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Conservation Policies for Historic Areas and Cities in Egypt

Thesis Submitted for
the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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رسالة دكتوراه:

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عنوان الرسالة : سياسات الحفاظ علي المدن والمناطق التاريخية بجمهورية مصر العربية

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تاريخ البحث: ٢ / ١٢ /٢٠٠٦

الدراسات العليا:

ختم الاجازة: اجيزت الرسالة بتاريخ / /

موافقة مجلس الكلية: موافقة مجلس الجامعة

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30 August 2006

Re. Report on the PhD dissertation of Dina Maarouf Ahmed Mohamed Dief-Allah

Dear Professor Shafak,

I confirm that I have read Mrs Dief-Allah's PhD thesis. I am satisfied that she has finalised her research on "Conservation policies for historic areas and cities in Egypt" in a satisfactory manner and that her work meets the necessary requirements for formal submission to an examination panel in Ain Shams University.

She has put together a very good piece of research with a solid theoretical framework and a clear structure as well as a robust central argument, which is supported by the necessary empirical evidence. The thesis uses a vast number of references in clearly defined areas of the specialised literature on conversation and urban planning and builds on a well outlined methodology. The use of English in the text is also commendable.

Yours sincerely,

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ACKNOWLEDGMENT

I would like to express my special appreciation to Prof. Dr. Shafak El-Wakil, Prof. Dr. Julio D Davila and Dr. Ghada Farouk for their supervision. I thank them for their academic support and great friendship. I would also like to express my gratitude to all the academic and administrative staff at the DPU, University College London and the Department of Urban Planning, Ain-Shams University for their time and effort.

This research would not have been possible without the financial and academic support provided by the Ministry of Higher Education in Egypt and the Egyptian Education and Culture Bureau in the UK, to which I am very grateful. My special appreciation goes to Prof. Dr. Alaa Elgindy, Prof. Dr. Amr Elatraby, and Dr. Nader Matar who have been great friends and valuable support.

I would also like to express my gratitude to all politicians, academics, practitioners, and administrative staff, who facilitated the conduct of the case study and data collection, and who dedicated much of their time, knowledge, and expertise to this research.

Clearly and most importantly, this research could not have been possible without the endless patience, love, and support of my dearest parents, my wonderful husband and lovely daughters, and my true friends both in Egypt and the UK.

Dina Maarouf Ahmed Dief-Allah, Conservation Policies for Historic Areas and Cities in Egypt, PhD. Thesis, Urban Planning Department Faculty of Engineering, Ain Shams University

ABSTRACT

In historic cities, a persistent conflict has always been vivid between calls to preserve cultural heritage, and the need for urban development and change in response to the ever-changing values and demands of societies. Such conflict has two pressing dimensions. The first dimension has been echoed throughout the academic literature via the well-documented exploration and analysis of the ever-growing conflict between urban conservation and tourism development. The second dimension has been reflected in the ongoing perception shift of urban conservation within the physical planning field (i.e. planning approaches and processes).

Theoretically, since the late 1940s, there has been a dynamic shift in the planning paradigm resulting in the emergence of various planning approaches to land development. Each of which is affected by, and/or based on, distinct planning ideologies, uses different planning tools and follows unique planning processes. Consequently, the scope, approaches, styles and levels of urban conservation have to be altered and shifted dramatically depending on the planning approach adopted within the context of historic cities.

Empirically, on the scale of urban projects, there has been a widely reported and documented gap between what is planned and what is actually implemented. Although the endless explanations, the common explanation relates such gap to the adoption of different, and sometimes conflicting, planning approaches to land development within the context of the very same project. As a result, objectives, allocation of funding, institutional arrangements and methodology of urban conservation at the planning stage has to be completely altered, and at most of times, hindered and terminated at the gates of implementation. This case has been vivid throughout the physical planning and urban conservation process (i.e. planning and implementation processes) of Luxor City, Egypt since the late 1970s till this very moment.

This study focuses on, on the one hand, theoretically exploring, analysing and documenting the paradigm shift of urban conservation with specific reference to physical planning practice. On the other hand, it applies the above theoretical outcome to the case of Luxor City in search for explanation and future ideologies.

Keywords:
Urban Conservation, Physical Planning practice, Institutional Arrangement, Governance, Heritage Management, Urban Management, Luxor city

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LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ANUC	Authority of New Urban Communities
CCMAA	Committee for the Conservation of the Monuments of Arab Art
CDCL	Comprehensive Development of the City of Luxor
GOPP	General Organization for Physical Planning
EAS	Egyptian Antiquities Services
EAO	Egyptian Antiquities Organization
HCA	High Council of Antiquities
HCLC	Higher Council of Luxor City
HCRP	Historic Cairo Restoration Programme
HCSDC	Historic Cairo Studies and Development Centre
ICOMOS	International Council on Monuments and Sites
IMF	International Monetary Fund
LPA	Local Planning Authority
MOC	Ministry of Culture
MOH	Ministry of Housing, Utilities and Urban Communities
MOIC	Ministry of International Co-operation
MOT	Ministry of Tourism
SCA	Supreme Council of Antiquities
SDAG	Sustainable Development Association of Gamaleya
SPARE	Society for the Preservation of the Architectural resources of Egypt
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UN-HABITAT	The United Nations Human Settlements Programme
UNUMP	United Nations Urban Management Programme
USDP	United States Development Programme
WTO	World Tourism Organization

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Provided with political economy contexts of developing countries such as that of Egypt that are continuously struggling to address its own political, social and economic instabilities, and facing the challenges of population growth and human settlements, the notion of heritage protection and urban conservation[1] is still considered a field confined to the small circles of the wealthy intellectual elites and professionals. Urban conservation was already taking back stage in the Egyptian development process, in spite of the state's high conscious of its wealth of unique and diverse urban and architectural heritage. Although governments of most of the developing countries have theoretically committed themselves to the protection and maintenance of the urban heritage, the recent situation gives an indication of the widening gap between the theory and practice of urban conservation and the failure to combine the practice within a balanced urban, social and economic development process. Destruction of city centres, old housing stock and monuments, lower-income residents ignored or even pushed out continues either through applying a set of active policies of clearance, renewal or replacement or passive polices of doing nothing to halt the slow deterioration and decline of such areas.

Development priorities aimed at focusing on the most 'profitable' projects such as 'historic areas with tourism potentials' has already guided the path for the urban conservation practice leading to dramatic shift in its approaches. Furthermore, the field of urban conservation had to accept the introduction of new terms and definitions (e.g. rehabilitation, revitalization, renewal, gentrification...etc) that added more to the confusing picture the practice already suffers from with regards to the appropriate physical, social and economic strategies in the context of heritage cities.

1.2 RESEARCH PROBLEM AND OBJECTIVES

Urban development decisions and planning approaches to land development striving for the 'balance between land development and protection of the nation's heritage of cities' has been affected by overall shifts within the state's agendas, goals and development priorities. Such impact resulted in widening the gap between urban

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[1] The research will introduce definitions for the terms commonly used in the field of heritage protection later in section (2.3.1), however, the term urban conservation throughout this study borrows Harvey's definition (1972) which refers to 'the physical process and social form of acting over the urban environment that permits the maintenance of the existing urban structure in its integrity'

conservation and heritage management on one hand and urban development on the other hand.

Moreover, tourism industry introducing itself as a growing industry and an important economic sector of the Egyptian context is greedily presented to exploit and abuse the elements of historic urban environment for the sake of economic growth and development, adding another layer of conflict regarding the involvement in the development process. Furthermore, the national political and economic dynamics have played their roles in feeding conflicts and clashes between interests of key institutions, agencies, and individuals involved in the urban development and conservation process. Such conflicts have had considerable negative impacts on the physical planning practice and implemented land use patterns in Egypt in general and more specifically in Luxor city.

This study has both theoretical and empirical objectives. The main theoretical objectives are: First, to seek a clearer understanding of the relationship between physical planning practice and urban conservation. Such understanding provides the theoretical base to explain, and analyse the shift in urban conservation scope at the national level with specific reference to adopted urban planning approaches to land development. This analysis builds up a deep and critical understanding to the context through which goals, priorities, plans, decisions and outcomes of the urban planning process were formulated both at the national and local levels. In order to achieve the above goal, the research focuses on exploring the interlocking zone between two areas of knowledge: on the one hand, urban development planning approaches in dealing with land development, and on the other hand, approaches of urban conservation.

Second, to construct an analytical framework stressing on systematic areas of conflicts and contradictions within, and between, physical planning and urban conservation practice. This is used as a research analytical tool to describe, analyse and explain the physical planning and urban conservation practices within the context of Luxor city, with specific reference to institutional arrangements, and interests of key institutions and agencies involved in the urban development planning process, planning tools and procedures, funding, applied public participation mechanisms and the decision-making process.

Regarding the empirical objective, the research by adopting a 'case study strategy' as a research technique aimed at giving an in-depth understanding of "a

meaning of a process". The inscription of Luxor's Heritage sites on UNESCO's World Heritage List (WHL) in the early 1980s was to be a turning point in the process of development in Luxor. This will give a basis to analyse the urban development and urban conservation process in Luxor within a context of shifting national goals objectives and priorities gives a clear basis for justifying the implemented land use patterns of the city.

1.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The research tends to give answers to a number of related questions; how did the change in the national development and urban conservation policies at both the national and local levels influence the adoption and application of conflicting planning decisions and approaches in dealing with land development and heritage management in Luxor city? How did the adoption and application of conflicting planning approaches impact upon the outcome of physical planning practice in Luxor? To what extent local communities had impact on the process of physical planning and urban conservation practice? And why? What is the current perception of the users of the city about the outcome of the physical planning and urban conservation process?

1.4 RESEARCH HYPOTHESIS

This research hypothesizes that the failure of the physical planning practice in achieving the goals and objectives of the successive urban development and conservation policies resulted from the ongoing neglect of one or more critical interlocking dimension(s) shaping the formulation and implementation of physical plans in historic cities: community participation, funding, and political support.

1.5 THEORETICAL SCOPE

As the literature review relates its debates to the interlocking fields of urban development planning theory and practice, urban heritage conservation approaches and practice, the study is mainly concerned to critically examine the gap in the literature regarding the link between urban development planning theory and practice and the different approaches to the protection of heritage areas and cities. Furthermore, not ignoring the impact of tourism development dimension on the above link, the research will be concerned at viewing this dimension as a pure essential industry for economic and urban development on one hand and a driving force for urban conservation in areas and cities of potential cultural tourism on the other hand.

