanah!* (Cairo: al-Hay'ah al-Miṣrīyah al-'Āmmah lil-Kitāb, 1999), 120. The seven areas that Karim suggested to be removed were: Bulaq, Al-Turgoman, Sharabeiyah, some areas in Gamaleiya, Darb Al-Ahmar, Bab Al-She'reiyah, and some slums in Shubra.

[253] Ibid. Those neighborhoods included Al-Mounira, Shubra, Old Historic Cairo, and Al-Helmeiyah.

[254] Ibid., 121.

[255] Ibid., 121. This included the emerging inharmonic architecture on *Haram Street*, the main road Khedive Ismail constructed to connect Downtown Cairo to the Giza Pyramids. Modern Slums also included Muqattam neighborhood sporadically developing on the Muqattam Hill.

115
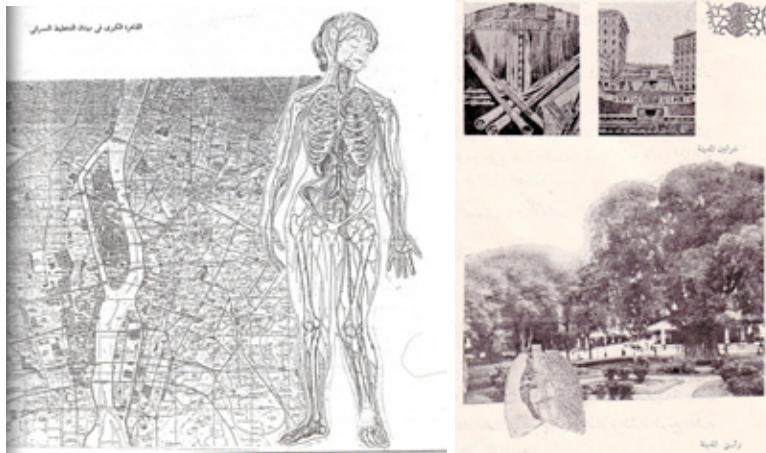
Fig. 3.4 Morphological Influences of the Body and Modern Planning. of Modernizing Existing Village. Source: *Majallat Al-'imārah*, 1952:1-2, reproduced in, *Al-Qāhirah 'umruhā 50 Alf Sanah! 1999,* 130.
Fig. 3.5 Biological design determinism and the City. Source: *Majallat Al-'imārah*, 1952:1-2, reproduced in, *Al-Qāhirah 'umruhā 50 Alf Sanah! 1999,* 119-120.
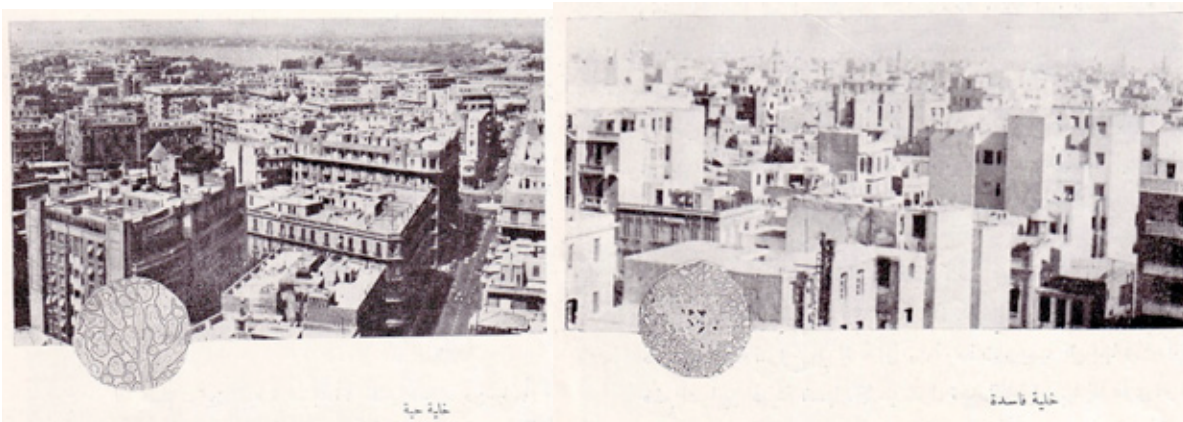
Fig. 3.6 The Hygienic Living Cell. Source: *Majallat Al-'imārah*, 1952:1-2, reproduced in, *Al-Qāhirah 'umruhā 50 Alf Sanah!* 119.
Fig. 3.7 Rotten Cells: Modernists saw the slums as inferior housing quarters in the same manner they viewed the Village in the 1940's. Source: *Majallat Al-'imārah*, 1952:1-2, reproduced in, *Al-Qāhirah 'umruhā 50 Alf Sanah!* 119.

Fig. 3.8 The Modern Slums. Source: *Majallat Al-'imārah Wel-Fonoun*, 1952:1-2, 18.
Fig. 3.9 The human condition in the impoverished neighborhoods of Cairo. Source: *Majallat Al-'imārah*, 1952:1-2, 21.

116

3.3.4. The "Filling-Connecting-and-Expanding" Strategy

The post independence government had become deeply committed to the path of direct investment and construction; it decided to develop areas formerly left to private investment.[256] The government held in its control the extensive land holdings within the city that belonged to state domains, *muhafazah* lands and *waqf* land.[257] These were empty lots and zones inside and adjacent to Cairo. The state also took control over sources of revenue to finance projects. It heavily invested in public housing projects, planned, built, and sold to cooperatives. These cooperatives, which were organizations, companies, or some type of union, would buy blocks of apartment buildings that would be rented or sold to their members. But the Ministry of Housing's strategy was not always implemented as planned. The first project to be executed under this new program was a relatively small, middle-income development at Maydan Victoria in Shubra, followed by more ambitious schemes to reclaim the *Kharab* just below the aqueduct of Al-Ghuri, where the projects of Zaynhum and 'Ain Al-Sirah were begun in 1957-1958. Another major development in the north, Al-Amiriyah, was also conceived at this early date, followed by two other minor projects. However, there was as yet no coordinated program for housing despite of the first set of projects.[258]

Most of the public low-income projects were rental units, although the government had sought to convert some to cooperatives; on the other hand, the middle-income projects had been conceived for cooperative ownership on attractive terms, even when they were initially rented. But according to Abu-Lughod, "These projects, extensive as they were, merely scratch [*sic*] the surface of the backlog of need and demand for housing in Cairo."[259] And there was no urban management or housing control so that these public housing projects demise with time, in the same manner as the modern slums. Until 1954, there was only a law for building code, and a law for governing land subdivision. There was no housing code nor was there a general zoning ordinance.[260] Furthermore, there was no urban control or urban management.

In the new modern spaces, Karim wanted to avoid creating the conditions of the "disconnected," and "modern slums."[261] To increase control over future growth, Karim proposed creating a "planet system"[262] of urban development through an authoritarian spatial system which would inhibit popular improvisation and squatting on empty lands. Modernists proposed building a set of four or five concentric "ring-road boulevards" to connect existing settlements. The vacant

---

[256] Abu-Lughod, *1001 Years of the City Victorious,* 230.

[257] Ibid. Abu-Lughod explains that the houisng crisis soared even more through the 1960's; "In a 1965 appraisal of the housing problem in Cairo it was estimated that by the target date of 1970, some 40,000 dwelling units would be required to take care of the population increase alone; another 30,000 dwelling units were needed to replace deteriorated or to-be-demolished units," 230.

[258] Ibid., 231.

[259] Ibid., 232.

[260] Ibid., 228.

[261] Karīm, *Al-Qāhirah 'umruhā 50 Alf Sanah!*, 121-22. There were squatters completely built from scratch, or neighborhoods turning into slums because of its illegal and informal appropriations for urban spaces and buildings. While Karim called for a strict urban governance to watch and monitor these practices, he simultaneously called for building new planned neighborhoods based on modern planning principles.

[262] Ibid., 112. The "planet system" was a modernist holistic master plan comprising a set of superimposed functional networks over each other: infrastructure, roads, underground, educational schools distribution over the city, hospitals, etc.

land, in-between the neighborhoods, would be designated for new towns and modern designed towns.

The boulevards were inspired by Khedive Ismail's commercial and administrative thoroughfares, and these were initially inspired by the Parisienne urbanites. However, they were to be built in concentric forms offset from the center. They appeared to have some similar morphological merits to Ebenezer Howard's Garden City diagram. To a great extent, the morphology of Karim's "ring-road boulevards" was a juxtaposition of both Ebenezer Howard's Garden City diagram and Khedive Ismail's commercial wide streets.[263] Sayyid Karim proposed having commercial ring boulevards while the outer ring would be designated for a monorail tram. Inner veins of public transportation would cross the city, but they would be either underground or flyovers. The diameter of the outer ring would be twenty-five kilometers with an expected population growth of ten million inhabitants by 1981;[264] seven millions would reside in the city and three millions would reside in the suburbs.[265]

Fig. 3.10 A proposed Circulation Network for the City, concentric ring roads emanating from Tahrir Square. Source: *Al-Qāhirah 'umruhā 50 Alf Sanah!* 145.
Fig. 3.11 The 1939-grid proposal for the City. Source: *Majallat Al-'imārah*, 1939, reproduced in 1952:1-2, 13.

Modernists conceived post-colonial modernist Cairo as an interplay between external and internal forces, international and local ideas, together with contingent urban articulations. Monorails and ring roads were influences of the international industrial city. Ring roads met a different function, however. The purpose of the "ring-road boulevards" was to stimulate a continuous public interaction between the people and the built environment, creating a cultural-commercial development as that of the nineteenth-century Khedivial boulevards. The latter could be argued as being of Parisian influence, built however under different local conditions which

---

[263] Ibid., 123.
[264] Ibid., 122. In 1862, the Khedivial development project pertained to a two kilometers diameter encompassing 350,000 inhabitants. This expanded to 9-kilometers to serve a population of 700,000. Since then, no comprehensive approach to developing Cairo took place. Sporadic initiatives led to axial extensions to the South near the industrial complex of Helwan, the Pyramids zone by the West, Qaliub peri-urban and industrial plants to the North and Farouk airport by the East.
[265] Ibid., 139. In 1952, the population of Cairo was four million inhabitants.

led to different architectural variations than the original copy. Back in the 1860s, there were no strict building codes and architectural characters imprinted by the government in Egypt. Such flexibility of self-identification allowed for different variations and eclecticism absent in the Parisian Capital.
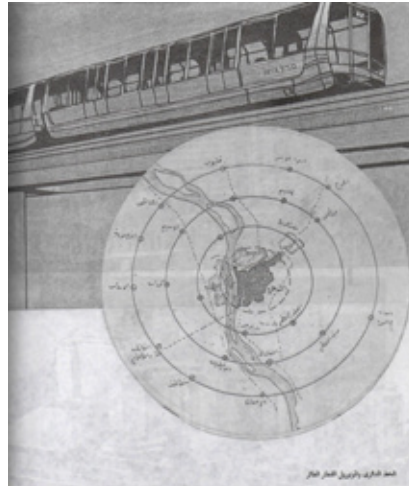
Fig. 3.12 Master-plan for the Greater Cairo Region. Source: *Al-Qāhirah 'umruhā 50 Alf Sanah!,* 138.

The "fill-connect-and-expand" idea was a local modernity project of urban development that came out of modern international principles coined with local historical experiences. While modernists of the Universal Modernism rejected any borrowings from previous nineteenth-century architectures, Egyptian modernists were open to the flow of ideas coming from Egyptian history. For Sayyid Karim, Khedive Ismail's comprehensive master plan was a pragmatic, functional one for hygienic purposes. That Khedive Ismail's architects had used excessive decorations on the facades, which were ant-modernist did not dismiss its merits totally. Understanding its pragmatic logic, the hygienic functionality of openness, and reproducing it to solve the "overcrowded," "overpopulated," and "unhygienic" slum condition, was inherently a local modernist characteristic. The attitude of local modernists towards nineteenth-century architecture was different from their international counterparts of Universal Modernism towards the same history.

Fig. 3.13, 3.14, 3.15 Opening the Old City to build the future "City of Tomorrow." Source: *Majallat Al-'imārah*, 1952:1-2, 16-17.

119

3.4. The Egyptian City of Tomorrow: Nasr City

One of the outcomes of the expanding development approach was *Madinet Nasr* or Nasr City.[266] It was the largest government-sponsored, centrally planned and executed project in Egypt. Building the new settlement came within the larger framework of filling the area between Downtown Cairo and the "desert oasis" of Heliopolis. Until that period, Heliopolis was a stand-alone settlement lying northeast of the city. Connecting Nasr City with Heliopolis entailed pushing the existing military barracks near Abbaseiya further to the desert edges.[267] The emerging new town became Nasr City, built in the post-colonial period, and erected on land originally owned by the military institution. The state commissioned "ElShams Construction Company" to build the project. Some rumors mention that ElShams Company was associated with the Central Intelligence to fund its operations. However, such information is hard to prove given the secret measures that the military and the Egyptian State take with information.

Nonetheless, the case of Nasr City represents a critical project on multiple levels. The project displayed the engaging role of the Ministry of Defense in urban development post the 1952 decolonization. Its incredible scale made it appear as "a prototype for future experiments in government sponsored community building."[268] The project triggered the transformation of the military into a housing developer after the stringent laws of rent control that Nasser had created.[269] These laws benefitted the tenants at the expense of private real-estate developers, putting a ceiling to rent and limiting the benefits of land and apartment buildings' owners. In retrospect, this discouraged the private housing developers from building new housing projects.[270] An enormous gap between the market's supply and demand soared even more with the 1956 Suez War when the Canal Cities were pushed to leave their towns in a mass internal migration to the capital city. To balance off the market, Sayyid Karim proposed a plan for the military institution "to give away its barracks to the people"[271] — or more precisely to invest in the housing market. Investing in real estate demarcated one of the influential shifts in the role of the military in civil development. From then on, the military institution became a key player in

---

[266] Another project for modernizing the City was the construction of Al-Zawiya Al-Hamra neighborhood on the northeastern edge between Shubra and Hadayiq Al-Quba. Farha Ghannam, *Remaking the Modern*, 2-6 notes: "My review of the state public discourse circulated in national newspapers revealed an intriguing utilization of modern images and discourses in justifying the relocation project. Notions such as *hadith* (new or modern), *'asri* (contemporary or modern), and *madani* (civilized or refined) were widely used to justify the project. Moving the urban poor to "modern" housing, the state discourse promised, would transform them into more productive agents who would be active in the making of their country. To further legitimize this project of "modernity," state officials depicted members of the group as drug dealers, criminals, and troublemakers and viewed relocation as crucial for disciplining, normalizing, and integrating them into the nation," 2-4.

[267] Janet L. Abu-Lughod, *Cairo: 1001 Years of the City Victorious*, Princeton Studies on the Near East (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1971), 138.

[268] Abu-Lughod, *Cairo: 1001 Years of the City*, 233. Abu-Lughod implies that Nasr City was an experiment to be repeated, duplicated, and enhanced as a settlement model; "Should it [Nasr City] prove successful, undoubtedly this will encourage other ventures along similar lines; should it encounter insurmountable difficulties, lessons for the future can be learned from its experience"; "One of the recommendations included in the 1956 Master Plan for Cairo was that future growth be channeled into relatively self-contained satellite communities rather than be allowed simply to accrete along the urban margins."

[269] Ibid., 234.

[270] Wael Fahmi and Keith Sutton, "Greater Cairo's Housing Crisis: Contested Spaces from Inner City Areas to New Communities," *Cities* 25, no. 5 (October 2008): 277–97.

[271] Karīm, *Al-Qāhirah 'umruhā 50 Alf Sanah!*, 157-159.

the housing sector, building industry, construction companies, and market economy.[272] The military intervened to fill in this housing shortage, playing the role of developer. The newly built dwelling units were not intended for slum-dwellers as a replacement of their "out of control" cells, or the "modern slum" cells. On the contrary, the military developed housing units targeting the middle-income classes and upper-middle classes. The price of the units swelled with time.[273] In the following decades, "Nasr City Company" was run as a private sector corporate to generate profit, which defied the purpose of socialism, under which the military regime had initially claimed to rule.[274]

Ironically, when Karim introduced the project to the Governorate of Cairo in 1952 it was rejected as it was understood to be against the values of the socialist revolutionary movement and the military's declaration of independence. In a remarkable shift of positions during 1958, Nasr City returned to the surface with the powerful support of Anwar Sadat, who pledged for President Nasser's approval. After a private briefing in Nasser's residence between Nasser, Sadat, and Karim, the project moved to the phase of realization and the Cairo Governor approved it.[275] Though it defied the socialist purpose, it was presented as a post-war emergency.[276] Nasser proposed calling it a "City," and not just a neighborhood. The ministry of housing proposed calling the project after Nasser's name, but he refused this suggestion. Instead, Nasser called it "Victory City" or Nasr City to commemorate the regime's victory in urban projects and continuum to the 1952-revolution.[277] The architectural representation of the modernist city acquired a standardized design with concrete aesthetics for mass-consumption.

In 1958, Nasr City was introduced as a "socialist housing" project with affordable units. However, things changed over time. The key players were mixed between the government as represented by the military's "Revolutionary Command Council," and the construction company as the developer, mainly run by the army officers, Nasr City Company, and the housing tenants and clients, who could afford these -starting to become- high end units. Those who bought or rented the units were government bureaucrats.[278] The targeted user was one thing, and the realized clienteles were something else.

The project exposed the ruptures between the claimed and the realized of the post-colonial military regime. The project witnessed the first investment of the military into the housing market during Egypt's modern history. The military interfered upon a shortage of the housing supply and demand, partially created by Nasser's rent control law, and by the Suez War crisis of

---

[272] Denis 2006.

[273] Mohamed ElShahed. "Nasr City Was Once Egypt's New Capital, but Things Went Wrong." Accessed May 4, 2015, http://www.cairobserver.com/nasr-city-was-once-egypts-new-capital-but-things/.

[274] "History | MNHD." Accessed June 23, 2015. http://www.mnhd.com/.

[275] Karīm, *Al-Qāhirah ʿumruhā 50 Alf Sanah!*, 157-159.

[276] Ibid. Despite that it was presented in a temporal set of conditions, this stage of military's investments in civilian life never ceded to end even sixty years later with a "free market" mentality.

[277] Ibid. The 1952-military coup is considered a revolution in all official documents and popular discourse. 163

[278] Ibid. Saving budget in the construction of Nasr City served the developer, which was the military institution that in its turn gained profit from selling and renting the apartments. Mixing agency between projects conducted by the government to serve people and the army's investment projects to balance the market demand became a confusing symptom in building the State apparatus. The modernists' claim of socialist modernism served to confuse people and the public domain. The adopted language lacked transparency and entrenched the foundations of authoritarianism: "arts for the people … for the benefit of the people … for the happiness of the masses…" (167).

1956, which was initially triggered by Nasser as well. The project was a test of the socialist larger claims that were the initial motives for decolonization.

Nasr City's design followed the International Modern Movement and CIAM's Universal Modernism, yet there were four main nuances that differentiated the Egyptian case study. Nasr City was developed and built at a moment of political transition from a colonial structure to a national socialist regime. Such historical-political moment resulted in a deviated imperative of the "modernist city." First, Nasr City became a neighborhood governed by a public company with a private corporate mindset. The architect encouraged the company to invest in profit making and generating revenues, rather than meeting the housing demands of the disenfranchised. Second, the zoning of the neighborhood was a mixed land use between the military institution and the civic society. Third, the housing variations produced typologies reflecting the political transition from the monarchy to a claimed socialist order. For example, Karim proposed the "socialist villa" which was oxymoronic in concept, combining notions of private ownership mixed with public sharing of amenities and infrastructure. Karim explained that this was an intermediate compromise of the monarchy villas and the entirely socialist public housing. Fourth, Karim supported the nationalist sentiments of secularism and defying the claimed religious extremism through building two university campuses, one of which was to relocate some faculties of the old Islamic school of Al-Azhar from historic Cairo into the Egyptian modernist city to include secular sciences and departments.

Nasr City was built at a time of internal political transition, and accordingly its design mission reflected this moment in history. This shift ultimately resulted in a set of confused ideologies of public versus the private, military versus the civic, nationalism versus Islamism. Furthermore, the project became a test to the claimed politics of Nasser's regime and their commitment to socialism as a political economy.

3.4.1. First Nuance: Public-Corporate and Investment Governance

The structure of "Nasr City Society" was a test for the "politics of truth" of the socialist regime and its state-led public housing mission. The proposed governing structure came to empower the military while the Ministry of Housing's role was undefined.[279] The project was undertaken jointly by the ministries of housing and defense.[280]

Administratively, the Ministry of Housing had under its jurisdiction a Building Authority for Cairo which was composed of five societies: (1) Nasr City; (2) Heliopolis; (3) Al-Maadi; (4) Ain Shams; and (5) Public Housing.[281] Each of these societies was run by a board of directors. All plans made by the boards of these societies were submitted for approval to the Building

---

[279] The ministry of housing kept changing titles and agendas during the 1950's. In 1950, a fluid Ministry of Rural and Municipal Affairs was established without any significant outlay. In 1952, Nasser changed its name and included for the first time the word "housing" in a ministry title. Nasser assigned Officer Kamal-Eldin Hussein to run it who had no significant impact. The ministry was joint-ventured with the ministry of tourism, which was separated after that. The incorporation of urbanization and development into the minister's title only took place under President Sadat in 1978. There is a pressing debate to the clear vision of this ministry since its establishment. Yasser Ayoub, "A Real Minister and An Illusionary Ministry", *Youm Sabe*' July 2nd, 2009, retrieved in October 2012, http://www.youm7.com/News.asp?NewsID=114065
[280] Abu-Lughod, *1001 Years of the City Victorious,* 233-34,
[281] Ibid.

Authority and in addition, in the case of major plans, may also have to be submitted directly to the Minister of Housing for his approval. The Chairman of the Board of Nasr City in 1965 was a talented and dedicated retired general of the army corps of engineers, M. 'Arafah, who was associated with the project since its inception.[282]

Despite the seeming independence of the Nasr City Society from the formal government of the Cairo governorate and the Ministry of Defense, the bonds were many and ran deep.[283] The original architect for the planned city was the former chief of the Cairo *Baladiyah*, Muhammad Riyad.[284] It is strange that Abu-Lughod did not mention Sayyid Karim, who according to the Magazine of Architecture as well as his memoirs was the original architect. The links and specifics of the coordination between both in the design and planning of Nasr City was not mentioned or stated clearly anywhere.[285] Riyad was a state technocrat, M. 'Arafah was a military general, and Karim was a modernist architect representing two schools of thought controlling the design of Nasr City, the disciplined military order with the socially engineered rationality.

In the company's brief, it says:

> "Madinet Nasr for Housing and Development was established in 1959 by presidential decree issued by President Gamal Abdel Nasser. The inception of MNHD came at a time of great transformation in Egypt. Development was booming, fueled by a desire to modernize. In and around Cairo, undeveloped lands were transformed into high-rise apartment buildings, paved roads, and water, sewage and electricity systems, all designed according to the cutting-edge principles of the time. This transformation was the result of a Master Plan drawn up by the Cairo municipality. The plan sought to ensure that the expansion of Cairo was executed in an organized and efficient manner that would relieve the overcrowding in the city center and address a national housing shortage… The General Organization of Madinet Nasr was established by decree 815 in 1959 with the task of developing the 4.5 million sqm area named Nasr City in addition to nearby areas. This included removing the barracks of recently evacuated British troops, connecting Cairo with Heliopolis, developing residential areas with *affordable* housing and all necessary services, and managing land for future projects. In 1964, the organization became Madinet Nasr for Housing and Development as part of the General Egyptian Authority for Housing and Development. It was one of the biggest establishments operating in Egypt following the July 1952 revolution. The company's operations were financed though land sales, government grants and loans and private investments. Due to

---

[282] Abu-Lughod, *1001 Years of the City Victorious,* 234.
[283] Ibid.
[284] Ibid.
[285] It is quite strange that none of the Cairo scholars clarified the design roles of Sayyid Karim and Muhammad Riyad in the inception of Nasr City, leaving a void in the scholarship. Nasr City was mentioned briefly in, Nezar Alsayyad, *Cairo: Histories of a City,* 249, without mentioning Riyad or Karim. The case was the same for David Sims, *Understanding Cairo: The Logic of a City Out of Control,* 100. Janet Abu-Lughod, *1001 Years of the City Victorious,* 228-237, only mentions Riyad. Omnia El Shakry, Cairo as Capital of Socialist Revolution?, 85, only mentions Riyad based on Abu-Lughod. Also Raymond, *Cairo,* 348-49, briefly mentions Madinet Nasr without referencing any of its alleged military or civilian planners.

successful execution of development projects the financial position of the company from day one remained strong and operations did not require government grants."[286]

The Nasr City Housing Company represented the nation-state's vision of a modern town. It was a state-led housing development intended for the public. However, the notion of the public was reduced to a group of people that would benefit from such construction. Sayyid Karim proposed corporate governance to control and manage Nasr City. The proposed corporate body was a company intended for profit, even though the company would operate as a public sector company. This exclusionary stance towards the public in Nasr City demarcated one of the early cases of the state's ambiguous use of the public. This confused notion of the "public" and who benefitted from state-led housing developments would again resonate at the fin-de-siecle. In the neoliberal era, partnerships between the government, the military, and private sector took place playing across the different social classes and multiple stakeholders. And continued to exclude or make use of the public?

In the 1960's Karim proposed that the company invest in real-estate development to generate money so as to maintain the public amenities and infrastructure of Nasr City. The revenue of investment was intended to keep the neighborhood hygienic and running efficiently. The "hygienic rationale" was to avoid the prevalence of any future "modern slums" as a result of poor city management, control, and the bureaucratic public sector. Karim suggested a private-public partnership investment as a model of urban governance. Bank loans and investment programs would be the means to develop Nasr City and urbanize them.[287]

Fig. 3.16 "Madinet Nasr for Housing and Development" building. Opening the Old City to build the future "City of Tomorrow." Source: "History | MNHD." Accessed February 15, 2015. http://www.mnhd.com/?page_id=7.

The Society of Nasr City, however, aimed at a different track; it did not desire to manage the neighborhood. It only targeted investments and gaining revenues to expand their venture and build more satellite towns. Initially it tried to minimize its permanent investment in the

---

[286] "History | MNHD." Accessed March 23, 2015. http://www.mnhd.com/?page_id=7.
[287] According to Sayyid Karim, "The municipality would manage the city, its amenities and infrastructure, and social activities as an 'independent commercial company'." Karim was convinced that by channeling everything towards profit, this would create an incentive for a more efficient city governance. Its performance would be optimized and economically rewarding for the collective good of the society. (ibid., 126)

community, conceiving of its role as builder and then disposer of the project.[288] To that end, land in most of the subareas was being marketed outright to private buyers and cooperative developers who would construct single-family dwellings and apartment houses using independent financial resources. The only direct construction undertaken by the Society, according to Abu-Lughod, had been the modest administration building and the blocks of eleven-story apartment buildings on a small off-center plot which the Society had been marketing to tenants on a cooperatively owned and managed basis. It intended to liquidate its investments in streets and street trees as soon as possible by getting the *Muhafazah* to accept the deeds and assume responsibility for maintenance.[289]

3.4.2. Second Nuance: Mixed Land use —between the Military Institution and the Civic Structures

The first master plan of Nasr City was for a gross area of about 25-kilometer squares around 6,000 acres.[290] During the time of its construction, Janet Abu-Lughod was collecting data for her seminal book *1001 Years of the City Victorious*. She writes: "The community itself was envisaged in terms of a twenty-year plan leading eventually to the conversion of some 20,000 acres of desolate barren land into a thriving and relatively self-sufficient complex of residential, commercial, industrial, recreational, educational, and governmental uses, containing a resident population of perhaps half a million persons, most of whom would be connected in some way to the employment opportunities offered in the immediate locale."[291]

Architects (including Muhammad Riyad, former chief of Cairo *baladiya*—municipality and Syaed Karim) constructed the site plan of the city along several communal "general zones of use," corresponding roughly to a concentration of (I) administrative institutional (ministries, stadium, international fairgrounds); (ii) industrial, recreational and educational (factories, university campuses, entertainment zones); and (iii) residential uses (combined worker and white-collar housing; multifamily housing for low- and middle- income groups).[292]

Nasr City included the Olympic zone, Cairo stadium, international market zone, governments' headquarters, military zone, touristic zone, the university campuses zone, and the residential area. On the main road connecting Nasr City to Downtown Cairo, the military zone was located at the entrance of the city. An open stage shed was placed to watch military parades taking place on the wide-open road. Down the road, the Olympic zone was situated in the heart of Nasr City covering an area of 4,000 acres. The International Market Center was located beside the Olympic zone. The government's administrative buildings were arranged in a linear form on the main road. The residential "cells" were branched from the heart of the military, sportive, and the state's administrative buildings. On the same military-parade open road, Al-Azhar University campus was built.

---

[288] Abu-Lughod, *1001 Years of the City Victorious,* 234.
[289] Ibid.
[290] According to Sayyid Karim that the first master plan covered an area of a 12-kilometer square, which would be 6,000 acres. By calculation, 6,000 acres account for around 25-kilometer squares. (Karim 1999, 167)
[291] Abu-Lughod, *1001 Years of the City Victorious,* 233.
[292] Ministry of Housing and Development 1965, 54-71, in, Abu-Lughod, *1001 Years of the City Victorious,* 232-36, El Sharky, Cairo as Capital of Socialist Revolution?, 85.

The separation of functions was a characteristic of the "Universal Modern Movement." It was the raison d'etre and design logic of modernist thinking in the post-war era. The focus was upon rational, efficient, and scientific management of production and consumption (administrative, agricultural, and industrial) within a social-welfare mode of regulation. The spatial strategies of the period all focus upon the efficient management of the relation between population growth and the organization of bodies and production in space. "All the elements of a functionalist modernism were present: the rational ordering of space enabling a subsumability into more efficient circuits of production and the Corbusian house as a 'machine for living.'"[293] In doing so, the modernist city imprinted a project of spatial order as well as social control. Cairo was no different; order was manifested in the quartered organization of zones in the newly planned Egyptian town. The MNHD wrote on their website:

"Nasr City was developed according to the modern principles and methods of the time while seeking to solve the various problems of city living and avoid the depletion of valuable green areas and agricultural land. In the early years of development, MNHD successfully connected the district to Cairo Metropolitan area. New roads linked Nasr City to the Suez Road, the suburbs of Mokattam and Maadi. Roads laid in residential areas were accompanied by electric trams and bus systems managed by MNHD. Neighborhoods were designed to limit population densities, and all areas were provided with abundant and easily accessible services and amenities. Green areas were distributed through the well-organized and spacious streets. The first area to be developed was called "Mansheyet el Tayaran", now known as the Second District, designated for the construction of governmental institutions away from the crowded downtown area according to presidential decree no 616 issued in 1962. This was accompanied by nearby residential buildings to house government employees in order avoid the need for a long commute and the resulting traffic congestion. Major structures, now familiar landmarks to Cairo residents, appeared on the previously empty landscape, including: the International Fairgrounds, the Military Parade Stage, Cairo Stadium, and the 6th of October Panorama, constructed in 1983 to honor the victims of the 6th of October War and honor Egypt's victory. In 1960, MNHD completed construction of Cairo Stadium, then known as "Nasser Stadium," which is considered a full Olympic City. In 1961, when Azhar University introduced new areas of study, MNHD erected a Nasr City satellite campus for the university, one of the oldest and most prestigious centers of learning in the Islamic world. As part of its commitment to the community, MNHD gifted lands for the public benefit to be used for the construction of numerous schools, mosques and public gardens, one of which is the International Garden, one of the biggest public gardens in Egypt."[294]

However, Nasr City was not a typical "City of Tomorrow." While critics could analyze it from a modernist perspective, its brutalist architectural aesthetics, the separation of functions and land uses; Nasr City was an exemplary of the mixed land property between the government and its institutions, and the mixed land ownership between the military and the civilian state. Both were intertwined. This is an inherent problem that until the twenty-first century civic society is struggling with, namely in dividing roles and specifying the national economic shares of what belongs to the military institution and what belongs to the rest of the state's civilian institutions. The (sub)-urban planning of Nasr City was a physical manifestation of such confusing mixed

[293] El Sharky, Cairo as Capital of Socialist Revolution?, 85.
[294] "History | MNHD." Accessed March 23, 2015. http://www.mnhd.com/?page_id=7.

roles of the military and the civilian arms of the state. This goes beyond the simple design narrative of the obvious mono-functioned zoning.
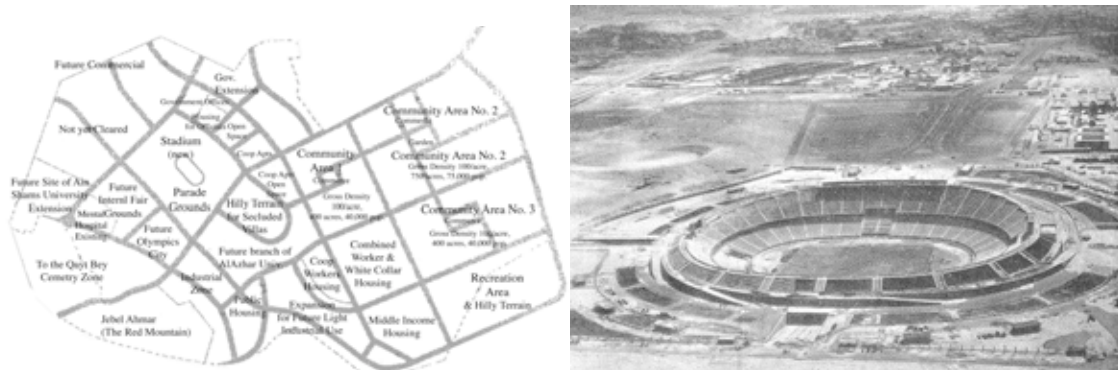
Fig. 3.17 Site plan of Nasr City. Source: Abu-Lughod, 1971, 235.
Fig. 3.18 Cairo Stadium. Source: Ḥammād, 1964, 49.
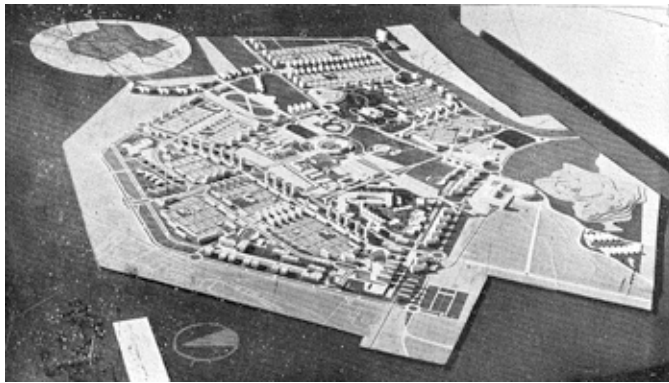
Fig. 3.19 Madinet Nasr model of the first phase of development. Source: Ḥammād, 1964, 51.
Fig. 3.20 Madinet Nasr model of the first phase of development. Source: Ḥammād, 1964[295], 47.