The body of literature mainly extracted from western contexts and based on English-language references expands the knowledge of the impact of dynamic economic and political forces on development planning practice and the evolution of urban conservation approaches to be applied widely on the global scale. However, regarding the limited understanding of development planning process and urban conservation in the context of the non-western countries is considered a weakness that the research needed to address by developing an analytical framework applicable to the context of countries of the developing world. Not sharing the same historic backgrounds, political, social and cultural forms, relating to the world's development process through different manners, developing and developed countries could not easily share the same western-based analytical frameworks regarding urban development and conservation. Critical factors were expected to arise in the context of countries like Egypt that dramatically affect and divert the process. This gave a basis for providing empirical evidence to record the gap between the formulation and implementation phases of projects related to physical planning and urban conservation practice.

1.6 METHODOLOGY OF THE RESEARCH

The process of the research comprises a series of stages including the review of the literature related to the theoretical debates, analytical framework, national and case study context, and collection of viewpoints (i.e. qualitative data from designed semi-structures and structured interviews and quantitative data from official and non-official statistical data) of different actor groups of the study population, followed by the data analysis and finally the stage of writing up.

1.6.1 RESEARCH STRATEGY

With the different purposes of any research- exploratory, descriptive, explanatory, or a combination of any of the three. different research strategies can be used. As many as they are, the most commonly used in the fields of both natural and social sciences are the experiment, survey, history, analysis of archival records, and the case study research strategy (Yin, 1994). Many scholars and analysts have concluded that any research strategy can be used for all research purposes, as there may be exploratory case studies, explanatory case studies, and descriptive case studies; and the same can be applied to any other research strategy (Hedrick et al, 1993). Each having its different way of collecting and analysing empirical evidence and following its own

logic and assumptions, the choice of the appropriate strategy depends on the following three conditions:

> "(a) the type of research question posed, (b) the extent of control an investigator has over actual behavioural events, and (c) the degree of focus on contemporary as opposed to historical events"
>
> (Yin, 1994, p. 4)

Nevertheless, this doesn't imply that the boundaries between the strategies or the occasions when each is used are always clear and sharp. Even though each strategy has its distinctive characteristics, there are large areas of overlap among them, as in cases where more than one strategy in any given study can be used (e.g. a survey within a case study or a case study within a survey) (Sieber, 1973 cited in Yin, 1994).

Regarding the time span of this research (1974-2006) and the type of research questions it poses (see section 1.1), the research could be located between the boundaries of historic and case study strategies. Histories are the preferred strategy when there is no access or control, so its contribution lies in dealing with the 'dead' past, that is when no relevant persons are alive to report what occurred, which might not be the case of this research, but taking the advantage of the 'primary and secondary documents, and cultural and physical artefacts' as a source of evidence and data collection. Nevertheless, in certain cases historians have to deal with contemporary events where it starts to overlap with the case study strategy. In this case, the case study strategy is preferable over historic strategy due to the advantage it offers in its ability of using the systematic interviewing and direct observation methods as additional sources of evidence (Yin, 1981, Copper, 1984). Supported by the later arguments and discussions, this research will be adopting the case study strategy as a research strategy in collecting and analysing the empirical evidence.

As scholars have tried to give a formal definition of the case study as a research strategy, the more frequently encountered definitions have repeated the types of topics to which case studies have been applied. This can be applied to individuals, organizations, processes, programs, neighbourhoods, institutions and even events. For example, Schramm (1971) cites the topic of 'decisions' as the major focus of case studies in the following words:

> "The essence of a case study, the central tendency among all types of case study, is that it tries to illuminate a decision or a set of decisions:

> why they were taken, how they were implemented, and with what result" (ibid, cited in Yin, 1994, p. 12)

Moreover, Yin (1994) claimed to reach a technical definition of the case study strategy through two main parts: first, the scope of the case study, whereas the case study method is used when the contextual conditions are wanted to be covered when it is believed that it is highly relevant to the specific phenomenon of study. He states:

> "*A case study is an empirical inquiry that* investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident" (ibid. 1994, p. 13)

Due to the commonly undistinguishable boundaries between the phenomenon and context, in real life, a set of techniques of data collection and analysis forms the second part of the definition:

> "*A case study inquiry* copes with the technically distinctive situation in which there will be many more variables of interest than data points, and as one result relies on multiple sources of evidence, with data needing to converge in a triangulating fashion[2], and as another result benefits from the prior development of theoretical propositions to guide data collection and analysis" (ibid, 1994, p. 13)

1.6.2 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY APPROACH

A distinction has to be made at this point between the strategy that will be applied on one hand, which will be the case study research strategy and on the other hand the approach that will be adopted to conduct the research. Many scholars, such as Yin (1994), Strauss and Corbin (1990) have attempted to clear the confusion between case study research strategy and qualitative research[3]. Whereas case studies can include,

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[2] A triangulation fashion or triangulation is mainly referred to the use of multiple source of evidence to test or modify one's understanding of a given problem or situation (Woodhouse, 1998, Myers, 1997)

[3] In social sciences, Qualitative research is an umbrella term used to describe 'exploratory methods' used to gradually make sense of social phenomenon by contrasting, comparing, and analysing the response of informants. With a main goal to develop hypotheses or theory, or understanding a behaviour in a natural setting through the perspective of the research participant, methods such as documents, texts, semi-structured, unstructured, and structured interviews and questionnaires, group discussions records and direct observation, and finally the researchers impressions and reactions, are frequently applied. Qualitative research is often related to 'inductive logic and reasoning' (see Blianke, 1993, for details on inductive/deductive research). Described as 'holistic', qualitative researchers believe in studying phenomena in their entirety rather than concentrating on narrow aspects of the phenomena (i.e. the independent and independent variables) (for more details see, Wikipedia,2005, Cresswell, 1994, Myers, 1997)

and even limited to the evidence of a quantitative research. Scholars such as Lincoln and Guba (1986) stress that the main points of contrast between any qualitative and quantitative research[4] doesn't limit the research to a specific strategy. Therefore, case study strategy can be based on both qualitative and quantitative research, using a set of mixed techniques and methods to provide the evidence for the research.

Based on the research problems and objectives, a combination of both qualitative and quantitative research methodology will be adopted as an approach in dealing with data collection and analysis. The aim of the adoption of the quantitative research methodology is to provide the evidence that support the outcomes of the qualitative research methodology seeking the in depth understanding of the phenomenon being studied. Cresswell (1994, p. 184) claims that this situation called a "dominant-less dominant" research methodology situation within which the research methods and results relate to a dominant research paradigm in use (qualitative research methodology in this research), with a small segment for methods and results for the less dominant paradigm (the quantitative research methodology in this research).

1.6.3 CASE STUDY CHOICE

Luxor city provides the research with a rich case to analyse the process of urban development in relation to the protection and conservation of its unique heritage. Given its unique context that will be presented in details in chapter four, Luxor city offers the research a case with the following interacting dimensions: first, the inscription of Luxor's unique Heritage sites on UNESCO's World Heritage List (WHL) in the early 1980s triggered the international and national pressures to commit the Egyptian government to protect its heritage. Second, the government's continuous efforts to locate the city on the international tourism destination map and stabilize the industry led to the adoption of conflicting tourism policies. Third, the urban, social and economic contexts of most cities (i.e. including Luxor city) and villages of the Upper Egypt region reflect the severe differences between this region and other developed regions in terms of services, facilities.

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[4] Quantitative research is the numerical representation and manipulation of observations for the purpose of describing and explaining the phenomena that those observations reflect. Methods of quantitative research were originally developed in the natural sciences to study natural phenomena, which is now developed and accepted in the fields of social sciences including opinion surveys, collection of statistics, questionnaires and structured interviews, direct observation (Wikipedia, 2005, Cresswell, 1994, Myers, 1997).

Finally, the successive physical urban development plans prepared for Luxor city (i.e.1983, 1994 and 1998 master plans) will present the research with a rich basis for analysing the shift in the government's priorities, agenda, roles and the adopted planning approach within the three plans, Furthermore, the case of Luxor city offers a unique case to document the shift within the interaction between different influences (i.e. local, national and international) constraining and guiding the process of urban planning practice and conservation, specially after locating Luxor's development as a national priority in the mid 1990s[5]. Exploring this shift will help in analysing the gap between the physical planning formulation and the implemented land use patterns.

1.6.4 STUDY POPULATION AND UNITS OF ANALYSIS

Woodhouse (1998) defines the study population by "identifying the boundary from within which the investigators will select people to take part in their enquiry. Where this boundary is drawn will depend primarily on the purpose of the enquiry" (ibid, 1998, p. 130). In other words, ranging from investigating the whole range of interests and opinions within a given geographical area, to investigating the views of a particular social group, the boundary will depend on the objective of the research.

From the main research questions, this research had to collect evidence about the reasons and impacts of the widening gap between the prepared original physical plans (i.e. formulation phase of development plans) and the implemented land use patterns of the city within the absence of (or limited) urban conservation practice in the context of the case study. To achieve this aim, interviews were carried out with the main key actors involved in both formulation and implementation processes with the support of documentation evidence. Another main objective was to document the evidence of the existence of conflicting planning approaches when it comes to land development and the adopted level of practice in urban conservation. Interviews were conducted with Central and Local government officials, city planners and consultants, community and worker leaders to give evidence supporting the research hypothesis.

Furthermore, the interviews aimed at measuring the recognition of the residents, and users - specifically those within the areas that will be directly affected by the urban development and proposed conservation protection zones. Projects concerned with converting the centre of Luxor city to an Open Museum such as the 'Restoration of the

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[5] Developing Luxor and its outer region was considered as a national priority in order to establish a political stability after Luxor's 1994 terrorist attack. More details will be illustrated in chapter four.

Sphinxes Avenues project, or 'Improving the Karnak Temple Settings project', basing its strategies on mainly evacuating the local communities and demolishing their properties to proceed with such project. At this point, the research had to record the different viewpoints of the locals directly affected by such type of projects, in order to analyze their own their perspective of the land development decision-making in the city and the level of community participation offered to them. Therefore, a sample survey through structured interviews is designed to be carried out in order to achieve this aim targeting the residents located on the route of the Avenue of the sphinxes suggested to be excavated and restored.

Therefore, the study population involved in the case study of this research falls into three categories: the government (both at the central and local levels), the consultants and advisors, and the local residents.

Table (1.1) Categories of the Study population

Study population categories	
A. Government Officials	**-Central Government:** - MHUUC/RSO (Ministry of Housing, Utilities & Urban Communities/Research and Studies Organisation) - MOC/SCA (Ministry of Culture/ Supreme Council of Antiquities) **- Local Government (HCLC)** (Higher Council for Luxor City - Department of Planning - Department of Antiquities
B. The consultants and Experts	-Abt Associates - Academics, experts, and advisors (i.e. archaeologists, urban planners)
C. Users and local residents	- Residents, users located on the route Avenue of the Sphinxes

1.6.5 CONDUCTING THE CASE STUDY: COLLECTING THE EVIDENCE

Data collection for case studies can rely on many sources of evidence. No single source of evidence has an advantage over any other; moreover various sources are highly complementary; as Yin (1994) claims that "a strong case study will depend

strongly on the use of as many sources as possible" (ibid, p.80). He also pointed ou three over-riding principles to any data collection that are extremely important t increase the quality of carrying out case study material as follows:

> "(a) Using multiple, not just single, sources of evidence;(b) creating a case study database; and (c) maintaining a chain of evidence"
>
> (ibid. 1994, p. 79)

Yin (1994) had divided the sources of evidence into six major sources[6] and considered their comparative strengths and weaknesses. See table (1.2) for the mai strength and weaknesses of the source that will mainly be used for this specific research For this research the sources of evidence will be documentation, archival record interviews and direct observation. The following section will present the type and character of each source used.

Table (1.2) Sources of evidence: Strengths and weaknesses

Source of Evidence	Strengths	Weaknesses
Documentation	- Stable-can be reviewed repeatedly. - Unobtrusive-not created as a result of the case study. - Exact- contains exact names, references and details of events. - Broad coverage-long span of time, many events and settings.	- Retrievability- can be low. - Biased selectivity, if collection is incomplete. - Reporting bias- reflects (unknown) bias of the author. - Access-may be deliberately blocked.
Archival Records	- Same strengths as above. - Precise and quantitative.	- Same weaknesses as above. - Accessibility (privacy reasons)
Interviews	- Targeted-focuses directly on case study topic. - Insightful-provides perceived causal inferences.	- Bias due to poorly constructed questions. - Response bias. - Inaccuracies due to poor recall. - Reflexivity-interviewee gives what interviewer want to hear.
Direct Observations	- Reality-covers events in real time. - Contextual-covers context of events.	- Time-consuming. Selectivity-unless broad coverage - Reflexivity-event may proceed differently because it is being observed. - Cost-hours needed by human observers.

Adapted from (Yin, 1994)

[6] Yin (1994) introduced an overview of the six main sources of evidence: documentation, archival records, interviews, direct observations, participant-observation, and physical artefacts.

Other scholars have also tried to categorise the different sources of evidence into primary, and secondary sources of data. The primary data mainly depends on the direct observations and interviews; subjective structured, semi-structured and open-ended questionnaires, and in-depth discussions with the actors involved in the study. The secondary sources of evidence depend mainly on documentations and archival records.

1.6.5.1 Documentation

Documentation as a source of evidence plays a main role in the data collection for case study research. With unlimited forms of documentary evidence, Documents could be letters, memoranda, agendas, administrative documents, newspaper articles, or any document that is closely related to the investigation, like reports, proposals, formal studies and evaluation of the case study (Tellis, 1997).

Refereeing to the table, Yin (1994) stated that the strength of documentation falls to that it can be a source that can be reviewed repeatedly, helpful in verifying the correct names and titles of organizations and people with their correct spelling, contains exact references and details of the case study, and in most cases, documents contain a broad coverage of time, events and settings (ibid, 1994). Moreover, in the interest of triangulation of evidence, the documents serve to corroborate the evidence from other sources. Documents are also useful for making inferences about events (Tellis, 1997).

However, documents can lead to false leads in the hands of inexperienced researchers, which has been a criticism of case study research. Also, with the concept of "data bias" in the sense that documents could provide information directed to a specific audience or written for a specific purpose rather than that of the case study being done, researchers being vicarious observers; have to keep this in their mind to avoid being misled by such documents. In the case of Egypt, Local government reports as an example, usually aim at showing their achievements rather than presenting a true, non-biased picture of their locality. Adding to the researcher's own bias that will definitely influence the type of documents being collected, access to specific documents and its information can be deliberately blocked, with is a common phenomenon (Bulmer, 1993).

Knowing the above weaknesses of this source of evidence, the researcher relied on a wide range of libraries and documentation centres to gather the essential data. The documentary information was collected from two principal sources. First, the official

sources from public and private institutions (see box 1.1). Second, from published and unpublished academic papers related to the subject of the study area, from academic and private libraries.

Box (1.1) Official sources of documentary information

- Ministry of Housing, Utilities & Urban Communities (MOH)
- Research and Studies Organisation (RSO)
- General Organization for Physical Planning (GOPP)
- Ministry of Tourism (MOT)
- Tourism Development Authority (TDA)
- Ministry of Culture (MOC)
- Supreme Council of Antiquities (SCA)
- Higher Council for Luxor City (HCLC)
- Building Research Institution
- Private consultants (Abt Associates)

1.6.5.2 Archival Records

Although archival records are not considered as a main source of information, they can serve as a supporting source of evidence or as providing background evidence. Archival documents can take many forms, such as service records, organizational records, and lists of names, survey data, and other such records. Scholars such as Yin (1994) and Tellis (1997) stress that researchers have to be careful in evaluating the accuracy of the records before using them, due to the fact that even if the records are quantitative, they might still not be that accurate (see table 1.2 for the strengths and weaknesses of the archival records). For this research, the archival records that were used are, maps of the geographical and urban characteristics of the case study, demographic and economic records, list of names previously collected that were updated after the field trip.

1.6.5.3 Interviews

People (individuals or social groups) are considered a distinctively rich source of information and evidence. Using human beings as a source of information, Woodhouse (1998) states that two types of information can be identified; first seeking the knowledge not available elsewhere (e.g. oral histories of remote or rural communities), second, knowing the perceptions of specific individuals or social groups within their contexts or "in their capacity as users of services or resources, and how these are manifest in particular patterns of decision-making" (Woodhouse, 1998, p.128).

However, determining what information is being sought, and what it will be used for, the researcher or investigator decides how much information to disclose, specifically when diverse and possibly contradictory views arise, reflecting differences in what individuals know and how that knowledge affects their interests. Woodhouse (1998) in looking at ways of dealing with difference and diversity within the information people provide states:

> " During the course of an enquiry, development managers are likely to accumulate a large amount of information, much of it from quite divergent standpoints. A key question in investigative approaches which involve seeking information from people is. therefore, that of how to manage the diversity of views which will be generated: how to reduce the data to an amount that can be understood"
>
> (ibid, 1998, p. 128)

After distinguishing what study population will be used as a source of information, two questions arise; how will this study population asked and what? In other words, the approach to formulating what to ask through questionnaires or interviews has to be specified. Although interviews are usually associated with survey research strategy, they are also considered an important source of any study-case information. Scholars such as Yin and Woodhouse classified the different forms of interviews into: structured, semi-structured and unstructured interviews.

Generally used in sample surveys with an aim at finding precise information about a specific population, Merton et al (1990) pointed out that structured interviews are considered one of the quantitative methods being used for this aim. Structured interviews are standardized, primarily designed to answer 'what' questions, with its different forms and phrases; how much? How many? Where? When? Which of the following? To what extent? and so on. Obtaining a high percentage and reliable response, depends on the overall design of the questions and upon the mode of administration adapted (e.g. face-to-face, self-administrated, postal, telephone, electronic emails and websites) (Woodhouse, 1998).

Moreover, in specific cases, structured interviews can also be used to answer 'why' or 'how' to analyse the relations between the answers to different 'what' questions, or if the questionnaire is to include such questions directly. However, structured interviews are considered an ineffective way of answering 'why' or 'how' questions. Questions of this type are widely preferred to be answered by "means of

predefined options or in the respondents' own words, in 'open-ended' format questions (Woodhouse, 1998, p.133). When quantification is not straightforward, answers to these questions are complex, depending on further questions for clarification, using 'semi-structured interviews' is much more effective to address these questions.

Semi-structured interviews introduces a more flexible way for the researcher to explore issues with their informants, which can be achieved through supplementary questions to clarify specific complex responses, and developing new lines of enquiries. Moreover, semi-structured interviews are useful to approach 'what' questions where the researcher is unfamiliar with a specific social situation related to the phenomenon he is investigating. A semi-structured interview is generally designed with a number of headings or standard but open-ended questions, but every interview varies in the way the researcher follows the different lines of enquiry (Woodhouse, 1998, Merton et al, 1990).

Knowing how and what to ask, the question arises, who is to be asked from the study population chosen? A representative part of a population or a 'sample' has to be defined. Scholars such as Woodhouse (1998), Merton et al (1990) and Yin (1994) have distinguished between two main approaches in identifying and selecting their sample of the study population of any research: sample survey and focused interviews (other scholars have categorised it into probability and non probability sampling). The sample survey focuses on generating a description of a wider population without actually talking to every individual in the population[7]. Meanwhile, focused interview as an approach of selection, is governed by the need to identify as wide a range of different viewpoints as possible, which is not necessarily linked to the wider population in any quantitative sense[8]. Based on the above discussion and the wide range of categories of the study population involved, the research had to take advantage of both approaches.

In order to measure the recognition of Luxor's residents, and users of the city regarding their perspective of the land development decision-making in the city, urban conservation practice and the level of participation offered to them, a sample was be

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[7] The main objective of sample surveys is mainly 'descriptive', providing an answer to 'what?' questions, giving an emphasis on quantitative aspects, although some qualitative data can be obtained. The sample survey approach can be successfully applied within contexts where information is needed on population with large number of people, or where comparative data is needed.

[8] This approach of selection, known also as 'non-probability sampling', has two main variants. One is refereed to as purposive or theoretical or judgmental sampling, where different subgroups are sampled more or less depending on their importance to the research or to a certain theoretical point that the researcher is testing. The other variant is the use of 'key informants' who are not necessarily representative of a population in any sense, but are chosen simply for their knowledge.

selected for a structured survey which will mainly be based on 'probability' criteria to be representative of the population[9]. While the interviews were initially designed (before the first pilot trip, Jan, 2006) to analyze a well-known formulation/ implementation gap in the urban planning process within the Egyptian context, a process of sharpening the questions of the interview had to take place based on new information. Based on the fact that the local government (HCLC) has already started executing major projects early 2006 (i.e. Central Luxor 'open museum concept' projects), the interviews were in need for more refinement.

On the one hand, face-to-face semi-structured interviews were designed to identify different viewpoints as possible for the representatives or key figures from the central government located in Cairo, local government officials located in the city of Luxor, in addition to the consultants and academics. Seeing the research as interesting and worthwhile, moreover coming into timing with the ongoing official and media's concentration on 'the development of Luxor city', the interviewees were more than welcome to share their views on the subject of the research. (See Appendix I for the Semi-structured interviews designed for central and local officials, consultants and experts)

On the other hand, structured interviews targeted the local residents located over the route suggested for excavation and restoration of the Avenue of the sphinxes and were carried out during the two fieldwork visits (January and May, 2006). Official and media statements, property-survey trips carried out by local government officials, gave the local residents a clear indication of the government's high commitment to start proceeding with this key-project of the open –museum concept. Consequently, coming at a close timing with the fieldwork, the general impression of resentment, disappointment and concern of the local residents regarding the ongoing urban development and conservation process has overshadowed the researcher's meetings with the residents, whereas at a number of occasions, single interviews turned into open-discussions with several residents and homeowner located in the same street. The details of the sampling frame of the structured interviews related to this research, will be illustrated in the following section.