Fig. 3.21 Military Parade in Nasr City. Source: *Majallat Al-ʻimārah*, 1952:1-2, 16-17. Source: http://www.flickriver.com/photos/simbon/sets/72157616762081308/.

---

[295] Muḥammad Ḥammād, *Miṣr Tabnī* ([al-Qāhirah, 1964).

Fig. 3.22 The Unknown Soldier Memorial, and the grave of President Sadat. Source: http://www.flickriver.com/photos/simbon/sets/72157616762081308/.

3.4.3. Third Nuance: Housing Typologies

Nasr City offered a range of housing variations to serve different social classes and to encourage social mobility amongst an emerging class of nouveau riche. At a time of political transition, Karim proposed three housing prototypes in his analysis of "transitional urbanism" in the post-colonial era, *Fatret Al-Inteqal Al-Omrany*. These prototypes represented gradual transformations of housing tenure and property ownership. Each housing quarter inside Nasr City, or rather the "housing cell" as Karim called it *El-Khaleiyah Al-Sakaneiya*, would include three housing models.

3.4.3. A. The first model: Socialist Villa

The first model would be for low-rise housing targeting individual ownership or family houses located at the heart of the "cell." The single-owned housing prototype would operate as a villa and would share communal amenities of water, sewage, and electricity with the rest of the "cell." The architectural character of this modernist villa would be brutalist in its identity, unlike the colonial past. Its concept was based on sharing spaces and front yards. Karim conceptualized this prototype as: "Socializing the Villa."[296] The villa would be unlike the feudal mansion with full control over the physical and surrounding landscape that was a sovereign characteristic of the elite villas under the colonial administration. In Nasr City, the socializing feature of the villa would entail limited ownership and shared amenities.[297] A green communal space would be at the center of the centre for public sharing with a kindergarten and primary school.

As could be seen from the sketch map above, three very extensive low-density "villa" communities, accommodating between 40,000 and 75,000 inhabitants each, were planned for this most peripheral portion.[298] Multi-family apartment buildings on the block's perimeter, as seen from the layouts below buffered them from the industrial and institutional uses. By the summer of 1965, only the first community area had begun to receive site improvements, and lots had begun to receive site improvements, and lots had been platted and were being sold to private builders.[299] Again, this convolution of public housing with private investment was a moral test for the claimed socialist values of the ruling regime.

3.4.3. B. The second model: Public Housing Apartment Buildings

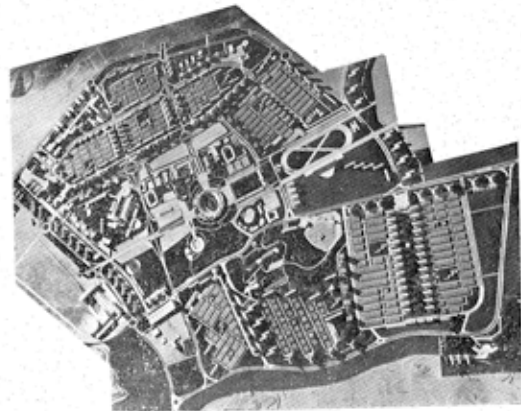The second model represented the public housing prototype. The urban planner arranged this genre as a ribbon of ten floors apartment buildings surrounding the single owned housing at the heart of the district. Public housing would surround the villa zone of the cooperative district of *El-Gam'eyat El-Ta'weneyah*, explained in the previous housing model. Public housing had limited property ownership and was rented through the government. They were spatially situated to serve the cooperative privately-owned units. They were built on the perimeter of the residential block acting as a buffer zone from the industrial and busty administrative zone.

---

[296] Ḥammād, *Miṣr Tabnī* ([al-Qāhirah, 1964), 53.
[297] Ibid.
[298] Abu-Lughod, *1001 Years of the City Victorious,* 236.
[299] Ibid.
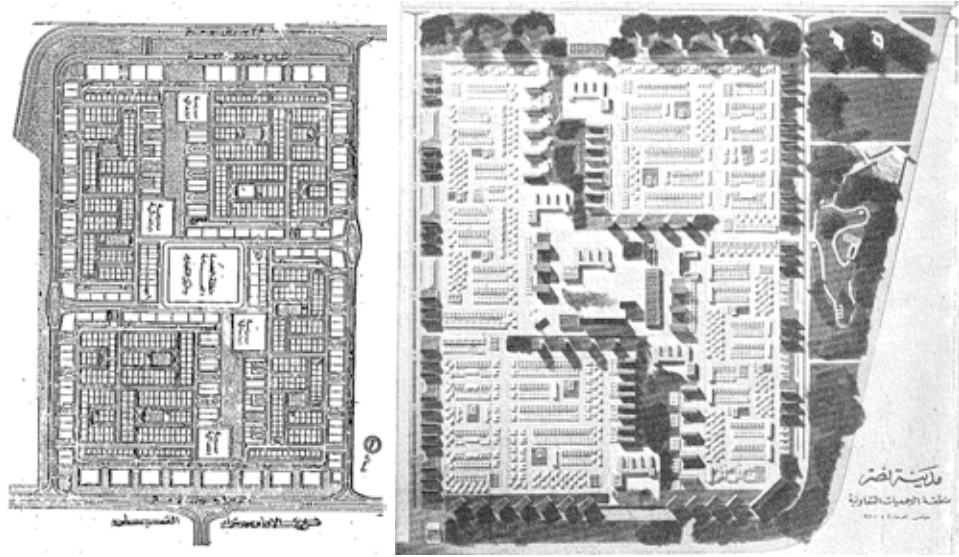
Fig. 3.23 Residential layout of the cooperative district. Source: Ḥammād, 1964, 52.
Fig. 3.24 Model of the cooperative district. Source: Ḥammād, 1964, 52.
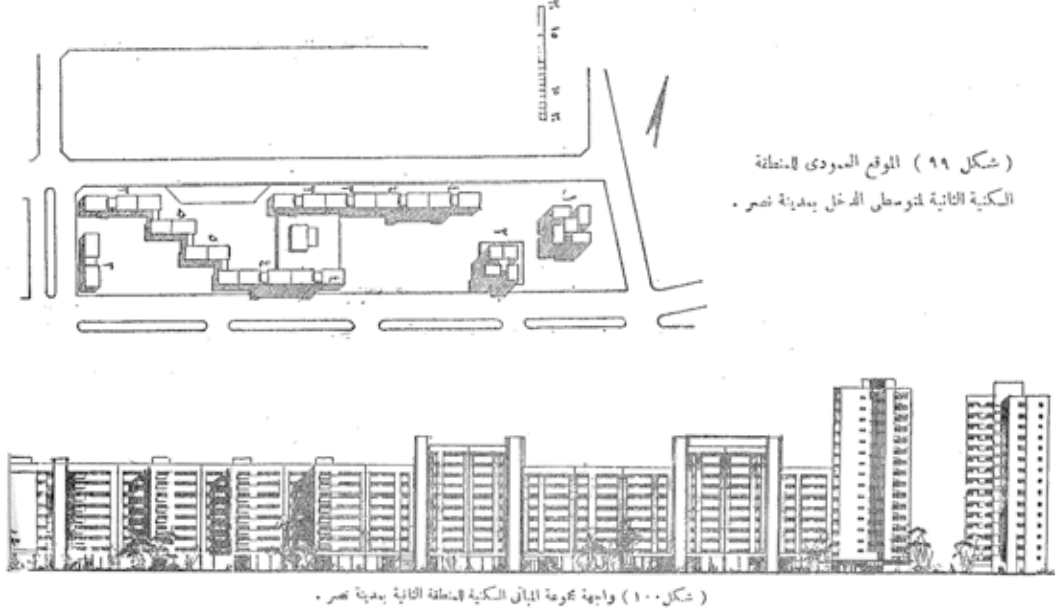
Fig. 3.25, 3.26 Layout and Street Elevation of Public Housing in the Second District. Source: Ḥammād, 1964, 68.
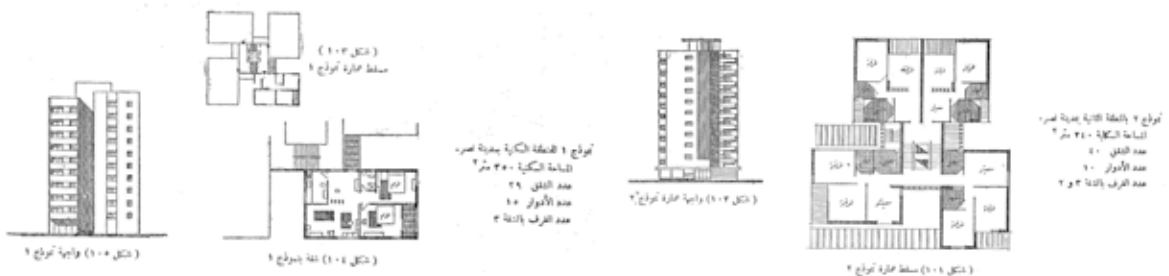
Fig. 3.27, 3.28 Housing Units in the Second District. Source: Ḥammād, 1964, 69.

129

3.4.3. C. The third model: The Super-blocks

On the outer perimeter of the core residential quarter, and overlooking the main road, there was another prototype. This prototype became a landmark of Nasr City with its staggering balconies and concrete squared shields on every other balcony. These buildings stretched as a line of soldiers on the perimeter of the residential district in a protective posture. They were further distanced from the main road of Nasr City through a green buffer zone to block off noise and pollution.

Another prototype was the residential super-blocks owned by the government; these were 45 degrees oblique housing. The super-blocks would be ten to twelve floors; each floor would contain eight apartments for a capacity of around 400 families and 2000 occupants per super-block. These were called "communist cell" or Khaleiyah *Ishterakeiya*[300], as they were entirely public owned by the government or the military with people renting the units.

The Egyptian modernists deployed the super-blocks as an architectural idea for vertical densification in the vacant areas in-between neighborhoods as part of the expansion approach. They utilized it as a replacement of the crumbling slums that were occupying more land on the horizontal level. In other words, local modernists found some merit in the super-blocks to solve the housing shortage in these hi-rise concrete housing. By intensifying the footprint of housing, there would be an area of green open space in the rest of the district. They conceived that super-blocks would allow more green spaces to proliferate into the city spaces.

(شـكل ١٢٨) واجهة عمارة نموذج ٢٠ .   (شـكل ١٢٧) مسقط عمارة نموذج ٢٠ .
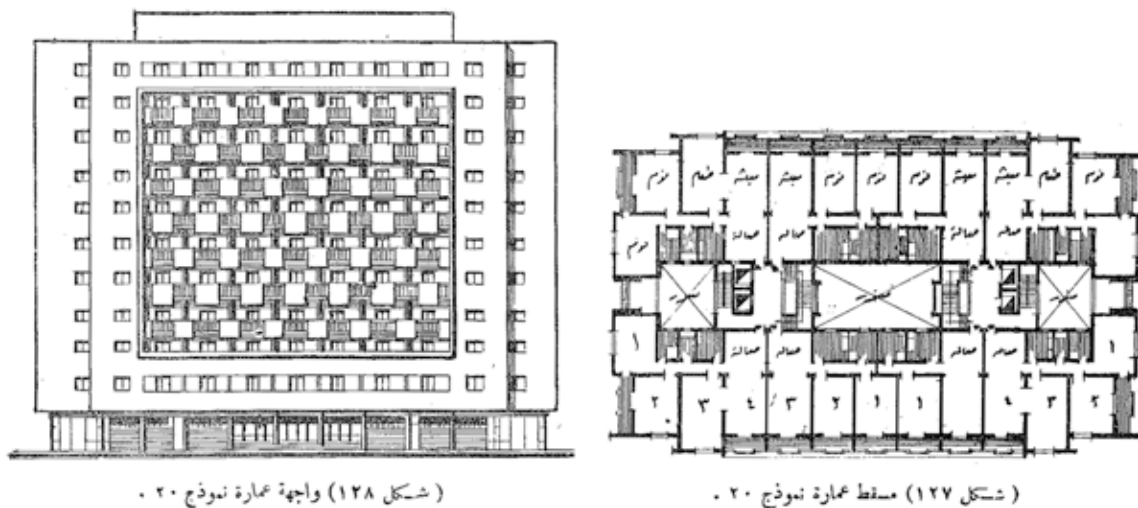
Fig. 3.29 Super-block in Nasr City designed by architects, Aly Labib Gabr and Ahmed Sheramy. Source: Ḥammād, 1964, 77.

---

[300] Sayyid Karīm, *Al-Qāhirah 'umruhā 50 Alf Sanah!*. (Cairo: al-Hay'ah al-Miṣrīyah al-'Āmmah lil-Kitāb, 1999), 169.
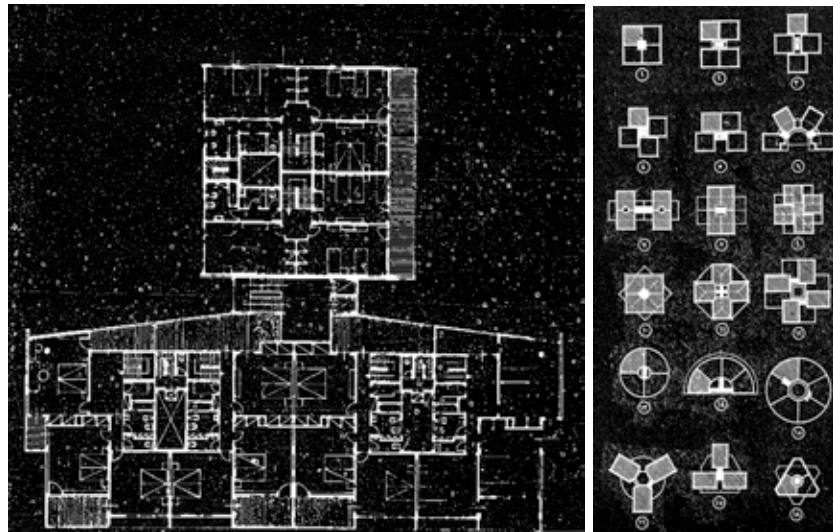
Fig. 3.30, 3.31 Super-block in Nasr City designed by architect, Sayyid Karim. Source: Ḥammād, 1964, 55-56.

Fig. 3.32, 3.33 Super-block in Nasr City designed by architect, Sayyid Karim, at the intersection of Cairo Stadium Street and Orouba Street. Source: Ḥammād, 1964, 55-56.

3.4.4. Fourth Nuance: Secularizing Al-Azhar University

The fourth nuance in the Egyptian model of the "City of Tomorrow" was the incorporation of some faculties of Al-Azhar Islamic School from Old Historic Cairo to the newly built Nasr City. This spatial segregation carried much political significance, unveiling a contest between the old and the new, traditions and modernity, and religion and national secularism. In 1961, Nasser imposed a reform of the content and transmission of knowledge on Al-Azhar, introducing "a spatial and intellectual segregation within the religious institution.[301]" The *kuttabs* (religious schools) were to be replaced with a more "rational" and "modernized" system that sought to replicate a western type of pedagogy.[302] Nasser described the *'ulama* as such: "The *shaykh* does not think of anything except the turkey and the food with which he filled his belly. He is no more

---

[301] Malika Zeghal, "Cairo as Capital of Islamic Institutions? Al-Azhar Islamic University, the State, and the City," in *Cairo Contested Governance, Urban Space, and Global Modernity*, ed. Diane Singerman (Cairo; New York: American University in Cairo Press, 2009), 66.

[302] Ibid. Zeghal writes that: "Azharite institutes, built everywhere in Egypt, (in the city and the countryside to decentralize Al-Azhar's authority and power in Historic Cairo), would provide primary and secondary education, with religious subjects taught alongside secular ones. At the level of higher education, new faculties would offer modern specializations, such as engineering, medicine, pharmacology, natural sciences, and languages. The children in the institutes would blend modern subjects with religious ones - a dichotomy also found at higher levels of the Azharite education," 66.

than a stooge of reaction, feudalism and capitalism."[303] The *'alim* was circumscribed to an object of ridicule, "a man who, far from understanding the rules of reason, was entrenched in the past, in a world of superstitions."[304] Nasser's regime promoted a negative image of Al-Azhar in order to justify its domestication of the *'ulama*.[305] The regime forced them to modernize through enforcing reforms, which weakened their economic resources and turned them more dependent on the state.[306] These reforms by virtue affected their autonomy.

During this period, there was a rising tension between the nationalists and political Islamists particularly the Muslim Brotherhood.[307] Egyptian modernists invoked national secularism championing the military coup and their struggle against Islamists. Sayyid Karim claimed the city as a battlefield to fight terrorism. He considered terrorism a "disease" and modernism was the vehicle to fight it. Modernists portrayed old neighborhoods, with more focus on slums, as the hotbed of an extremist ideology. Experts saw these areas as sociologically, politically, and economically problematic —a collection of the undesired citizens: prisoners, drug dealers, informal professionals, migrant labor, and extremists. With a growing national sentiment, experts and technocrats construed those categories as a threat to the city and modernity at large.

However, experts had a particular attitude in mixing and confusing the reader to believe that the old and slums were one and that the slum-dwellers and Islamists were also one and the same. This confusion construed the "other" as a general category that included everyone who was not "modernist." By the statistics published in the *Mujallat Al-'Imara* using government records, in 1952 there were twenty thousand dangerous criminals in Cairo. Those criminals were thought to be working and living in the "crowded markets" of the slums, living their way amid the busty city. Furthermore, official documents estimated one million and a half living in the cemetery. They estimated another three million living in popular (old) neighborhoods, and estimated an internal migration that would add thousands of unemployed labor per day to these areas. The way that the *Mujallat Al-'Imara* listed the statistics reflected the politics of the editors' position. In the stated statistics, they mixed the "ill"-legality of criminals with the legality of residents living in old popular neighborhoods; they mixed "slums" with "old popular areas." These examples revealed the discomfort of the modernists with any citizen not conforming to their social engineering master plan.

"Citizens breathing air filled with decay, blood, destruction, and terrorism. The "virus of degeneration" spreading from slums into the heart of Cairo required action[308]… Population explosion is number one responsible for producing terrorism: Treatment must begin by stopping

---

[303] Daniel Crecelius, "Al-Azhar in the Revolution," *Middle East Journal* 20, no. 1 (January 1, 1966), 42.

[304] Malika Zeghal, "Religion and Politics in Egypt: The Ulema of Al-Azhar, Radical Islam, and the State (1952-94)," *Intejmiddeaststu International Journal of Middle East Studies* 31, no. 3 (1999): 371–99.

[305] Zeghal, "Cairo as Capital of Islamic Institutions?," 69.

[306] Ibid. Zeghal argues that: "The nationalization of religious charitable endowments (*awqaf*) deprived the *'ulama* of what was left of their economic independence. Given the economic difficulties of Al-Azhar at that thime, this reform symbolically deprived the *'ulama* of their autonomy, but gave them the assurance that they would be given resources by the state."

[307] Daniel Crecelius, "Al-Azhar in the Revolution," Nasser's regime was extremely antagonistic to political Islamists, mainly the Muslim Brotherhood, especially after they allegedly tried to assassinate Nasser at Alexandria in 1954.

[308] Karīm, *Al-Qāhirah 'umruhā 50 Alf Sanah!*, 155.

this spillover and preventing any illegal internal migration followed by close screening of citizens residing in the city and cleansing popular neighborhoods from the diseased citizens… We need political restructuring for the society by focusing on public policy not on security (by this Karim meant fighting the ideology of terrorism through spatial categorization)[309]… Terrorism came from the hinterland provinces and the countryside to centralize inside the informal settlements of Cairo… Informal settlements were the open trash polluting the air of Cairo.[310]"

In building Nasr City, a modernist city, at a time of political tension, anything that stood against these modern values was construed as "the other." These othered subjects were slum-dwellers and Islamists. This issue shaped the rhetoric leading to the construction of a new and nationalist urban modernity. Sayyid Karim renounced what Western media said about Islamists, "Allah in their heads, Terrorism in their blood."[311] Fully convinced with this argument, Karim wrote, "Treating terrorism entailed a rational scientific thinking just like any contagious disease.[312]" Moreover, "we" - the Egyptian modernists - need to stop it before crusaders invade us to fight terrorism.[313]

During the 1950's, one way that technocrats decided to pursue their "fight against terrorism" was to reform the educational institutions. The process of reform meant "nationalizing" and "modernizing" the traditional Islamic institutions. The construction of a "national" religious model evolved with time during the late fifties and early sixties, as part of the mission of the Egyptian modernist city. Modernist architects provided a location for these institutions in the layout of Nasr City. Al-Azhar University was a targeted school to modernize. Al-Azhar institution is one of Cairo's traditional legacies of Islamic teaching, one of the oldest running universities in the world that has operated since the tenth century. In 1961, however, a major restructuring of the departments took place. For the first time in its history, since the medieval ages, it included secular subjects in its curricula.

The aim was to modernize the epicenter of religious education in Cairo, the Middle East, and North Africa. It made Al-Azhar more aligned with the political regime's stance, which was Nasser's larger project of pan-Arab nationalism. His project was secular. In the subsequent years, some departments in Al-Azhar University campus were relocated to Nasr City in a land parcel right across a military zone. Using Google maps, it is clear that Al-Azhar campus was built on a land adjacent to a military zone. Moreover, the main road leading to the campus was used for army parades. Symbolically, it seemed as if the army was disciplining Al-Azhar.

Segregating Al-Azhar and opening another campus in Nasr City emphasized the political dimension of modernization. The national watch guard over the religious institution became one of the characteristic elements of Nasr City and its urban modernity under Nasser's regime during the 1950's and 1960's. Relocating some departments of Al-Azhar University also meant controlling its track of modernization by pushing it towards the secular nationalist direction.

---

[309] Ibid., 156.
[310] Ibid., 156-157.
[311] Ibid., 156.
[312] Ibid.
[313] Ibid.

Building Al-Azhar University was part of secularizing the Islamic education system from its roots and creating a new modernity at large. Sayyid Karim dubbed Nasr City "a capital city within the Capital." The new campus of Al-Azhar depicted a minimalist aesthetic with a modernist concrete expression. It was surrounded by a military patrimony and a technical rationality of urban modernism.

Fig. 3.34 Al-Azhar University Campus in Nasr City, Google Earth Map. Source: www.wikimapia.org/4446612/Al-Azhar-University, accessed in May 22, 2015.
Fig. 3.35 Street Elevation of Al-Azhar University in Nasr City. Source:
http://hdimagelib.com/architecture+of+al+azhar+university?image=41464601, accessed in, 23 May, 2015.

3.5. Concluding Remarks

This chapter discussed the reasons for building new housing settlements on the periphery of the existing city using the case of Nasr City. The chapter's objective was to show that building new compounds for a better lifestyle did not only exist in the contemporary time under neoliberalism. In fact, the phenomenon existed in different political economies as well. Nasr City was one case in time. The modernist town came out of a master plan for developing Cairo on the basis of hygiene, national order, and educating and disciplining citizens. These bases were experimented few years before in the countryside's housing program "Cordon-and-Resettling." Throughout the chapter, I demonstrated the social-engineering logic of building new sites of modernity in the City during late 1950s and through the 1960s, and how they were different from earlier rural experiments on two levels of scale, on the city planning level and the architectural housing level.

The 1950s was a period of political transition from the dual rule of the monarchy and the colonial administration to a post-colonial regime. This transition certainly affected the patterns of spatial growth and housing development plans. The centralization of property ownership and land control shifted from feudal families to the central post-colonial governance claiming a socialist mode of governance. The post-colonial government empowered peasants by granting them land ownership over small parcels of land. The modernist experts were mobilized for a modernization plan of mass development in order to reform the villages' housing condition. As discussed in chapter two, the debates and hygienic congresses over reform and development resulted in the "cordon-and-resettling" approach. This approach entailed a modernization track of building new settlements, "the Village of Tomorrow" while leaving the old ones. The design of these new settlements brought a new outlook to the village with new institutions and international design standards borrowed from CIAM, Le Corbusier, and Neufert. However, these architectures were characterized with a modernity of transition and incremental development.

With an increasing internal migration from the countryside, the city became the new intersecting frontier of development in the late 1950's. This migration was accelerated with the 1956 Suez Crisis leading to an over populated capital, Cairo. Without having a clear vision for a strategic housing development, the post-colonial government found itself with an exponential growth of squatters on vacant areas and agricultural land around the city proper. This was the time when urban informality began to grow in scale, and the government left it to continue as they had no alternative to provide.[314]

Mobilizing for strategic control of this messy housing condition, the modernist architect and urban planner Sayyid Karim directly approached President Nasser through Lieutenant Anwar Sadat (the later president). He proposed a development project, "hygienic defense urbanism," which was about building new planned towns in the vacant areas between neighborhoods before squatting absorbed them. Karim's urban hygiene was greatly inspired by Khedive Ismail's urban renaissance as clear from the issue and articles published to hail Khedive's projects in *Majallat Al-'Imara*. The housing development approach was "fill-and-expand" for a hygienic environmental rationale. One of the outcomes of this rationale for building new towns to save the city was *Madinet Nasr*. It was built on land belonging to the army, having had inherited it from the Colonial British administration and had been using parts of it as military barracks.[315] Eventually, Nasr City was built lying on the northeastern of Cairo, between Abbaseiya and the desert oasis of its time, Heliopolis.

In the late 1950's, the center of attention moved from designing the "Village of Tomorrow" in the rural areas towards designing the "City of Tomorrow" in the urban quarters of Cairo. The modernist principles that motivated the spatial zoning of the Village of Tomorrow continued in Nasr City with some appropriations given the military's presence. The deployment of biological analogy to diagnose and describe a pathology for the built environment also continued. Descriptions such as "carcinogenic", "fungus slums", and "bacterial degradation" were some of the terms used to describe the urban condition in the late 1950's. Biological determinism influenced the urban planning approach. In terms of hygiene, the master plan of Nasr City was composed of two compartments in a similar zoning to the "Village of Tomorrow" discussed in

---

[314] Sims, *Understanding Cairo,* 2010.
[315] Abu-Lughod, *1001 Years of the City Victorious,* 1971.

the previous chapter. Sayyid Karim and Mahmoud Riad separated the administrative compartment from the residential compartment by a wide road. A stadium occupied the heart of the administrative zone with an open boulevard used for military parades. Unlike the Village of Tomorrow, there was no building that acted as a vista. However, in Nasr City, there was an intensification of monumental buildings on both sides of the road. This created a sense of grandness. The quality of openness and greenness in the urban design of Nasr City is quite intricate. The planners Sayyid Karim and Mahmoud Riad oriented some of the buildings at 45-degrees to the main roads for claimed environmental planning measures according to the Universal Modern design principles. There was a continuity of smaller scale green spaces inside the housing compartment. The green passage penetrated through the settlement. This proliferating green passage certainly achieved what Karim was arguing for inside the Transient Village phase when he called for replacing the livestock spaces inside the peasants' housing units with green spaces.

Nasr City was, however, different from the international model of the modernist city in four respective nuances as explained in the chapter. First, a corporate-led company managed the urban governance of Madinet Nasr, unlike any other neighborhoods. Despite that the city was state-funded, it operated outside the domain of the Governorate of Cairo, and within the control of its board of trustees -most of whom were high-rank officials. Regardless of the claimed nature of the regime's socialist political economy, Sayyid Karim proposed a corporate body of governance that would effectively run the services and housing projects. The corporate body would invest in real-estate development and generate profit to cover the loans taken for constructing the infrastructure, and later, preserve the city's costs of maintenance. Such an approach demarcated one of the early projects of self-control and semi-autonomous governance in Egyptian modern history. Here self-management was a mechanism that did not fall neatly within the public sector, given that only technocrats and special officials would benefit from this structure.[316] Nasr City's managing company played along the strings of public and private benefits, having the military officers as in-between agents. This characteristic would again resonate in the neoliberal era with partnerships between the public, the military, and the private sector as I explain in the upcoming chapter. Karim proposed that the Nasr City Company would invest in real estate development within the new town to generate money to preserve the public amenities and infrastructure. This project exposed the claimed politics of the socialist regime and to what extent did it hold the 1952-revolution's values. While the targeted citizens for Nasr City were from the middle class, it ended up being populated with upper-middle classes and high-rank officers.

The second nuance of Nasr City was its mixed-use zoning between civilian functions and army buildings. Though Nasser ordered that the military barracks would make space for the new settlement, some areas were protected for military purposes. The military's presence generated an interesting mixed of land use between the army's institution, governmental buildings, and public housing.

The third nuance was the housing prototypes that Karim had proposed. Sayyid Karim proposed three housing models in Nasr City, the "socialist villa", the corporative apartment units, and the public housing units. The argument for introducing the oxymoronic so-called "socialist villa"

---

[316] ElShahed, Nasr City was once Egypt's new capital, but things went wrong. 2015.

was quite remarkable. Karim explained that transforming the political economy from private ownership under the monarchy to public state-led housing under the military socialism required a mode of transition. Karim depicted that the richer residents of Nasr City would have their subdivision situated in the middle of the residential nucleus yet sharing infrastructure, green spaces, and amenities with the public. He argued that this would be a mode of limited ownership, not too private or too public. Cooperative apartment housing units represented a group of residents sharing the same building with its services yet owning their apartments. The public housing units were government owned apartment buildings that ministries granted for their employees. Moreover, there were strictly state-owned units.

The fourth nuance was the methodology of disciplining the *other*, for which Nasr City played a big role. The state's decree in relocating main departments in the university campus of Al-Azhar from its historic location, dating from the tenth century, had a political significance. The nationalist regime backlashed the opposing Islamists, mainly the Muslim Brotherhood after they allegedly tried to assassinate Nasser in Alexandria, 1954. The construction of a loyal religious model was in its way; it had to break from the old and incorporated into the modern code of conduct. The choice laid by Al-Azhar University as one of the oldest teaching schools of Islamic teaching. In 1961, it included secular subjects in its curriculum in a gradual transformation process. The aim was to modernize the epicenter of religious education in Cairo, and the Middle East and North Africa, and make it more aligned with the political regime.

The state and experts spatially segregated the campus of Al-Azhar University across the metropolis. They built a new campus in Nasr City. The land of the military barrack and the nationalist regime, which was secular in its orientation, embraced Al-Azhar University in Nasr City. The military power and religion were superimposed in the new Cairene "City of Tomorrow." This was one of the significant characteristics of the modernity project of constructing the "other" in the post-colonial era.

Over the decades, Nasr City developed into a diverse, vibrant community and its structure had witnessed a major shift towards the privatized model of compounds. The Madinet Nasr for Housing Development (MNHD) continued its operations focusing mainly on selling plots from its extensive land, and installing infrastructure through its subsidiaries of Nasr for Civil Works and El Nasr for Utilities and Installation. "This mission was radically altered in December 2006, when Beltone Private Equity acquired 30.88% of MNHD through a successful tender offer. The acquisition triggered a reformation wave in the company, and the Board of Directors was restructured in January 2007. A new management team was appointed bringing with them both international experience and local know-how."[317] A new neoliberal orientation resulted in buying land in "New Cairo" satellite settlement farther to the desert between Cairo and Suez, and another land in "Sixth of October" satellite settlement on the opposite edge of the metropolis. The investment took the shape of gated communities. In the upcoming chapter, I will explore this major shift in modernist housing from the "City of Tomorrow" to the "Security Compounds."

---

[317] "History | MNHD." Accessed March 23, 2015. http://www.mnhd.com/?page_id=7.

Chapter Four:

Neoliberal Modern Compounds

4.1. Introduction: From "Disciplined Society" to "Zones of Control"

The main argument of this chapter is that the transformation from the "urban revolution" in the 1960s, discussed in the previous chapter, to a "desert revolution" from the 1970s to the present used the same methodology, however, to produce a different society and citizens. The same methodology included a hygienic logic, formation of new modern citizens, and construction of the "other." The differences from the previous patterns of building new modern compounds on the periphery, occurring since the 1940s, is that this time it was towards creating a "controlled society" using sophisticated privatized security mechanisms of mapping and operation. These control agents operate independently from the State, yet collaborate on certain political issues. The introduction of security, their professional training, and their para-militarized rhetoric in the contemporary "gated communities" are unprecedented in scale. The growth of the security sector into these spaces of exclusion have driven theorists such as Diane Singerman, Petra Kuppinger, and Eric Denis to argue that these gated communities are spaces of global modernity, completely deterritorialized from the local context and everyday politics. Furthermore, how the 2011 Revolution transformed life inside Al-Rehab gates unsettles the theory of Cairo scholars on gated communities as deterritorialized "spaces of exception" and housing compounds of global modernity completely detached from local politics. Using an extensive ethnography and detailed encounter of the security mechanisms of operation together with residents interactions urban planners and real estate developers, I argue that many of these gated communities are in fact embedded in local politics and contextually oriented into the uncertainties that drive the Egyptian free market economy.[318] Having conducted fieldwork research in four different gated communities, I, however, decided to focus in depth on one case study for the chapter to support my argument, and that is Al-Rehab City.

This chapter highlights the neoliberal transformation of the compounds of modernity. During the Nasser era, from the 1950s through the 1960s, the state built new settlements for the "disciplined society" in order to construct totalitarian communities on the basis of "egalitarian ethics" and minimizing "class antagonisms." Building a "happy family" was at the center of the modernization project for the nation-state. The social welfare program focused on the human development of the "other" (peasants and workers), and citizenship formation. The previous chapters covered the modern compounds of Nasser in depth.