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[9] Probability sampling refers to the sample of individuals that is selected at random from the population, which requires a 'sampling frame' as a means to identify all the elements of the population in order to be representative of the whole population, or having an equal probability or chance of being included in the sample. The random selection can be a simple, systematic, stratified or clustered random sample.

1.6.5.4 The Sample Survey

Faced with the fact that the urban development plans for Luxor city will have its effect on the entire population (i.e. residents, workers, tourists) of the city and its wider region, using a representative sample of this whole population would have been the perfect and ideal sample for the structured/focused interviews. Since this will be a complicated sample, adding to the limitations of time, the research sample was limited to represent a specific population. This population will be the one directly affected by the proposed investment package 'The Restoration of the Avenue of the Sphinxes project (package One)' as a central project in the CDCL's-1998 strategy plan to create the open museum in central Luxor, precisely the locals that will be forced to evacuate their properties and relocate to other proposed areas.

The avenue is a grand parade 2,400 metre long linking together Karnak and Luxor Temples, with an adjacent avenue connecting Karnak and Mut Temples. Over the years, nearly one-third of the Avenue has been acquired and in different stages of restoration[11]. The 1998 physical plan (CDCL) reports have suggested that there is a need to acquire around 124 properties to completely restore the Avenue[11], with a width of 76 meters which will be expanded to a total of 106 meters in successive stages.

The sample survey had to follow a 'random sampling'[12] technique to be able to reflect the perspective of the residents and users within the Avenue of the Sphinxes area. By the help of maps, and after updating the land use plans of these areas by direct observation, and confirming the real number of units and buildings that will be required for acquisition. a list of each unit and its activity provided a framework to carry out a stratified random sampling. A systematic sampling technique followed to identify the

[10] The project will comprise major actions: 1. Purchase of land to a width of 76 m, 2. Relocation of nearly 100 housing units on the top of the avenue, 3. Demolition of buildings intruding on the avenue, 4. Modification of the street layout and street crossings of the avenue after the process of excavation then restoration of the statues.

[11] Phase I of the CDCL (Final report, 1998) suggested that a total of 124 properties will be needed to be acquired as follows: 4 religious buildings (Mosques & Churches); 4 agricultural holdings; 6 private and public buildings; 110 residential buildings. This information will be updated during the pilot and fieldwork, as it hasn't been followed by an update in the successive executive report (Investment package 6, 1999).

[12] Random Sampling is the technique of selecting each element through a random process (e.g. tossing a coin, drawing numbers from a box). The probability of each element of being chosen is known in advance. Random sampling requires a sampling frame, which are the materials and procedures used to describe the population such as maps, aerial photos, list of people or establishments, etc.

size of the sample to conduct the structured questionnaires using a face –to –face technique.

Stressing that the sample survey is not strictly a representative sample, the main aim was to explore a wide range of the residents' perspective regarding the urban development process, decision-making and participation, focusing on their impression with regards to the 'Avenue of the Sphinxes restoration project'. The sample survey was designed to choose a sample of 15% of the residential buildings, (i.e. around 110 building), interviewing 2-3 individuals in every building. (See Appendix II for the structured interviews designed for this research)

1.6.5.5 Direct Observation

Direct observation is considered one of the primary sources of evidence when it comes to dealing with case study research, as many scholars such as Cresswell (1994), Woodhouse (1998) and Yin (1994) have agreed upon. Direct observation occurs when a field visit is conducted during the case study. It could be as simple as casual data collection activities, or formal protocols to measure and record behaviours, or environmental conditions relevant to the phenomenon being studied (Tellis, 1997). The direct observation technique is usually useful for providing additional and supportive information about the topic being studied. Taking photography pictures can be considered a valuable tool or evidence to support the researchers' own observations.

This research depended on direct observation and photographic recording whilst updating the land use plans of the city, providing a clear understanding of the recent physical environment. Direct observation was to be found valuable in situations where there was no other documented source available. The direct observation and photographic survey concentrated on the following:

- Congestion and overcrowding around the history areas and monuments.
- Housing locations with respect to the monuments, and natural environment.
- Buildings' characteristics (forms, styles, height, interaction with historic monuments [i.e. visual pollution])
- Land use distribution (i.e. areas of under/overdevelopment)

The observation of these physical features was necessary to identify and measure the extent of the problem within the city and to measure the impact of policy decisions or its absence on the physical environment.

1.7 Thesis Organisation

Following the simultaneous data collection and analysis phases (i.e. classification and categorization of qualitative and quantitative data) the research had to be organized as follows: this first chapter in setting the boundaries of the research presents the core problem, the hypothesis and key research questions that are to be addressed in the following chapters, and the theoretical and analytical contexts of the research. Moreover, as the research provides the research's theoretical and analytical scope and a justification for the case study choice, it describes the research methodology to conduct the case study and collect the empirical evidence.

Chapter two places the study within a wider context of the theoretical debates on both fields of urban planning and conservation practice upon which the research constructed an analytical framework to analyse the empirical evidence collected from the field. To explain the interlocking dimensions and gap within the literature related to the disciplines of urban planning and urban conservation the chapter had to be divided into three main sections. The first section debates and examines the urban development planning theory and practice. Clarifying the different planning traditions and planning methodologies and critically focusing on the shift of the approaches adopted in dealing with land development is presented in this section, moreover emphasising on the role of state, role of planner, attitude to market processes, scope and purpose and planning process of each new emerging planning approach.

The second section examines the development of the urban conservation discipline through debating the different levels, styles and approaches of urban conservation. The third section aims at interlinking the two areas of knowledge in order to locate the practice of urban conservation within every planning theory (i.e. scope of urban conservation in each planning approach). Furthermore, the construction of an analytical framework at this point will make use of the interlinking areas and gaps between the urban development planning theory and urban conservation practice. Consequently, the analytical framework points out the main factors or entry points for the analysis of the urban development planning and conservation process in the context of the case study.

Chapter three provides a brief introduction to the shift in the political economy context of Egypt, examining the main national development challenges and economic and urban policies adopted after the nation's independence in 1952. The aim is to relate the process of urban development planning and urban conservation with the general

national context, highlighting the main factors that affected these processes. The chapter discusses the major national policies from the early 1970's till recent and identifies the general national and regional objectives regarding urban development and conservation.

Chapter four analyzes the data collected from the field. The chapter starts with providing a brief background regarding the context of the case study. Furthermore, the chapter presents the formulation processes of successive physical development plans for Luxor city (i.e. 1984,1993 and 1998 approved physical plans) in the light of the shifting national urban development planning objectives. Consequently, the chapter continues to analyse the gap between the original physical plans and the existing land use patterns based on the entry points of the analytical framework (i.e. community participation, funding and political support).

The final chapter sums up the findings of the research. Furthermore, the chapter presents an institutional framework as a recommendation to overcome the shortcoming of planning and urban conservation practice and the political economy context, in addition to identifying some issue for further research.

CHAPTER 2: PLANNING THEORY AND PRACTICE AND URBAN CONSERVATION: THEORETICAL DEBATE AND ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

2.2 PLANNING THEORY AND PRACTICE

An obvious gap in timing existed between the practice of planning and its institutionalization on one hand, and the evolution of theories to merge and support this practice on the other hand. The practice of urban planning can be traced to the seventeenth century European colonists (Foglesong, 1986). The social problems related to massive in-migration, large-scale manufacturing and absence of controls over the built environment in major modern cities of the western world at the end of the nineteenth century, triggered the urgent need of the institutionalization of planning (Beauregard, 1996).

Since the mid twentieth century, Modernism[1] has been the dominant force in the mainstream urban planning and architecture, moulding the visual urban environment in major cities (Lim, 2002). Ellis (1992) referred to the practice of planning during the twentieth century as the Visionary or Utopian city Planning which usually proposed radical changes in the form of cities. Often in conjunction with sweeping changes in the social and economic order, planners and architects have been the main sources of imaginative urban proposals promoting a future in which "social problems could be tamed and humanity liberated from the constraints of scarcity and greed" (Beauregard, 1996, p.384). Le Corbusier[2], Frank Lloyd Wright[3], Paolo Soleri, and other architects have designed cities on papers, which have somehow incrementally influenced the layout of many new towns and urban redevelopment projects (Ellis, 1992).

The institutionalization of planning started when planning was taken as a part of a reform movement. While focusing on the built environment, the reformers movement was mainly concerned with the population congestion and public health. Local legislations were argued for, aiming to improve working-class slums, by regulating the quality of the built environment through building and housing codes. Pressure was on to provide sanitation facilities, and impose health regulations, and the regulation of any source of 'nuisances' that could create hazards and spread diseases with residential areas (Fairbanks, 1988).

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[1] Modernism is understood in the west as the 'process of historic transformation' that took place in Europe and later in the US and commonwealth countries. It includes the concepts of freedom, human rights and individuality as well as democracy and the rule of law (Lim, 2002).

[2] Le Corbusier advocated high-density urban alternatives in the "Contemporary City for 3 million people, 1922", and the "radiant City, 1935", with skyscrapers office buildings, mid-rise apartments in green open spaces, within a rigid geometric pattern of highways and rail transits (Ellis, 2004).

[3] Frank Lloyd Wright envisioned a decentralized low-density city in the "Broadacre City plan, 1935", as an example of the American suburban, emphasizing his belief in individualism and his distaste for large cities (Lim, 2002).

Another group of reformers, considered themselves as 'planners', had their contribution to the establishment of state planning. Those early planners came from diverse backgrounds: architecture, landscape architecture, engineering and law. They were concerned with 'the emerging form of the industrial city and its chaotic juxtaposition of land uses' (Boyer, 1983). They clearly supported rapid urban growth, inspired by the awareness of the qualities of the 'capitalist urban development'[4], but based on ordered, organized and physically coherent, well-functioned cities that will be able to absorb any growth within (Beauregard, 1996).

'Master planning' schemes were under taken by these early planners, to arrange land-use activities to achieve a functional and aesthetic objective. As for what was considered 'beautiful' and in accordance with principles of good taste during the early decades of the twentieth century, the 'classical' styles of buildings were to be presented. The functional objectives were focused on supporting the production and circulation of capital, while fulfilling a new relationship between capital and the state. As a result, the 'master plan' was considered a document that takes into account 'the functional and economic outcomes of urban activities, and their proper aesthetic and spatial interrelationships' (Beauregard, 1996, pp. 215).