Since the late 1970s, under Sadat, and through Mubarak's era, the central aim of city growth was economic development. The state apparatus dealt with citizens as masses, whose redistribution on the periphery would generate economic growth for the new industrial zones and new towns. The object of governance, the disciplined subject during Nasser, shifted to the "controlled society" under Sadat —and more so under Mubarak. The contemporary modern settlements foster class segregation and a hierarchical socio-economic order through land deregulation and mortgage laws that benefit the upper-middle class. Such legal and economic restructuring

---

[318] In the conclusion chapter of the dissertation, I discuss the fieldwork I have done in several other gated communities and the findings I have discovered which assert my central argument of local embeddedness that counters the deterritorialization meta-narrative.

supported the redistribution of the population on the basis of class privilege. The most striking evidence of inequality under Mubarak was the selling off of the public desert land on the periphery of Greater Cairo Region for the private sector to build luxury entertainment residences inside gated communities.[319]

"'Enclave architecture' increasingly dominates Cairo's desert fringe,"[320] as Singerman puts it, making gated communities a highly contested field of study. However, analytical research on how governance takes place behind the walls remains surprisingly missing. Petra Kuppinger denotes that Gated Communities embody a global modernity that is deterritorialized from local reality.[321] They are more attached to their peers in Los Angeles, Florida, Sao Paolo, Dubai, Mexico, and elsewhere.[322] Diane Singerman depicts that there is an "air of 'spectacle'" about gated communities and developments of single-family villas, or apartment buildings of a few stories designed for extended families.[323] Khaled Adham coins the growth of new luxury residences with entertainment fantasies throughout the modern history of Egypt by comparing the example of Heliopolis (1905) with the present compounds. The use of particular signs and images together with exclusive financial mechanisms exacerbate the production of elite compounds.

Scholars have situated these gated communities as intersections of leisure, consumer culture, and distinction.[324] Their research methods and methodologies deployed depend on understanding Cairo's gated communities as a 'phenomenon.' However, after more than a decade of their

---

[319] Eric Denis depicts how the state is selling off of vast "public" lands and dividing up "public patrimony…among a few private developers stimulates the flow of capital through the sale of land" (2006, 58). Eric Denis, "Cairo as Neoliberal Capital? From Walled City to Gated Communities," in *Cairo Cosmopolitan: Politics, Culture, and Urban Space in the New Globalized Middle East,* ed. Diane Singerman and Paul Amar, 2006th ed. (Cairo; New York: American University in Cairo Press, n.d.), 58. Based on reports and analysis, Singerman contends that the Giza and Cairo governorates have sold off 300 square kilometers of public land. Also, the New Urban Communities Authority (NUCA) released about 1,000 square kilometers of public land in the eight new urban communities over the past 25 years. In total, according to Singerman, this privatized land is approximately twice as much as the contiguous urbanized and built-up area of the three governorates [Cairo, Giza, and Qalubiyya] (estimated at 600-700 square kilometers in 2000), which houses about 13 million inhabitants" (*Cities Alliance* 2008, 15; Singerman 2009, 16). Cities Alliance: Cities without Slums and the City of Sao Paulo, "Informal and Squatter Settlements in Greater Cairo: Challenges and Policy Response," in *Slum Upgrading Up Close: Experiences of Six Cities* (Washington, D.C., 2008), 5–18, http://www.citiesalliance.org/sites/citiesalliance.org/files/su-up-close_0.pdf. Diane Singerman, *Cairo Contested Governance, Urban Space, and Global Modernity* (Cairo; New York: American University in Cairo Press, 2009).

[320] Singerman, *Cairo Contested,* 16. Singerman contends that gated communities in Egypt are a product of a global phenomenon. Her analysis interjects with international comparisons from Los Angeles, Florida, and elsewhere. They dismiss the local articulations and nuances that make the Egyptian case more independent from the global reference. Adham and Singerman, further, believe that the enclaves built on the desert edges of the city are reproducing the colonial urban model of "dual city." The bifurcated colonial architecture imposed a residential segregation between the exogenous elite and indigenous inhabitants in Adham's work. Khaled Adham, "Cairo's Urban Déjà vu: Globalization and Urban Fantasies," in *Planning Middle Eastern Cities: An Urban Kaleidoscope Ina Globalizing World*, ed. Yasser Elsheshtawy (London ; New York: Routledge, 2004), 149.

[321] Kuppinger argues that these spaces become economically and culturally removed from their territories and displaced into global realms. Petra Kuppinger, "Exclusive Greenery: New Gated Communities in Cairo," *City & Society* 16, no. 2 (December 1, 2004): 35–61.

[322] Ibid.

[323] Ibid, 44.

[324] Khaled Adham, "Cairo's Urban Déjà," 162.

presence, gated communities have demonstrated signs of embeddedness, becoming critical spaces shaping the economy, sociology, and governance of the City. Understanding the "know-how" of private management in enclaves would expand our knowledge of local governance, biopolitics, and spatial-security studies. It would help us engage with how enclaves offer quality services and mediate messy politics. Such an approach pushes the study of "spaces of exclusion" beyond the binary categories of private versus public sector, and developer versus the State. Eric Denis relates the growth of gated communities to the state's politics of promoting a "security risk" discourse from a sociological perspective.[325] The State continuously frames central Cairo as menacing, dirty, polluted, unsafe, and unhealthy. The upheaval in the 1980s and 1990s by Islamist movements and state cycles of repression fueled this security risk's meta-narrative.[326] My work extends Denis's analysis by looking carefully into the "security-controlled society," the strategies of enclave governance and technologies of security using ethnography. I further enhanced my qualitative methods using semi-structured interviews with the security managers, real-estate developer's representative, enclave Mayor, and residents of Al-Rehab gated community and other enclaves located in Cairo.

The chapter argues that the state subcontracts security across multiple private and public agents and invents "the other" to maintain its control over the society inside the contemporary compounds of modernity. The chapter builds on the dissertation's larger argument that compounds of modernity, as mediums of rural and urban growth, are products of local experts and socio-political power to maintain national order. Such analysis resists the simple submission that Cairo's gated communities result from a global phenomenon produced elsewhere in Los Angeles, globalization from above. The chapter offers, instead, a nuanced reading of how locality reproduces a global prototype—globalization from below. Cairo's gated communities are outcomes of local forces that develop a historical prototype (the compound on the periphery), based on the respective political economy of its time. The Cairene state and modernist experts manipulate neoliberal political economy and privatization recommendations from the IMF to attune its national sovereignty. The neoliberal spaces in Cairo cultivate a mixed mode of governance through private and public partnerships on the level of the desert land,[327] housing and security.

The controlling local agents formulate the codes of conduct, through laws and conventions, to govern the desert land, housing compounds, and their security. They operate through constructing a "society of risk" that identifies risk and fear of 'the other.' Before the revolution, the other was identified as the slum-dwellers living in the urban informalities. In the aftermath of the revolution, the state decreed a new 'other'—the Muslim Brotherhood—after General Al-Sisi overthrew the elected President Mohamed Morsi. Reconstructing 'the other' proves that categorizing citizens is a fluid socio-political process to serve national order. Because upper-

---

[325] Another key point that Denis adds to his analysis is the state's selling off of vast "public" lands and dividing up its "public patrimony…among a few private developers, stimulating the flow of capital through the sale of land" (Denis 2006, 58). Moreover, Singerman states that the Giza and Cairo governorates have sold off 300 square kilometers of public land. Moreover, the New Urban Communities Authority (NUCA) released about 1,000 square kilometers of public land in the eight new urban communities over the past 25 years. The urbanized region, on the contrary, houses about 13 million inhabitants" (Cities Alliance 2008, 15; Singerman 2009, 16).
[326] Ibid.
[327] Timothy Mitchell, "Dreamland: The Neoliberalism of Your Desires," *Middle East Report,* (Spring 1999), http://www.merip. org/mer/mer210/mitch.htm.

middle class members of the Muslim Brotherhood live in Al-Rehab, life inside the gates became political. Where once the gates were built to separate those inside from the urban-informality dwellers, the under-classed other, now the new 'other' is the Muslim Brotherhood members residing inside the walls.

While the privatized gated community should celebrate privacy, autonomy, and distance from the City, surveillance is 'designed in' to the flows of everyday existence,"[328] (Rose 1999). Monitoring inside the gates works in collaboration with the State Security apparatuses. Watching and categorizing residents end with classifying citizens and generating the 'other.' The case of Al-Rehab gated community proves that there is a political-sociological register to life inside the gates that has been increasingly exacerbated by the 25-January revolution. The political interaction of residents with the nation's revolution, and the ways in which it affected life inside the gated communities, highlights how local actors during a given time transform a global housing prototype. Al-Rehab gated community is more than just a product of global modernity and neoliberal economic restructuring. It is a case that shows how the production of these compounds is closely intertwined with the political project of the nation, constructing the other, and residents' resistance to authoritarianism.

In terms of methodology, I first explain the free-market, "economic growth," strategy behind expanding the city and building new towns under Sadat and Mubarak. I do so by analyzing the master plans of Cairo from the 1970s to the present. Secondly, I pick one of the new satellite towns, New Cairo and select the first and most populated gated community built in it, "Al-Rehab City." I break down its agents of control, the real-estate developer, its mayor, its security manager, and the police department present inside the gated community. Furthermore, I explain the diversity of residents and communities living in Al-Rehab. Afterward, I demonstrate the internal dynamics between the privatized governing agents and inhabitants. I use the example of the real-estate developer as responsive to some residents' desire to establish a political party for the Muslim Brotherhood, whom the real-estate holding company had an opposite political platform before. Discussions and negotiations help maintain stability and control. In the third section, I demonstrate how private governance takes place by explaining the invisible technologies of control, security, and surveillance that agents deploy at the checkpoints and inside the compound to maintain order. In the fourth section, I outline why residents move to the gated communities despite their political views and oppositional stances. Many upper-class city dwellers internalize the "society of risk" and the threats incurring from the 'other.' The other is one who lives in a slum. Since urban informality had grown out of control, and even the planned city quarters as well, upper- and upper-middle classes escape to "controlled environments." They select franchised services and privatized hygiene in enclaves to gain control over their living environment. I subvert this constructed Utopia in the fifth and last section. I illustrate how the state and local agents reproduce a new 'other,' activists and Muslim Brotherhood (MB), after the 2011-Revolution to maintain national order. Manufacturing the 'other' is a political-social construct to serve national order as well as the biopolitics of economic growth.

As residents became more aware of the political register in enclaves, they also became conscious of their limitations to mobilize. As some of them became politically active, they quickly

---

[328] Nikolas Rose, "Control," in *Powers of Freedom: Reframing Political Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 234.

strategized their tactics so as not to risk giving up their spaces of "economic exclusivity." In conclusion, the State has its presence in enclaves, and some gated communities are deeply immersed in local politics. Such finding in retrospect complicates the theory of "spaces of global modernity" and the de-territorialization of these enclave architectures.
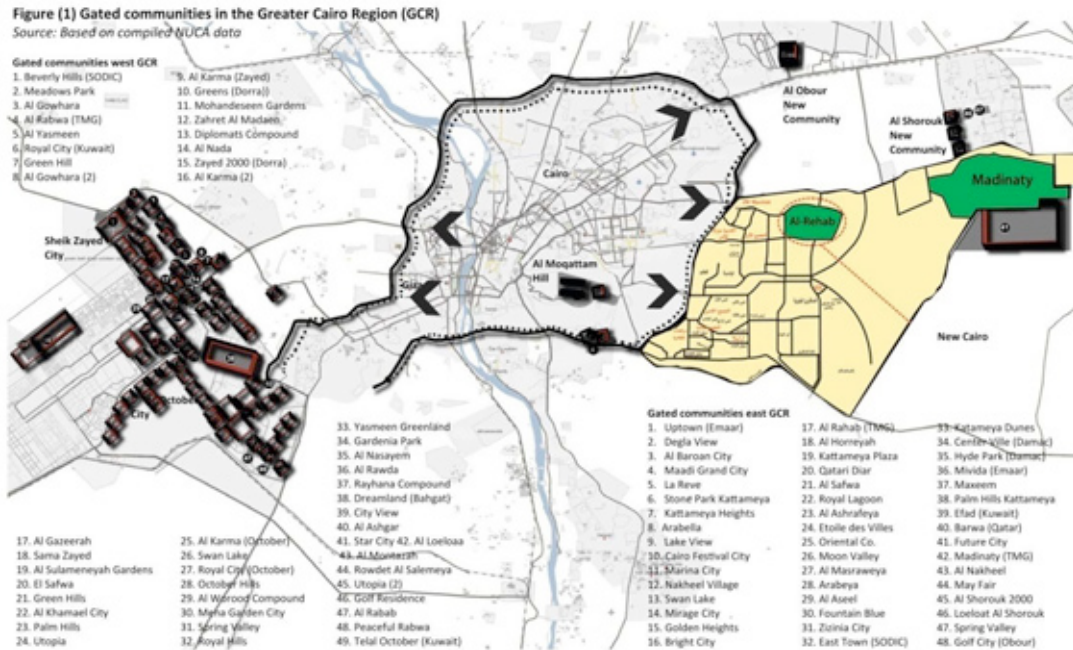
Fig. 4.1 Gated Communities in the Greater Cairo Region with the location of Al-Rehab City, circa 2009.
Source: Yousry 2009, then illustrated and reproduced by researcher.

4.2. Land Governance: New Towns Program, Sadat, and Mubarak

The nineteen-fifties and nineteen-sixties, Nasser's era, was characterized by a social-welfare mode of regulation where experts deployed scientific planning to modernize peasants and city-dwellers. Through building settlements on the periphery, development was centered on social welfare, health and hygiene, communitarianism, and cooperation.[329] The Ministry of Land Reclamation described these projects and modernization schemes as aiming for "the addition of productive units to society; the transformation the creation of a happy family made of workers and peasants; and the inculcation of individuals with communitarian and socialist ethics."[330] It was a project of "building men as much as building new societies"[331] —a *pioneering ethic*. Historian Omnia El Shakry notes:

"[These] spatial projects were conceptualized in terms of the circulation of wealth, health, hygiene, and productivity through the body politic. The emphasis was on reconstructing

---

[329] El Shakry, "Cairo as Capital of Socialist Revolution?, 81.
[330] Ministry of Land Reclamation, *Takwin Wa Tanmiyat Al-Mujtama'at Al-Jadida Fi Al-Aradi Al-Mustasliha* (Cairo: Wizarat al-Istislah al-Aradi, 1969), 7-8, in, Omnia El Shakry, "Cairo as Capital of Socialist Revolution?," in *Cairo Cosmopolitan: Politics, Culture, and Urban Space in the New Globalized Middle East*, ed. Diane Singerman and Paul Amar (Cairo; New York: American University in Cairo Press, 2006), 73–98.
[331] El Shakry, "Cairo as Capital of Socialist Revolution?," 81.

142

bodies and minds: building and cleaning villages, homes, and children, and thus constructing a 'new Egyptian' through comprehensive social schemes that sought to regulate the daily life of peasants and women by instructing them in the care of their bodies, homes, and children."[332]

The goal of Nasser's regime was to build a comprehensive healthy, productive, and efficient population —appropriate to the progressive modern world.[333] Multiple state agents and actors conceived the human population, demographic masses, and citizens as "a national resource."[334]

The first master plan began in 1953 and was completed in 1956. First, the State aimed at the creation of industrial areas in the immediate vicinity of Cairo. Second, it proposed six industrial zones (workers' cities). Third, it initiated programs for public housing, and the development of Nasr City as a pilot project for repetition planned in 1958.[335] The territorial expansion and building of new settlements and compounds was to build modern citizens and mitigate "class antagonisms."[336] A paradigm shift occurred after the demise of Nasser, as a result of internal and external political conflicts, as well as the 1967 war with Israel.

The rise of Anwar Sadat and the 1973 war with Israel, however, reversed the effects of Nasser's policies. Sadat inaugurated the liberalization policies of Egypt's Infitah in the Presidential Working Paper of October 1974, aimed at creating a transition to a free-market economy.[337] It was a policy that adapted the "delocalization of capital"[338] through strengthening the private sector, foreign investment, and eradication of the public sector. Privatization of the public sector resulted in the restructuring of the role of the state towards its citizens and their cities.

The second master plan of Cairo, drawn up between 1966 and 1970 by the Greater Cairo Planning Commission (established in 1965), and approved by ministerial decree in 1974, introduced the concept of the Greater Cairo Region (GCR) and recommended the construction of planned desert cities.[339] The program yielded an uncontrolled urban expansion, attracting migrant labor and informal settlements to Cairo, consuming arable land, and ignoring infrastructure and service provision: in short it merely exacerbated the urban crisis.[340] The master plan of 1974/1975 outlined the creation of eighteen new towns in the desert surrounding the Cairo Metropolitan Region (made up of Cairo, Giza, Helwan and Qalubiya governorates). The target was to draw people away from Cairo and "de-concentrate" population. The government offered tax incentives for Egyptians to relocate to new industrial belts in these areas and

---

[332] Ibid., 82.

[333] Ibid.

[334] Sayyid Karīm, *Al-Qāhirah 'umruhā 50 Alf Sanah!* (Cairo: al-Hay'ah al-Miṣrīyah al-'Āmmah lil-Kitāb, 1999).

[335] Janet L. Abu-Lughod, *Cairo: 1001 Years of the City Victorious*, Princeton Studies on the Near East (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1971), 233.

[336] El Shakry, "Cairo as Capital of Socialist Revolution?," 81.

[337] Raymond Hinnebusch, *Egyptian Politics under Sadat*, (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1985), 112-16.

[338] Marwa Zaalouk, *Power, Class, and Foreign Capital in Egypt*, (Zed Books: London, 1989), 75-94.

[339] Michel Fouad Gorgy, "The Greater Cairo Region: Land Use Today and Tomorrow," in *The Agha Khan Award for Architecture. The Expanding Metropolis: Coping with the Urban Growth of Cairo. (*Agha Khan Program for Islamic Architecture/MIT Press: Cambridge, Mass., 1985), 176-82.

[340] El Shakry, "Cairo as Capital of Socialist Revolution?," 87, Agha Khan, 98-99.

foreigners to establish factories, high-tech services, and franchise operations (El Shakry 2006, 25; Singerman 2009, 13).

The concept of desert cities reified the policies of Infitah. They embraced a new set of local and international actors privileging economic productivity and socioeconomic development. Between 1975 and 1979, planning had begun for several new cities and in 1979 the government formed the New Urban Communities Authority. Law No. 59 of 1970, codifying the new settlement policy, inaugurated the creation of eighteen new cities in Egypt. It included relatively freestanding new towns (e.g., Sadat City, Tenth of Ramadan) and satellite cities (e.g., Sixth of October, Fifteenth of May). These nuclei stimulated a favorable economic environment for private sector investment and the deployment of foreign expertise.[341]

Nasser's planning policies and his project of modernity aimed for "egalitarian ethics,"[342] minimizing "class antagonisms," creating the "happy family," and making "national citizens." This was his approach for "new Egyptians" and the Modern Egypt. On the other hand, Sadat's planning policies aimed at a demographic redistribution of the population to achieve economic growth under a free-market mode of accumulation. According to Zeinab Shafik, who conducted an extensive ethnography in Tenth of Ramadan City, one of the desert towns, she concludes that a hierarchical and divisive organizational layout plagued many of them. Clear segregation between high-, middle-, and low-income groups characterized the settlement.[343] The State divided the new settlement of Tenth of Ramadan into class-segregated neighborhoods.[344] Segregation was "enforced and reproduced by the Operations Agency and inhabitants themselves."[345]

> "It is inconceivable that the custodian lives in the same apartment building with us, these people have rural habits, they breed animals and poultry, they are unclean and the women and children are accustomed to hang around the streets all day."[346]

In Tenth of Ramadan, the possibility of upward mobility was foreclosed; it was impossible to move from one neighborhood to another if one of the workers could afford it.[347] The exercise of power exerted by privileged citizens, on the basis of economic status, began to affect the internal dynamics and zoning of these new compounds. Individual imposition of "social class segregation" under Sadat's free-market policies marked itself off, again, from Nasser's totalitarian attempt of class solidarity in building new compounds.

During Nasser's era, citizens denoted as 'the other'—the peasant, countryside migrants, and Islamists—were incorporated and made objects of governance through discipline and subject formation. Nasser's modernists aimed at disciplining subjects through corrective practices,

---

[341] Galila El Kadi, "Trente ans de Planification Urbaine au Caire," *Revuetiersmonde Revue Tiers Monde* 31, no. 121 (1990): 200.
[342] El Shakry, "Cairo as Capital of Socialist Revolution?," 86.
[343] Ibid., 91.
[344] Zeinab Youssef Shafik, "The Life-Structure of a New City: Egypt's Tenth of Ramadan" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1991).
[345] Ibid.
[346] Ibid., 140.
[347] Ibid., 151.

training, observation, and surveillance. "Building men" and investing in "producing citizens that will perform productively" was conceived indispensable to building a modern nation-state. The production of citizens is what Michel Foucault described as the "disciplinary society": "It engages them in a whole mass of documents that capture and fix them."[348] "It is [produces] the individual as he may be described, judged, measured, compared with others, in his very individuality; and it is also the individual who has to be trained or corrected, classified, normalized, excluded, etc."[349] This produced governed objects and rituals of truth.

During Sadat's era of free-market policies, citizens, who were considered the 'other,' the slum-dwellers and Islamists, were not trained, corrected, or under surveillance. The 'other' was not disciplined by the state as under Nasser, in the Foucaultian sense. The state left the 'other' to deviate, leaving society and citizens to calculate their choices and pick their lifestyle, outside the state's control. The transformation from the Foucaultian concept of "disciplined society" during Nasser, to Rose's concept of "controlled society", during Sadat, marks the shifting politics of governance and subject formation under neoliberalism. Instead of having institutional sites such as hospitals, schools, asylums or prisons to monitor or correct citizens' activities, "the control of conduct was now immanent to all the places in which deviation could occur, inscribed into the dynamics of the practices into which human beings are connected."[350]

Under Sadat's *Infitah* policy, the state's power started to decentralize through its dependence on the private sector in persuading the "code of conduct" of the everyday activities and spaces of consumption. The state was no longer the sole actor of the biopolitics of governance and space; other agents began to participate actively. These agents were diverse, from NGOs to real estate investors. The presence of these agents nudged individuals to think and calculate their choices and relations to the city's new desert developments. Maintaining socio-economic privilege and social power in space became detriments to the buying and residing in the new desert towns. The individual attitude is what some scholars depict as self-policing, self-calculation of risk, and the individual governance of insurance.[351]

In 1996, President Mubarak reaffirmed the New Town strategy, but with far more of a neoliberal direction. He declared that the "'conquest of the desert' [is] no longer a slogan or dream, but a necessity dictated by spiraling population growth."[352] He stated that relocating the desert was not a "token exodus into the desert." The project was a "complete reconsideration of the distribution of population throughout the country"[353] (the Arab Republic of Egypt and the World Bank 2008, 52). Between 1998 and 2002, 22 percent of the Ministry of Housing and Urban Development's (MHUUD) national investment budget went to the New Urban Communities Authority (NUCA), although it includes less than 2 percent of the population[354] (the Arab Republic of Egypt and the

---

[348] Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1977), 203.
[349] Ibid., 203.
[350] Nikolas Rose, "Control," in *Powers of Freedom: Reframing Political Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 234.
[351] Francois Ewald, "Insurance and Risk," 1991. 198-201. Robert Castel, "From Dangerousness to Risk," 1991, 287-296, in, Graham Burchell, et. al., *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality*, (The University of Chicago Press: Chicago, 1991).
[352] Singerman, *Cairo Contested,* 13.
[353] Ibid.
[354] Ibid.

World Bank 2008, 61). There have been three generations of new city construction. As of the mid-1980s, the second generation began with twenty new towns. Today, another forty-four new settlements are in the development stage while more are being developed throughout Egypt even without state approval.[355] New desert cities are being built by various entities and comprise 282 square kilometers —or about a third of Greater Cairo (the Greater Cairo Metropolitan Area, GCMA).[356]

The New Town strategy went hand in hand with changes in the Housing Rental and Mortgage Laws (1996, 2001). The 1996 rental law introduced two significant changes to the Egyptian real estate market inside the city. First, it ended the indefinite passing down of tenure from the tenant to his/her heirs. Second, it stipulated that rent contracts last for a definite period without setting any constraint on price.[357] Article 14 of the bill stipulated immediate rent increases on the basis of the year the construction of the building was completed, with 10% annual growth for five consecutive years. After that, the market is supposed to take over.[358] Legislators argue that "adjusting" these rents would result in the increased availability of apartments for rent.[359] The application of Rental Law no. 4 (1996) has greatly increased rental values while reducing the supply of rental properties. The Law offered no protection to the tenant against the decision threatening their dwellings and security of tenure, with increase rents adversely affecting other essential household needs, such as food, clothing, education and health care. Most landlords resorted to setting the contract period for one year, thereby giving them the right to raise the end each year, or else evict the tenant without prior notice.

As a result of the 1996 law, the housing scene changed dramatically, and the New Towns strategy with the 2001 Mortgage Law emerged as an appealing option.[360] The Real Estate Finance Law (148/2001) – better known as the Mortgage Law – provided for better financing of house purchase in Egypt. While legislated to assist poorer families, the richer strata of Cairo society appeared to benefit more. A more complex bundle of factors ranging from property speculation to providing for future married sons and their anticipated families seem to have replaced the earlier monocausal rents-freeze explanation for vacancies.[361]

According to the General Authority for Real Estate Finance (GAREF), this law is designed to provide cheap long-term funds for buying, building and renovating real estate at up to 90% of the

---

[355] Ibid.

[356] Ibid.

[357] Pierre Loza, "The Not-so-Real Estate Market: Antiquated Laws and an Economic Crunch Are Keeping the Real Estate Market in an Unprecedented Recession," *Al-Ahram Weekly*, 2004, http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/2004/680/ec2.htm.

[358] Wael Fahmi and Keith Sutton, "Greater Cairo's Housing Crisis: Contested Spaces from Inner City Areas to New Communities," *Cities* 25, no. 5 (October 2008): 282.

[359] Ibid.

[360] Another result of the 1996 law the housing scene was characterized by increasing numbers of rural migrants and by the urban poor in Cairo quietly occupying state/public lands and cemeteries on the outskirts of the city, creating spontaneous communities (*ashwaiyyat*), in order to escape high rents (Bayat 1997). Middle and low-income housing in Cairo is also characterized by other forms of "encroachment" and coping mechanisms, such as the informal addition of rooms, balconies and extra space within buildings. Those who formally have been given housing in public projects, built by the state, illegally redesign and arrange their space to suit their needs by erecting partitions, and by adding and inventing new space (Fahmi and Sutton 2008, 282).

[361] Ibid., 295.

value of the housing unit. Mortgage loans cover up to 90% of the value of the property, with monthly payments being set, theoretically, at around 40% of the borrower's net monthly income, with repayment period from 25 to 30 years. Owners of these plots will pay only 5% interest on their mortgage loans.[362]

Supporters of the mortgage law indicated that it was designed to address the absence of long-term property lending services. They viewed the law as the solution to Egypt's housing crisis and a much-needed legislative move to introduce a practice well known all over the world (El-Ghobashy, 2001).[363] Opponents of the law were not only doubtful about the bill providing a solution to the housing recession and meeting the demands of low and middle-income groups. They pointed out that most of the available units were on the high end of the market. The upper niche included the tourist villages on the North Western Coast, Dreamland in Sixth of October City, and the upper-class gated communities in New Cairo City's Katameya Heights settlements.[364]

One of the satellite settlements growing out of planning and financial, legislative restructuring is New Cairo. The satellite city is divided into archipelagos of gated communities, fenced foreign-language universities,[365] secured multinational corporate offices, and other land uses- all function behind walls and checkpoints. "Enclave architecture" dominates Cairo's desert fringe[366], making gated communities a highly contested space of modernity. Under Mubarak, the securitization of identity and controlled society took a more visible form of spatial segregation and self-policing in gated communities.

The new modern compound is a "securitized-controlled society" encompassing a more aggressive materiality of social discrimination. A private-public assemblage of agents of control communicate the code of conduct and internal dynamics of the neoliberal walls. Through investigating Al-Rehab Community, I discuss the multitude of agencies supervising the gated community and their mechanisms of governance inside these compounds. While the upper-middle class escape the city and its problems, leaving for *freedom*, hygiene, and a better lifestyle, I argue that there is a sophisticated mode of control behind these "spaces of exception." Three spatial agents control the modern neoliberal compound, representing a hybrid form of governance between the private and public sector. In Al-Rehab, power and control are divided across the real-estate developer, the police department, and the privatized security that is run by a retired military general. These are the agents formulating the code of conduct and the neoliberal social contract that citizens subscribe to and buy their housing units from. Using the ethnographic research I collected from 2010 to 2012, I analyze the modus operandi of these agents and their mechanisms of control in the following two sections.

---

[362] Ibid.

[363] Mona El-Ghobashy, Housing for whom? Representatives under the rotunda raise a ruckus over the government's mortgage law. *Cairo Times* 5, (May 2001), 10.

[364] Fahmi and Sutton, "Greater Cairo's Housing Crisis," 282.

[365] According to Singerman: "In 2008, the American University in Cairo opened a gleaming new campus in New Cairo in a neo-Islamic style, spending close to $400 million, subsidized by a $97 million grant from USAID (Sponsored Programs 2003-2004). The university moved from a 7.8-acre campus in downtown Tahrir (Liberation) Square, the heart of the city where Nasser built the huge symbol of Egyptian bureaucracy and the post-colonial state, the Mugamma', to the 280-acre campus and enhance its downtown campus" (2009, 14).

[366] Singerman, *Cairo Contested,* 16.

4.3. Enclave Governance: Spatial Agents

"Al-Rehab City," a gated community located in New Cairo, was developed in phases from 1997 until the present by the real-estate developer Talaat Moustafa Group (TMG) and principal urban planner Mahmoud Yousry. The enclosed compound began as a 6-phase development project to inhabit 125,000 residents on 2,500 acres with a broad range of housing schemes ranging from middle-class to high-end luxurious villas and distinctive apartments. However, the government "awarded" the developer extra land to build four additional phases and inhabit an additional 200,000 residents. In exchange, the state would receive semi‑finished apartments representing 12% of the flat buildings built‑up area.[367]

Ahmed Yousry, the son of Mahmoud— principal urban planner in the project—illustrates the indeterministic spatial requirements and housing typologies of the TMG developer when commissioned the firm to design Al-Rehab. As a result, the urban planner reproduced several designs along the implementation of the project. The cooperation between the designer and the marketing team led to sharp changes in land use of the phases that were being marketed and built side by side. Some phases changed their residential entity, from apartments building to luxurious villas then back to apartments, depending on market studies conducted at the moment right before construction. The sales team aggressively interfered in the decision making of the master plan leading to many adjustments and modifications based market driven forces and consumer demands. Yousry signifies Al-Rehab's considerable success for its high settlement rates, resident satisfaction, and bold company expansion in real estate developing activity.[368]

The politics of Al-Rehab's developer is no less rigid than its design. The developer's considerable mediation to sharp political swings demonstrates his flexibility in overcoming internal state struggles before, throughout, and after the Egyptian Revolution in January 2011. Al-Rehab gated community shows its politics to "encompass all" in the manipulation and management of differences and opposition between its residents. Such appropriation is possible as long as they share the neoliberal ethos of economic development and maintaining the enclave's social class prestige. Since its inception, Al Rehab has enjoyed governmental political support at its highest levels. The developer's linkages to the ruling political party have raised the level of buyers' confidence to this particular venture above others supplied in the market. Furthermore, President's Mubarak's visit to the compound in 2005 has amplified its allure, not to mention the visit's effect in surging sales prices and led to a surge in demand.[369] Meanwhile, TMG preserves a special patronage with the national security forces, the military institution, and even with the political opposition.

So, how is TMG maintaining this fine-line of political-spatial management? The key to this question is to understand the security structure and enclave governance of Al-Rehab. The key players controlling the private governance of Al-Rehab are the real-estate developer, the State's police, and a privatized security unit. The real-estate guru, Hisham Talaat Moustafa, whose father started Talaat Moustafa Group (TMG), a family-business network, was close to the family

---

[367]Ahmed M. Yousry, "The Privatization of Urban Development in Cairo: Lessons Learned from the Development Experience of Al-Rehab Gated Community," in, *Developing the New Urban Community: Policies and Priorities*, (Alexandria, Egypt: Bibliotheca Alexandria: New Urban Communities Authority (NUCA) and INTA, 2009), 6.
[368] Ibid.
[369] Ibid., 10.

of President Anwar Sadat in the 1970s. The father amassed his fortune through constructing military infrastructures, benefitting from sub-contracting and the free-market.[370] In the 1990s, under Mubarak's neoliberal policies, Hisham elevated the family's construction business of infrastructure and middle-income projects to investing for high-end luxurious hospitality projects and residential compounds. TMG developed five-star hotels and upper-middle-class enclaves during the gated communities boom. Their profile includes owning the Four Seasons and Kempinski hotels in Garden City neighborhood of Downtown Cairo, as well as the lavish San Stefano Hotel in Alexandria. These hotels were regular venues for hosting meetings of the National Democratic Party of Mubarak as well as other political and social events. French interior architects designed exclusive condominiums inside the Four Seasons Hotel for Mubarak's wife, sons, and other key politicians inside Mubarak's party.[371] In the late 1990s and through the second millennium, Moustafa built two entire enclaves, Al-Rawdah on the western edge of the metropolis and Al-Rehab on the eastern edge of Cairo. Mubarak visited Al-Rehab in 2005 and praised Hisham Moustafa, celebrating the compound for raising the quality of housing in Cairo, wishing it to became an exemplar for all housing projects in Egypt.[372] Moustafa gained many concessions in buying the land parcel of Al-Rehab City;[373] he paid less than one dollar per meter square.[374] They started in an even grander satellite settlement called "Madinaty" by 2008 with an estimated population of 500,000 residents further to the east — branded as an "International City on Egyptian Soil."[375]

TMG benefitted from the extra land granted for Al-Rehab as a result of the neoliberal political concessions and the privatization of desert land, which would have maximized their profits — except that TMG faced some market challenges. The prices of building materials skyrocketed in 2006. Having no state regulation over the real-estate market, the progress rate of Al-Rehab slowed down. The key businessmen of the construction materials' industry for steel and cement, were also influential members of Mubarak's ruling political party with Hisham Mustafa. To overcome the uncertainty of the neoliberal market and avoid business clashes with the dominant political figures in the ruling party, TMG decided to pursue a different track in Al-Rehab.

Urban planner, Ahmed Yousry explains:

> "Phase 6 was redesigned to accommodate subdivision plots for villas to be built by residents, a shift from the company's policy of selling built units and villas to maintain the compound's architectural character and to ensure that sold areas be fully developed and functioning. The main reason behind this strategic decision was to generate and

---

[370] Denis, "Cairo as Neoliberal Capital?," 55.

[371] Interview with a TMG manager representative in December 2010.

[372] In the year 2000, Mubarak visited Dreamland — another mega-sized enclave like Al-Rehab praising such housing enclaves development. http://www.ahram.org.eg/Archive/2001/1/15/FRON3.HTM accessed 15th January 2008.

[373] Timothy Mitchell, *Rule of Experts Egypt, Techno-Politics, Modernity*. (University of California: Berkeley, 2002). According to an interview with a secretary at Al-Rehab City Hall, the land parcel of Al-Rehab City was sold for less than one dollar per Meter Square. Moreover, a lot of military generals live in Al-Rehab including the last prime minister of Mubarak, and the running candidate for the presidential elections of June 2012, Ahmed Shafik.

[374] "The Rich Boys," *BusinessWeek: Magazine*, July 17, 2005, http://www.businessweek.com/stories/2005-07-17/the-rich-boys.

[375] "Madinaty Residential Areas and Real Estate Areas in Egypt. Real Estate, Residential Areas and Retail Units in Egypt," accessed April 27, 2015, http://www.madinaty.com/.

maintain a cash flow through maximizing revenue by capitalizing on the increase in land value, and avoiding construction costs due to the price increase of building materials. Targeted at the upper‑income groups, and hence marketed by the name: 'Al Rehab Heights,' it was designed [on stepped plateaus] to overview a national park to its north. Phase 6 offered relatively large‑area residential subdivision plots. However, only after selling the plots of one residential group out of five, the company reinstated its previous policy to sell high‑end, lavish villas. Poor sales performance forced the company to redesign the unsold residential areas several times with constant decrease in plot areas, using small‑size villa types, to adapt to unstable market conditions. Similarly, Phase 10 witnessed several design changes according to demand instability. The urban planner redesigned apartment building areas into villas, and subsequently redesigned another time to be apartments in just a few months period."

TMG's strategic maneuvers to overcome the uncertainties of the neoliberal market imposed by the building materials business gurus infuriated them and created lobbies within the ruling party of which they were all members. According to an interview with a manager representative of the TMG in Al-Rehab, the political business tensions exacerbated until they reached a climax in 2008. By that year, Hisham was convicted of killing his girlfriend, a Lebanese singer, and is currently serving a 15-year sentence.[376] This incident halted the TMG investment of gated communities expansion in Saudi Arabia. Moreover, the development progress of Madinaty, the larger enclave of 500,000 inhabitants, sharply decelerated. Despite the arrest of their principal family member, the TMG holding company was able to manage this crisis successfully until the 2011 revolution and after, as I will explain later in the chapter.

Fig. 4.2 Signing "Nasamat Al-Riyadh" Contract with Saudi Arabian partner, circa 2007.[377] Source: TMG sales office. Fig. 4.3 Al-Rehab residents hanging banner from their apartment building in solidarity with Hisham Moustafa, during his trial.[378] Source: Researcher, 2010.

---

[376] "Egypt Tycoon Gets Retrial over Singer's Death." 2014. *Daily News Egypt*. Accessed June 12. http://www.dailynewsegypt.com/2012/01/16/egypt-tycoon-hesham-talaat-moustafa-gets-retrial-court/. On January 16, 2012, an Egyptian court ordered a second retrial of property tycoon and ex-politician Moustafa, who is serving a 15-year sentence for his role in the murder of a Lebanese singer. The former member of parliament and former chairman of property firm Talaat Moustafa Group was found guilty in 2009 of paying an Egyptian security man to kill Suzanne Tamim, and sentenced to death by hanging. The court commuted the verdict to 15 years in prison after a retrial in 2010.
[377] Investors from the Saudi side and Egyptian side represented by the Talaat Moustafa Group, signing the contract and using the same logo of Al-Rehab but under a different gated community title, *Nasamat Al-Riyadh*, however with the same commercial logo of Al-Rehab in Cairo.
[378] The caption says, "With patience on the test of truth, God will display your innocence" –signed by Al-Rehab Lovers.

Moustafa installed a well-equipped security structure inside Al-Rehab that merges privatized security units with the military institution's patronage together with the state police and national security apparatus. Such a formula preserved the financial damage that Mustafa's imprisonment could have had on Al-Rehab and TMG's real-estate developments. In fact, Al-Rehab continued to attract residents, so why is that?

4.4. A Filtered City within a City

The question then becomes: why do residents move to gated communities? Why would they accept to be locked into the gates? Why would they choose such "controlled codes of conduct" as a lifestyle?

4.4.1. Space of Quality and Variations

Al-Rehab is a mega-sized gated community comprising ten phases planned for 200,000 inhabitants. However, according to a study conducted by the National Center for Housing and Building Research NCHBR (Metwally et al., 2006), the resident occupancy rate in the first completed four phases reached about 65%. The figure is relatively higher than that in all the other similar projects. Residents listed quietness, security, greenery, architecture, existence of a full range of distinguished amenities and services. There were various facilities such as the social and recreational club, private schools, mosques, fast-food courts, and various shopping and nightlife facilities, as well as a local shuttle bus system. These amenities were primary factors that attracted them to buy housing units and live in Al Rehab. All residents shared a feeling of belonging and ownership to the common greenery, amenities, services, and even streets within the compound.[379]

The residential component of each district in Al-Rehab includes plot subdivision, villa, and apartment building housing. A variety of housing units are offered to suit a broad range of needs. Apartment sizes range from 60 to 320 square meters in area. To date, there are 52 different prototypes for five-story walk-up building apartments in the developed phases (Yousry 2009, 5). The designer clustered apartment building in groups, where clusters of buildings enclose open green spaces, interconnected together to create a pedestrian network separate from vehicular roads and parking lots. Villas have reached 26 prototypes and ranged from 170 square meter semi-detached villas to 520 square meters luxurious ones. Villa plots range from 200 to 800 square meters in area, with private gardens representing at least 60% of the plot area. (http://www.alrehabcity.com)

Bold marketing strategies are an essential ingredient of Al Rehab's success[380], according to Yousry. Most important are programs of long-term payment installments for buyers that

---

[379] Magda Metwally, et al., "Evaluation of the Experience of Residential Compounds in New Urban Communities on the Outskirts of the Greater Cairo Region," *National Center for Housing and Building Research Report (NCHBR)*, (National Academy of Scientific Research and Technology, Egypt, 2006) in Arabic. Also, Ahmed M. Yousry, "The Privatization of Urban Development in Cairo: Lessons Learned from the Development Experience of Al-Rehab Gated Community" in, *Developing the New Urban Community: Policies and Priorities*, Alexandria, Egypt: Bibliotheca Alexandria: New Urban Communities Authority (NUCA) and INTA, 2009), 10.
[380] The success of Al-Rehab locally facilitated the transnational real-estate expansion to Saudi Arabia and exported the Egyptian model to al-Riyadh through the project "Nasamat al-Riyadh." The flow of architectural and gated-

sometimes extended to 10 years, making residential units affordable to a large segment of the targeted upper‑middle and middle-class groups. Marketing techniques did not only consist of traditional captivating mass‑media advertising, promoting the distinctive amenities, services and features of the project, as well as its setting advantages being near the American and German Universities. Innovative marketing strategies were also introduced. These included implementing appealing attractions such as establishing a football training school for the youth trained by Al Khateeb, one of the most renowned contemporary Egyptian football players.[381] Yousry called such attractions as marketing operational tactics.[382]

The district service center is central to the residential groups, comprising a mosque, school, shopping facilities, and District Park. Further, district service centers are situated on a ring road that facilitates use of services for all residents in any given area. As such, services complement each other, repetition of same services is limited, and residents' flexibility of choice among these services maximizes. This distributional layout of service facilities at the district level has minimized the need for building mega-structure facilities at a higher level to serve the whole population, expected to reach about 200,000 inhabitants. At this level facilities included only the social/recreational club in the center of the community, in addition to some administrative, service and utility areas at the project's outside periphery.[383] Such an intimate approach of distributing services and facilities builds up a sense of belonging.

Accordingly, there is no city center in the traditional sense, but rather a green heart representing the Club that every resident was to subscribe to as a member. The Club serves as a landmark and a focal gathering point for the community. Further, the choice of the Club as the central green park of the compound suits the principal of intensification green areas in a desert climate.[384] Amenities include some private international and local language schools, medical center and clinics, pharmacies, banks and office facilities, shopping malls, a food court and specialty restaurants. There are recreational services such as the social/sports club and movie theaters. There are also mosques, a church, police station, and firefighting station. There is also workshops area for car maintenance services and household repair goods and facilities, as well as high‑standard quality infrastructure and utility services (see http://www.alrehabcity.com for further details). Al-Rehab has a franchised food court with fast food outlets ranging from Pizza Hut, Papa Johns, KFC, Hardees, etc., to gourmet restaurants featuring Mexican, Italian, Moroccan, and Iraqi traditional cuisine. It has global brand coffee shops like Costa and Cilantro and traditional coffeehouses for hookah, Turkish coffee, and playing backgammon. It has a traditional food market, the souk, ranging from a vegetable market to birds' market. Besides that

---

community experience from Cairo to the Gulf States demarcates a significant development in the Middle East and show the multi-lateral diffusion that is not necessarily mono-directional. Nasamat al-Riyadh stands as an anecdote to Cairo-urban scholars who raised concerns of the Dubaification of Cairo, which is legitimately based on the flow of capital, homeowners, and lush designs into Cairo (Elsheshtawy 2004). However, those models of gated communities remain a question mark to Cairo's gated community scholars as to their displacement from the local contingencies and accordingly possible dysfunction (Kuppinger 2004, Abaza 2006). According to the TMG senior architect, what they proposed in "Nasamat al-Riyadh" was to generate a gated community from the intersections of the Saudi culture and the global model. A similar design contextualization as they did for Al-Rehab with the Egyptian setting.

[381] Yousry, "The Privatization of Urban Development," 9.
[382] Ibid.
[383] Ibid., 6.
[384] Ibid.

it has two large hypermarkets like Trader Joe's and Carrefour, with two big shopping malls. The enclave sought after opening car service shops for Hyundai, Kia, Jeep, etc. As a result, Al-Rehab caters to a broad range of clientele with a hybrid mix of shops of different purchasing prices and qualities to suit all lifestyles.

Al-Rehab is the first gated community in the Middle East region to include religious buildings of two belief systems; it has four mosques and a church. According to a German expat living in the compound and working as a teacher in the German School, "I feel I live in a fundamentalist city. I find a religious building every one kilometer, something I never witnessed in any other compound in the world." Al-Rehab has a quarter for business and office buildings, and a hospital. It has International and national schools: the British School, French School, and German School, together with an Arabic language school named after one of the Islamic Caliphates and is of relatively lower tuition. There is a Mobil gas station right beside one of its main entrances placed on the compound's periphery and accessible only from outside to serve the public as well.

Additionally, the developer commodified some distinctive key features to differentiate their compound from competition with its peers, most notably the landscaping services for both community spaces and private gardens. There is private garbage collection, pest and rodent control; a private security system including fencing, controlled gates, and security guards; newspaper and postal delivery. A structured house maintenance team made up of electricians, plumbers, telecom technicians, in‑situ maintenance and repair workshops for homes and cars. Reliable and variable mass-transit includes a taxi service, and an internal shuttle bus system in addition to buses that transport commuters, visitors and employment from outside central areas in Nasr City and Heliopolis districts.[385]

The punctual and rapid private mass transit system connects Al-Rehab with the city. Despite the distant setting of Al-Rehab on the desert edge of Cairo — both an advantage and a disadvantage; advantage because one escapes the city center's social and political problems, but a disadvantage because of the distance. TMG, however, was keen on connecting Al-Rehab to the city through a private transportation bus system it offered free of charge for its residents at the beginning.[386] In an interview with a local magazine, Moustafa presented himself as an inheritor of the Baron Empain, a Belgian settler and investor in Egypt who founded the sumptuous urban oasis Heliopolis in 1905. Back then Heliopolis was in the middle of the desert to the east of Cairo and linked to the city center by a tramway that he privately owned and profited from (Denis 2006, 55). Al-Rehab buses connected the compound residential quarters together with the heart of busy Cairo through a rigorous time schedule.

---

[385] Ibid., 9.

[386] In 2008, residents were to ride for a fare of half-Egyptian pounds. The service got degraded with time and in 2012 an accident occurred on the highway leaving two casualties, the driver, and another Rehabian employee. The city hall raised the bus fare from a half-Egyptian pound that was issued in 2005 to one-Egyptian pound in June 2012. http://www.rehaby.net/ar/index.php/news_articles/read/article_016/fb_comments/ — http://www.rehaby.net/ar/index.php/news_articles/read/article_011/fb_comments/ Accessed on 15th September 2014.

Restrictive rules and legal agreements of a standard code of conduct ensures residents that their community is going to stay nice, quiet, litter and graffiti‑free, and safe.[387] Residents pay yearly fees for club membership, the maintenance of greenery, services such as trash collection and for security. The enclave enables residents to feel better about their social status throughout their social and economic transition from a traditional housing area to a better standard new residence. According to Yousry, the gated community redefines the meaning of "community" by including protective physical boundaries that determine who is inside and who is outside. Residents are interested in "community," but a particular kind of community that includes protecting children, keeping out crime, and controlling the environment and the quality of services. The community they are seeking is one imagined from childhood or some idealized past (Low 2003, 230). It has to do with nostalgia, the image of the small town, the old neighborhood feeling (El Nasser 2002). In a variety of ways, residents are seeking their version of utopia, one with no fear, no crime, and no 'other' people. They are looking for a consistent architecture and physical landscape, amenities and services, and great neighbors who want the same things (Low 2003, 230).

Al-Rehab embraces the notion of "a city within a city,"[388] standing in stark distinction to the latter's noise, hustle and bustle, and pollution. Gating communities is like creating enclaves of stability in seas of decay.[389] A fence of fourteen gates with entry checkpoints surrounds Al-Rehab. Certainly it is an enclave with comprehensive domestic services including more than sixty-five shops — selling everything of fine details for house maintenance. According to the Chief Architect of the developing company, TMG: "if residents work inside the enclave, they barely need to go to Cairo." Al-Rehab is "a miniature city, enjoying its density and filtered intensity of services. It is filtered from crime, traffic, sexual harassment, bad services, and lack of open spaces," as one resident, describes it.

4.4.2. Citizens of Al-Rehab

Who resides in Al-Rehab? Yousry depicts how Al-Rehab followed an alternative path to attract its residents that contributed to its high occupancy rate and liveliness:

> "Targeting a different market segment, namely the upper‑middle and the middle‑income groups, the developer chose to distinguish the residential compound's name from those of

---

[387] Yousry, "The Privatization of Urban Development," 11.

[388] The urban planner divided the gated community into development phases. The developer assigned each stage as a commission to a different architectural and urban planning firms like Dar al-Handasah, Mahmoud Yousri, and Medhat Dorra. They are all local architectural firms except for Dar Al-Handasah, which is the Lebanese and internationally renowned company. The developer, TGM, did not assign a unified architectural style other than making it modern and use affordable building materials. This resulted in a postmodern architectural mix for commercial marketing. Unlike "Dreamland" and "Katameiya Heights" compounds, Al-Rehab does not include a golf course or specifically target wealthy Arabs as their homeowners. In an interview with the executive chair of its engineering sector, he explained that Hisham Moustafa's strategy was to address a pool of local homebuyers, young entrepreneurs, and professional Egyptians climbing the ladder. The steep boom of the real estate market had neglected the "ordinary citizens" and their purchasing power. Real-estate developers aimed at extracting maximum profit from the super-rich (Al-Rehab City interview with an executive engineer in 2011). About seventy percent of the enclave's housing units are five-floor apartment buildings. There are "fifty different models having various apartment sizes that range from fifty-eight square meters to three-hundred-and-six square meters to satisfy all needs and tastes of our clients." (http://www.alrehabcity.com/rehab2011/Appartments.aspx)

[389] Haya El Nasser, "Gated Communities More Popular, and Not Just for the Rich," *USA TODAY*, December 15, 2002, http://usatoday30.usatoday.com/news/nation/2002-12-15-gated-usat_x.htm.

the competitors. While all other previous projects held names like Utopia, Dreamland, Beverly Hills and Garden City, completely in tune with the lifestyle of the cosmopolitan elite, this project was given an 'Arabic' name: Al Rehab, meaning capaciousness and generousness. The message was that this community would be different than those gated communities, which fenced their residence in elitist enclaves. Rather, and in spite of the existence of the physical barriers, this project was meant to be the opposite: *a spacious territory encompassing all mainstream Egyptians*, all equal and unquestionably entitled to their legitimate human rights to safety, cleanliness, and tranquility." (2009, 5; italics in the original text)

Al-Rehab encompasses "all mainstream Egyptians" with their "legitimate human rights to safety" that also embodies their varying politics of identity present in the City, which had created a societal tension post the 2011 Revolution. The enclave also attracts a broad range of expats. According to Al-Rehab Town Hall statistics, there are residents and homeowners from 65 nationalities. The largest nine societies of expats are the Saudis, Sudanese, British, Iraqis, Americans, Palestinians, Emirates, French, and Germans. The international community owns more than 1,500 units (between villas and apartments) as of a 2011-statistics, whereas the rest of the expats rent more than a 1,000-unit annually. This makes Al-Rehab a wealthy cosmopolitan town with the potential of having internal conglomerates for smaller communities inside the compound.

The Security Chief illustrates how they maintain order given the expected ordinary conflicts, such as between residents and their teenage children. He dealt with these issues as de facto, rather than assuming that these children are different because of their social status and belonging to the upper-middle class. Similar to the endemic problems of teenagers in the City, issues of drugs, prostitution, and sexual abuse are common across the different social circles. Some community open spaces in the enclave suffer from such concerns more than the rest of the areas, as the Security Map indicates. In that regard, more casually dressed bodyguard security-informants are present albeit in a less visible manner so as not to scare off the rest of the residents.

No wonder then that during interviews with Al-Rehab residents, despite their different political views, social backgrounds, local or foreigners, they all shared a common sense of pride and belonging to the compound. Such a notion is somehow exaggerated to the extent where some call themselves, "I am a *Rehabian Citizen."* Residents have built up a strong sense of community and of feeling special. They even have a website of their own which they call '*Rehaby*' or 'My Rehab', and identify themselves exclusively as "*Rehabians*!" The NCHBR 2006 study has recorded residents concerns regarding the responsibility for maintenance of greenery, infrastructure, and service facilities after the completion of the project.[390]

The privatization of citizenship is unique here. Resident's basis for framing citizenship roams around functioning management, well-privatized governance, and communitarian services. Their reference to "privatized citizenship" recalls a post nation-state identity. They did not mention feeling entirely in Cairo. Scholars such as Petra Kuppinger (2004) and Diane Singerman (2009) denote Cairo's gated communities as zones of deterritorialization and as models of global

---

[390] Metwally et al., 2006, Yousry 2009, 11.

modernity. Whereas residents' reference could assert what such argument, however, their self-representation limits it to a very particular local territory. Residents called themselves Rehabian Citizens and not a Los Angeles Citizen. Residents' pride of their gated community is an imagined aspiration for a Utopia they aspire to live and see more spread in Egyptian neighborhoods and city spaces.

Many of Al-Rehab's residents lament municipalities and local governance for poor quality services, or lack thereof. Decent services are fundamental rights even in the public domain outside the enclave fences. In all cases, the feeling of club membership —despite its exaggeration as a state of citizenship— reflects residents' sense of belonging to their particular code of conduct. Such an attitude asserts the free-market spirit of *Privatopia* (Mckenzie 1994). The enclave proudly marks itself on its website as, "the first city built by the private sector in Egypt having comprehensive services to cater for all needs of its residents.[391]"

Fig. 4.4 The clustering of housing around open space and the main boulevard for franchised food chains in Al-Mohandeseen neighborhood inside the City of Cairo –two features inspiring Al-Rehab. Source: Researcher, 2011.
Fig. 4.5 One of Al-Rehab housing clusters. Source: Researcher, 2011.

Fig. 4.6, 4.7 Layout and land use of Al-Rehab.[392] Source: Courtesy of Al-Rehab sales office, 2010.

[391] www.alrehabcity.com, accessed on 15th of February 2014
[392] Diagram on the right by researcher. The orange-red tone represents the five floors apartment buildings, and the yellow legend represents the villa, single-family unit. The middle T-shape constitutes the social and sports club, with a ring of mixed-use commercial, recreational, educational and religious activities emanating from it and penetrating the residential quarters.

1997
Al Rehab Master Plan
(Phases 1 to 6)

- Each phase comprises subdivision plots, villa residential areas, and apartment buildings
- Green heart
- Ring of service facilities
- Higher-level facilities at the periphery

Legend:
- Apartments
- Villas
- Subdivisions
- Service facilities

1997 - 2004

2004
Actual Plan
Implementation

- Phases 1, 2, and 3 redesigned to comprise villa residential areas, and apartment buildings
- Phases 4 and 5 redesigned to accommodate apartment buildings only
- Reduction of services at the periphery and in Stage 5
- Phase 6 to be designed at a later stage
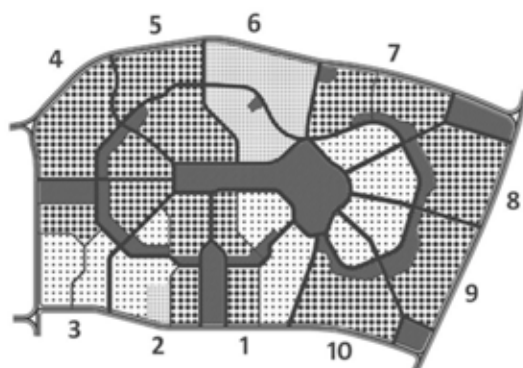
2005
Al Rehab Extension Master Plan
(Phases 7 to 10)

- Each new phase to comprise villas and apartments
- Same design principles regarding the green heart, ring of services, and facilities at the periphery
- Phases 1 to 5 executed
- Phase 6 designed to comprise subdivision plots and marketed as 'Al Rehab Heights'
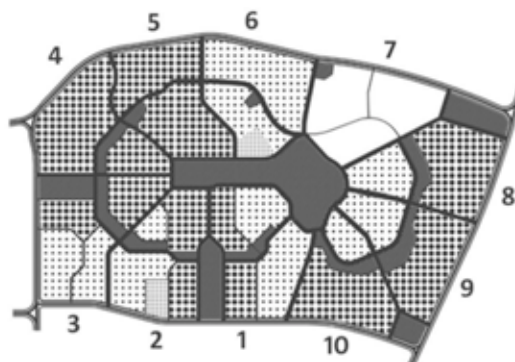
2005 - 2008

- Phases 6 redesigned to comprise villa residential areas
- Phases 8, 9 and 10 executed
- Phase 10 redesigned to comprise only villas, then apartments added
- Phase 7 to be designed at a later stage

Fig. 4.8 Al-Rehab Development Stages (1997-2008). Source: Yousry 2009, based on Al-Rehab and Al-Rehab Extension Master Plan Reports (1997 and 2005).

157

الآن في الرحاب
استلم شقتك خلال ٢٤ شهر فقط

فيلات بأجمل مناطق الرحاب
والتسليم خلال ٢٤ شهراً فقط

Fig. 4.9 Al-Rehab promotional ad featuring the food court of franchised international chains and overlooking apartment buildings. Source: Al-Rehab Sales office, 2010.

Fig. 4.10 Al-Rehab promotional ad for selling lots in Phase 6, "Rehab Hills." Source: Al-Rehab Sales office, 2010.

Fig. 4.11 Al-Rehab City Hall. Source: www.alrehabdirectory.com, accessed September 12, 2014.

Fig. 4.12 Al-Rehab Church adjacent to the Police station in the foreground with the Egyptian flag, Interior Ministry flag, and radio antenna beside Gate 13, isolating the compound from the outer city in the background. Source: Researcher, 2011.

Fig. 4.13, 4.14 Two of Al-Rehab's Mosques. Source: Researcher, 2011.

158

Fig. 4.15 Al-Rehab Sales Office. Source: Researcher, 2011.
Fig. 4.16 Al-Rehab's first shopping mall. Source: Researcher, 2011.

Fig. 4.17 Al-Rehab Medical Center. Source: Researcher 2011.
Fig. 4.18 Al-Rehab German School. Source: Researcher, 2010.

Fig. 4.19, 4.20 Al-Rehab bus stops. Source: www.alrehabcity.com, accessed September 12, 2014, Researcher, 2011.

4.5. Technologies of Security and Control

Hisham Moustafa had always appointed a retired Army General as the Mayor of Al-Rehab City.[393] Moreover, like other cities in Egypt,[394] residents are deprived of choosing their Mayors according to a 1993 law. Al-Rehab is no different, despite Eric Denis' argument that residents enjoy "privatized democracy" (2006). The mayor's selection is not subject to elections or residents' choice — since the eruption of the 2011-revolution, this has been disputed, and residents are mobilizing for their right of picking their mayor.[395] The mayor is another retired military general, a robust personality who resides in Al-Rehab and owns store shops in the traditional market, the Souk, which he also leases to other businesses.

The developer also hires retired army generals to manage the security and surveillance system inside Al-Rehab. He gave them unlimited powers and resources to recruit and train security guards — acting like a civilian army — together with casual bodyguards to maintain order in the compound. He furthermore built a police station inside the compound and gained the government's approval to allow the ministry of interior to register it. Al-Rehab City became the only gated community in Egypt, and probably in the whole Middle East, to have a police station serving the public domain and operating from within a privatized gated community. Having a State institution working on a private property blurs the role of the public and the private spheres, complicating the way the free-market would "typically" operate.[396]

The security apparatus in Al-Rehab is a three-fold system constituting the police forces (state employer), the uniformed security guards (privatized employees), and the non-uniformed bodyguard informants. Bodyguards operate under Al-Rehab security unit. The Ministry of Interior employs Al-Rehab policemen; they represent the State inside the gated community. The Security Manager, a retired army general, who manages the privatized security unit of TMG recruits the security guards. He trains them on watching, reporting, and surveillance inside the compound as well as the surrounding fences. They control the checkpoints and inspect residents, visitors, and workers using the entrance and exit points. Meanwhile, the casually dressed bodyguards work in shifts and are on-call in case of clashes or disputes amongst residents, visitors, or domestic workers. They are un-stationed and operate differently from guards standing on the checkpoints and routinely wandering in the same community places inside the compound. The Security Manager explains that:

---

[393] The manager divided the compound into blocks of security zones with particular demarcations. Sometimes they appear as barricades or sliding bars on the "Strategic Security Map." In Al-Rehab, these boundaries are intended to be invisible without compromising the disciplined zoning. The Administration Headquarter embodying TMG and the Private-Security Unit signifies the corporate style of postmodern architecture with lush, rich building materials.

[394] A 1993 law replaced the election of village heads and deans of university faculties with an appointment by the government. (Mitchell 2002, 379)

[395] In several semi-structured interviews with the mayor's secretary and several other residents, they had mobilized for such a request but put on hold.

[396] As Mitchell argues, there is no clear-cut privatization in Egypt, the free-market operates through the state sponsoring of private family businesses. Such partnering creates public-private intertwined operations — a distinct type of modernity defined in *The Rule of Experts* (2002). The privatization of the security apparatus inside the gates followed the same model. The Security apparatus inside the gates operated as a private-public partnership between the state and the real-estate developer. The logic of working together blurred the limits across the fence to connect the compound to the city on a different level — that of intelligence and surveillance.

> "Our private bodyguards are trained in handling situations. Unlike the security guards, they do not dress in uniforms but are distinguishable from their muscular bodies. The bodyguards are trained to interfere and disengage any crowd especially during weekends with many youngsters and teenagers. They are unarmed, we leave the weapon business to the police."[397]

What is significant here is how the security manager was describing the social-humanistic aspect in his "men" in creating stability without violence, and making people behave in a certain way. Security was about controlling people without orders. The "civilian" sense in security became trendy and a desired mode of governance with the rise of the "securitized-controlled society" embodied in the gated community.

In all enclaves I have encountered, the private company's security chief superimposes a Security Map over the architectural and urban design layout. The map marks the objects of surveillance, the position of security kiosks, routes of security car patrols, and routine itineraries for the pedestrian security guards. The concept is to strategize the movement of security guards for better monitoring and watch; controlling space is about making it efficient in time and energy. The design of surveillance follows a rational logic of planning to engineer the security system and control society. The "technologies of private security" is sophisticated to uncover. However, it is important to point out that the security structure follows a training manual and concepts borrowed from the army — given the background of the military officers and their sources of reference. Accordingly, many details of tuning the security guards' bodies and minds' reactions to events during their watchdog mission have a military reference — based on their training source.

Fig. 4.21 Al-Rehab Police patrol. Source: Researcher, 2011.
Fig. 4.22 Al-Rehab Policemen. Source: www.alrehabcity.com, accessed September 12, 2014.

---

[397] Throughout the interview, the security chief expressed how this private unit of bodyguards inspired other business gurus and state officials for their strategic handling of issues. He depicts that: "The president's wife (meaning Suzan Mubarak) heard about this awesome group of bodyguards and asked me to secure the wedding of Gamal (her son) in Sharm el-Sheikh. She liked us a lot. We worked with the intelligence and national security agents to protect and prevent any infiltration of journalists or capturing photo images of the wedding. It was all under control." This event was why Suzan Mubarak called the bodyguards "brilliant" for their decency in handling the situation without trouble. Such civilized security highlights an additional dimension to the political economy underlying the joint partnerships and mutual interests between the private and the public state's security. Many state subcontracting missions assigned them after that. In October 2014, the Ministry of Higher Education commissioned the private-security company, "Falcon," to control the public universities' spaces, checkpoints, and create security profiles for students attending the universities. Falcon has a military connection and is expected to recruit 16,000 security guards to the existing 4,000 guards for that mission. (www.el-watan.com, accessed on October 13, 2014).

The techniques of security inside enclaves represent an exercise of spatial control, the discipline of security staff, wisdom in handling disputes, and mapping surveillance. The security job is a hybrid of mechanical order and human control abilities. The securitization of spaces inhabiting upper-middle and upper classes require politeness and self-restraint from security guards. The relationship between security guards and the enclave residents is a dialectical one that negotiates class and power. Residents belong to a higher domain of social class hierarchy, political and economic power, whereas security guards belong to a lower income domain of social class. However, residents hold respect for security guards for maintaining order and protecting residents' private property. Meanwhile, security guards watch residents closely around the clock and know their daily routines and deviant activities (as opposed to the preconceived norms of society) which might include lust or illegalities. As a result, despite the guards representing a lower class strata socially, economically, and politically, they dominate the power of data and knowledge over their "controlled residents." There is a submission of power and continuous negotiation between groups, the controlling and the controlled, around the benefits that each could extract from the other.

The job requirements and responsibilities of security guards entail a high degree of diplomacy and mediation, so why are the most senior staff of all security units in gated communities linked with the military's patronage? During my doctoral fieldwork over the summers of 2008, 2009 and throughout the months from June 2010 till December 2012, all gated communities' developers hire retired military generals to manage the enclave's security unit. From the outset, the security job requirement of enclaves sounds contradictory to the general assumption of a military profile, one of fighting, defending, and maintaining peace in conflict territories. This apparent contradiction necessitates some clarification, especially that securitizing enclaves is a matter of securing civilian residential compounds that are relatively peaceful; they do not conflict territories that require a military officer's high-skilled attributes. On the contrary, developers do not hire police officers in their private security units -even though, they are trained to maintain order in the city. Why is the case?

4.5.1. Characteristics of a Security Job

I raised the question of the seeming conflict between the security job requirement inside the enclave, its civilian nature, and the discrepancy of assigning military officers to the job. However, such a remark is incomplete without illustrating the military's intervention in the everyday life and functional activities in the cities of Egypt. This analysis would explain how the Egyptian Army is "civilianized" more than many other places in the world, and therefore equipped for the task.

The military presence in civic life takes different forms and has particular significance in the security field in Egypt, unlike the usual role of military officials in other nation-states. In fact, inside the city, the army officers invest in owning shopping malls and running them. They also build up security companies (Abaza 2006, Amar 2013). Administrators hire them as board members in public and private sector enterprises related to energy, petroleum, industrial, construction, and engineering works. They sit on the board of trustees and other managerial positions of private and public sector companies. The state also assigns them to high-rank governmental positions in municipalities, town halls, and national sports associations after their retirement (Kandil 2012, Sayigh 2012). In other words, being a military officer guarantees a

second and often a third job after ending the army service. On the other hand, the police officers share some of these allowances, yet not as privileged and well perceived as the military personnel. In the neoliberal compounds of modernity, the Army officers dominate the security job market like no other profession. They operate hand in hand with the real estate developers in building and securitizing these desert enclaves, maintaining order and stability in Cairo's suburban landscape.

The spatial characteristics and responsibilities of the security job in the suburban periphery involve vigilance, supervision and reporting the internal and surrounding conditions around the compound. High levels of self-restraint and wisdom in reaction to crisis and unusual disputes distinguish the military officers' personality from policemen. The respectability personae and a reputation of nobility for the army generals have its resonance in the Egyptian public culture, more than policemen who equally work in the security and civil service. In an interview with a real-estate development representative, he stressed on the *discipline* of military generals in running the Security Unit in the gated community. "Discipline is a political anatomy of detail."[398] On such basis, all the gated communities on the periphery of Cairo that I encountered during my doctoral fieldwork hire retired military officers to securitize the enclaves. In hindsight, there is a security, political, and professional disciplinary logic for this pattern of hiring military officers rather than police officers.[399]

First, from a security-political angle, the military intelligence is the upper administration in Egypt that grants the permit to urbanize the desert periphery of the metropolis. The military intelligence approves the presidential recommendation and ministerial projects to pursue developmental and (sub)-urbanization projects. It specifies the areas and locations for the president to issue a decree for the New Urban Communities Authority (NUCA).[400] Military patronage in Egypt is not surprising given the history of its involvement in the real-estate market and desert development at large, all under the umbrella of national security.[401]

Secondly, the army officers are favored above the police officers as a result of the defamation of the police system that stands in stark contrast to the professional persona of the military men. In Egypt, the police apparatus engages in nepotism, violence, and tainted deals with criminals, burglars, smugglers, and sex workers as a way of cultivating local informants in quirky neighborhoods. The police profile negates the nature of security needed in the upper-middle income compounds. Many gated communities invest in the invisible register of controlling space

---

[398] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish,* 139.
[399] Mona Abaza, *The Changing consumer cultures of modern Egypt: Cairo's urban reshaping.* (The American University in Cairo Press: Cairo, 2006). Abaza looks at the phenomenon of shopping malls in Nasr City and the public visibility of the "retired army" staff whether as businessmen or managers (268-274).
[400] Interview I conducted with the 'Information Manager' of New Urban Communities Authority (NUCA), 19th July 2012. David Sims also confirms this procedure in his recent book. David Sims, *Egypt's Desert Dreams: Development or Disaster?* (Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2015).
[401] W.J Dorman, "Exclusion and Informality: The Praetorian Politics of Land Management in Cairo, Egypt," *IJUR International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 37, no. 5 (2013): 1584–1610. Shana Marshall and Joshua Stacher, "Egypt's Generals and Transnational Capital," *Middle East Research and Information Project, MER262,* "Pull of the Possible," (Washington D.C., Spring 2012, Vol. 42) Accessed May 18, 2014. http://www.merip.org/mer/mer262/egypts-generals-transnational-capital; Zeinab Abul-Magd, "The Egyptian Republic of Retired Generals." *Foreign Policy* Blogs (2012). Accessed May 29, 2014. http://mideastafrica.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2012/05/08/the_egyptian_republic_of_retired_generals.

without attracting attention and disturbing the lifestyle of the class residents. The reputation of dealing with conflicts and disputes in a strategic social manner is what endures in the culture of enclave business. There is no tolerance for deploying violence as a technology of control in compounds, even if they hosted political dissidents and anti-regime citizens.[402]

Thirdly, the army's training of discipline transforms ordinary citizens into docile subjects in a functional and economical manner, saving time and money. Security guards become obedient subjects that follow rules and internalize order.[403] On the contrary, police rely on a longer training period of four years in the academy; the army's training services of forty days best fit the gated communities quickly generating free-market demands. In Al-Rehab, state police also exist but is relegated through the presence of the privatized security managed by a retired military general. In Dreamland, another gated community on the western edge of Cairo, policemen are absent while two retired military generals administer the enclave. Privatized security units in gated communities engage in training subjects as working labor, usually civilians of lower social classes. The morals of the Egyptian Army's teachings and training are strongly present in the training workshops and security manual. Military morals are a powerful source of influence in shaping security in the Cairene enclaves. Based on my non-participant observation, I argue that the rhetoric and terminologies used in the security training of guards inside enclaves are self-revealing of the military's influence. Given the limited space of the chapter and the deviation these details would infer on the chapter's main argument, I will save these findings for further elaboration elsewhere.