Throughout time planning practice has evolved, introducing various shifts in paradigms, planning traditions and methodologies. Local restrictive legislations on housing were later replaced by 'public housing' at the early decades of the century. Highway and transportation planning, was given great emphasize in the 1920's. Subdivision and zoning were used as a local regulative device within master plans. After World War II, especially with the destruction of major cities and towns all around Europe, 'Urban renewal' was added to the practice of planners, housing, zoning and transportation planning flourished even within American cities. During the 1960s, planning practice had already been diversified into various specialities ranging from: environmental, social, health, transportation, energy and regional planning, along with the old traditional land use and housing (Beauregard, 1986).

The urban reconstruction of the II World War's destruction in Western Europe was executed under the umbrella of Modernism thoughts. Lim (2002) states that:

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4 Planners realized that different capitalists pursue different special investment strategies in an uncoordinated fashion, therefore creating a so-called 'capital-labour' struggle for control over the built environment (Beauregard, 1996). This was the main bases on which the political economy planning approach emerged in the late 1980's, which will be illustrated later in the chapter.

> "This process of reconstruction was often done with strong socially oriented expectation towards building a new world [....] in a context of an ideological commitment of the population to conserve the traditional cities [....] and to meet the increasing pressure and demand for commercial spaces by intensive high-density development of new areas in close proximity to the traditional urban centres" (ibid, 2002)

Nevertheless, since the early 1950's, urban planning practice in American cities was seen as an effective instrument to promote economic activities and to accommodate the increasing demand of the financial sector, which resulted in large-scale clearance of traditional environments, and displacement of the minorities and the poor (Beauregard, 1996). With the U.S. dominant economic and cultural influences, many developing countries adopted the American approach to urban reconstruction, where much of the valuable and irreplaceable local identity and heritage have been destroyed in this process (Lim, 2002).

Since planning practice was first identified as " a professional activity, a range of different traditions, each with an associated methodology and relative perception relating to the 'neutrality' of such activity" (Safier 1990 cited in Moser 1993, p. 83), many scholars have pointed out a common misuse and generalisation within the literature of planning theory and practice over the use of the 'planning' term. This confusing picture has been seen as a direct result of ignoring the shift within the planning paradigm[5] where 'planners' are still treated as doing the same range of activities and as if the 'planning' term refers to only a fixed and well-defined set of practices.

Planning like any other paradigm comprises of a number of intersecting dimensions. A body of theory that reflects the different core principles, assumptions and concerns in connection with the practice of planning, a planning tradition and third an accompanied methodology, are the three intersecting dimensions of the planning paradigm. In an attempt to clarify the confusing picture, Safier (1990) made a distinction between a planning tradition and a planning methodology as follows:

> " ....A planning tradition is a different form of planning, with its own focus and objectives, knowledge base, agenda, process and

[5] Kuhn (1963) defines the notion of paradigm as "a set of values, beliefs and practices of empirical reality together with a body of theory used by scientists to explain and understand practice"

> organisation…while in contrast, a planning methodology is the process of providing organised technical guidance for planning practice "
>
> (Safier 1990 cited in Moser 1993, p. 83)

This clarification of the confusing issues related to the field of physical planning practice through a distinction between planning traditions, planning approaches, and planning methodologies had to be followed by a need to acknowledge that different planning traditions have adopted different planning approaches and methodologies developed over time. Also, a recognition that planning methodologies differ concerning "the extent to which they identify planning as a set of technical or political procedures" is crucial (Moser, 1993, p. 83).

Although the focus of this research is to explore, illustrate and analyses the development of assumptions, critique, and debate for and against the different planning approaches to land and development, it is crucial to present in the following section a brief idea of the development of the related traditions and methodologies within the field, in an attempt to confront planning practice with theory or to point out the links and gaps between physical planning practice and theory.

2.2.1 URBAN PLANNING TRADITIONS AND METHODOLOGIES

Starting from the year 1893 and onwards, with the recognition of the physical planning as an emerging profession, several generations of planning traditions started to emerge in the field of planning practice. Each having with its own specific focus, interest, objectives, type of activities, and methodology, and eventually some key globally supporting institutions. With the emergence of new traditions, developing within a wide range of academic disciplines, and interlinking into the field of planning practice, the planning paradigm started to adapt and accept the shift within its definition over time. Safier (1990) categorised planning traditions into three broad and distinct groups or 'generations' as he introduced an extensive and focused classification for planning traditions (i.e. the physical/classical traditions, the applied traditions, and the transformative traditions- table 2.1)

Table 2.1 The Planning Traditions Involved in Urban Affairs

TRADITIONS / ELEMENTS	PHYSICAL (CLASSIC) TRADITIONS				APPLIED TRADITIONS				TRANSFORMATIVE TRADITIONS			
	URBAN DESIGN	TOWN PLANNING	REGIONAL PLANNING	TRANSPORT PLANNING	SOCIAL PLANNING	CORPORATE PLANNING	ECONOMIC PLANNING	PROJECT PLANNING	DEVELOPMENT PLANNING	ENVIRONMENT PLANNING	GENDER PLANNING	CULTURAL PLANNING
ORIGIN	Europe 1890-1920	Britain 1890-1914	USA/USSR 1925-1935	USA 1950s	UK 1945	UK 1965	Global 1970s	Global 1970s	LDCs 1960	USA/UK 1965	UK 1975	LDCs 1980
DISCIPLINE	Architecture	Estate Management	Geography	System Engineering	Sociology	Management Studies	Economics	Finance	Development Studies	Environment Studies	Women/gender Studies	Global
FOCUS	'Built Form'	Urban Land	'Space'	'Movement'	'Community'	'Organisation'	'Resources'	'Investment'	'Needs'	'Environment'	Gender	Culture
OBJECTIVE	'Function'	'Order'	'Balance'	'Mobility'	'Welfare'	Integration'	'Growth'	'Efficiency'	'Development'	'Sustainability'	'Emancipation'	'Diversity'
PLANNING ENTERPRISE (Why do we need it?)	Creating a functionally aesthetic urban space to accommodate required functions of modernisation	Organising Compatible land uses to improve the living and working environment of cities accommodating changing activities	Efficient and equitable distribution of population, economic activity and social provision between areas and locations	Optimum Movement system for predicted pattern of movement requirements	Equitable distribution of economic resources between social/client groups in need	Maximum organisation resources-use to achieve corporate strategy	Productive use of economic resources for maximising level of income and wealth	Maximum benefits achievable from optimum selection of projects portfolios	Maximum contribution of the urban system to satisfaction of basic needs	Conservation and enhancement of urban habitat and ecological system	Achieving gender-specific equality, equity and status	Achieving reorganised equivalence and expression of diverse cultural traditions
PLANNING AGENDA (What is to be planned?)	- Human activity patterns - Construction materials - Building types - 'Created' urban space	- Land issues - Land tenure - Infrastructure - Movement patterns - Building densities and layouts	- Territory - Resources - Infrastructure - Settlement system - Inter/intra regional relations	- Movement demands - Activity locations - Infrastructure technologies - Transport modes	- Social groups Communities - Socio-economic structures - Sectors of welfare provision - Institutions	- Departments - Budgets - Manpower - Management operations - Corporate environment	- Macro economic relations - Production factors - Externalities Social investments - Institutional allocations	- Investment resources - Financial resources - Project portfolios - Cost components - Institutions	- City system - City resources - Categories of need - Spatial and physical organisation	- Habitat ecology - Energy systems - Waste and pollution patterns - Environmental externalities	- Understanding of household relations - Household economy - Division of labour - Service provisions - Institutional directions	- Culture and civilisation traditions - Transnational systems - Cultural industries - Communal relations - Urban forms
METHODOLOGY	Blue-Print Methodology ⟶ Scientific Rational Methodology				Scientific Rational Methodology				Scientific Rational Methodology ⟶ Communicative Rationality Methodology			

Continue Table 2.1 The Planning Traditions Involved in Urban Affairs

TRADITIONS / ELEMENTS	PHYSICAL (CLASSIC) TRADITIONS				APPLIED TRADITIONS				TRANSFORMATIVE TRADITIONS			
	URBAN DESIGN	TOWN PLANNING	REGIONAL PLANNING	TRANSPORT PLANNING	SOCIAL PLANNING	CORPORATE PLANNING	ECONOMIC PLANNING	PROJECT PLANNING	DEVELOPMENT PLANNING	ENVIRONMENT PLANNING	GENDER PLANNING	CULTURAL PLANNING
SOCIAL STRUCTURE (View about society)	(Conflict-free society) "Public interest" will be reached using only a technical methodology				(Conflict-free society) "Public interest" will be reached in the end of a negotiating process based on a combination of both technical and political rational				However the conflict in society "Public interest" will be reached in the end of a negotiating process based on both technical and political rationality ⟶		(Conflict-ridden society) Growth cleavages in society on the basis of class, race, ethnicity, gender, age, etc, as groups express diversity and challenge exclusion	
ECONOMIC PROCESS MODEL	Economic Growth Model (i.e. Accelerated Growth Model) Opposing capitalist mode of production and its effect on the built environment				(Redistribution with Growth Model) Opposing market processes and stressing the importance of state to provide goods and services for the "needy" people and to create waged employment		(Accelerated Growth Model) Stressing the importance of investment in large scale infrastructure and the modernisation of agriculture Investment can be national or with the help of foreign aid to help generate waged employment and more cash for consumption		(Redistribution with Growth Model) Stressing the distribution of costs and benefits between members of society ⟶		"We are a reality in global society but we have to reflect locality"	
KEY GLOBALLY SUPPORTING INSTITUTIONS	CIAM RIBA UNESCO	RTPI UNCHS	IRSA UNCRD	PTRC	UNICEF	UNPTC	UNDP	IBRD	IBRD UNCHS	UNEP	UNIFEM DAC	UNU UNESCO

Source: adapted from

Beauregard R., 1996, Between Modernity and Post-modernity: The Ambiguous Position of U.S. Planning, in S. Campbell and S. Fainstein (Eds.), *Readings in Planning Theory*, Blackwell Publishers Ltd, UK, pp. 213-234;

Levy C., 2003, Urban Policy, Planning and Management, UO2 Module on MSc in Urban Development Planning, Development Planning Unit, University College London; Safier M., 2000, Lecture on Planning Traditions in Urban Affairs, MSc in Urban Development, Development Planning Unit, University College London;

Moser c., 1993, Moser C., 1993,Gender Planning and Development: Theory Practice and Training, Routledge, London and New York, Chapter 5: *Towards Gender Planning: a New Tradition and Methodology*, pp. 83-108;

Shetawy, A., 2004, " The politics of physical planning practice: The case of the industrial areas in Tenth of Ramadan city, Egypt", PhD, DPU, UCL

First, the 'classical or the physical traditions' concerned with the physical and spatial problems of city growth. These traditions started around the 1890s with emphases on urban design, town planning and land use planning, followed from the 1930s onwards by regional and transport planning. The planning methodology most widely associated with these physical traditions is the traditional 'survey-analysis-plan' or 'blue-print' methodology[6], based on straightforward stages; starting from survey to analysis, followed by the implementation of the plan, which is frequently executed by engineers and architects due to its spatial nature (Moser, 1993).