---

[402] There are some outbreaks of violence in Al-Rehab, however. One such incident is on the 29th of November 2013, when the Central Security Forces, Amn Markazi, together with a special operation unit of the National Security, Amn El-Watany, stormed Al-Rehab and exchanged fire for six continuous hours with residents staying at a villa in the compound. ("Police Forces Arrest Alleged 'Terrorist' for Involvement in Mabrouk Assassination." *Daily News Egypt.* Accessed June 2, 2014, http://www.dailynewsegypt.com/2013/11/30/police-forces-arrest-alleged-terrorist-for-involvement-in-mabrouk-assassination/; "الوطن | القبض على متهم اغتيال» بعد معركة «مبروك» بعد معركة 6آل ساعات فى «الرحاب»." 2014. Accessed June 2. http://www.elwatannews.com/news/details/363642.) In an official statement, the ministry of interior announced they were able to track down a terrorist group hiding in Al-Rehab. Allegedly, the terrorist handled the assassination of the National Security officer, Mohamed Mabrouk. Such incident was not the first or the last collaboration between the public and the private security sectors. On the 31st of March 2014, the Minister of Defense, Field Marshal Abdelfattah Al-Sissi, who became the President, bike inside Al-Rehab compound. "Al-Sisi Snapped Cycling in Cairo" - Politics - Egypt - *Ahram Online*," 2014. Accessed June 15. http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/1/64/97928/Egypt/Politics-/ElSisi-snapped-cycling-in-Cairo-.aspx). Al-Sissi asserted on several times in the media, he was cautious in his moves in case of assassination attempts. That is why he canceled any mass gathering with people for his presidential campaign. He addresses people through recorded video segments. Accordingly, biking in the city is something he dares not do in Cairo proper. So what is in Al-Rehab that makes it more secure and a less possible space for his concerned assassination. On the weekend of becoming president, he went biking on a highway extending Cairo to the Canal cities across the desert. He never did it again, whereas he biked couple times in Al-Rehab gates. The answer to this is the same one to why Suzan Mubarak requested Al-Rehab security to organize her son's wedding. The reason is in Al-Rehab's hierarchical security structure, modes of operation (that includes data profiling and intelligence material), and their humanistic social dimension. Security for Al-Rehab guards is beyond weapons' clearance. It has to do with anticipating violence or potential clashes that result from their analysis of residents,' visitors,' and domestic workers' profile, social patterns, behavioral interactions they collect from surveillance. This ethos becomes their security approach that they capitalize on and apply.

[403] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish,* 135.

Fig. 4.23, 4.24 Night Training of Al-Rehab's Privatized-Security Guards. Source: Al-Rehab residents' public Facebook Page, 2011.

4.5.2. Security Map

How is security acquired inside the spaces of neoliberal compounds? What are the security tools? One of the key instruments to maintain order in compounds is the "Security Map," which I found at the three top gated communities I researched for the dissertation, Al-Rehab, Dreamland, and Hay Al-Ashgar. Security maps are the translation of discipline on paper that are then implemented on the ground and rendered as real. Afterward, data collected and documented from surveillance are illustrated on the map with new information, correct and enhance the date on the map within the security staff meeting with the guards. This human-centered approach of mapping surveillance renders it real; guards tell the stories as narratives that are subject to multiple interpretations after recording facts only in the reports they are trained to write. The uncertainty of the monitoring narratives and watch observations find room on the map and grants the observed benefit of the doubt. The security meeting's open discussions and written reports allow for the articulation of differences and the understanding of the logic behind residents' violations, as well as conflicts resulting from guests visiting the compound. The privatized human-centered approach to security adds a quality of uncertainty and probability, relevant to the free market-driven mentality, different from the fixed mechanical order of state-sponsored structures of law enforcement. However, uneven treatment applies to the privatized security approach, as well. Only the upper-middle class residents and homeowners benefit from the uncertain narratives, whereas domestic servants, "delivery boys," and working class labor inside the gates face a different treatment.

Security managers train guards on a free-market model of security that embraces the qualities of military discipline. According to Michel Foucault, "Discipline proceeds from the distribution of individuals in space" (1977, 141). There are four techniques to meet that end. First, there is the art of allocating guards. Second, there is the control and tuning of their activity. Third, there is the organization of geneses. And fourth, there is the composition of forces.[404]

Security Chiefs distribute guards with respect to the number of housing units and blocks' square feet area in order to frame, enclose, and isolate them at moments of crisis. Foucault argues, "Discipline required an enclosure, the specification of a place heterogeneous to all others and

---

[404] Ibid., 141.

closed in upon itself. It is the protected place of disciplinary monotony."[405] The art of distribution is the ability to slice out the compound into legible territories of control. Spatially, the whole society is transformed into zones of control that are self-operating organisms.

> "… the principle of "enclosure" is neither constant, nor indispensable, nor sufficient in disciplinary machinery. This machinery works space in a much more flexible and detailed way. It does this first of all on the principle of elementary location or partitioning. Each has his place; and each place its individual… break up [from the] collective dispositions. *Disciplinary space tends to be divided into as many sections as there are bodies or elements to be distributed*" (Foucault 1977, 143, emphasis added).

Securing space is about partitioning and dividing the built environment, in which each zone becomes individual but subsumed under the same administrative security mindset. Al-Rehab, Dreamland, and many other gated communities are broken down into Control Zones. The guards are trained to watch these zones and translate their observations into reports. The security manager office turns the written reports into data and projects them onto maps plotting the quantity and nature of violations: open spaces, buildings, or social behavior, moral misconduct, or political gathering. The projection of information turns the written report into a synthesized, legible, and visual map. The projection process also allows the distillation of data through verifying its importance and significance. Based on the quantity of incidents in an individual block, guards are distributed in space with some zones having more guards than others, according to necessity and demand. The process of collection, documentation, and reporting, narrating, verifying, synthesizing, and visualizing data generates the "Strategic Security Map."

The challenge of translating data and information into maps requires efficiency, accuracy, and reliability of reporting together with good communication skills between the security team members. Recording and projection of data onto maps must follow a fast track production cycle. According to the security chief of Al-Ashgar, "it all boils down to how you train security personnel and distribute them in space. It is all about managing the team's effort, and channeling it efficiently to save time and money." As Foucault points out, the deployment of discipline through "the distribution of individuals in space"[406] is to acquire security as a function of time and economy. In the interview with Dreamland Security Chief, he explained the strategy of applying the "Security Plan," hung on the wall in his office. "The strategy is to cover critical checkpoints on the periphery while reducing the number of security guards inside the compound. In terms of safety, this is the best means. It is all about the distribution of the human element in the right place doing a better function and less costly than installing cameras and CCTV[407]. The developer cannot afford to buy the surveillance cameras right now."

Guards are distributed, first around the perimeter fence on the basis of vision. Every guard covers a zone of vision, or a "field of surveillance," *magal el-moraqba*, marked on the map as a triangle pointed in the direction of where to watch. Every zone of vision must overlap with its

---

[405] Ibid.

[406] Ibid.

[407] Based on an interview with Al-Rehab Security Chief, September 19th, 2012. I also conducted another interview with Dreamland Security Chief in order to verify the data, September 14th, 2012, (Dreamland is another mega-scale gated community), and another interview with Al-Ashgar Security Chief on August 6th, 2012.

adjacent one. They must be within an earshot in case the radio network goes down. The voice range should cover any blind spots in the plan or dark areas during electric outages. Secondly, inside the gates a security grid is designed to divide the gated community into modules and blocks depending on the object of surveillance. The target normally would be a building or a prominent resident like that of an ambassador. The value of the resident is determined according to her/his importance and their presumed level of being subjected to a threat. Accordingly not all zones of surveillance are equal. It varies depending on the objects of monitoring and their significance. The gated community is broken down into cordoned "Zones of Control." These Zones are not necessarily visible to the naked eye by barricades or barbed wires. The cordons of surveillance are mostly invisible inside the neoliberal "securitized and controlled society."

The security plan is not inert data. The plan is an exercise of real-time interactive mapping, albeit in a less technologically advanced sense to save money for the developer. Securing space, or "ta'meen," as a process requires two kinds of guards to sustain this flow of information and reports: "stationed guards" and "roaming guards." These two types of guards are based on the army's model and their corresponding duties, according to the semi-structured interviews conducted. Guards of this kind must be in good physical condition. There is a continuous circulation of positions: no-one remains watching the same spot for long so as to avoid boredom and routine. Alternating areas prevents social bonds from forming between residents and the guards as this would distract guards' focus from their primary task of reporting them. "It is important to alienate them from each other."[408] A third genre is the car patrols in the compound; this would immediately respond to an emergency on the checkpoints, on the bounding walls, or inside the compound. The security chief has his administration and secretariat who synthesize this data, and turn it into statistics and reports for mapping and studying the residents' behavioral patterns.

Mapping data easily and writing reports is a critical element of a functional security system. For the security chiefs, to build a functional security system one needs:

1- *Aswar*, or Walls.
2- A functional lighting system around and inside the gated community.
3- Well-trained security agents.
4- Means of alarm at the periphery. Cameras are expensive and thus must be replaced by the human element.
5- Roaming security elements, *'anaser gawalah*, who are mobile, *'onsor khafeef el-harakah*, inside and on the circumference of the compound
6- Stationary elements at street intersections, vital open spaces, and between villa-spaces.

On the "security map", every red triangle represents a security guard or a stationed security point of two guards. The number of guards depends on the street's activity and the overall number of residents in that zone. Every security personnel must know the residents by heart: their full names, jobs, the number of family members, and so on. Once an unknown person appears, they must be identified, watched, and reported.

---

[408] Interview with the Dreamland security chief, 14th September 2012.

On training the security guards to select their angle of surveillance, the Dreamland security chief says:

> "Every apartment building has to be in the line of vision of the security agent watching the zone. The number of buildings, the shape of their spatial distribution, the entrance design and location, all these factors determine the *angles of vision*. Accordingly, the security agents are allocated, where we then calculate how many agents we need per section/compartment."

In Dreamland they have a problem, as the security chief explains. There are compartments that have 30-apartment buildings, but only 100 residents inhabit them and other areas they have 14-apartment buildings with 400 residents. The uneven distribution of residents led to a different strategy to cover areas, and that was to economize the number of security agents. The rule of thumb is the denser the area, the less number of agents for surveillance as they cover more people in a smaller area. Experience showed that this calculation also depended on the nature of the residents, that is their background profile (politically), and the quality of the design of the open spaces.

In Al-Ashgar gated community, the security chief explained: "Economy and safety go hand in hand." He elaborated on the sensitivity of this factor and how it was crucial for keeping his job; "Strategizing security for economic purposes is as necessary for maintaining my position as is the objective of safety itself." On the security layout, he explained the problematic issues of the architectural design. First, he pointed out the apartment buildings with two opposite entrances that opened onto two parallel streets. These are costly, so the security chief had to block one of the entrances and modify the architect's design. Second, the apartment buildings that have garages in the basement for parking and have an elevator become harder to control and monitor at all times.

There are more issues at stake, but these were the two main problematic ones for Al-Ashgar gated community. Both Dreamland and Al-Ashgar's security chiefs said that: "Security planning is costly." It requires manpower, salaries, training, uniform, and food and transportation allowances. The Dreamland security chief assigns a security shift of 12-hours covering meal expenses. He pays them eight hours at a reasonable rate, which is usually lower than paying them four additional hours as extra time. He acknowledged that he should increase their monthly salary. A decent wage guarantees personal loyalty to the compound without needing to work a second job to maintain his family. Al-Ashgar security chief had to lay-off some security guards and distribute their wages to the remaining ones, to provide them with a reasonable salary. They also are assigned for 12-hours per shift.

On the perimeter of the gated community there lies the 'Arab Bedouins' —'*Arab el-Sahara*' or *El-'Orban*, who inhabit the desert. They are nomads who claim informal authority over the wilderness. The gated community developer and security chiefs must come to terms with them. To contain them, the gated community mayor or developer's manager would hire the 'Orban's children in the enclave, whether in maintenance or as craftsmen.

> "They usually don't attack anyone unless they have a right. Two years ago they stole all the iron rods from the construction site while we were extending the compound. It was a

revenge for when the subcontractor swindled the 'Orban's commission during a previous project they helped him with. They returned the iron rods after Dr. Bahgat,[409] the developer himself, interfered. They escalated the subject matter by sabotaging the police department closer to the gated community. 'Taking your right with your hands,' is a principle with the 'Orban operates. It is a desert culture of primordial values that goes beyond the law. Based on an agreement, the subject was resolved by restoring their money in installments, and they returned the hijacked materials. I have the phone numbers of "tribesmen leaders," or *Shyoukh el-Kaba'el*, to keep some contact with them."

It is a neutral relationship: a matter of coexistence with the already existing nomads of the desert.

Security chiefs face some difficulties with the real-estate developer when it comes to their demands regarding covering security breaches in the walls or inside the gates. The request of installing lights on the circumference of the walls is often ignored or delayed, according to the Dreamland security chief. On the map, he showed me where they expect to be breached by outside smugglers because of a deteriorated part of the fence. Installing CCTV camera systems was another dismissed demand. Accordingly, he used a tactic he learned from the military: deception. He installed fake cameras around the areas of anticipated penetration. He states that this acutely reduced the penetration from those weak points.

From the perspective of security agents, a gated community is a project of policing and surveillance — for them everything must be recorded, reported, and controlled, including the residents' daily life patterns. Security works through establishing a routine for the ordinary dynamics inside the gates, and around it while documenting everything on the map. Any extraordinary or unusual behavior is spotted and accordingly reported to the higher national security agencies promptly. The private security system has its limitations — it is not designed for action or authorized for an armed engagement. In that sense, their mission ends at collecting data.

Fig. 4.25, 4.26 Security Map of Dreamland.[410] Source: Researcher, 2012.

---

[409] Neighboring lower-class communities attacking the Nile City of Sawiris asking from Etawah, or forceful compensation

[410] The map features red and green triangles, indicating the angles of surveillance. I was not permitted to take photo of the Security Map of Al-Rehab City. However, the same underlying key of representation applies as in Dreamland.

169

Fig. 4.27 Sketch of Security Map of Hay Al-Ashgar.[411] Source: Researcher, 2012.

Fig. 4.28, 4.29, 4.30, 4.31, 4.32, 4.33 The Security Kiosk in Al-Rehab City –a definite architectural element in all Cairo Gated Communities. Source: Researcher, 2012.

---

[411] During my interview with the Security Manager of Hay Al-Ashgar, another retired military lieutenant, he did not give me permission to photograph the Security Map. Nonetheless, he sketched for me the concept of monitoring and surveillance on a layout plan for the compound. The red stars represented the stationed guards. The dotted lines specified the route of roaming guards and car patrols. The star marks were pinned by Al-Ashgar Security Chief and the text was written by the researcher.

Fig. 4.34 Gates inside gates in Dreamland.[412] Source: Researcher, 2012.

4.6. Reconstructing the Political "Other" after the 2011-Revolution

Residents of Al-Rehab are proud of their compound, expressing themselves as its *citizens*, "Rehabians." Nonetheless as any citizens inside a nation-state, disagreements and contestations occur with the state of affairs in control. Conflicts between residents and the mayor and town hall took place before and after the 2011 Revolution, revolving around security and political disputes on issues happening outside the gates. How politics transformed life inside Al-Rehab gates unsettles the theory of Cairene gated communities as deterritorialized "spaces of exception" and housing compounds of global modernity completely detached from local politics. This section covers the political life of residents inside the gate before and after the Revolution.

4.6.1. Before the 2011 Revolution

The Al-Rehab gated community hosts a broad range of inhabitants, including members of the Muslim Brotherhood (MB). Throughout Mubarak's thirty years of rule, the MB organization was treated as "tolerated but banned," sharing a symbiotic relationship with State Security. With the course of time, the MB succeeded in tying deals with the regime during pivotal political events such as the parliamentary elections of 2005. They secured around 88 seats despite alleged corruption in counting votes during elections which drove many analysts to see the results as an agreement for some mutual benefits between both rivals. Mubarak's police and national security captured MB members in mass arrests during other political events such as elections of Syndicate Unions, or elections of student unions in public universities, where the MB has a large platform. Despite the Mubarak and MB political rivalry and ideological antagonism, they shared almost the same neoliberal economic agenda.[413]

In an interview with a MB Rehabian, he explained that some members move to enclaves searching for social distinction, better living conditions with functional services, as everyone else. However, others resettle to escape the probability of being arrested by National Security. Living in enclaves, behind the gates, meant less risk of being arrested for political reasons.

---

[412] Some residents cordoned their residential cluster and locked it for extra security and distinction.

[413] The Muslim Brotherhood adopts the neoliberal free-market practices as that of the National Democratic Party of Mubarak, however with a conservative accent and an Islamist perspective. The Muslim Brotherhood represents a threat to the parallel Islamist thoughts of the Wahabi movement, an even more conservative group, controlling Saudi Arabia and is a staunch ally of Mubarak. Meanwhile, some Arab Gulf States like Qatar supported the Muslim Brotherhood. These inimical Arab-Gulf axes resonated on the local reality.

171

Buying a property was to some extent buying one's freedom for "living freely" inside the walls. Any political activity outside the walls, in the public sphere of the city, runs higher risks of detention. Escaping the political reality in the city becomes a driving force for many middle-upper and upper- class dissidents to relocate to gated communities. From another perspective, only because of the free-market mechanism, which allowed "Privatopia" to exist, that citizens can maneuver their choices and trade their freedom. Such calculations are yet another form of disposing "flexible and variegated citizenship."[414] (Ong 2006, 16)

State Security has its presence inside the gates and could theoretically continue to harass MB residents escaping Cairo, but it seems that the state honors citizens who participate in the neoliberal economy. Ong highlights the uses of elements of neoliberalism as an exception that "articulates sovereign rule and regimes of citizenship." While drawing on the conceptualizations of exception by Carl Schmitt and Giorgio Agamben, Ong proposes exception "as an extraordinary departure in policy that can be deployed to include as well to exclude."[415] Ong states that we should not study neoliberalism "as a 'culture' or as a 'structure' but as mobile calculative techniques of governing that can be decontextualized from their original sources and re-contextualized."[416] The MB political flight stands in contrast to the "American White Flight" that Mike Davis elaborately discusses in the *City of Quartz*.[417] In the case of Cairo, the flight reserves some dignity through the manipulation of "exceptions" that the free-market provides. In an interview with one of the MB youth leaders in Al-Rehab, entrepreneur and a senior engineer in one of the multinational companies, he explained why he left the City as follows:

> "The state police has a list of our names and ranks inside the organization.[418] They detain us frequently to update the list and interrogate new members joining the group. I figured out that the only way to avoid this humiliating process was to relocate my family to a gated community. Besides, I want a safe and healthy environment to raise my children. The schools here are better than inside Cairo, and there are open spaces for them to play safely till late at night. Also, I do not have to worry about my wife going out in the streets to face continuous harassment."
>
> A.H., Interview in 2011, Al-Rehab City, New Cairo

The member escaped the state-security apparatus by reallocation in exchange for private security to protect him socially from the ill diseases inside the city. However, the "controlled society" inside the gates is no less complex than that of the City. He departed the city to encounter another challenge, yet the difference here is that it is his choice, and he is willing to deal with it.

---

[414] Aihwa Ong, *Neoliberalism as Exception: Mutations in Citizenship Andsovereignty* (Durham [N.C.]: Duke University Press, 2006).

[415] Ibid., 5.

[416] Ibid., 13.

[417] Mike Davis, *City of Quartz: Excavating the Future in Los Angeles*, The Haymarket Series (London ; New York: Verso, 1991).

[418] Under the Mubarak regime, the Muslim Brotherhood group, or el-Gama'a, was referred to as a banned but tolerated group. El-Gama'a reached to political power and its member, Mohamed Morsi became the first elected president post the January 25 revolution. On June 30th, 2013, the army ousted Morsi. The Gama'a was vigorously cracked down with a mass killing of their sit-in on August 14th, 2013. Later in February of 2014, the interim government confiscated all the resources of the group, and the State denounced it as a terrorist organization. A presidential election took place in May 2014 where the Minister of Defense, Abdelfattah Sissi won the election and became the first president after the June 30th, 2013 military coup.

The paradox present in A.H.'s revelation signifies a profound quest for safety and dignity, but also a rupture in the neoliberal structure. Like many other residents, he desires a socially secured environment, a private security apparatus that maintains order against social and moral abuses in the City. His search for a self-salvation ends with a quest for conformity and homogeneity. The larger picture, often forgotten, is that these spaces exist at the expense of other inequalities in space and service provision. Thinking on an individual level, he is looking for a security apparatus that is tolerant to political and economic liberalism. This differentiation draws the line between residents' quest for "political justice." "Safe havens" at the crossroad of "social-class injustices."

From 2008 to 2010, some of Al-Rehab's residents mobilized against the compound's managing company calling for more stringent measures to control the gate's checkpoints so as to prevent low-income guests from entering the enclave. Al-Rehab has two big shopping malls, a franchised food court, traditional souk, a sports club, with further intentions of building more facilities that serve the New Cairo suburban territory at large. The vision was to serve the eastern metropolis of Cairo and generate more revenue by portraying Al-Rehab as a recreational destination. The developer makes a profit from these commercial projects. The residents, on the other hand, felt that these businesses should have been serving them exclusively. Residents formed a mobilizing group to monitor the company's activities and report their spatial violations of land uses over the open green spaces of the enclave. They formed a *Tatweer* or "Development" NGO. Residents registered it in the ministry of social affairs as a non-profit organization. Another young entrepreneur who belongs to the MB created a virtual blog called Rehaby, or "my Rehab," as a forum to connect residents together besides encouraging them to establish start-up businesses inside the compound. It was a vehicle that took advantage of the opportunities that economic liberalism and free-market had provided. *Rehaby* specialized in real-estate investment consultancy for renting, selling, speculating, and even buying housing units for trade. The founder revealed his political affiliation with the MB after the 2011-Revolution. Otherwise, it was discrete.

Tatweer and Rehaby joined efforts to mobilize residents for a "better private security service," as they called it. They viewed allowing public visitors into the enclave a disheartening loss of their exclusive privilege of buying homes and units in Al-Rehab. Residents threatened the real-estate developer to escalate the case, take legal action and prevent outside visitors. Their threat was at first un-harmful, as they could not consolidate their demands. Their threat of blocking outside visitors was not taken seriously because they had no means to achieve it. Such escalation suggested that residents couldn't invite relatives or friends as guests into the enclave. Only when an idea of issuing a passing ticket and collecting money from visitors did the real-estate developer and the Mayor of Al-Rehab began to interact positively with Tatweer and Rehaby. Residents hoped that this would limit visitors' flow into their enclave as they realized they couldn't totally keep them out. The negotiations between the developer's representative bodies and residents' NGO on the Security Access case were practical, fruitful, and mutually beneficial to the conflicting parties. As a resolution, all parties agreed on installing card enclave membership, magnetic detectors on the gates' checkpoints and other security measures at the entrance in 2010. These measures aimed at leveraging the residents' sense of exclusivity and privilege.

Shop tenants and restaurants businesses inside Al-Rehab protested these resolutions and threatened to mobilize as well. In addressing the concerns and attempting to comfort all stakeholders in the name of the neoliberal spirit, the private managing company of TMG issued ID cards. These ID's had a barcode defining the categories of homeowners, tenants, employees, domestic servants, and visitors of residents. ID cards held differentiated entitlements and social statuses. Al-Rehab town hall installed scanning machines on the entrances, but the barcodes did not quite work at the beginning. They tried different options such as magnetic cards, car tickets, and other tools. To mediate the shop owners' demands to ease access to their customers, they allowed visitors through "Gate 13" entrance beside the Mobil gas station, the Police station, and the Church. Visitors entering for commercial and recreational activities had to issue an entry ticket of five-Egyptian pounds for every three hours they spent inside the enclave. This procedure transformed the gated community into a sort of thematic park. The managing and security departments of Al-Rehab argued that they would control the routes of commercial visits inside the compound to limit access to the residential quarters and villas of key political figures.

Fig. 4.35 Rehaby Office in the shopping mall. Source: Researcher, 2011.
Fig. 4.36 Visitors ID Cards, limited to certain buildings, zones, and time periods. Source: Researcher, 2011.

4.6.2. After the 2011 Revolution

After the 2011-Revolution, people learned who the influential key political figures residing in Al-Rehab were, information previously held as secret, but what are the political identities of the general residents living in Al-Rehab? The socio-cultural and political backgrounds of Egyptian residents in Al-Rehab are quite diverse. Later, the contours of political differences were exposed, and a different sociological and political rhythm took place between residents, the private developer, and the state's security at large. Inside Al-Rehab, there are influential army generals, as well as a relatively large group of Muslim Brotherhood members (politically banned organization and later pronounced as a terrorist organization in 2013[419] in the aftermath of ousting President Morsi). A relatively large community of Copts also resides in the enclave. Among the military generals living in Al-Rehab gated community was Ahmed Shafik, a senior commander of the Egyptian Air Force.[420] He was also the last prime minister of Mubarak's

---

[419] Kareem Fahim, "Egypt, Dealing a Blow to the Muslim Brotherhood, Deems It a Terrorist Group," *The New York Times*, December 25, 2013, http://www.nytimes.com/2013/12/26/world/middleeast/egypt-calls-muslim-brotherhood-a-terrorist-group.html.
[420] "Talaat Moustafa presented a Villa as a gift for Senior Air Force Commander Ahmed Shafik in Al-Rehab City," http://www1.youm7.com/NewsPrint.asp?NewsID=743888, in Arabic, 19th of July, 2012.

174

regime, and a candidate in the final run up of the presidential race in 2012 which he lost against Morsi. Shafik did not see his residence in Al-Rehab as a permanent one. During the elections, at the time I was conducting my research fieldwork, there was tremendous tension and contestation between the two rival camps. There was another race between residents to occupy the open communal spaces of Al-Rehab to campaign for their favorite presidential candidate. Such competition over claiming territories in the enclave added more polarization and ruptures in the community, in similar ways to what was happening outside the gates.

From 2011 until the first presidential elections in 2012, however, a lot of massacres occurred under the Supreme Council of Armed Forces (SCAF) — a group of nineteen military generals running the country in the transition phase post-Mubarak. Two of the army generals of SCAF live in Al-Rehab. Residents empathized with the massacres that shook the City such as the Maspero Crime in the vicinities of Tahrir Square. Residents organized protests inside Al-Rehab with routes to stop in front of the military general's villas calling for justice. They arranged vigil stands in solidarity, marches, and demonstrations, albeit in a peaceful manner without sabotaging or stopping businesses. They honored the free market spirit. In parallel, per contra, they emulated the same protest tactics of Tahrir rebels. They gathered in mosques after Friday prayer, taking them as meeting points, and even secular residents followed the same procedure. They would then walk through the enclave with banners, posts, and chants. In Cairo, the idea was to gather protestors then disperse throughout the city and then re-gather again in pivotal open spaces and enter from different directions into main squares such as Tahrir. The concept is to distract the central security forces (CSF) and open several frontiers to dissipate CSF energy and power to stand in front of the masses.[421] In a similar sense, Al-Rehab residents replicated these tactics in the enclave. They gathered in front of the roundabout overlooking the food court. They created several routes through the residential quarters, the traditional souk, and around the sporting club. They aimed at shaking the compound's silence. The security guards did not prevent but were rather watching, leading to no friction. In preparing for these rallies, Al-Rehab residents would invite youth activists including the outspoken YouTube and Twitter activist Asmaa Mahfouz. Residents would use the visitors' "gate 13" to let her and other activists into the compound. In a twist of irony, they allowed outsiders into their privileged gated community and through the same checkpoint and procedure of allowing *others* that they had fought against previously.

Security is for whom and against whom? Negotiating the issue of access remains indecisive with an unclear definition from the residents and privatized security perspectives. Residents have conflicting agendas — some want a socially exclusive enclave, and others want a political haven for dissidents to fly under the state's radar. The privatized-security apparatus works to the benefit of the developer towards capital accumulation through protecting businesses and activities generating profit. In the meantime, they operate to create a securitized-controlled society. In the context of urban chaos and political instability, security is becoming a neoliberal mode of spatial modernity. TMG marketing team uses Al-Rehab's success in managing security for branding and selling more housing units inside their gated communities of Al-Rehab phase II and Madinaty, in peripheral Cairo, as well. During 2012, when the country was in peril economically and politically, Al-Rehab released some housing units in Phase II for sale— Al-Rehab sales team

---

[421] After January 25, this became an internalized tactic for the on-the-ground revolutionaries without the need to connect to the Internet. It was a collective subconscious growing from experience with the street politics and police confrontations.

sold all units in a week with prices over market average. The quest for security amid chaos was the city dwellers' drive to buy units.[422]

After the 2011 Revolution, the SCAF generals decided to favor MB political leaders by selecting their affiliates to draft a constitutional amendment. It seemed that the national army and the state's security interests coincided with MB at that time (from February 2011 to June 2012). Simultaneously, Al-Rehab's Mayor, a retired military general, agreed that the MB opened a branch for their political party inside the gated community in the summer of 2011. The issue of having a political party inside an enclave has never happened before in any gated community, worldwide. Many residents were in opposition to the MB's politics and complained and mobilized against the developer, TMG, and the Mayor. In the opening ceremony of the political branch, representatives of the Muslim Brother's Supreme Leader and General Guide, Mohamed Badie attende, attended in the compound's ballroom. This event and the private management attitude stirred an enormous disappointment from many residents.

In 2012, after Morsi became president, MB residents of Al-Rehab used their political connections to issue a governmental decree allowing TMG to replace the iron-meshed fence surrounding the compound with a concrete-block wall. This demand was something that Mubarak's Ministry of Housing rejected for aesthetics and urban-planning regulation. The developer, TMG, and marketing team hailed Mohamed Morsi's affiliates who reside inside Al-Rehab. This instance marked how political rivalries cooperated and consolidated their differences in the pursuit of neoliberal power and security.[423] In 2013, the Prime Minister designated the Muslim Brotherhood as a terrorist organization. Affiliate residents of the MB became targets of the national security apparatus. However, they were protected by the virtue of being Al-Rehab residents inside the gates. The State killed few residents that belonged to MB during confrontations with the police after ousting Morsi in the summer of 2013. Nonetheless, all the killings occurred outside the gates.[424]

---

[422] In a semi-structured interview with the sales manager of Al-Rehab in 2010, and later in 2011.

[423] The eruption of the revolution in Tahrir Square and its aftermath had its impact on the security issue inside Al-Rehab. Residents wanted personal seclusion yet wished to enjoy the collective sense of celebration that the worldwide media was hailing. They desired to share the moment of collective national pride, but still reserve the neoliberal spirit of exclusivity and exceptions. TMG benefited from Mubarak being at once in power for gaining extra land and special concessions. TMG also benefits from its strong connections with the National Security apparatuses represented in the police and military institution. It also benefitted from MB coming into power, winning a decree for transforming their iron mesh fence into a concrete wall and so turning the enclave into a citadel.

[424] It is difficult to argue for certain that the reason no MB resident inside the gates was killed is because their affiliation with Al-Rehab. It is hard to speculate that Cairo gated communities are hundred-percent politically immune spaces. The unfolding of events and internal political tension is growing and unpredictable. Only time will tell. As this dissertation is being submitted, a court verdict sentenced over one hundred Muslim Brotherhood leaders and ex-President Mohamed Morsi to death. David Kirkpatrick, "Egyptian Court Confirms Death Sentence for Mohamed Morsi," *The New York Times*, June 16, 2015, http://www.nytimes.com/2015/06/17/world/middleeast/egyptian-court-confirms-death-sentence-for-ousted-president-morsi.html.

Fig. 4.37, 4.38, 4.39 Al-Rehab traditional Souk during Eid. Source: Researcher, 2011.

Fig. 4.40, 4.41 Shops taking over streets and pedestrian paths in Souk. Source: Researcher, 2011.
Fig. 4.42 Al-Rehab Residents' Protest for "A Better Civilized Souk." Source: Researcher, 2011.

Fig. 4.43, 4.44, 4.45 The expropriation of pedestrian paths in Souk. Source: Researcher, 2011.
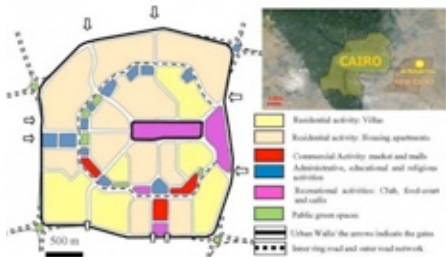
Fig. 4.46 The gates of Al-Rehab City. Source: Noha Gamal, 2013.
Fig. 4.47, 4.48 Al-Rehab residents protesting against the SCAF. Source: Researcher, 2011 and 2012.

Fig. 4.49 Muslim Brotherhood Office in Al-Rehab. Source: Researcher, 2011.
Fig. 4.50 Banner promoting Mohamed Morsi for President in Al-Rehab.[425] Source: Researcher, 2012.

---

[425] Al-Rehab town hall and Mayor banned residents' campaigning for their presidential candidate from hanging banners in the compound. Accordingly, residents used their private cars and stickers on their clothes to promote for their candidate.

177

كلاكيت ثاني مرة.. السيسي يتجول بـ"العجلة" في الرحاب

Fig. 4.51 Abdelfatah El-Sissi Cycling in Al-Rehab City. Source: www.masrawy.com, accessed 5, April 2014.
Fig. 4.52 Protests of Rab'a massacre in Al-Rehab.[426] Source: "Ikhwan Al-Rehab" public page on Facebook, February 2014.

4.7. Concluding Remarks

In this chapter, I aimed to move beyond the meta-narrative of gated communities as neoliberal spaces of a particular political economy in time and an outcome of global circuit flows of capital and spatial ideas. Instead, I described the territorial expansion within a historical thread of development, hygienic evolution, subject formation of modern citizens, and surge for control and security. This history of building new compounds on the periphery under the auspices of the state has its historical roots with the hygienic development of the countryside starting (Fathy and Karim), urban hygienic revolution in the city (Karim and Riad), and the contemporary suburban desert growth. The hygienic development of the built environment is political. By giving an inside story of Al-Rehab, how real-estate developer interact with the State apparatus, residents, local politics –after and before the 2011 Revolution, the political role that these spaces play in controlling citizens (inside and outside the gates) becomes evident. Therefore, it is hard to generalize and submit to the globalization and deterritorialization theory to understand the growth of these sites of modernity on the edge of the metropolis.

However, the nature of society that these spaces produce is fundamentally different from the previous patterns of compounds on the edge. I discussed the transformation of the compounds of modernity embarked on by the free-market ethos that started with Sadat's open-door policy of *Infitah* in the 1970s. After some structural adjustments, together with investment and mortgage laws, neoliberal spaces materialized under Mubarak with his New Satellites Strategy in the 1990s. The major shift occurring in the new compounds was a radical change from Nasser's policy of "building men, building the nation" enhancing "happy family" with less "social antagonism" between the classes. On the other side, Sadat and Mubarak's policies relied on economic growth and generating capital through building these new enclaves. In other words, the object of governance during Nasser was the people, the peasant, and the working laborer. It was an approach towards human development, which entailed constructing hierarchical institutions to build a "disciplined society." Social engineering with scientific planning was the vehicle and design instrument to modernize the nation. This is opposed to when the object of governance during Sadat and Mubarak was desert land as a vehicle for economic development and redistribution of the masses, which entailed constructing multi-nucleated institutions, private-

---

[426] Protester in Al-Rehab holding a banner signifying the massacre of Muslim Brotherhood supporters in Rab'a Square on August 14th, 2013.

178

and-public sectors that work in lateral networks as a non-hierarchical order to create a "controlled-securitized society" in the desert periphery.

A collaborative private-public ethos underlines the governance of desert land, housing compounds, and their security. In the chapter, I explored the techniques and tools of security in gated communities. Using the "Security Map," I illustrated how the retired military generals deployed the national army's mindset of order in monitoring the enclaves as zones and territories of control. Developers of gated communities like Talaat Moustafa Group, TMG, hire retired officers as they act as intermediary agents between maintaining national order through their networks with the State and Army, and security within the private compounds. Such intermediary roles of spatial agents and embedded local politics unsettle the arguments developed around the deterritorialization of Egypt's gated communities and their absolute global modernity. Using an anthropological analysis and close reading of Al-Rehab discursive local politics, I showed how developers manipulate the free-market deregulations, power relations, and exploit "exceptional" concessions for economic growth and controlling the enclave.

Taking advantage of the free-market ethos and the state's politics to redistribute population in the City, TMG re-designed its compound several times based on calculations of desire, consumers' demands, and neoliberal uncertainties of the fluctuation of building materials. The deployment of such an approach resulted in designing a broad range of housing variations, prototypes, and models together with the varying loan program to attract as many citizens into this real-estate bubble. During the recession period, the developer sold some parcels as subdivisions in phase 6. He aimed at overcoming the deregulation of building material prices and benefit from the inflation of land value. He sold the extra territory he initially took as an "award" from the state.

Furthermore, franchised services and diversified restaurants, shopping malls, and a traditional souk, were present all in Al-Rehab gated community to play on the neoliberal ethos of market competition, empowering consumers and their freedom of choice. Accordingly, the developer would generate more profit for the enclave to balance off neoliberal market uncertainties. The main central green space in Al-Rehab is the social sports club located at the heart of the enclave. However, it is fenced and gated and only accessible to membership subscribers. Branding the social sports club occurred through "operational tactics" of attractive bundles and celebrities participating in events. One example is forming a children's soccer school run by El-Khateeb, a famous soccer player in Egypt. In the neoliberal compound of modernity, membership subscriptions, groups and sub-groups are the tools for belonging and blending into the community. In other words, *you have to pay to belong*, at every level.

As a result of embracing the neoliberal practices and successful maneuvering over market fluctuations, Egyptians of all sorts of political identities invest and buy units inside Al-Rehab; however this does not come without its challenges. Mediating differences without clashes and keeping a collective order becomes a test of the private-security mechanism that Al-Rehab deploys to create a "controlled society." A helpful modifying factor for the developer is the common ground that residents share despite their stark political views. The common ground between the diverse residents is the neoliberal spirit, the desire for economic growth, business entrepreneurship, and their concern of class distinction. In 2008, a group of residents initiated *Rehaby*, "My Rehab," an entrepreneurial blog offering online information about the gated

community. The blog expanded into helping potential residents finding vacant units to buy in the compound. With time, the blog became a real-estate broker in buying and renting units for generating profit. Additionally, the blog created a forum for residents' complaints and offering courses encouraging residents to initiate their start-ups inside the compound.

The young entrepreneurial spirit soon clashed with the conventional business model of shops inside the compound around the issue of "Security" and allowing the *Other* into the gated community. Some of the military affiliates and the Mayor himself own few shops and rent them in the Souk. The presence of the Rehaby blog facilitated inter-communication between residents of the expanded enclave, where they pinned down many issues of discomfort. They lobbied for the issue of security. Simultaneously, residents built up an NGO called *Tatweer*, or "Development" as a representative front to vocalize their demands. Many key resident mobilizers, including the founder of Rehaby, were Muslim Brotherhood members. The politics of identity underlying these disputes surfaced later. The developer handled the issue through conflict mediation and negotiation that ultimately resulted in middle ground solutions honoring the neoliberal spirit, economic growth, and security control. As a resolution, visitors issued an entry ticket of five Egyptian pounds for every three hours they spent in the enclave.

After the 2011 Revolution, residents empathizing with the events of Tahrir Square and the recurring massacres organized vigil stands, marches, and protests of the gated community. They would sneak in activists through Gate 13 that they had previously denounced for allowing outsiders, framed as the *Other*, into the gates before the revolution. Activist residents of Al-Rehab were aware of the politics of their position; they were "economically exclusive," but still, wanted to remain "politically inclusive" with the society and the City.[427]

The presence of contestation inside the gated community represents a challenge to the "controlled society" that the private-public partnerships of security aim to sustain. How the contemporary spaces of modernity and housing compounds transform in the future is a test of time. How security, surveillance, and zones of control evolve to maintain national order inside and outside the gates is another test of time. Will there be another pattern of compounds on the periphery in the future with a different gated typology to create new Egyptians and citizens? – Only time will tell.

---

[427] With the rise of the MB to power and the election of their candidate Mohamed Morsi as a President in 2012, the MB of Al-Rehab succeeded in getting a governmental decree to turn the weak iron-meshed fence around the compound into a concrete wall. Mubarak's government previously rejected the idea of the citadel wall despite the strong association with the developer. Al-Rehab town hall celebrated the MB residents for the decree that preserved the exclusivity of the gated community. With the dramatic turn of events and ousting of Morsi in the summer of 2013, the new interim government declared MB as a terrorist organization and their members framed as the political other. Clashes erupted throughout Cairo, and many protestors died as a result.

<div align="center">

Conclusion:

On Spaces of Control

</div>

Summary

The dissertation *Compounds of Modernity* aimed at moving beyond meta-narratives and theoretical frameworks of neoliberalism and globalization to analyze the contemporary gated communities and spaces of exclusion. Instead of analyzing enclaves as products of neoliberalism and global culture, the dissertation looks at them as "processes of urban explosion" embedded in the history of power and control. Building new housing settlements on the periphery is not anew. The state technocrats, architects, and urban planners had always used these projects as instruments towards controlling population, hygienic development, and citizen formation. By looking at *how* the design of these compounds had changed with time, I generate a set of narratives concerning power, spatial governance, dealing with hygiene as a thing to control, the othering of citizens, and modernizing the nation-state. The changing rhetoric and underlying logic to manipulate the erection of these new compounds reveals how the state categorizes its citizens and invents the "other." The construction of the "risk society" is a mere political and social construct in Egypt's modern history.

In the countryside during late colonial Egypt and early post-colonial time (1940s and 1950s), the humans and non-humans were objects of governance and control in the architectures of Hassan Fathy (New Gourna Village) and Sayyid Karim (the Manor). The inferior fellah and dirty animal were the infectious species to produce national crises of malaria, typhoid, and Bilharzia. Modernizing species and standardizing the built environment was part of building the state and maintaining national order. Later in the early 1950s, a housing initiative called the "Cordon-and-resettling" led to walling out old unhygienic communities and relocating villagers to the modern "Village of Tomorrow," which included military training centers and new university villages. Under the social welfare state of Nasser, the housing mission in the city was to make new citizens, educate them through the state's secular curricula, alleviate social class antagonism, build the "happy family," and curb internal political struggles after the transition from monarchy to the Republic. The citizen and [his] experience was the main object of governance in the Villages of Tomorrow, such as Tahrir Province.

In Cairo, a similar hygienic revolution occurred under the "Connect-fill-and-expand" housing initiative. One spatial outcome was the new compound on the periphery of Cairo, the "City of Tomorrow" experiment of *Madinet Nasr* or Nasr City (late 1950s and 1960s). In the new settlement of Nasr City, Sayyid Karim and Mohamed Riyad designed residential quarters, governmental buildings, Islamic university campus of Al-Azhar, wide roads for army parades and military zones were erected side by side. The notion of a "disciplined society" was emphasized through zoning and land use. A hierarchy of state institutions and power characterized Nasr City with high visibility. The production of a disciplined society was further emphasized with the state's full control over the construction of housing after the rent control law that discouraged private real-estate developers from building new housing. The centralization of housing led to controlling the means of modernizing space, housing, and society. With *Infitah* or the open door economy developed under Sadat in the 1970s till the Structural Adjustment Program (SAP) of Mubarak in the 1990s, the object of governance and control became economic growth and desert land development. Technocrats experimented a set

of new towns in the desert, which failed to attract population at the beginning until the erection of gated communities with new mechanisms and technologies of governance in the desert. Security and hygiene were used as underlying frameworks to attract residents as manifested in the gated community of "Al-Rehab City" in New Cairo. Using walls, gates, checkpoints, privatized security training, and the mapping of surveillance, together with private amenities and functioning infrastructure, gated communities started to attract residents. Turning those spaces into "zones of control" and surveillance became the new modern governing technology than simply enforcing citizens and disciplining them like the era of Nasser. The state security apparatus, however, still has its influence inside gated communities through partnerships and collaborations with the privatized security. The transformation of the society from a "disciplined society" in the Foucaultian sense to a "controlled society" in Nikolas Rose's sense is parallel to the change in political economy from social welfare to the free market mechanisms. The disciplined society depends on a central agency such as the panopticon to watch, monitor, and correct the behavior of citizens is fundamentally transformed into decentralized nucleated agencies (private sector) working laterally with the state to maintain order. The decentralization of security and non-hierarchical forms of domination characterizes the "controlled society" and housing projects that is made possible under the free market economy. The decentralization of the design process also takes place. Architects and urban planners of gated communities such as Mahmoud Yousry of Al-Rehab, design together with marketing sales team, Hisham Talaat (developer), and the security design element is covered by retired military generals. By understanding the interactions of local forces, spatial growth, how these spaces are realized in reality, and society construction through history, I theorize the contemporary gated communities moving beyond meta-narratives and grand theories of globalization.

The main goal of the research was to determine the intersections of power and architecture in the design and production of modernity and housing compounds in Egypt, from the 1940s to the present. Beyond viewing the present compounds, "gated communities," as spaces of deterritorialization, I demonstrate how they are products of local governance. I argue that spatial agents have participated in creating fear and "the other" to maintain discipline, control, and national order. Returning to the question posed at the beginning of this dissertation, it is now possible to state that the compounds of modernity are spatial articulations between local agents and go in line with social constructions of the "other" hygienically, economically, and politically. The research examines the role of modernists, local experts, and developers in building those compounds on the periphery using the rhetoric of the "other" as a planning logic. In other words, they capitalized on the other to reproduce the new in every historical period. In doing so, the study set out to gain a better understanding of how "spaces of global modernity" are generated in their immediate setting, and the implications such spaces have on citizenship and subject formation.

In chapter one, I investigate two housing projects - New Gourna, and Ezbet El-Alaily (the Manor) - built in the Egyptian countryside, on the periphery of existing built environments. These two projects were erected to modernize the Village and address the Peasant Question during the 1940s. Two architects led these pilot projects of modernization, Hassan Fathy, and Sayyid Karim, with the aim of spawning hygienic spaces across the rural region. By analyzing their writings and architectural projects, I argue that they viewed the peasant as "inferior" and worked on developing their living conditions. Fathy and Karim created new villages to civilize

the peasant through disciplining [him] and [his] livestock on how to use village spaces. During this period of late Colonial Egypt, there was no State-led Housing Program for development. Egypt was a British Mandate, Britain was recovering from WWII, and the monarchy was struggling to maintain its power amid internal political conflicts. Two structures controlled the country and its land property, the monarchy, and feudal families, who also did not have a comprehensive vision in developing the society and its dilapidating spaces.

During this period, Hassan Fathy designed "New Gourna Village" in 1944 as a new place for the villagers after the State had forced them to relocate to the new compound. The government issued a forced eviction decree after an archeological scandal — the disappearance of a large rock of the Noble Tombs in the old Gourna Village. The Department of Antiquities held villagers responsible for the theft and set an order for collective punishment by evicting the entire village. In the middle of a possible friction between the villagers and the government, officials commissioned Fathy to design the new settlement. The government allocated little resources for the project. Fathy developed a self-built housing approach as a methodology to deal with the small budget, with the ambition to construct a larger framework for rural mass housing development. Fathy imposed a building approach different from the design norms and hygienic standards of the Old Village. He brought builders from Aswan to teach villagers new construction techniques using domes and vaults and molding bricks. Fathy believed in modernizing vernacular technologies to address the hygiene question and the deteriorated built environment. He imported global and local vernacular techniques from Austria, Japan, and Nubia into the New Gourna Village. The project's aesthetics resulted in a vernacular modernity.

In the meantime, Sayyid Karim designed the El-Alaily Manor in 1946 as a private property for one of the feudal, capitalist families to house peasant-workers. The family owned the agrarian land, and the peasants either rented small plots or worked as hired labor at the disposal of the owner. Karim and his modernist team were aware of the hygienic crisis and blamed the peasants for exacerbating it. Karim developed a new design approach that created separate quarters for peasants and their animals. Karim implemented a mechanical order for the design and distribution of functions. Together with local architectural modernists, Karim imported the Universal standards and design principles of the Modulor, believing in the power of mathematics, science, and proportions in producing a hygienically efficient village space.

Both projects were minute in effect, and none of the suggested blueprints had major impact on the development of the Rural Region. However, a few years after Egypt's independence in 1952, Sayyid Karim, and his modernist colleagues developed a large scale Housing Program to reform Egyptian Villages. It was called the "Cordon-and-Resettling" initiative. The development program relied on the rational design concepts of the Manor.

New Gourna and the Manor represent two projects of hygienic design and housing development aimed to modernize the inferior "other" — the peasant— through the control of [his] body, movement, circulation, and animals. These pilot experiments were early attempts of disciplining the society in the rural region during the late Colonial period.

Chapter two discusses the New Village Program under the post-colonial administration. The decolonization of Egypt in 1952, and its full independence in 1954 paved the way for

nationalism entailing a new disciplinary approach for mass housing. Under the new military regime, President Nasser pursued a socialist political economy. The first law he decreed was granting ownership of land to peasants. The "peasant question" continued to represent a primary concern to the post-colonial regime. For the first time in Egypt's modern history, the state recognized and empowered the *fellah* by granting [him] land ownership. With the rising sentiments for Rural Mass Development, the modernist bloc of Sayyid Karim pushed for a national agenda —a standardized blueprint.

Arab modernists vehemently met for Hygienic Conferences; Egyptians published their ideas in the *Majallat Al-'Imara Wal-Fonoun* (MAA), which was co-edited by Sayyid Karim. Egyptian modernists proposed the "cordoning" or "walling-off" of the old village and building an entirely new, modern-grid village. They called the development scheme, "Cordon-and-Resettling Village Program." The aim was to resettle villagers in an incremental process. First, villagers would move to *Qaryet Al-Inteqal* or the Transient Village, which was a preliminary phase of rural development. After completing the construction of public amenities and housing facilities, and full relocation of peasants, the village would become *Qaryet Al-Ghad* or the "Village of Tomorrow." The design of the new Modernist Village depended on the separation of species, humans and animals, controlling their bodies and circulation networks —design concepts developed in the Manor and New Gourna during late Colonial Egypt.

It was not a mere coincidence that the title, the "Village of Tomorrow" followed Le Corbusier's magnum opus "A Contemporary City of Three Million People," or the City of Tomorrow. The Magazine of Architecture and the Arts (MAA) extensively published Le Corbusier's work, Brasilia, and the new Baghdad project as models of development in the global South.

The Egyptian Village of Tomorrow included ample open green spaces for hygienic purposes. The village constituted two separate compartments connected with a broad road —a governing administrative zone and a residential area. In the first phase of the "Cordon-and-Resettling Villages" —Qaryet Al-Inteqal or Transient Village, the livestock had a place inside the housing unit of the peasant. However, Karim explained that after teaching the peasants the hazards of having animals inside the unit, these livestock storage spaces would be destroyed and turned into small green yards. Removing the rooms that housed animals inside the attached housing units would create more green breathing spaces within the residential area, and turn the village into a more hygienic space, according to Karim. Furthermore, the livestock had a separate corridor for movement by the perimeter of the village to maintain the cleanness of inside streets, designed for human circulation. This represents an indigenous Rural Egyptian appropriation of Universal Modernism. The "gradual" nature of the transformation made the "transient" Egyptian rural village a different mode of modernism than the International Modern Movement. Moreover, Karim placed the main governmental building as a Vista for the wide-open boulevard that consisted of a green space in the middle. This added more green spaces and a sense of nationalist grandeur to the overall planning of the "Village of Tomorrow."

The socialist regime constructed the modernist rural program to create standardized housing. However, there were still variations in the housing models of peasants on the basis of class status and family size. In terms of discipline and subject formation, Karim included a military training center in the transient village. The architect produced a chart explaining the everyday activities

184

of the peasant. The Village of Tomorrow included schools, university, theater, animal and plant museum, and medical centers. The "Cordon-and-Resettling" program, aimed at building the "New Fellah," was a project of subject formation as much as it was about building the "Modernist Village." In the construction of the new fellah, architects worked on re-establishing the relationship between the peasant and livestock in spatial terms. The architect alluded to the separation of animal and human species as a solution to the hygienic crisis fundamentally linked with the "fellah question" and [his] modernization. The discipline of the human body using the Modulor, and the livestock circulation network were the basis for a "Post-colonial Rural Modernism." The mechanical order of the new compound with species separation set the tone for nationwide modernization and the control of hygiene in the rural region.

The result of focusing on the rural areas for several decades was a dilapidation of the urban condition in the City of Cairo during the first half of the twentieth century. Only in the 1950s did planners such as Sayyid Karim and Mahmoud Riyad, together with military officers, draft a comprehensive master plan for the hygienic development of Cairo and its surroundings. The Cairo Master-Plan endorsed the legacy of building new compounds on the periphery following the same ethos of the "Cordon-and-Resettling Village Program" in the rural region.

The first master plan began in 1953 and was completed in 1956. First, the State aimed for the creation of industrial areas in the immediate vicinity of Cairo; it proposed six industrial zones (workers' cities). Second, the State initiated public housing programs, and the development of Nasr City as a pilot project for repetition planned in 1958.[428] The territorial expansion and building of new settlements were to build "New Citizens," "happy families" and mitigate "class antagonisms."[429] The new compounds were established with new modern schools to educate citizens.

The central logic driving the new master plan was to constitute a "Local Hygienic City" influenced by Khedive Ismail's *Urban Renaissance* in the nineteenth century and biological determinism theory in the twentieth century. The intersection of these ideas generated the *Fill-Connect-and-Expand* Development Strategy to create a sanitized built environment. Modernists categorized the spatial fabric of Cairo into three kinds of urban-cells: "Out-of-Control Cells," "Disconnected Cells," and "Modern-Slum Cells."

The master plan incorporated the "Fill-Connect-and-Expand" development strategy by connecting detached neighborhoods through planned districts before countryside immigrants squatted on these peri-urban lands and built informal settlements. Planned ring roads and circulation networks aimed at attaching the areas of the Capital and opening hygienic streets into the dense compacted residential quarters. Karim defined these urban strategies as creating a "planet system."

Modernists reproduced their experience of the "Village of Tomorrow" in the countryside in Cairo. Following similar design guidelines, they proposed the new "City of Tomorrow," or Nasr City, in Cairo's northeastern edge in the late 1950s. They suggested filling the desert land between Abbasiya and Heliopolis desert oasis with the new compound. The local "City of

---

[428] Abu-Lughod 1971, 233.
[429] El Shakry, 2006, 81.

Tomorrow" continued the legacy of the "Village of Tomorrow" of building new citizens, modern universities, schools, and central bureaucratic government —all of which was part of making Modern Egypt.

Part of building the new nation-state was to design strategies to suppress political enemies and the "other." Egypt had just gained its independence and to establish a new national order, the State imposed uniformity and suppressed internal struggles. In the same manner that the Village of Tomorrow included military training centers and University Villages to inculcate national order and secular curriculums, Nasr City developed a similar strategy of discipline and promoted the secularization of education.

Nasr City, or *Madinet Nasr*, represents a spin-off from Le Corbusier's concepts in "A Contemporary City of Three Million People,"[430] and Lucio Costa and Oscar Niemeyer's Brasilia.[431] There are four nuances that distinguished Nasr City from its international peers and reproduced it as a mediation of local forces — rather than becoming an example of a deterritorialized "global modernity" of its time.

The first nuance was the *semi-autonomous* governing company running Nasr City for investment and profit making under a socialist regime. It was called "Nasr City Society"—also known as "Madinet Nasr for Housing and Development" (MNHD). The Chairman of the Board of Nasr City in 1965 was a retired general of the army corps of engineers, M. 'Arafah, who was associated with the project, since its inception. The presence of retired military agents in civic service and investment projects would, from this period onward, become a standard norm in the production of new compounds that still exists today.

The second nuance differentiating Nasr City from its international counterparts was the mixed land use between the Military Institution and public civic structures. Architects (including Muhammad Riyad, former chief of Cairo *baladiya* or municipality, and Sayyid Karim) constructed the site plan of the city to include a spacious road used for military parades. There was also a military zone and government ministerial complexes adjacent to the residential neighborhood districts.

The third nuance was the housing variations that reflected the political transition of Egypt from a monarchy to a social welfare State. There was the "Socialist Villa" prototype, the "Public Housing" apartment building, and the Ministerial Super-block prototype. Modernists placed the latter prototype on the main road leading to Cairo as if they were soldiers standing in salute, signifying a high military character. Brutalist architecture and concrete structures generated the aura and identity of the new compound.

The fourth nuance was the discipline of the political "other," who were mainly Muslim Brotherhood and Islamist rivals of Nasser. In the 1960s, the State decided to curb the central

---

[430] Le Corbusier, "A Contemporary City," in *The City of To-Morrow and Its Planning* (New York: Dover Publications, [1929] 1987), http://macaulay.cuny.edu/eportfolios/milsteinspring2013sandbox/files/2013/03/Le-Corbusier-from-The-City-of-Tomorrow-and-Its-Planning.pdf.
[431] James Holston, *The Modernist City: An Anthropological Critique of Brasília* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989).

Islamic institution of education by placing it under its wings. A new campus for the traditional Islamic School of Al-Azhar University opened inside Nasr City, on land surrounded by a military complex. New secular departments, beyond the scope of Islamic 'Ulama, were launched in the new campus, such as modern sciences and social studies.

As I have demonstrated in this dissertation, Cairo's "City of Tomorrow," Nasr City, was a continuation of the "Village of Tomorrow" program of disciplining citizens in a hierarchical manner centered around the state and the military's role in building institutions throughout the countryside and city. However, Nasr City materialized power and discipline via a more conspicuous architecture. The four nuances differentiating Nasr City, together with the "Fill-Connect-and-Expand" development strategy, constituted the Urban Modernity of the 1950s until the 1970s. It was a modernity characterized by the establishment of national order, creation of modern spaces, and education of new citizens, while curbing the "other."

The rise of Anwar Sadat and the 1973 war with Israel, had, however, a reversal effect of Nasser's policies. Sadat inaugurated the liberalization policies of Egypt's *Infitah* in the Presidential Working Paper of October 1974, aimed to create a transition to a free-market economy.[432] It was a policy that adopted the "delocalization of capital"[433] and decentralization through strengthening the private sector, foreign investment, and eradication of the public sector. Privatization of the public sector resulted in the restructuring of the role of the state towards its citizens and their cities.

As I explained in chapter four, the second master plan, prepared between 1966 and 1970 by the Greater Cairo Planning Commission (established in 1965), then approved in 1974, recommended the construction of planned desert cities.[434] The program yielded an uncontrolled urban expansion, attracting migrant labor and informal settlements to Cairo, consuming arable land, and ignoring infrastructure and service provision —in short, it merely exacerbated the urban crisis.[435] The master plan of 1974/1975 outlined the creation of eighteen new towns in the desert surrounding the Cairo Metropolitan Region (made up of Cairo, Giza, Helwan and Qalubiya governorates). The target was to draw people away from Cairo and "de-concentrate" population. The government offered tax incentives for Egyptians to relocate to new industrial belts in these areas and foreigners to establish factories, high-tech services, and franchise operations.

The concept of desert cities reified the policies of *Infitah*. The state shifted from ""building citizens" to "building the economy." Desert land became the unit of discipline and control, rather than human beings and their animals. The state embraced a new set of local and international actors, privileging economic productivity and socioeconomic development. Between 1975 and 1979, planning had begun for several new cities and in 1979 the government formed the New Urban Communities Authority. Law No. 59 of 1970, codifying the new settlement policy, inaugurated the creation of eighteen new cities in Egypt. It included relatively freestanding new

---

[432] Raymond Hinnebusch, *Egyptian Politics under Sadat*, (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1985), 112-16.
[433] Marwa Zaalouk, *Power, Class, and Foreign Capital in Egypt*, (Zed Books: London, 1989), 75-94.
[434] Michel Fouad Gorgy, "The Greater Cairo Region: Land Use Today and Tomorrow," in *The Agha Khan Award for Architecture. The Expanding Metropolis: Coping with the Urban Growth of Cairo. (*Agha Khan Program for Islamic Architecture/MIT Press: Cambridge, Mass., 1985), 176-82.
[435] El Shakry, 87, Agha Khan, 98-99.

towns (e.g., Sadat City, Tenth of Ramadan) and satellite cities (e.g., Sixth of October, Fifteenth of May). These nuclei stimulated a favorable economic environment for private sector investment and the deployment of foreign expertise.[436] However, these stand-alone industrial desert towns suffered from low occupancy rates, failing to attract residents until Mubarak implemented the Structural Adjustment Program in the 1990s.

Nasser's State-development project stands in contrast to Sadat's and Mubarak's approach. Nasser's planning policies and his project of modernity aimed for "egalitarian ethics,"[437] minimizing "class antagonisms," creating the "happy family," and making "national citizens." This was his approach for "new Egyptians" and Modern Egypt. On the other hand, Sadat's and Mubarak's planning policies aimed at a demographic redistribution of the population to achieve socioeconomic growth under a free-market mode of accumulation.

During Nasser's era, the *other* citizens: the peasant, countryside migrants, and Islamists were incorporated and were, in fact, objects of governance through discipline and subject formation. Modernists, during Nasser's era, aimed at disciplining subjects through corrective practices, training, observation, and surveillance. "Building men" and investing in "producing citizens that will perform productively" were considered indispensable to building a modern nation-state. The production of citizens is what Michel Foucault described as the "disciplinary society;" "It engages them in a whole mass of documents that capture and fix them."[438] "It is [produces] the individual as he may be described, judged, measured, compared with others, in his very individuality; and it is also the individual who has to be trained or corrected, classified, normalized, excluded, etc."[439] This produced governed objects and rituals of truth.

During Sadat's era of free-market policies, citizens — those who were considered the "other," the slum-dwellers and Islamists, were not trained, corrected, or placed under surveillance. The other was not disciplined by the state, as was the case under Nasser (using the Foucaultian methodology of the Panopticon). In contrast, Sadat's state left the other to deviate, leaving the society and citizens to calculate their choices and pick their lifestyle, outside the state's control and having to take decisions on the citizens' behalf. This demarcated a new sense of society and space. The transformation from the Foucaultian concept of "disciplined society" during Nasser, to Rose's concept of "controlled society", during Sadat, marks the shifting politics of governance and subject formation under neoliberalism. Instead of having institutional sites such as hospitals, schools, asylums or prisons to monitor or correct citizens' activities, "the control of conduct was now immanent to all the places in which deviation could occur, inscribed into the dynamics of the practices into which human beings are connected."[440]

Under Sadat's *Infitah* policy, the state's power started to decentralize by depending on the private sector in persuading the "code of conduct" of the everyday activities and spaces of consumption. The state was no more the sole actor of biopolitics, governance, and space. Other

---

[436] El Kadi 1990, 200; El Shakry 2006, 88.
[437] El Shakry 2006, 86.
[438] Foucault, 203.
[439] Ibid., 203.
[440] Nikolas Rose, "Control," in *Powers of Freedom: Reframing Political Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 234.

non-state agents began to participate actively. These agents were as diverse as NGOs and real estate investors. The presence of these agents nudged individuals to think and calculate their choices, and relations to the city's new desert developments. Maintaining socio-economic privilege and social power in space became detriments to buying and residing in the new desert towns. The individual attitude was what some scholars depict as self-policing, self-calculation of risk, personal control, and self-insurance.[441]

In 1996, President Mubarak reaffirmed the New Town strategy, but with more aggressive capitalist, and neoliberal expansions. He declared that the "'conquest of the desert' [is] no longer a slogan or dream, but a necessity dictated by spiraling population growth."[442] He stated that relocating the desert was not a "token exodus into the desert." The project was a "complete reconsideration of the distribution of population throughout the country"[443] (the Arab Republic of Egypt and the World Bank 2008, 52). Between 1998 and 2002, 22 percent of the Ministry of Housing and Urban Development's (MHUUD) national investment budget went to the New Urban Communities Authority (NUCA), although it includes less than 2 percent of the population[444] (the Arab Republic of Egypt and the World Bank 2008, 61). There have been three generations of new city construction. As of the mid-1980s, the second generation began with twenty new towns. Today, another forty-four new settlements are in the development stage while more are being developed throughout Egypt even without state approval.[445] New desert cities are being built by various entities and comprise 282 square kilometers —or about a third of Greater Cairo (the Greater Cairo Metropolitan Area, GCMA).[446] The New Town strategy went in hand with changes in the Housing Rental and Mortgage Laws (1996, 2001). The 1996 rental law introduced two significant changes to the Egyptian real estate market inside the city leading to the mushrooming of gated communities.

The satellite cities such as New Cairo are divided into archipelagos of gated communities. Fenced foreign-language universities,[447] secured multinational corporate offices, and other land uses all function behind walls and checkpoints. "Enclave architecture" dominates Cairo's desert fringe,[448] making gated communities a highly contested space of modernity. Under Mubarak, the "securitization of identity" and "controlled society" took a more conspicuous form. Spatial

---

[441] Francois Ewald, "Insurance and Risk," 1991. 198-201. Robert Castel, "From Dangerousness to Risk," 1991, 287-296, in, Graham Burchell, et. al., *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality*, (The University of Chicago Press: Chicago, 1991).

[442] Singerman, *Cairo Contested,* 13.

[443] Ibid.

[444] Ibid.

[445] Ibid.

[446] Ibid.

[447] According to Singerman: "In 2008, the American University in Cairo opened a gleaming new campus in New Cairo in a neo-Islamic style, spending close to $400 million, subsidized by a $97 million grant from USAID (Sponsored Programs 2003-2004). The university moved from a 7.8-acre campus in downtown Tahrir (Liberation) Square, the heart of the city where Nasser built the huge symbol of Egyptian bureaucracy and the post-colonial state, the Mugamma', to the 280-acre campus and enhance its downtown campus" (2009, 14).

[448] Singerman 2009, 16. Singerman contends that gated communities in Egypt is a product of a global phenomenon. Her analysis as it stands with international comparisons from Los Angeles, Florida, and elsewhere, dismisses the local articulations and nuances that makes the Egyptian case more independent from the global reference and "Gated community" attribution -with a capital G. Adham and Singerman, further, believe that the enclaves built on the desert edges of the city are reproducing the colonial urban model of "dual city." The bifurcated colonial architecture imposed a residential segregation between the exogenous elite and indigenous inhabitants (Adham 2004, 149).

segregation and self-policing were the design registers of the neoliberal compound of modernity, gated communities.