> "The methodology assumes a consensus on values and policy directions in the management of change, encapsulated in the notion of 'public interest"
> (ibid, p.84)

The second generation of planning traditions named the 'applied traditions' (i.e. social, corporate, economic, and project planning traditions), have clearly borrowed their body of analysis from other areas of knowledge such as Sociology and Political Science. During the 1950s and 1960s, with the increasing complexities of the global economic system prior to Second World War, planning practice gradually shifted from the spatial and physical to a broader domain, recognizing the impact of the economic, social and political systems that "generate contemporary patterns of growth" (Moser, 1993, p. 84). This broader focus resulted in the emergence of social and economic planning traditions, at both project and corporate levels, approaching planning through a general model that delivers certain societal tasks that can be pursued through a problem-solving technology (Healey et al, 1982).

> "Unlike physical traditions, which only emphasises individuals' knowledge and their ability, as experts, to reach the "public interest" using technical methods, applied traditions not only focus on individuals but also on the importance of public institutions, societal groups, government agencies, non-government organisations (NGOs), community based organisations (CBOs), as agents, to determine future course of events and directions of development as a core issue [...] they call for reaching the "public interest" using a combination of both technical and political procedures, based on "logic" and "reason", under the umbrella of scientific rational methodology within a pluralism environment"
> (Shetawy, 2004)

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[6] The 'blue –print' methodology, product-oriented in its focus on plans, commonly known as 'national plans', is widely adopted in many Third World countries (Moser, 1993)

With a primary concern of 'rationality', the applied traditions characterized planning as a set of rational procedures and methods for decision-making, adopting the so-called 'rational comprehensive methodology' that consists of several logical steps that will be illustrated later in section 2.2.2.1.

The third generation of planning traditions 'transformative traditions' that emerged around the early 1960's into the field of planning are still to this date currently undergoing evolution. With a believe that the current planning practice is not enough to deal with the growing problems within cities is mainly related to issues of "diversity" and "globalisation", the total rejection of the notion of the 'public interest' forced the deconstruction of planning practice from its core, transformative planners (such as David Harvey, Patsy Healey, and Caroline Moser) shifted their interest to the notion of "equitable distribution of resources with specific reference to the redistribution with growth model to economic processes using the scientific rational methodology" (Levy 2003) . Their calls were to formulate new planning traditions that are able to cut across all the existing ones (applied and physical traditions). Development planning, environmental planning, gender planning, and cultural planning can be recognised within the transformative traditions.

2.2.2 URBAN PLANNING APPROACHES

Early planning theory regarding the city and the built environment, started to merge with practice after the Second World War. Before that time, there were no "planning theorists", only reformers or practitioners with ideas about how the city should be structured (Beauregard, 1996). University-based education for planners appeared in the late 1920s, which was basically fractured into two camps: practitioners aiming for professional degrees, and academics. As a result, planning education acted to create a strong link between the practice and the theories that evolved later, and between the actions of planners and their ideologies (ibid, 1996). As social and applied sciences are usually associated with theories that are either predictive or explanatory, the efforts were concentrated to adopt from these fields of knowledge their different modes of theorizing to start building a planning theory (Friedmann, 1995).

In the late 1960's and early 1970's, with more than two decades of critical studies of planning practice and its associated theories, planning had been challenged by global political and economic forms (Macleod, 1996). There has been a succession of competing theories claiming the 'good practice planning'. Each emerging theory,

aimed to redefine precisely the planners role, not in terms of practice, but in terms of approach, process, and allegiance (Sandercock, 1998). New theories, introduced new ideologies, purposes, assumptions of the different roles of the society, state and planners and defining the planning process associated.

The division between theorists and practitioners clearly widened in the 1960s as planning was seen as giving less interests to 'substantive' ideas and outputs, becoming more concerned with how to plan rather than with its outcomes. Planning had started to be viewed as a 'method of decision- making on the basis of procedural ideas', so planning was a way of doing things or way of thinking, rather than as a way of examining the benefits or outputs it is producing (Albrechts, 1991).

By the 1970s, the role of planners as 'managers' of the city in a given and changing political environment was the central concern, as the urban question was regarded as a management problem. Albrechts pointed out the clear position of planning in relation to the socio-economic fabric of the city as follows:

> "The city itself was presented as a more or less given construct, whose pattern and dynamics were determined by internal and external forces. Both of these, however, lay largely outside the sphere of planned intervention [...] the socio-economic conditions either determine the framework within which planning has to operate [...] or concentrate all their effort so as to steer the general conditions of the built environment"
>
> (Albrechts, 1991, p.124)

This view saw the planner guiding urban growth, as the provider of specific skills and armed with suitable tools to direct development in the desired direction, as a means to keep the urban organisation running smoothly and to diminish the effects of any faults within the urban structure. Therefore, planning was accepted that it cannot and may not intervene in any process of economic development assuming that the economic factors (capital, labour and management) develop spontaneously or by limited intervention of the state aiming towards efficiency.

With this restricted scope of planning, planners were stuck into a contradictory position regarding their position as planners of the state and their expected changing role to political activists. The only way planning was seen effective if it takes into consideration the primary causes that are responsible for the problems within the urban

structure that requires planning intervention, and asking the question 'how to maximise opportunities given the declining availability of resources' (Albrechts, 1991, p.125).

The ideology based on 'the believe in a future in which social problems could be tamed and that humanity could be liberated from the constraints of greed and scarcity' during the 1960s was shifted dramatically in the 1970s to an ideology of a "conservative state serving the needs and demands of capital, turning away from the simultaneous pursuit of both economic growth and welfare" (Beauregard, 1996).

While a rich body of literature on planning approaches, has greatly illustrated the dynamics and relationship between the economy and political forces within the western context (i.e. Beauregard's (1989) work on the post-war economic restructuring of the city, Harvey's (1985) exploration of the impact of capitalism on the city), it has offered limited understanding of non-western cities which engage the world capitalist system in dissimilar manner. Cities in the developing world do not share the common history of the industrial economic development that originated in Europe and the United States (Stewart, 1999). In the following sections, the origins and developments of the different planning approaches will be presented, underlying their different assumptions, scope, purpose and scope. Table (2.2) presents the main approaches to urban planning and land development. This analysis will be helpful in trying to position urban conservation within each approach.

2.2.2.1. Rational Comprehensive Planning

After World War II, theory evolved as a specialization within planning, with the Rational Comprehensive Planning[7], shaped by and exported from the University of Chicago Planning Programme in 1947, establishing planning as a legitimate academic discipline rather than only a profession. This happened in response to the problems brought on by the Industrial Revolution and it's related urban and population growth in the Nineteenth Century stated before (Hodge a. 1991).

[7] Several terms have been referred to the same planning approach such as: 'traditional', 'procedural', 'regulative', 'scientific', 'modernist', and 'conventional' planning.

Table 2.2 Urban Planning Approaches

PLANNING APPROACH (STYLE)		RATIONAL COMPREHENSIVE PLANNING	ADVOCACY PLANNING	POLITICAL ECONOMY PLANNING	ENTREPRENEURIAL PLANNING
PERIOD EMERGED		After the 2nd World War (1950s/1960s)	1960s	1970s	1980s
CORE PRINCIPLES	VIEW OF SOCIETY	Consensus/ Conflict-free society "Public interest" will be reached using only a technical methodology Society is considered homogeneous	Pluralism/ Conflict-free society Public interest" will be reached in the end of a negotiating process based on a combination of both technical and political rational (Society consists of different interest groups, each with its own agenda and interest)	Conflict-ridden society Society consists of two groups: capitalist and labour Represented in the notion of "class struggle"	Society consists of individuals and by maximising their productivity and managing their interests impact of market processes (i.e. inequalities) would be mitigated
	PLANNING	Neutral/ pure technical activity located within the state	Representative of different group's interest	Open to class alliance	Support individuals and market processes
	ROLE OF STATE	Neutral arbiter looking for stability within society based on technical knowledge	Representative of different group's interest/central supporter	Open to class alliance Mediator between labour interest and capitalist interest to guarantee the social reproduction of capitalist society	Support individuals and market processes (State is seen as ineffective and inefficient when trying to control market processes)
	ROLE OF PLANNER	Neutral technical expertise Scientific rationalist controller	No longer controller but rather an advocate who can translate groups interests and needs into plans	Radical activist within the state (politician) Building alliances and bargaining	Entrepreneurial manager Deal maker and city seller
ATTITUDE TO MARKET		Market critical Redressing imbalances and inequalities created by market processes	Market critical Redressing imbalances and inequalities created by market processes	Market led Correcting inefficiencies while supporting market processes	Market led Correcting inefficiencies while supporting market processes
PURPOSE		Environmental improvement and management in the "public interest"	Improvement of quality of life through participation of all groups	Redistribution of resources through structural change to achieve equity and efficiency	Enable, market and promote city competitiveness internationally to achieve efficiency
SCOPE		Physical/ spatial and socio-economic	Interests and needs of the client groups	Scope of analysis: political economy Scope of intervention: initially saw planner as marginal- debated whether planner had a role in urban change. In 1990s trends to building planning constituencies among communities and workers	Minimal economic and physical/spatial intervention by state to support market Shift from state planning to private sector and management
PLANNING PROCESS		Problem recognition & definition of planning task (s) Data collection Data processing and analysis Goals, objectives and criteria formulation Design of alternative plans Decision-making Implementation Monitoring and feedback (technical Decision-making politics)	Similar to RCP except: Problems defined by client groups Goals and objectives set by client groups motivated and supported by the advocate planner Decision-making through improved local democracy	Explanation of planning activity in socio-historical context and initially ignored planning process 1990s recognition of mobilisation and communication methods (communicative rationality) to interact with communities and workers (like equity planning)	Skeleton RCP focusing on private sector economic management and management techniques (e.g. real estate techniques, corporate co-ordination tools)