As I have proven using Al-Rehab case study, the new modern compound is a "securitized-controlled society" encompassing a critical form of social, economic, and political discrimination. Using ethnographic research from 2010-2012, I investigated the invisible circuits of surveillance and local spatial agents that create "zones of exception" and "controlled housing settlements." Real estate developers built gated communities at the conjunction of the existing built environment with the periphery. I depended on content analysis and close reading of security documents, together with semi-structured interviews. A private-private assemblage of agents of control communicates the code of conduct and internal dynamics of the neoliberal walls. Through investigating Al-Rehab Community, I highlight the multitude of agencies supervising the gated community and their tools of security and control. While the upper-middle class escapes the city and its problems, leaving for *freedom*, hygiene, and a better lifestyle, I argue that there is a sophisticated mode of governance (and negotiating power) behind these "spaces of exception." Three spatial agents control the modern neoliberal compound, representing a hybrid form of governance between the private and public sector. In Al-Rehab, power is divided between the real-estate developer, the police department, and the privatized security that is run by a retired military general. These are the agents formulating the code of conduct and neoliberal social contract that citizens subscribe to with the purchase of their housing units.

A collaborative private-public ethos underlines the governance and security of desert land and housing compounds. Using the "Security Map," I illustrate how retired military generals deployed the national army's mindset of order in monitoring the enclaves, as zones and territories of control. Developers of gated communities like Talaat Moustafa Group, TMG, hire retired officers as they act as intermediary agents between maintaining national order through their networks with the State and Army, and security within the private compounds. Such intermediary roles of spatial agents and embedded local politics unsettle the arguments developed around the deterritorialization of Egypt's gated communities and their absolute global modernity.

Using a close reading of Al-Rehab discursive practices and local politics, I illustrate how developers manipulate free-market deregulations, power relations, and exploit "exceptional" concessions for economic growth and control of the enclave. The developer took advantage of the free-market ethos and the state's politics to redistribute population in the City. TMG re-designed its compound several times based on calculations of consumer demands and desires, and neoliberal uncertainties of the fluctuation of building materials. The deployment of such an approach result in the design of a broad range of housing variations, prototypes, and models, together with the varying loan program to attract as many citizens as possible into this real-estate bubble. During the recession period, the developer sold some parcels as subdivisions in Phase 6 making use of land price inflation. He sold the extra territory he initially took as an "award" from the state.

Franchised services and diversified restaurants, shopping malls, and traditional souk all present in Al-Rehab gated community to play on the neoliberal ethos of market competition,

empowering consumers and their freedom of choice. Accordingly, the developer generates more profit for the enclave to balance off neoliberal market uncertainties. The commercialization of hygienic green spaces is remarkable. The main central green space in Al-Rehab is the social-sports club located at the heart of the enclave. However, it is fenced and only accessible to members. Branding the social sports club occurred through "operational tactics" using attractive bundles and celebrities participating in events. One example of such tactics is the formation of a children's soccer school run by El-Khateeb, a famous soccer player in Egypt. In the neoliberal compound of modernity, membership subscriptions, groups and sub-groups are the tools for belonging and blending into the community. In other words, you have to pay to *belong*, at every level.

As a result of embracing the neoliberal practices and successful maneuvering over market fluctuations, Egyptians of all sorts of political identities invest and buy units inside Al-Rehab. However, such diversity comes with its challenges. Mediating differences without clashes and keeping a collective order (inside a larger "National Order") turns out to be a test for the private-security mechanisms, which Al-Rehab deploy to create a "controlled society."

The common ground that many residents share, despite their stark political views, is their desire for distinction and security. Diverse residents share the neoliberal spirit, the desire for economic growth, business entrepreneurship, and concern for class distinction. In 2008, a group of residents initiated *Rehaby*, "My Rehab," entrepreneurial blog offering online information about the gated community. The blog expanded into helping potential residents find vacant units to buy in the compound. With time, the blog became a real-estate broker focused on the generation of profits through the sale and rental of units. Additionally, the blog created a forum for residents' complaints and offering courses encouraging residents to initiate their start-ups inside the compound.

Residents proudly defined their "shared identity" on the basis of their difference from other Cairenes. The young entrepreneurial spirit soon clashed with the commercial shops inside the compound around the issue of "Security" and allowing "the other" into the gated community. Some of the military affiliates and the Mayor himself own shops and rent them in the Souk. The presence of the Rehaby blog facilitated inter-communication between residents of the expanded enclave, where they debated many contentious issues. They lobbied around the issue of security. Simultaneously, residents built up an NGO called *Tatweer*, or "Development" as a representative front to vocalize their demands. Many residents who mobilized around these issues, including the founder of Rehaby, were Muslim Brotherhood members. The politics of identity underlying these disputes surfaced later —after 2011-Revolution.

TMG handled issues before the revolution through conflict mediation and negotiation that ultimately resulted in middle ground solutions honoring the neoliberal spirit, economic growth, and security control. As a resolution, visitors issued an entry ticket of five Egyptian pounds for every three hours they spent in the enclave.

After the 2011-Revolution, residents empathizing with the events of Tahrir Square and recurring massacres, organized vigils, marches, and protests in the gated community. They would sneak in activists, and "the other", through Gate 13 that they had previously denounced for allowing

outsiders. The changing position of residents towards the other was quite remarkable. Activist residents of Al-Rehab were aware of the politics of their situation; they were "economically exclusive," but still, wanted to remain "politically inclusive" with the Society and the City.

In that sense, Al-Rehab residents interacted vigorously with the rise and fall of MB in Egypt. It is important to note that until January 2011, MB was "a banned organization" and framed as the political other. With the rise of the MB to power, however, and the election of their candidate, Mohamed Morsi, as Egypt's President in 2012, the MB members living inside Al-Rehab exposed themselves and succeeded in getting a governmental decree to turn the weak iron-meshed fence around the compound into a concrete wall. Erecting a high block wall around Al-Rehab was an issue that Mubarak's government had previously rejected, despite the strong association with the developer. Al-Rehab town hall celebrated the efforts of MB residents for obtaining the decree. Again, all residents —despite their political antagonisms shared the common ground of preserving the gated community's exclusivity. The political "other", the MB, that was denounced before was celebrated in Al-Rehab.

With the dramatic turn of events and ouster of President Morsi in the summer of 2013, the new interim government declared the MB as a "terrorist organization" and their members were *again* framed as the "political other." Clashes erupted throughout Cairo, and many protestors died as a result. MB residents of Al-Rehab were, however, immune as long as they remained within the gated community, and accepted to live in a "controlled society" that was monitored by a privatized security system.

What is at stake is that the neoliberal compound "protects" them as well as "controls" their activities. It is a double-edged weapon. Residents are politically free inside the gates as long as they subscribe to an economic exclusivity that honors security, surveillance, and class distinction. The desire of residents to remain "politically connected" with the rest of the society, and the nation-state was soon cut off. Despite that the state is not completely in charge of their activities inside the compound — thanks to the "zones of control" and non-hierarchical/lateral structures of control that keep residents in "securitized zones."

In conclusion, after the shift in political economy towards neoliberalism and free-market ethos, Egyptian citizens were no longer the object of governance to create "disciplined modern society" (building new citizen and happy families) as was the case during Nasser's Egypt. Rather, desert land became the object of governance to create "controlled zones." Such a shift entailed the production of non-hierarchical lateral organizations of security through private-public partnerships besides the State's National Security.

My dissertation finding is that experts and technocrats built "new housing compounds" on the periphery as experienced modernities to control and discipline citizens within a larger attempt to maintain hygiene, stability, and national order. In every historical period, the State and local agents erected these compounds through the delineation of social differences and construction of a new "other."

Meanwhile, the biopolitics inside settlements followed a set of transitions since the second half of the twentieth century until the present. These changes were political, social, and economic:

from the social welfare state to the open-door economy, from the "pioneering ethics" of modernists and social-engineering of citizens' bodies and their animals, to the "demographic mass distribution" of population while subcontracting control to non-state agencies. The resulting society is a shift from the "disciplined family" to the "controlled society" of the privatized security.

Future Research Development

This research is a critical study of the top-down approach towards housing development. Its primary focus lies within the intersections of power, architecture, and modernity. The research demonstrates how "spaces of exclusion" in Egypt are outcomes of local agents and internal conflicts that were building up historically in space since the establishment of the Republic. The argument offers a different analytical framework from theories describing Cairo's gated communities as deterritorialized and detached areas that are more connected to world-class elites. However, there are two research concerns related to my selection of cases. First, there is the concern of universalization, having depended on a single case for every historical period for Cairo, whereas, in the rural region I elaborated on a set of cases in the first and second chapter. Second, I represented what sounds like a monolithic narrative without introducing alternative practices or anecdotes to the State's holistic construct of the "disciplined family" or the "controlled society."

Popular Practices: Security without Gates

During my fieldwork in the gated communities of Cairo (2010-2012), a revolution erupted in the heart of the City. Moving to and fro, laterally and across the metropolis, I participated in the 2011-Revolution, witnessing a deep desire for security across all social classes and in all neighborhoods —gated and non-gated. This sense of risk and fear exacerbated with prison breaks at the night of January 28th, 2011, with policemen allegedly freeing criminals to punish people for their revolt. Many neighborhoods and gated communities were sabotaged. Compounds like Al-Rehab City, where some military generals resided, were immediately surrounded by military tanks for protection. Inside the City, residents in neighborhoods organized themselves and formed what they called Lagan Sha'bia, or Neighborhood Committee Watches. Legan Sha'bia appeared in affluent districts like Zamalek and Mohandeseen as well as non-affluent neighborhoods like Mit Oqba, Ard El-Lewa, and Auseem. I became interested in these alternative practices of security and how residents themselves mapped their streets and spaces for control and security. This provides another narrative to the intersections of biopolitics, society, and architecture — however, from the people and by the people. The "popular security practice" of Legan Sha'bia offers an entirely different model of "Security without the Gates" different from the neoliberal privatized-security units, how they venture on social segregation and the continuous construction of the other.

Nonetheless, legan sha'bia had a short-life term; it faded away in the affluent neighborhoods very quickly by March of 2011 with the return of the police state, after the Supreme Council of Armed Forces (SCAF) took control. However, in the non-affluent neighborhoods, legan sha'bia continued to operate until the beginning of 2012. They played a crucial role beyond just "security" offering a popular model of functioning municipal governance. Residents of legan sha'bia tackled issues of electricity shortage, garbage collecting problem, gas tubes' distributive corruption, and drugs and sexual harassment in the streets. The legan sha'bia of Mit Oqba

printed a weekly newsletter with residents writing short articles, printed-blogs, and even caricatures on their living conditions inside their neighborhoods. The "popular governance" model stood in stark contrast to TMG's governance of Al-Rehab as well as the official State's governance of these neighborhoods. Soon, however, the State took back its control over cities, and the popular efforts of governance completely faded out in 2012 with the election of Mohamed Morsi, the MB candidate, who promised to work with legan sha'bia. In July 2012, I interviewed the Mit Oqba legan sha'bia coordinator to reflect on these joint efforts with the State officials under Morsi's administration. Unfortunately, he expressed his disappointment with how the State made sure to suppress any popular efforts, even if those who were elected and came into power were at once from the opposition.

The legan sha'bia operated differently inside every neighborhood depending on the political constituency of residents. Their use of space and tactics to support their neighborhoods illuminates a lot of nuanced politics and the diversity that exists in the Egyptian society. Inside Auseem, Muslim Brotherhood members dominated legan sha'bia. Inside Mit Oqba, two families controlled the decisions of lega sha'bia —a family that was leaning towards entrepreneurship and another that depended on their previous connections with Mubarak's regime. Inside Ard El-Lewa, left-wing residents and local artists were involved in the organization, structure, and spatial tactics of developing the role of legan sha'bia. The insights drawn from these variations are invaluable and give hope for achieving security and governance from below without having walls, gates, and checkpoints.

The Heterogeneity of Cairo's Gated Communities

From *Al-Rehab City* to *Dreamland*, *Haram City*, and *Uptown Cairo*, Cairo's gated communities offer different approaches to spatial contextualization, which proves my central argument that they are not homogenous and are the result of idiosyncratic negotiations. There is a set of case studies that I have researched during my doctoral fieldwork over the summers of 2008, 2009, and from 2010 through 2012. However, it was difficult to incorporate them all in the dissertation — otherwise the manuscript would have been imbalanced between the neoliberal compounds and the rest of the historical cases. However, I capitalized on such broad and deep understanding to theorize the common ground that most of Cairo gated communities share, which is their relationship with the State and the new forms of privatized security units behind their walls. My possible future research would draw on the incurring differences of "private governance" and "controlled society" that each gated community produces.

For future research, there are three genres of gated communities. There are the first pioneering national developers who started the neoliberal compounds such as Al-Rehab City and Dreamland. The first genre took over a decade to materialize their projects and become inhabited with fully powered service. The second genre was generated by the influx of Arabian capital producing enclaves such as Uptown Cairo (the Emirati Emaar) and Hyde Park (the Emirati Damac). From its inception, Uptown Cairo struggled with the Egyptian free-market uncertainties and local politics till a geographic catastrophe of a rockslide of the Muqattam Mount over which the enclave is located. The Muqattam rockslide left a set of casualties and led to the displacement of Dowei'a informal settlement that resided at the bottom of the Mount. The third genre of gated communities was intertwined with the Presidential race program of Hosni Mubarak in 2005. Together with his Minister of Housing and Utilities at that time, Ahmed El-Maghraby, launched

Ibny Beitak project, or "Build your house," in compounds beside the gated communities on the periphery of Cairo. As part of the state's intervention and affording housing units for the youth and middle-classes on the periphery, the President's wife, Suzan Mubarak, ordered Samih Sawiris to house the resettled inhabitants of Dowei'a in his gated community, Haram City, in exchange for an extra desert land to develop and expand Phase II of the compound. The resulting outcome was the division of the original enclave into two parts. An extremely segregated patterns of living between a cluster of middle and upper-middle class, and a cluster of popular, *sha'bi*, relocated residents of Dowei'a.

As the case studies of the neoliberal compound have shown, there are inherited conspicuous characteristics that are always present. There is the private-security component, the other is always current and controlled, and finally, there are continuous negotiations and mediations between the real-estate developer and the State.

Works Cited

Abaza, Mona. *The Changing Consumer Cultures of Modern Egypt: Cairo's Urban Reshaping*. Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2006.

Abdelgawad, Tawfik. "After Ten Years." *Majallat al-'imārah. al-Qāhirah : [Majallat al-'imārah, 1939-. continued by Majallat al-'imārah wa-al-funūn. al-Qāhirah : [Majallat al-'imārah wa-al-funūn, 1952-] Harvard University Library PDS* 1–2 (1949): 7–8.

———. "Re-Planning the Egyptian Villages, 'Islah wa-Takhteet Al-Qaryah.'" *Majallat al-'imārah. al-Qāhirah : [Majallat al-'imārah, 1939-. continued by Majallat al-'imārah wa-al-funūn. al-Qāhirah : [Majallat al-'imārah wa-al-funūn, 1952-] Harvard University Library PDS* 1–2 (1953): 20–27.

Abdel Kawi. "The Role of Magazines in Architectural Education: The Medina Experience in Egypt." In *Architectural Education Today: Cross-Cultural Perspectives*, edited by Ashraf M. A. Salama and William O'Reilly. Lausanne: Comportements, 2002. http://archnet.org/publications/4641.

Abul-Magd, Zeinab. "The Egyptian Republic of Retired Generals." *Foreign Policy Blogs*, May 8, 2012. http://mideastafrica.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2012/05/08/the_egyptian_republic_of_retired_generals.

Abu-Lughod, Janet. "Creating One's Future from One's Past: Nondefensively." *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review: Journal of the International Association for the Study of Traditional Environments Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review: Journal of the International Association for the Study of Traditional Environments* 7, no. 1 (1995): 7–11.

———. "Disappearing Dichotomies: Firstworld-Thirdworld; Traditional-Modern." *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review: Journal of the International Association for the Study of Traditional Environments Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review: Journal of the International Association for the Study of Traditional Environments* 3, no. 2 (1992): 7–12.

———. "Tale of Two Cities: The Origins of Modern Cairo." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 7, no. 4 (July 1, 1965): 429–57.

Abu-Lughod, Janet L. *Cairo: 1001 Years of the City Victorious*. Princeton Studies on the Near East. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1971.

———. "Urbanization in Egypt: Present State and Future Prospects." *Economic Development and Cultural Change* 13, no. 3 (April 1, 1965): 313–43.

Adham, Khaled. "Cairo's Urban Déjà vu: Globalization and Urban Fantasies." In *Planning Middle Eastern Cities: An Urban Kaleidoscope Ina Globalizing World*, edited by Yasser Elsheshtawy, 134–68. London; New York: Routledge, 2004.

Adly, Amr. "Mubarak 1990-2011: The State of Corruption." In *Arab Reform Inititative: The Politics of Corruption*, 2011. http://www.arab-reform.net/sites/default/files/Mubarak_1990-2011_The_State_of_Corruption.pdf.

Aga Khan Award for Architecture (Organization), ed. *The Expanding Metropolis Coping with the Urban Growth of Cairo: Proceedings of Seminar ... Held in Cairo, Egypt, November 11-15, 1984*. Architectural Transformations in the Islamic World 9. Singapore: Published by Concept Media Pte. Ltd. for the Aga Khan Award for Architecture, 1985.

Agamben, Giorgio. *State of exception*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005.

Agamben, Giorgio, and Daniel Heller-Roazen. *Homo Sacer*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1998.

Agha Khan Program for Islamic Architecture. "Cairo, 1800-2000: Planning for the Capital City in the Context of Egypt's History and Development." In *The Expanding Metropolis Coping with the Urban Growth of Cairo: Proceedings of Seminar ... Held in Cairo, Egypt, November 11-15, 1984*, edited by Aga Khan Award for Architecture (Organization), 91–113. Architectural Transformations in the Islamic World 9. Singapore: Published by Concept Media Pte. Ltd. for the Aga Khan Award for Architecture, 1985.

"AlRehabCity.com." Accessed October 11, 2014. http://www.alrehabcity.com/rehab2011/Appartments.aspx.

AlSayyad, Nezar. *Cairo: Histories of a City*. 1st ed. Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press of Harvard Universitry Press, 2011.

———. *Forms of Dominance on the Architecture and Urbanism of the Colonial Enterprise*. Aldershot; Brookfield, U.S.A.: Avebury, 1992.

———. "From Vernacularism to Globalism: The Temporal Reality of Traditonal Settlements." *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review: Journal of the International Association for the Study of Traditional Environments Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review: Journal of the International Association for the Study of Traditional Environments* 7, no. 1 (1995): 13–24.

AlSayyad, Nezar, and Ananya Roy. "Medieval Modernity: On Citizenship and Urbanism in a Global Era." *Space & Polity* Vol. 10, no. Issue 1 (Apr2006): 1–20.

Al-Tawy, Ayat. "El-Sisi Snapped Cycling in Cairo - Politics - Egypt - Ahram Online." Accessed June 15, 2014. http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/1/64/97928/Egypt/Politics-/ElSisi-snapped-cycling-in-Cairo-.aspx.

Amar, Paul. *The Security Archipelago ; Human-Security States, Sexuality Politics, and the End of Neoliberalism*, 2013.

"AmCham Egypt - Members Center - Members Database - Search Members." Accessed September 13, 2014. http://www.amcham.org.eg/member_center/membersdatabase/View_Member_Details.asp?MI=1940.

Anderson, Benedict R. O'G. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London; New York: Verso, 1991.

Appadurai, Arjun. *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. Public Worlds, v. 1. Minneapolis, Minn: University of Minnesota Press, 1996.

Ashraf, Fady. "Police Forces Arrest Alleged 'Terrorist' for Involvement in Mabrouk Assassination." *Daily News Egypt*. Accessed June 15, 2014. http://www.dailynewsegypt.com/2013/11/30/police-forces-arrest-alleged-terrorist-for-involvement-in-mabrouk-assassination/.

Atkinson, Rowland, and Sarah Blandy, eds. *Gated Communities*. London; New York: Routledge, 2006.

Ayoub, Yasser. "A Real Minister and An Illusionary Ministry," July 2, 2009. http://www.youm7.com/News.asp?NewsID=114065.

Azab, Sayyid. "Bricks in the Village." *Majallat al-ʿimārah. al-Qāhirah : [Majallat al-ʿimārah, 1939-. continued by Majallat al-ʿimārah wa-al-funūn. al-Qāhirah : [Majallat al-ʿimārah wa-al-funūn, 1952-] Harvard University Library PDS* 3–4 (1940): 216–17.

Bayat, Asef. *Street Politics: Poor People's Movements in Iran*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1997.

Beck, Ulrich. *Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity*. London; Newbury Park, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1992.

Benjamin, Walter, E. F. N Jephcott, and Peter Demetz. *Reflections: Essays, Aphorisms, Autobiographical Writings*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1978.

Berman, Marshall. *All That Is Solid Melts into Air: The Experience of Modernity*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1982.

Bhabha, Homi K. *The Location of Culture*. Routledge Classics. London; New York: Routledge, 2004.

Blakely, Edward J., and Mary Gail Snyder. *Fortress America: Gated Communities in the United States*. Washington, D.C.: Cambridge, Mass: Brookings Institution Press; Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, 1997.

Brenner, Neil, ed. *Implosions/explosions: Towards a Study of Planetary Urbanization*. Berlin: JOVIS, 2014.

Burgess, Rod. "Self-Help Housing Advocacy: A Curious Form of Radicalism, A Critique of the Work of John F. C. Turner." In *Self-Help Housing: A Critique*, edited by Peter M Ward, 55–97. London; Bronx, N.Y.: Mansell; Distributed in the U.S. by H.W. Wilson, 1982.

Caldeira, Teresa Pires do Rio. *City of Walls: Crime, Segregation, and Citizenship in São Paulo*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000.

Caluya, Gilbert. "The Post-Panoptic Society? Reassessing Foucault in Surveillance Studies." *Social Identities* 16, no. 5 (September 1, 2010): 621–33.

Çelik, Zeynep. *Displaying the Orient Architecture of Islam at Nineteenth-Century World's Fairs*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992.

———. "Le Corbusier, Orientalism, Colonialism." *Assemblage Assemblage*, no. 17 (1992): 59–77.

Chatterjee, Partha. *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993.

Cities Alliance: Cities without Slums and the City of Sao Paulo. "Informal and Squatter Settlements in Greater Cairo: Challenges and Policy Response." In *Slum Upgrading Up Close: Experiences of Six Cities*, 5–18. Washington, D.C., 2008. http://www.citiesalliance.org/sites/citiesalliance.org/files/su-up-close_0.pdf.

Crecelius, Daniel. "Al-Azhar in the Revolution." *Middle East Journal* 20, no. 1 (January 1, 1966): 31–49.

Crysler, C. Greig Cairns, Stephen, and Hilde Heynen. *The SAGE Handbook of Architectural Theory*. London: SAGE, 2012.

Davis, Mike. *City of Quartz: Excavating the Future in Los Angeles*. The Haymarket Series. London; New York: Verso, 1991.

Denis, Eric. "Cairo as Neoliberal Capital? From Walled City to Gated Communities." In *Cairo Cosmopolitan: Politics, Culture, and Urban Space in the New Globalized Middle East*, edited by Diane Singerman and Paul Amar, 2006th ed., 47–71. Cairo; New York: American University in Cairo Press, n.d. http://hal.archives-ouvertes.fr/docs/00/37/92/02/PDF/2006_Denis_gated_communities.pdf.

Dorman, W.J. "Exclusion and Informality: The Praetorian Politics of Land Management in Cairo, Egypt." *IJUR International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 37, no. 5 (2013): 1584–1610.

———. "Informal Cairo: Between Islamist Insurgency and the Neglectful State?" *Security Dialogue* 40, no. 4–5 (2009): 4–5.

"Egypt Tycoon Gets Retrial over Singer's Death." *Daily News Egypt*. Accessed June 14, 2014. http://www.dailynewsegypt.com/2012/01/16/egypt-tycoon-hesham-talaat-moustafa-gets-retrial-court/.

El-Ghobashy, Mona. "Housing for Whom? Representatives under the Rotunda Raise a Ruckus over the Government's Mortgage Law." *Cairo Times*, May 5, 2001.

El Shakry, Omnia. "Cairo as Capital of Socialist Revolution?" In *Cairo Cosmopolitan: Politics, Culture, and Urban Space in the New Globalized Middle East*, edited by Diane Singerman and Paul Amar, 73–98. Cairo; New York: American University in Cairo Press, 2006.

ElShahed, Mohamed. "Nasr City Was Once Egypt's New Capital, but Things Went Wrong." Accessed July 4, 2015. about:reader?url=http%3A%2F%2Fcairobserver.com%2Fpost%2F114391196879%2Fnasr-city-was-once-egypts-new-capital-but-things%23.VZc0EKY3cgU.

Elsheshtawy, Yasser, ed. *Planning Middle Eastern Cities: An Urban Kaleidoscope Ina Globalizing World*. Planning, History and Environment Series. London; New York: Routledge, 2004.

Elyachar, Julia. "Mappings of Power: The State, NGOs, and International Organizations in the Informal Economy of Cairo." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 45, no. 3 (2003): 571–605.

———. *Markets of Dispossession: NGOs, Economic Development, and the State in Cairo*. Politics, History, and Culture. Durham: Duke University Press, 2005.

Evans, Robin. *The Projective Cast: Architecture and Its Three Geometries*. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1995.

Ewald, Francois. "Insurance and Risk." In *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality: With Two Lectures by and an Interview with Michel Foucault*, edited by Michel Foucault, Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon, and Peter Miller, 287–96. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991.

Fahim, Kareem. "Egypt, Dealing a Blow to the Muslim Brotherhood, Deems It a Terrorist Group." *The New York Times*, December 25, 2013. http://www.nytimes.com/2013/12/26/world/middleeast/egypt-calls-muslim-brotherhood-a-terrorist-group.html.

Fahmi, Wael, and Keith Sutton. "Greater Cairo's Housing Crisis: Contested Spaces from Inner City Areas to New Communities." *Cities* 25, no. 5 (October 2008): 277–97.

Fathy, Hassan. *Architecture for the Poor; an Experiment in Rural Egypt*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973.

———. *Gourna; a Tale of Two Villages*. Cairo: Ministry of Culture, 1969.

———. "Problems Facing the Egyptian Architect, 'Ba'd Al-Mashakel Allaty Tuwajeh Al-Mi'maar Al-Masry.'" *Majallat Al-'imārah. Al-Qāhirah : [Majallat Al-'imārah, 1939-. Continued by Majallat Al-'imārah Wa-Al-Funūn. Al-Qāhirah : [Majallat Al-'imārah Wa-Al-Funūn, 1952-] Harvard University Library PDS*, (4-5, 1945): 25-26.

Foucault, Michel. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1977.

Foucault, Michel, Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon, and Peter Miller, eds. *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality: With Two Lectures by and an Interview with Michel*

Foucault. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991.

Ghannam, Farha. *Remaking the Modern: Space, Relocation, and the Politics of Identity in a Global Cairo*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002.

———. "The Promise of the Wall: Reflections on Desire and Gated Communities in Cairo." Accessed August 30, 2014. http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/15864/the-promise-of-the-wall_reflections-on-desire-and-.

Gharib, Remah. "Urban Conservation Projects of Cairo: A Critique of the Local Literature." In *Architecture beyond Criticism: Expert Judgment and Performance Evaluation*, edited by Wolfgang F. E. Preiser, Aaron T. Davis, Ashraf M. A. Salama, and Andrea Hardy, 121–27. London; New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2015.

Glasze, George, and Abdallah Alkhayyal. "Gated Housing Estates in the Arab World: Case Studies in Lebanon and Riyadh, Saudi Arabia." *Environment & Planning B: Planning & Design* 29, no. 3 (2002).

Glasze, Georg, Chris Webster, and Klaus Frantz, eds. *Private Cities: Global and Local Perspectives*. Routledge Studies in Human Geography 13. London; New York: Routledge, 2006.

Gorgy, Michel Fouad. "The Greater Cairo Region: Land Use Today and Tomorrow." In *The Agha Khan Award for Architecture. The Expanding Metropolic: Coping with the Urban Growth of Cairo*, 176–82. Cambridge, Mass.: Agha Khan Program for Islamic Architecture/MIT Press, 1985.

Gupta, Akhil, and James Ferguson, eds. *Culture, Power, Place: Explorations in Critical Anthropology*. Durham, N.C: Duke University Press, 1997.

Hamadeh, Shirine. "Creating the Traditional City: A French Project." In *Forms of Dominance on the Architecture and Urbanism of the Colonial Enterprise*, edited by Nezar AlSayyad, 241–60. Aldershot; Brookfield, U.S.A.: Avebury, 1992.

Hamel, Pierre, and Roger Keil. *Suburban Governance: A Global View*, 2015.

Ḥāmid, Aḥmad. *Hassan Fathy and Continuity in Islamic Architecture: The Birth of a New Modern*. American Univ in Cairo Press, 2010.

Ḥammād, Muḥammad. *Miṣr Tabnī*. [al-Qāhirah, 1964.

Harm, Hans. "Historical Perspectives on the Practice and Purpose of Self-Help Housing." In *Self-Help Housing: A Critique*, edited by Peter M Ward, 17–53. London; Bronx, N.Y.: Mansell; Distributed in the U.S. by H.W. Wilson, 1982.

Harvey, David. *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change*. Cambridge, Mass: Blackwell, 1990.

"Hay Al Ashgar." *Facebook*. Accessed August 24, 2014. https://www.facebook.com/pages/Hay-Al-Ashgar/348635925227903?sk=info.

Hinnebusch, Raymond. *Egyptian Politcs under Sadat*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.

"History | MNHD." Accessed June 23, 2015. http://www.mnhd.com/?page_id=1438.

Holston, James. *The Modernist City: An Anthropological Critique of Brasília*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989.

Hope, Bradley. "Scaf Try to Seal off Dissent with Walls around Tahrir Square | The National." Accessed June 10, 2014. http://www.thenational.ae/news/world/middle-east/scaf-try-to-seal-off-dissent-with-walls-around-tahrir-square.

"IGI Real Estate." Accessed August 24, 2014. http://www.linkedin.com/company/igi-real-estate.

"International Group For Investment." Accessed August 24, 2014.

http://www.bizearch.com/company/International_Group_For_Investment_172060.htm.

Ismail, Salwa. *Political Life in Cairo's New Quarters Encountering the Everyday State*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006. http://public.eblib.com/EBLPublic/PublicView.do?ptiID=326395.

Jacobs, Jane M. *Edge of Empire: Postcolonialism and the City*. London; New York: Routledge, 1996.

Julier, Guy. "Urban Designscapes and the Production of Aesthetic Consent." *Urban Studies* 42, no. 5–6 (May 1, 2005): 869–87.

Jurgens, Ulrich, and Martin Gnad. "Gated Communities in South Africa-Experiences from Johannesburg." *ENVIRONMENT AND PLANNING B* 29 (2002): 337–54.

Kadi, Galila El, and Alain Bonnamy. *Architecture for the Dead: Cairo's Medieval Necropolis*. Cairo; New York: American University in Cairo Press, 2007.

Kadi, Galila El. "Market Mechanisms and Spontaneous Urbanization in Egypt: The Cairo Case." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 12, no. 1 (1988): 22–37.

———. "Trente ans de Planification Urbaine au Caire." *Revuetiersmonde Revue Tiers Monde* 31, no. 121 (1990): 185–207.

Kandil, Hazem. *Soldiers, Spies, and Statesmen: Egypt's Road to Revolt*. London; Brooklyn, NY: Verso, 2012.

Karīm, Sayyid. *Al-Qāhirah 'umruhā 50 Alf Sanah!* Cairo: al-Hay'ah al-Miṣrīyah al-'Āmmah lil-Kitāb, 1999.

———. "Bricks." *Majallat al-'imārah. al-Qāhirah : [Majallat al-'imārah, 1939-. continued by Majallat al-'imārah wa-al-funūn. al-Qāhirah : [Majallat al-'imārah wa-al-funūn, 1952-] Harvard University Library PDS* 3–4 (1940): 143.

———. "Comprehensive Reform and Program of Village Treatment, "Al-Islah Al-Shamel wa-Bernameg 'Elag Al-Qaryah"." *Majallat al-'imārah. al-Qāhirah : [Majallat al-'imārah, 1939-. continued by Majallat al-'imārah wa-al-funūn. al-Qāhirah : [Majallat al-'imārah wa-al-funūn, 1952-] Harvard University Library PDS* 1–2 (1953): 6.

———. "Theories of Architecture." *Majallat al-'imārah. al-Qāhirah : [Majallat al-'imārah, 1939-. continued by Majallat al-'imārah wa-al-funūn. al-Qāhirah : [Majallat al-'imārah wa-al-funūn, 1952-] Harvard University Library PDS* 1 (1940): 65–66.

———. "Words from the Editor." *Majallat al-'imārah. al-Qāhirah : [Majallat al-'imārah, 1939-. continued by Majallat al-'imārah wa-al-funūn. al-Qāhirah : [Majallat al-'imārah wa-al-funūn, 1952-] Harvard University Library PDS* 1 (1945): 1.

———. "Words from the Editor: From 1939-1949." *Majallat al-'imārah. al-Qāhirah : [Majallat al-'imārah, 1939-. continued by Majallat al-'imārah wa-al-funūn. al-Qāhirah : [Majallat al-'imārah wa-al-funūn, 1952-] Harvard University Library PDS* 1–2 (1949): 5–6.

Keddie, Patrick. "Egypt's Megafantasies." *The Los Angeles Review of Books*. Accessed May 7, 2015. https://lareviewofbooks.org/review/egypts-megafantasies/.

King, Anthony D., ed. *Culture, Globalization and the World-System: Contemporary Conditions for the Representation of Identity*. Current Debates in Art History 3. Binghamton, NY: Dept. of Art and Art History, State University of New York at Binghamton, 1991.

Kingsley, Patrick. "Closed off in Cairo: Walls Erected during Egypt Protests Still Standing." *The Guardian*, March 28, 2013, sec. World news. http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/mar/28/egypt-cairo-protest-walls-stil-standing.

Kirkpatrick, David. "Egyptian Court Confirms Death Sentence for Mohamed Morsi." *The New York Times*, June 16, 2015.

http://www.nytimes.com/2015/06/17/world/middleeast/egyptian-court-confirms-death-sentence-for-ousted-president-morsi.html?_r=0.

Koning, Anouk de. *Global Dreams: Class, Gender, and Public Space in Cosmopolitan Cairo*. Cairo; New York: American University in Cairo Press, 2009.

Kuppinger, Petra. "Exclusive Greenery: New Gated Communities in Cairo." *City & Society* 16, no. 2 (December 1, 2004): 35–61.

Kusno, Abidin. *Behind the Postcolonial: Architecture, Urban Space, and Political Cultures in Indonesia*. London; New York: Routledge, 2000.