PLANNING APPROACH (STYLE)	RATIONAL COMPREHENSIVE PLANNING	ADVOCACY PLANNING	POLITICAL ECONOMY PLANNING	ENTREPRENEURIAL PLANNING
CRITIQUE	Provide identifiable set of procedures But Planning viewed as technical value-free process undertaken by neutral expert planner who can identify "public interest" No recognition of social diversity 'Contentless' and 'contextless' If consultation included, usually towards the end of planning process View as step-by-step process with no recognition of any disruption of uncertainty during the process.	Recognises different interest groups in plural society and challenges idea of a consensual "public interest" Need for consultation and participation central to problem and goal definition Recognises that some groups are under-represented in decision-making and local democratic processes and need for 'advocacy' But Does not recognise powerful and often subversive interests undermining democratic processes and role of planning Some slot back into RCP procedures once problem and goals have been identifies by client groups (i.e. step-by-step approach resumed)	Recognises wider class and ideological interests in capitalist society and their impact on the role of the state Recognises political/technical content of planning (i.e. planning is not neutral activity) Recognises need for autonomous political action for structural change along with any transformative planning But With some exceptions, little attention to the planning process and to planning methods Some see no or marginal role for planner as seen being co-opted in the interest of the powerful	Recognition of city within changing global economic forces But De-linking and demotion of equity from efficiency Depoliticises planning through technical focus Undermines democracy through privatisation of public goods into structures with no/limited political accountability

Source: adapted from

Albrechts L., 1991, Changing Roles and Positions of Planners, *Urban Studies, Vol 25, No 1*, pp. 123-137;
Altshuler A., 1973, The Goals of Comprehensive Planning, in A. Faludi (Ed.), *A Reader in Planning Theory*, Pergamon, pp 149-213;
Beauregard R., 1996, Between Modernity and Post-modernity: The Ambiguous Position of U.S. Planning, in S. Campbell and S. Fainstein (Eds.), *Readings in Planning Theory*, Blackwell Publishers Ltd, UK, pp. 213-234;
Davidoff P., 1996, Advocacy and Pluralism in Planning, in S. Campbell and S. Fainstein (Eds.), *Reading in Planning Theory*, Blackwell, pp. 305-322;
Harvey D., 1996, On Planning the Ideology of Planning, in S. Campbell and S. Fainstein (Eds.), *Readings in Planning Theory*, Blackwell Publishers Ltd, UK, pp. 176-198;
Healey P., 1983, "Rational Method as a Mode of Policy Formulation and Implementation in Land Use Policy", *Environment and Planning B*, Vol. 10, pp. 19-39;
Levy C., 2004, Urban Policy, Planning and Management: Theory and practice, U02 Module on MSc in Urban Development Planning, Development Planning Unit, University College London; and
Lindblom C., 1996, The Science of Muddling Through, in S. Campbell and S. Fainstein (Eds.), *Reading in Planning Theory*, Blackwell, pp. 288-304
Shetawy, A., 2004, The politics of physical planning practice: The case of the industrial areas in Tenth of Ramadan city, Egypt", PhD, DPU, UCL

The comprehensiveness in this approach refers to 'the awareness that the city is a system of interrelated social and economic variables extending over space' (Altshuler, 1973). Planning extended its scope beyond the 'physical arrangements of objects in space' to a wider range of issues related to the city including: Economic expansion, employment, efficiency of government operations, social welfare, crime, racial integration, education and health programs and facilities, housing construction and infrastructure, redevelopment, neighbourhood conservation, public transportation, cultural and recreational programs and facilities, control over land uses, and urban design values. Where professional fields of competence have grown around all the latter concerns of the city, the principle of 'comprehensiveness' of the planning approach stresses that individual functional programs are harmonious with the city's system of relationships. Also, the costs and benefits of these programs have to be measured on a broader basis, and that any relevant variables have to be taken into consideration when taking on individual programs (ibid. 1973)

It was believed that technology together with social science could make the world work better, and that planning could be an important tool for social progress. The belief in great rationality and wisdom[8] in guiding public policy decision-making process in addressing the public interest was the core belief of the rational comprehensive planning approach, stressing on the need of intervention of the state to regulate the imbalances and inequalities created by market process (Sandercock, 1998,p.87). The role of the experts, including planners, to judge and present alternative courses of action for those in power and the determination of the appropriate form of societal guidance, guided this approach in the planning field.

Etzioni (1968), Lindblom (1959), Faludi (1973) have theorized that planners role is to maximize welfare and solve problems through the use of analytical tools borrowed from the social sciences that influence decisions, and through the design of regulations and implementation strategies that will produce desired outcomes. Planners were seen ideally as "a rational man operating, in surgical gloves- at an antiseptic distance from the real world of messy politics" (Sandercock, 1998, p.86).

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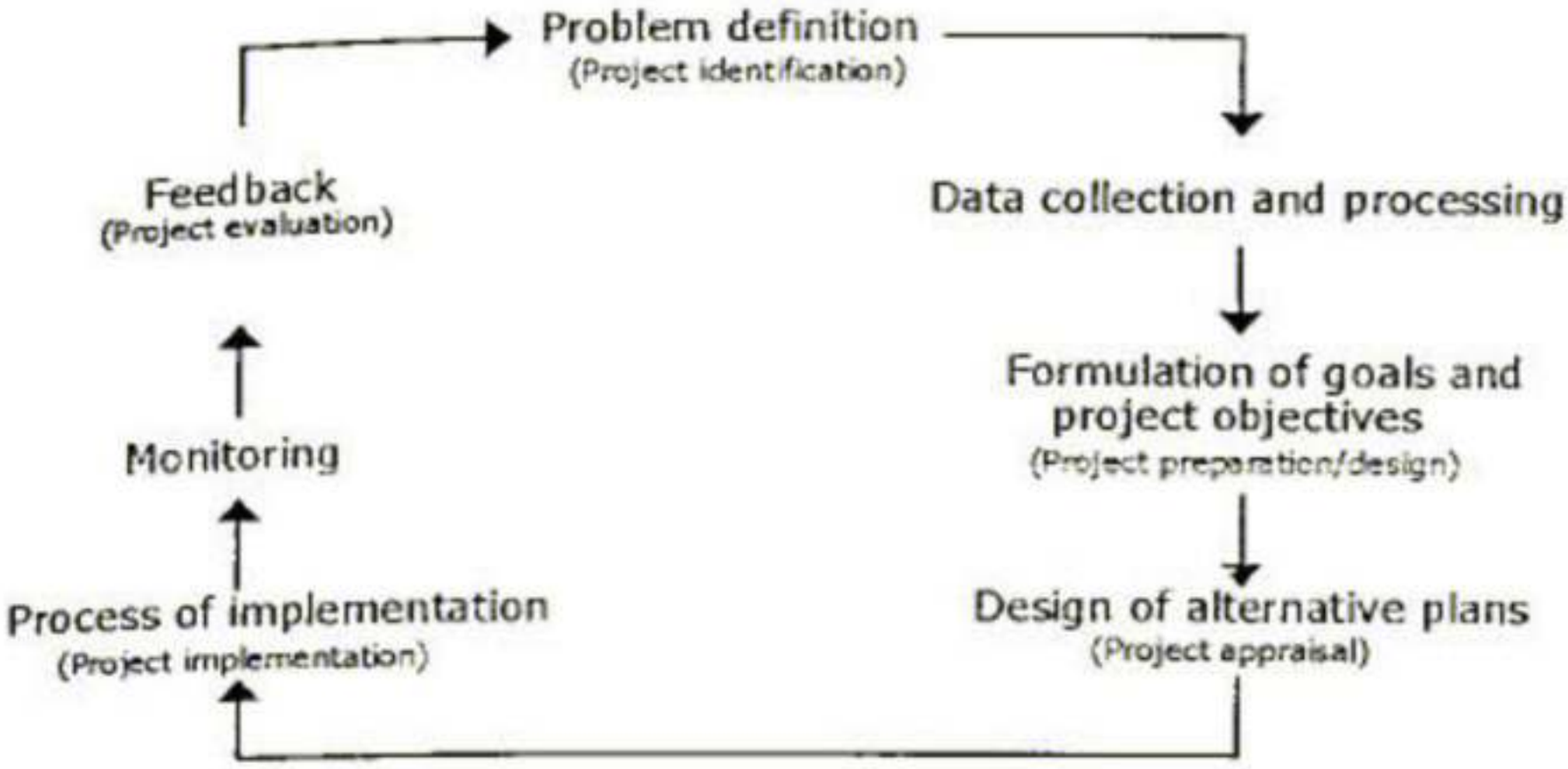
[8] "In the field of contemporary economic and social theories, the term 'rational' refers to the efficiency of means where ends are known. While 'wisdom' refers to the deep understanding and the ability to make what are considered 'good' judgments on human complex issues, where goals and efficient means are not generally known." (Altshuler, 1973, pp.196)

As Planning's central concern is the 'hierarchy of community objectives' and the laying out of alternative courses of action for those in power, the planner in this approach is considered the 'handmaidens to power' (Sandercock, 1998,p.87). The planner as a part of a comprehensive public policy process, attempts to coordinate specialized and defined activities, confident in implementing the public interest in specific settings (ibid, 1998). The planner described as 'the knower' prescribes the goals of the plan and the means of attaining them based on the assumption of an underlying consensus within society, can claim to reach a judgment in the best interests of all (Ravetz, 1980). Depending on the planners' comprehensive experience, and his knowledge of the correct path, can exercise unbiased judgment assuming a state 'above politics', whose structure is neutral with respect race, gender, and class (Fainstein, 1996, Altshuler, 1973).

As a broad definition of planning, which is to refer to ' all activities of the state which are aimed at influencing and directing the development of land and buildings' (Brindley el al, 1996), the state's intervention is seen to be concerned with many different purposes, and managing through diverse institutions, bringing together a variety of social and economic interests. The outcome plans 'blue-print' of the planning process, was to primarily present the 'ideal' physical arrangement of mixed activities (land use) using a problem-solving technology based on a linear rational process. Such process or methodology starts from the problem definition and development through data collection and processing, clarification of policy goals, systematic analysis (i.e. planning studies) then logical generation of planning alternatives, systematic evolution of these alternatives, choosing the best alternative that meet the policy goals, and then finally handling the 'best' alternative to the state to start implementation process, followed by monitoring and feed-back (Healey et al, 1982, Moser, 1993).

Fig 2.1 Linear Rational Methodology



Source: (Brindley el al, 1996)

Where the outcomes of the Modernist movement have not always been desirable, the Rational Comprehensive planning as its approach to planning and development has continuously been criticized. Meanwhile, the approach itself has faced critiques for its main ideals and foundations, objectives and methodology, which mainly lead to different and competing approaches to planning.