Lamprakos, Michele. "Le Corbusier and Algiers: The Plan Obus as Colonial Urbanism." In *Forms of Dominance on the Architecture and Urbanism of the Colonial Enterprise*, edited by Nezar AlSayyad, 183–210. Aldershot; Brookfield, U.S.A.: Avebury, 1992.

Le Corbusier. "A Contemporary City." In *The City of To-Morrow and Its Planning*. New York: Dover Publications, 1929. http://macaulay.cuny.edu/eportfolios/milsteinspring2013sandbox/files/2013/03/Le-Corbusier-from-The-City-of-Tomorrow-and-Its-Planning.pdf.

———. *The Modulor; a Harmonious Measure to the Human Scale, Universally Applicable to Architecture and Mechanics*. 2d ed. Cambridge, Mass: M.I.T. Press, 1968.

———. *The City of To-Morrow and Its Planning*. Reissue edition. New York: Dover Publications, 1987.

Lee, Kah-Wee. "Feeling like a State: Design Guidelines and the Legibility of 'Urban Experience' in Singapore." *International Journal of Urban & Regional Research* 38, no. 1 (2014).

Lefebvre, Henri. *The production of space*. Oxford, OX, UK; Cambridge, Mass., USA: Blackwell, 1991.

———. *The Urban Revolution*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003.

Low, Setha M. *Behind the Gates: Life, Security, and the Pursuit of Happiness in Fortress America*. New York: Routledge, 2003.

Loza, Pierre. "The Not-so-Real Estate Market: Antiquated Laws and an Economic Crunch Are Keeping the Real Estate Market in an Unprecedented Recession." *Al-Ahram Weekly*. 2004. http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/2004/680/ec2.htm.

"Madinaty Residential Areas and Real Estate Areas in Egypt. Real Estate, Residential Areas and Retail Units in Egypt." Accessed July 27, 2015. http://www.madinaty.com/.

Magda Metwally, and et al. "'Evaluation of the Experience of Residential Compounds in New Urban Communities on the Outskirts of the Greater Cairo Region.'" Egypt: National Center for Housing and Building Research Report (NCHBR), National Academy of Scientific Research and Technology, 2006.

Mahmood, Saba. *Politics of Piety: The Islamic Revival and the Feminist Subject*. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 2005.

Malsin, Jared. "Cairo's New Normal: Protests Spawn a World of Walls and Barricades." *Time*. Accessed June 10, 2014. http://world.time.com/2013/01/08/cairos-new-normal-protests-spawn-a-world-of-walls-and-barricades/.

Marcuse, Peter. "The Enclave, the Citadel, and the Ghetto: What has Changed in the Post-Fordist U.S. City." *Urban Affairs Review* 33, no. 2 (1997): 228–64.

Marcuse, Peter, and Ronald van Kempen. *Globalizing Cities: A New Spatial Order?* Oxford; Malden, Mass: Blackwell Publishers, 2000.

Marshall, Shana, and Joshua Stacher. "Egypt's Generals and Transnational Capital | Middle East

Research and Information Project." *MER 262 - Pull of the Possible*, Volume: 42 Spring 2012. http://www.merip.org/mer/mer262/egypts-generals-transnational-capital.

Mbembe, Achille. *On the Postcolony*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001. http://hdl.handle.net/2027/heb.02640.

McKenzie, Evan. *Privatopia: Homeowner Associations and the Rise of Residential Private Government*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994.

Mekawy, Hala S., and Ahmed M. Yousry. "CAIRO: THE PREDICAMENT OF A FRAGMENTED METROPOLIS." Accessed September 13, 2014. http://www.academia.edu/download/29664402/Cairo_-_The_Predicament_of_a_Fragmented_Metropolis.pdf.

Miles, Malcolm. "Utopias of Mud? Hassan Fathy and Alternative Modernisms." *Space and Culture* 9, no. 2 (2006): 115–39.

Ministry of Housing and Development. *Mashru'at Al-Iskan Wa-Al-Marafiq Fi Zill Al-Thawra*. Cairo: Dar al-Tahrir, n.d.

Ministry of Land Reclamation. *Takwin Wa Tanmiyat Al-Mujtama'at Al-Jadida Fi Al-Aradi Al-Mustasliha*. Cairo: Wizarat al-Istislah al-Aradi, 1969.

Ministry of Planning. *The Five Year Plan: 1978-1980*. Cairo: Ministry of Planning, 1978.

Mitchell, Timothy. *Colonising Egypt*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988. http://public.eblib.com/EBLPublic/PublicView.do?ptiID=224456.

———. "Dreamland: The Neoliberalism of Your Desires." *Middle East Report* Spring 1999 (1999). %3chttp://www.merip. org/mer/mer210/mitch.htm%3e.

———. "Making the Nation: The Politics of Heritage in Egypt." In *Consuming Tradition, Manufacturing Heritage: Global Norms and Urban Forms in the Age of Tourism*, edited by Nezar AlSayyad, 212–39. London; New York: Routledge, 2001.

———. *Rule of Experts: Egypt, Techno-Politics, Modernity*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002.

Mouffe, Chantal. "Post-Marxism: Democracy and Identity." *Environment & Planning D: Society & Space* 13, no. 3 (1995).

———. *The Return of the Political*. London; New York: Verso, 1993.

Nasr, Joe, and Mercedes Volait. *Urbanism: Imported or Exported?* Chichester, England; Hoboken, NJ: Wiley-Academy, 2003.

Nasser, Haya El. "Gated Communities More Popular, and Not Just for the Rich." *USA TODAY*, December 15, 2002. http://usatoday30.usatoday.com/news/nation/2002-12-15-gated-usat_x.htm.

Neufert, Ernst. *Architects' Data*. 2d (international) English ed. London; New York: Granada; New York: Halsted Press, 1980.

Ong, Aihwa. *Flexible Citizenship: The Cultural Logics of Transnationality*. Durham, N.C: Duke University Press, 1999.

———. *Neoliberalism as Exception: Mutations in Citizenship Andsovereignty*. Durham [N.C.]: Duke University Press, 2006.

Ostwald, Michael. "Le Corbusier (Charles Edouard Jeanneret), The Modulor and Modulor 2 - 2 Volumes. Basel: Birkhäuser, 2000." *Nexus Network Journal* 3, no. 1 (2001): 145–48.

Peter Marcuse. "The Enclave, the Citadel, and the Ghetto: What has Changed in the Post-Fordist U.S. City." *Urban Affairs Review* 33, no. 2 (1997): 228–64.

Piro, Joseph M. "Foucault and the Architecture of Surveillance: Creating Regimes of Power in Schools, Shrines, and Society." *Educational Studies* 44, no. 1 (July 25, 2008): 30–46.

"Private Firm Hired to Provide Security for Azhar and 15 State Universities | Mada Masr."
Accessed October 10, 2014. http://www.madamasr.com/content/private-firm-hired-
provide-security-azhar-and-15-state-universities.

Protzen, Jean-Pierre, and David J Harris. *The Universe of Design: Horst Rittel's Theories of Design and Planning*. Oxon [England]; New York, N.Y.: Routledge, 2010.

Pyla, Panayiota. "Hassan Fathy Revisited: Postwar Discourses on Science, Development, and Vernacular Architecture." *JAE Journal of Architectural Education* 60, no. 3 (2007): 28–39.

———. "The Many Lives of New Gourna: Alternative Histories of a Model Community and Their Current Significance." *The Journal of Architecture* 14, no. 6 (2009): 715–30.

Rabinow, Paul. "Colonialism, Modernity: The French in Morocco." In *Forms of Dominance on the Architecture and Urbanism of the Colonial Enterprise*, edited by Nezar AlSayyad, 167–82. Aldershot; Brookfield, U.S.A.: Avebury, 1992.

———. *French Modern: Norms and Forms of the Social Environment*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1989.

———. "Midst Anthropology's Problems." In *Global Assemblages: Technology, Politics, and Ethics as Anthropological Problems*, edited by Aihwa Ong and Stephen J. Collier, 40–54. Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub, 2005.

Raymond, André. *Cairo*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000.

"Rehaby.net." Accessed September 10, 2014. http://www.rehaby.net/index.php.

Richards, J. M, Hassan Fathy, Ismail Serageldin, and Darl Rastorfer. *Hassan Fathy*. Singapore: Concept Media, 1985.

Rittel, Horst. "On the Planning Crisis: Systems Analysis of the 'First and Second Generations.'" *Bedriftsøkonomen* 8 (1972): 390–96.

Riyad, Mohamed. *Cairo: People in Space and Time, Problems of Present and Future, [Al-Qahirah: Naseej Al-Naas fe al-Makaan wal-Zamaan wa Mushkalateha fe al-Hader wal-Mustaqbal]*. Cairo: Dar al-Shorouk, 2001.

Rose, Nikolas S. *Powers of Freedom: Reframing Political Thought*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Roy, Ananya. "Traditions of the Modern: A Corrupt View." *Traddwelsettrevi Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review* 12, no. 2 (2001): 7–19.

Roy, Ananya, and Nezar AlSayyad. *Urban Informality: Transnational Perspectives from the Middle East, Latin America, and South Asia*. Lanham, Md.; Berkeley, Calif.: Lexington Books; Center for Middle Eastern Studies, University of California at Berkeley, 2004.

Roy, Ananya, and Aihwa Ong, eds. *Worlding Cities: Asian Experiments and the Art of Being Global*. Studies in Urban and Social Change. Chichester, West Sussex; Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011.

Said, Noha Gamal. "Cairo behind the Gates: Studying the Sensory Configuration of Al-Rehab City." *Ambiances. Environnement Sensible, Architecture et Espace Urbain*, February 6, 2013.

Salama, Ashraf M. A., and William O'Reilly. *Architectural Education Today: Cross-Cultural Perspectives*. ARTI-ARCH, 2002.

Sayigh, Yezid. "Above the State: The Officers' Republic in Egypt." *Carnegie Middle East Center*, August 1, 2012. http://carnegie-mec.org/2012/08/01/above-state-officers-republic-in-egypt/d4sx.

———. "Reconstructing the Police State in Egypt." *Carnegie Middle East Center*, August 22,

2013. http://carnegie-mec.org/2013/08/22/reconstructing-police-state-in-egypt/.

Sayyid-Marsot, Afaf Lutfi. *A Short History of Modern Egypt*. Cambridge [Cambridgeshire]; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985.

Schielke, Samuli. "Surfaces of Longing. Cosmopolitan Aspiration and Frustration in Egypt." *City & Society* 24, no. 1 (April 1, 2012): 29–37.

Scott, James C. *Seeing like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998.

Scott, James C, and American Council of Learned Societies. *Weapons of the Weak Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985. http://hdl.handle.net/2027/heb.02471.

"Sequence 5331: Majallat Al-'imārah. Al-Qāhirah: [Majallat Al-'imārah, 1939-. Continued by Majallat Al-'imārah Wa-Al-Funūn. Al-Qāhirah: [Majallat Al-'imārah Wa-Al-Funūn, 1952- Harvard University Library PDS." Accessed July 31, 2015. http://pds.lib.harvard.edu/pds/view/17512206?n=5331&imagesize=1200&jp2Res=.25&printThumbnails=no.

Serageldin, Ismaïl. *The Architecture of Empowerment: People, Shelter and Livable Cities*. Academy Editions, 1997.

Shafik, Zeinab Youssef. "The Life-Structure of a New City: Egypt's Tenth of Ramadan." Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1991.

Sims, David. *Egypt's Desert Dreams: Development or Disaster?* Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2015.

———. *Understanding Cairo: The Logic of a City out of Control*. Cairo; New York: The American University in Cairo Press, 2010.

Singerman, Diane. *Cairo Contested: Governance, Urban Space, and Global Modernity*. Cairo; New York: American University in Cairo Press, 2009. http://site.ebrary.com/id/10409547.

Singerman, Diane, and Paul Amar. *Cairo Cosmopolitan: Politics, Culture, and Urban Space in the New Globalized Middle East*. Cairo; New York: American University in Cairo Press, 2006.

Sirrs, Owen L. *The Egyptian Intelligence Service: A History of the Mukhabarat, 1910-2009*. Routledge, 2010.

Smith, Amelia. "Global Suburbanisms: Governance, Land and Infrastructure in the 21st Century» Archive» Sub/urbanization and Density: A Few Critical Notes," November 24, 2014. http://suburbs.apps01.yorku.ca/2014/02/14/suburbanization-and-density-a-few-critical-notes/.

Sorkin, Michael, ed. *Variations on a Theme Park: The New American City and the End of Public Space*. 1st ed. New York: Hill and Wang, 1992.

Steele, James. *An Architecture for People: The Complete Works of Hassan Fathy*. New York: Whitney Library of Design, 1997.

Stevens, Garry. *The Favored Circle: The Social Foundations of Architectural Distinction*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1998.

"Taking Egypt Back to the First Republic." *Carnegie Middle East Center*. Accessed June 14, 2014. http://carnegie-mec.org/2014/02/06/taking-egypt-back-to-first-republic/h093.

"Talaat Moustafa presented a Villa as a gift for Senior Air Force Commander Ahmed Shafik in Al-Rehab City." Accessed July 19, 2012. http://www1.youm7.com/NewsPrint.asp?NewsID=743888.

The Egyptian Military and the 2011 Revolution." Accessed June 15, 2014.
http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/14023/the-egyptian-military-and-the-2011-
revolution-.

"The Rich Boys." *BusinessWeek: Magazine*, July 17, 2005.
http://www.businessweek.com/stories/2005-07-17/the-rich-boys.

Till, Jeremy. *Architecture Depends*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2009.

Turner, John F. C. *Housing by People: Towards Autonomy in Building Environments*. New
York: Pantheon Books, 1977.

Turner, John F. C, and Robert Fichter. *Freedom to Build; Dweller Control of the Housing
Process*. New York: Macmillan, 1972.

Vale, Lawrence. "Designing National Identity: Post-Colonial Capitols as Intercultural
Dilemmas." In *Forms of Dominance on the Architecture and Urbanism of the Colonial
Enterprise*, edited by Nezar AlSayyad, 315–38. Aldershot; Brookfield, U.S.A.: Avebury,
1992.

Vitruvius Pollio, M. H. Morgan, and Herbert Langford Warren. *Vitruvius, the Ten Books on
Architecture*. Cambridge, [etc.,etc.]: Harvard university press, 1914.

Volait, Mercedes, ed. *Le Caire-Alexandrie: Architectures Européennes, 1850-1950*. Le Caire:
Centre d'études et de documentation économique, juridique et sociale: Institut français
d'archéologie orientale, 2001.

———. "Making Cairo Modern (1870-1950): Multiple Models for a 'European-Style'
Urbanism." In *Urbanism: Imported or Exported?*, edited by Joe Nasr and Mercedes
Volait, 17–50. Chichester, England; Hoboken, NJ: Wiley-Academy, 2003.

Ward, Peter M, ed. *Self-Help Housing: A Critique*. London; Bronx, N.Y.: Mansell; Distributed in
the U.S. by H.W. Wilson, 1982.

Weizman, Eyal. *Hollow Land: Israel's Architecture of Occupation*. London; New York: Verso,
2007.

Wright, Gwendolyn. *The Politics of Design in French Colonial Urbanism*. Chicago: University
of Chicago Press, 1991.

Yeoh, Brenda S. A. *Contesting Space: Power Relations and the Urban Built Environment in
Colonial Singapore*. Kuala Lumpur; New York: Oxford University Press, 1996.

———. "Postcolonial cities." *Progress in Human Geography* 25, no. 3 (2001): 456–68.

Yiftachel, Oren. *Ethnocracy: Land and Identity Politics in Israel/Palestine*. Philadelphia:
University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006.

Yousry, Ahmed M. "The Privatization of Urban Development in Cairo: Lessons Learned from
the Development Experience of Al-Rehab Gated Community." Alexandria, Egypt:
Bibliotheca Alexandria: New Urban Communities Authority (NUCA) and INTA, 2009.

Zaalouk, Marwa. *Power, Class, and Foreign Capital in Egypt*. London: Zed Books, 1989.

Zeghal, Malika. "Cairo as Capital of Islamic Institutions? Al-Azhar Islamic University, the State,
and the City." In *Cairo Contested Governance, Urban Space, and Global Modernity*,
edited by Diane Singerman, 63–81. Cairo; New York: American University in Cairo
Press, 2009. http://site.ebrary.com/id/10409547.

———. "Religion and Politics in Egypt: The Ulema of Al-Azhar, Radical Islam, and the State
(1952-94)." *Intejmiddeaststu International Journal of Middle East Studies* 31, no. 3
(1999): 371–99.

"«الرحاب» فى ساعات 6ال ـ معركة بعد «مبروك» باغتيال متـهم على القبض | الوطن" Accessed
June 15, 2014. http://www.elwatannews.com/news/details/363642.

Appendices

Appendix to Introduction

YEAR: 1939, issue#1
THEME: What is Architecture?
On Pragmatism and the Modernity
of Function

YEAR: 1939, issue# 2
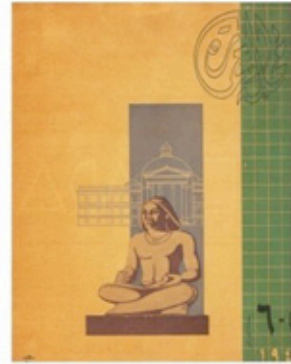**THEME:** Urban/ Architecture and
Acoustics

YEAR: 1939, issue# 6
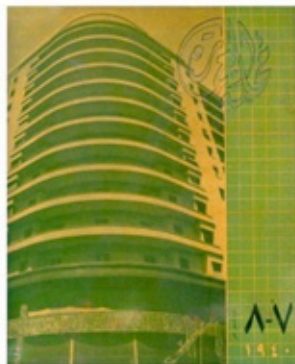**THEME:** Urban/ Technology and
Hi-Rise

YEAR: 1940, issue# 1
THEME: Urban/ Apartment Build-
ings in Cairo

YEAR: 1940, issue# 3-4
THEME: Urban + Rural/ Bricks
and Architecture in the City and the
Countryside

YEAR: 1940, issue# 5-6
THEME: Modernity, National
Identity and Architecture in Egypt

YEAR: 1940, issue# 7-8
THEME: Urban/ Apartment Build-
ings and Skyscraper

YEAR: 1940, issue# 9-10
THEME: Urban/ Apartment Build-
ings and Skyscrapers

YEAR: 1941, issue# 1
THEME: Cigaretes Factory + Rest
House of the Royal Family by King
Farouq Lake in the Countryside

Fig. A.1. Cover pages catalogued on themes of rural versus urban issues. Source: author based on Harvard University Library PDS, *Majallat al-'imārah. al-Qāhirah : [Majallat al-'imārah, 1939-1941 issue #1]*, accessed March 14, 2015, http://pds.lib.harvard.edu/pds/view/.

YEAR: 1942, issue# 1-2
THEME: Urban/ ETH Zurich Prof.
O. R. Salvisberg (1880-1940)

YEAR: 1942, issue# 5-6
THEME: Cairo Littoria Social and
Sports Club by the Pyramids of Giza

YEAR: 1945, issue# 1
THEME: Rural/ The Rural Question and the Manor

YEAR: 1945, issue# 4-5
THEME: Rural+Urban/ Fine Arts,
Architecture, and Modernism post
WWII

YEAR: 1945, issue# 6-7
THEME: Urban/ Khedive Ismail:
Cairo, Suez, and Alexandria

YEAR: 1945, issue# 8
IMAGE: Urban/ Babel and Frank
Lloyd Wright Architecture

YEAR: 1946, issue # 1-2
THEME: Urban/ Hospital Design
and Heliopolis in Cairo

YEAR: 1946, issue #3-4
THEME: Architecture, Engineering, and Geography: Territorial
Expansion in the Globe

YEAR: 1946, issue# 5-6
THEME: Urban/ Publishing and
Printing Press, Muslim Brotherhood
Center

Fig. A.2. Cover pages catalogued on themes of rural versus urban issues. Source: author based on Harvard University Library PDS, *Majallat al-'imārah. al-Qāhirah : [Majallat al-'imārah, 1942-1946 issue #5,6]*, accessed March 14, 2015, http://pds.lib.harvard.edu/pds/view/.

YEAR: 1946, issue# 7-8
THEME: Urban/ Misc Architectural Projects

YEAR: 1947, issue# 1-2
THEME: Urban/ Historical Development of Tahrir_Competition for Residential Apartment Buildings

YEAR: 1947, issue #3-4
THEME: (Sub)-Urbanization/ New Baghdad City and the Architectural Engineering Law of Practice

YEAR: 1947, issue# 5-6
THEME: Rural/ 3rd Arab Engineering Conference in Damascus: The Village Condition and the Peasants

YEAR: 1947, issue# 7-8
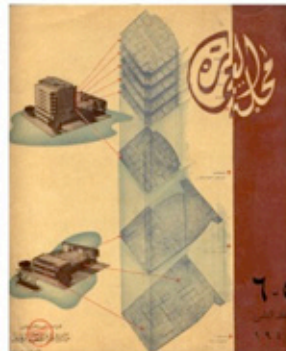THEME: Rural+Urban/ The Modern Egypt

YEAR: 1948, issue#1-2
THEME: Rural/ The University Village, the Peasant Housing Unit and Advanced Prefab Units

YEAR: 1948, issue#3
THEME: Urban/ Architectural Building on a Roundabout in Downtown Cairo

YEAR: 1948, issue# 4
THEME: Urban/ Post WWII Suurbanization and Prefabricated Housing Units

YEAR: 1948, issue# 5-6
THEME: Urbanism in Zagazig, Sharqeiyah, Canal Cities, and Aswan

Fig. A.3. Cover pages catalogued on themes of rural versus urban issues. Source: author based on Harvard University Library PDS, *Majallat al-'imārah. al-Qāhirah : [Majallat al-'imārah, 1946 issue #7,8 − 1948 issue #5,6]*, accessed March 14, 2015, http://pds.lib.harvard.edu/pds/view/.

209

YEAR: 1948, issue# 7-8
THEME: Urban/ The City Beautiful
Movement and the Problems of
Cairo

YEAR: 1948, issue# 9-10
THEME: Urban/ Apartment Build-
ing in Cairo
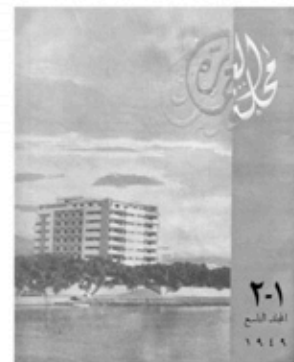
YEAR: 1949, issue# 1-2
THEME: Residential Modern
Apartment Building

YEAR: 1949, issue# 4-5
IMAGE: Urban/ Industrial School
and the Hostel of Aging Women

YEAR: 1949, issue# 9-10
IMAGE: Urban/ Residential
Apartment Buildings in Cairo

YEAR: 1950, issue# 1-2-3
THEME: Private projects/ The Villa

YEAR: 1950, issue# 4-5
THEME: Urban/ Apartment
Buildings

YEAR: 1950, issue# 6-7
THEME: Urban/ 4th Arab Engi-
neering Congress in Beirut, Lebanon

YEAR: 1950, issue# 8-9-10
THEME: Urban/ The United
Nations and Apartment Buildings
in Cairo

Fig. A.4. Cover pages catalogued on themes of rural versus urban issues. Source: author based on Harvard University Library PDS, *Majallat al-'imārah. al-Qāhirah : [Majallat al-'imārah, 1948 issue #7,8 − 1950 issue # 8,9,10],* accessed March 14, 2015, http://pds.lib.harvard.edu/pds/view/.

210

YEAR: 1952, issue# 1-2
THEME: Urban/ Cairo the City:
Planning, development, and Expansion

YEAR: 1952, issue# 3-4
THEME: Urban/ Modern Residential Building in Cairo

YEAR: 1953, issue# 1-2
THEME: Rural/ The Fellah and the Village Reform

YEAR: 1952, issue# 5
THEME: Fine Arts, Sculpture, Photography, and Sketching_ Cover image of the Female Peasant

YEAR: 1952, issue# 6-7
THEME: Urban/ Residential Apartment Buildings

YEAR: 1952, issue# 8-9-10
THEME: Urban/ The Modernist City and the Architecture of Brazil

YEAR: 1953, issue# 3-4
THEME: Urban/ Alexandria Insurance Company in Downtown Cairo

YEAR: 1953, issue# 5-6
THEME: Urban_Transportation and Traffic Problems in Cities

YEAR: 1953-1954, issue# 7-8
THEME: Rural-Urban/ 5th Arab Engineering Conf. in Cairo, Future Cities and the Peasant House

Fig. A.5. Cover pages catalogued on themes of rural versus urban issues. Source: author based on Harvard University Library PDS, *Majallat al-'imārah. al-Qāhirah : [Majallat al-'imārah, 1939-. continued by Majallat al-'imārah wa-al-funūn. al-Qāhirah : [Majallat al-'imārah wa-al-funūn, 1952 issue #1,2 − 1953/1954 issue #7,8],* accessed March 14, 2015, http://pds.lib.harvard.edu/pds/view/.

YEAR: 1953-1954, issue # 9-10
THEME: Urban/ Le Corbusier and Sayed Karim: The Unite d' Habitation in Marseille and New Helwan

YEAR: 1957, issue# 2
THEME: Rural-Urban/ Special Issue on the National Project of Developing Schools: An independent governmental organization, the Educational Building Institute (constructed 3000-4000 Schools)

YEAR: 1957, issue # 3
IMAGE: Urban/ The General Secretary Building of Islamic Assembly in Cairo

YEAR: 1957, issue# 4-5
IMAGE: Industrial/ Iron and steel plants and their uses in construction, architecture and furniture

YEAR: 1957, issue # 6
THEME: Urban/ The Architecture of Heliopolis Hospital

Fig. A.6. Cover pages catalogued on themes of rural versus urban issues. Source: author based on Harvard University Library PDS, *Majallat al-'imārah. al-Qāhirah : [Majallat al-'imārah, 1939-. continued by Majallat al-'imārah wa-al-funūn. al-Qāhirah : Majallat al-'imārah wa-al-funūn, 1953/1954 issue #9,10 − 1957 issue #6]*, accessed March 14, 2015, http://pds.lib.harvard.edu/pds/view/.
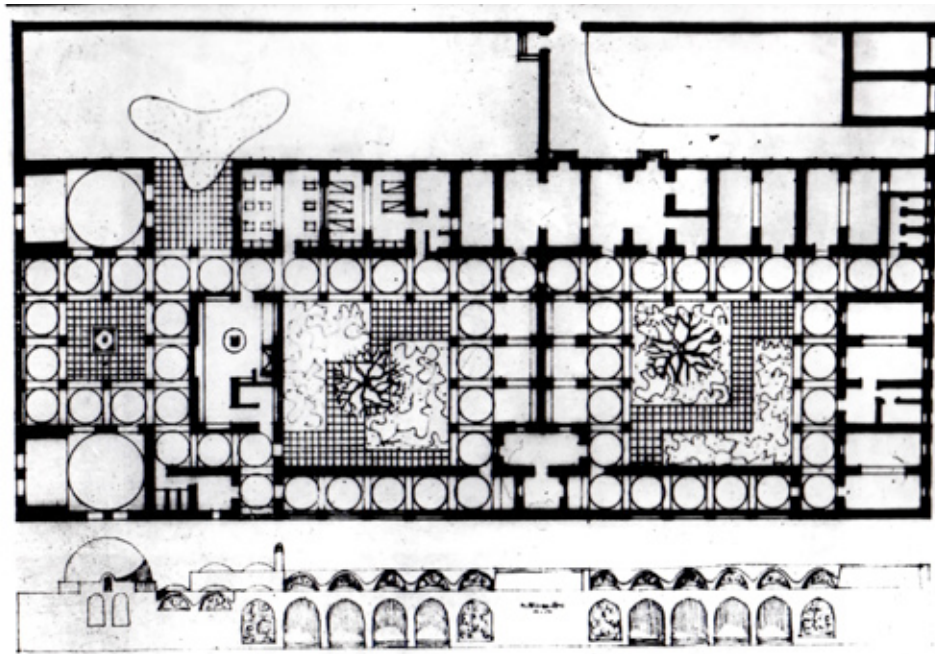
Appendix to Chapter 1

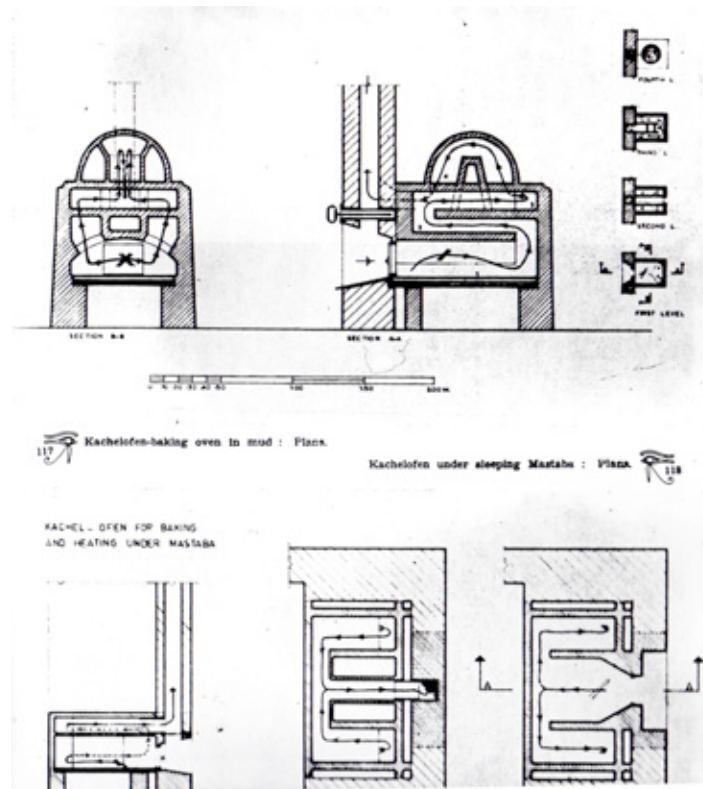Fig. A.7. Hygienic Center in New Gourna. Source: Fathy 1969, plate 139.

Fig. A.8. Detailed Drawings of the Kachelofen-baking oven in Mud. The drawings of Kachelofen built on a Mastaba-stepping to allow sleeping over it as a bed. Designed for heating the housing unit in an efficient low-cost technique. Source: Fathy 1969, plate 117-118.

Fig. A.9. Different arrangements for Hollow-bricks. Source: Harvard digital archive, *Majallat al-ʻimārah* (1940:1)*,* 144-145, accessed December 20, 2013, http://pds.lib.harvard.edu/pds/view/.

Fig. A.10. Structural Bending Moment Graph for bricks used in the roofing of buildings. Source: Harvard University Library PDS, *Majallat al-ʻimārah* (1940:1)*,* 207, accessed December 20, 2013, http://pds.lib.harvard.edu/pds/view/.

Fig. A.11. A glossary index for bricks. Source: Harvard University Library PDS, *Majallat al-ʻimārah* (1940:1), accessed December 20, 2013, http://pds.lib.harvard.edu/pds/view/.

Fig. A.12. Reinforcing the architecture of Ancient Egypt with new technologies; a graphic representats of an article written by Engineer-Doctor Mohamed Hamed, shows a Pharonic capital column with a T-shaped ruler. The title translates, "Reinforcement as a Concept in Ancient Egyptian Architecture." Source: Harvard University Library PDS, *Majallat al-'imārah* (1957, 4:5)*, 49, accessed December 20, 2013, http://pds.lib.harvard.edu/pds/view/.
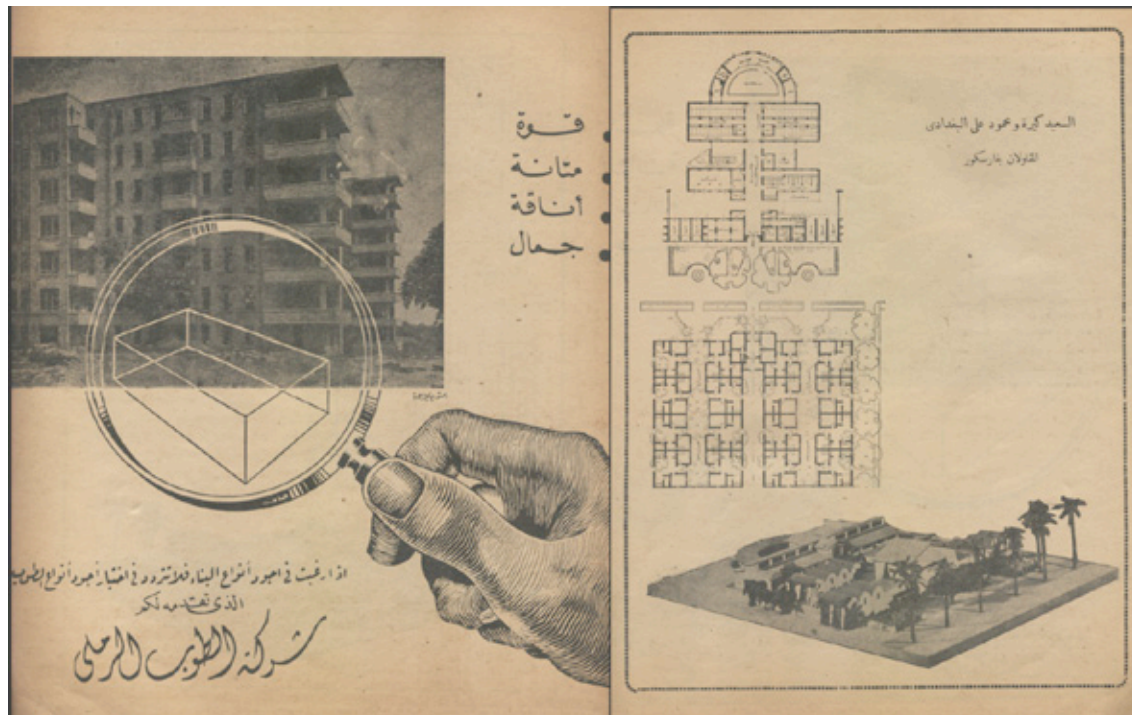

Fig. A.13. The advertisements in *Majallat al-'imārah* for bricks as a building material. The advertisement for a sandstone brick company characterized with four elements represented in a seven-floor residential housing; (Strength, durability, elegance, beauty); while the figure on the right-hand is for the contracting company commissioned to build El-Alaily Manor. Source: Harvard University Library PDS, *Majallat al-'imārah* (1945:1)*, accessed December 20, 2013, http://pds.lib.harvard.edu/pds/view/.