Modernism's most important ideal that was to break all ties with all-historical conditions was achieved by functional, style-less, mass production architecture and clean sweep utopian town planning (Punter, 1986). In an out spoken critic of modern architecture and planning in Britain specifically, Prince Charles claimed that 'after 1945, Britain entered a bleak, forty-year decline constituting a period of "bureaucratic planning and destructive modernization" (Macleod, 1996, p.3)'. Harvey (1989) states that when Modern architects aimed for cities that could promote industrial efficiency and face the massive shortage in housing, modernist planning and development was focused on "large scale, technologically rational, and functionally efficient international style-design" (cited in Macleod, 1996, p.3). Driven by universal forces of functionalism and abstraction, the outcomes of the modernist planning was criticized as leading to uniformity and inhumanity of cities, the lost sense of territorial identity and that communities were disrupted by the fragmentation of their modern city. Meanwhile, the following era of post-modernism, planning was concerned about 'reclaiming the city, re-establishing personal and collective roots, and the re-enchantment of the city through the re-enchantment of identity and community and the return to the human scale' (Macleod, 1996, Goodchild, 1990).

The Rational Comprehensive planning approach itself has been severely attacked and critiqued. An early attack on the foundations of the approach was by Charles Lindblom (1996), when he clearly stated that the " the level of data and the analytical complexity required was simply beyond the grasp and ability of planners" (ibid, 2890. He added that the actual practice of planners is rarely 'comprehensive'. Practically, Lindblom argued that planners should concentrate on 'successive limited comparisons' to meet their acquired short-term goals, through what he saw as the best practical substitute for Rational Comprehensive planning approach was the Incremental planning approach (ibid, 1996).

Lindblom tried to challenge the Rational comprehensive planning approach's dependence on massive information and complex analysis with the main aim to 'serve the public good' (Beauregard, 1986), other approaches emerged attacking the fundamental issue of ' a single and common public interest'. Paul Davidoff (1965) stated that "unitary planning perpetuates a monopoly over planning and discourages participation", he also argued a single agent shouldn't represent the diverse and conflicting interests of society if planning is wanted to be inclusive. Therefore, by promoting the Advocacy planning approach (see section 2.2.2.2), Davidoff believed that planning should encourage 'equitable pluralism by advocating'. From this angle, the rational comprehensive planning process was seen as undemocratic and poorly representing the competing interests of a pluralist society, and it narrowly focused on the issues of physical planning, neglecting the social conflict and inequality in the city (ibid, 1965).

Although the tools such as master plan, structure plan, land use planning, zoning, detailed plans, legal plans and new towns/settlements, introduced to the planning field by the rational comprehensive planning approach have increased the potentials of physical planning practice, a wide range of constraints has been documented mainly related to the fact that the implementation process is perceived as a separate stage within the planning approach. A stage that is mainly viewed as a process of action by both state authorities, and society agencies[9].

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[9] State agencies, as the regulator, establish a mechanism of enforcement of rules and regulations and society agencies being regulated are told exactly what are the permitted forms of action. Both agencies are also bounded by rules of administrative law, the requirements of public interest, and burdened by personals (i.e. managers and government officials). This mode of implementation is commonly referred to as the regulative or controlled implementation mode, which is the dominant implementation mode in land use planning (Alterman 1982, Shetawy, 2004)

Despite the critiques and ongoing community opposition, the rational comprehensive planning approach continues to be adapted. Its major advantage was seen in its simplicity. Following a logical, deliberate process, it is easily grasped, its analytical techniques are 'standard applications of social science', and its intentions are straightforward. It has wide applicability and incorporates the fundamental issues, ends, means, trade-offs, and action-taking which are part of most planning activities (Hudson, 1979,p. 389).

2.2.2.2 The Advocacy Planning Approach

Within a national context of urban transformation in the post Second World War period (i.e. northern migration changing the demographic of cities, in addition to the growth of suburbs) (Massey& Denton, 1994), the mainstream modern American planning profession had already been obliged to work within this broader context adopting the Rational Comprehensive approach. A standard practice emerged that heavily emphasised 'physical planning' to accommodate the demand for growth. The profession took on new levels of expertise and new technologies that excluded groups of people from the decision-making process, working for the "common good" along many of the planning traditions (Kurzman, 2000).

The first serious challenge to the Rational Comprehensive approach was the concept of advocacy planning that emerged in the mid-1960 in the United States of America. Following a period of major riots in the American cities (1964-1965) and the Civil Rights movement, a climate was created in which opposition in opinion might be heard[10] (Sandercock, 1998,p.89). Paul Davidoff, considered to be the founder of the Advocacy Planning approach[11], addressed the political nature of urban planning with choice. His notion of 'choice' evolved into one of 'pluralism' in planning (Kurzman, 2000). Claiming that the rational comprehensive planning model is focusing on the means to achieve its goals, Davidoff pointed out on the question of the 'ends' was still unsolved (Sandercock, 1998). On the basis of 'specific interests are being served in a

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[10] The civil rights movement increased the planning profession's awareness of the social implications of the dominant physical planning practice. Many professions became more socially conscious. In addition, research and knowledge of the social sciences raised the awareness in the planning profession of the effects of the physical environment on people. Planners became aware of the race and socioeconomic implications of urban renewal, freeway construction, and public housing. Physical planning was seen responsible for the harmful effects in society (i.e. urban segregation of African Americans, movement of white Americans to suburbs..etc) (Webber, 1973, Hoch, 1994)

[11] His new approach appeared in his article 'Advocacy and Pluralism in planning' with was published in the *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, in 1965.

proposed planning project', Davidoff concluded that the interests of traditional unrepresented groups would always be included by advocacy planners (Davidoff, 1965)

Within this model, the profession of physical planning becomes aware of the political nature of its context in which it is operating, contrary to the rational comprehensive model that assumes a state 'above politics' and a state whose structure is neutral with respect to questions of gender, sexual preference, race and ethnicity (Kurzman, 2000, Sandercock, 1998). The planning process was seen as a process in which planners make choices at three main junctures: selections of ends and criteria; identification of alternatives; selection of desired outcomes (Davidoff & Reiner, 1963). Davidoff added that ' appropriate planning action cannot be prescribed from a position of value neutrality, for prescriptions are based on desired outcomes' (Davidoff, 1965, p.331).

The advocacy model heavily criticized the use of planning commissions or a single agent as a major factor in overlooking the social outcomes of urban planning. Charles Hoch states 'advocacy research showed that when the powerful[12] do use these plans, it is often to achieve the insidious goals of justifying private and political interests as public goods' (ibid, 1994, p.274). In a challenge of the idea of the 'public good', Davidoff assumed that with the planners' participation in the political arena clearly knowing whom they represent, the unrepresented or disempowered groups (clients) of society were suggested to be represented by the so called 'advocacy planners'. A full discussion of the different values and interests, through several master plans not one was called for[13]. Having to defend individual plans, Davidoff believed that the competition would improve both physical and social outcomes (Kurzman, 2000). Within an environment of plural democracy, the planning advocate inform the public of all the social costs and benefits and formulating alternatives which will certainly lead to a better master plan (Sandercock, 1998).

As Davidoff outlined a planning approach with a totally different ideology to the traditional planning approach, it had its share of criticism. While many planners, social workers and sociologists totally agreed with advocacy's planning notion of the political nature of urban planning, they realized that the problem would come out from the issue

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[12] Charles here refers to the white middle class men as the powerful group.
[13] This approach found an immediate following among left-liberal intellectuals (i.e. white middle-class professionals) headed into poor neighbourhoods and black communities to offer their advocacy skills. (Sandercock, 1998)

of representation of the disempowered population. Advocacy planners had failed to achieve their goal of pluralism in planning, frustrated by failing to integrate physical and social planning, leaving the disempowered people in worse conditions (Kurzman, 2000, Hartman, 1970).

Despite the endless questions concerning the client representation and manipulation, funding, and race discrimination, and whether the unfulfilled idealism of advocacy planning had accomplished anything, the approach had made a significant impact on urban planning profession. The notions of choice, politics, and client representation became institutionalized in the planning profession as a result of the advocacy planning movement. Therefore, the advocacy planning approach was considered a valuable step in the development of the profession (Krumholz & Clavel, 1994).

The reality of the context in which planning was operating, forced a shift within planning from an advocacy planning to other practical forms such as empowerment[14], manipulator[15] models. The reality obliged the advocacy planning to expand the definition of what it is that planners do. Under the modified forms, planners aimed to represent and think about the poor in the planning process, without actually giving the poor a voice in the process, expanding the role of professionals and leaving the structure of power in the context of 'plural democracy' (Sandercock, 1998). Still viewed as an expert-centred approach, the advocacy planning approach took new practical directions. Some planners, such as Sherry Arnstein drew a conclusion that there is a need to focus on the development of the participatory mechanism. This was followed in a huge literature, development and refinement of the techniques of 'public participation', and to formulate new ideas of mutual and social learning.

Although advocacy planners assumed the equality in terms of power between the negotiating groups, over time they recognised the fact of disproportional distribution of power. Stressing on the need to address power inequalities and disproportional

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[14] As an example of Empowerment, the Architects Renewal Committee in Harlem (ARCH) recognized that the poor didn't lack the technical skills that the advocates were offering but lack the power to control action. They could organize to stop something but had no power to continue. The advocates, on the other hand could not bring the community together to plan. Moreover, they often found out that they were not working with the truly poor but with the more organized. By the late 1960s, ARCH had changed from a white organization to a black one, focusing on the issues of self-determination, political power supported by technical expertise rather than political debate emphasizing technical analysis. Therefore, ARCH had to drop the advocacy label altogether and decided to provide the means by which its community could represent itself, turning into an empowerment model (Sandercock, 1998).

[15] The Urban Planning Aid (UPA) in Boston, a group of predominant white professionals, which aimed at helping the poor by taking their ideas and translating them into technical plans, used this model.

distribution of resources, the equity approach[16] was introduced to the field of planning in the 1970s, by Norman Krumholz and Robert Mier [17]. Therefore, for equity planners, in believing that all public policies have winners and losers, and usually the losers are those who are already suffering from social and economic disadvantages. Therefore, the role of the equity planner is to advocate his/her knowledge to support and to give wider choices for those interest groups who were left behind rather than planning for all interest groups within society (Krumholz and Fosters, 1990) As Marris (1994) concludes that in the advocacy approach each group of the negotiating groups has its own planner who uses his/her technical skills to meet the group interest. While in the equity approach, the planner has to represent only the un-represented groups, including poor, working classes, and ethnic minorities, in the political arena presented in the negotiation process.

2.2.2.3 The Political Economy Planning Approach

By the mid 1970s, in spite of the benefits and potentials that pluralism and its planning approaches (the advocacy and equity approaches) presented to the planning field with respect to urban democracy and public participation in the planning decision-making process, it became no longer a valid ideology to solve city problems within the changing political economy conditions in the USA and Europe. Based on Marxist[18] perspective, urban scholars from departments of geography, sociology and urban studies were encouraged to challenge and critique the ideologies at that time, coming from a clear perspective that "planning is a main function of the capitalist state"' (Sandercock, 1998, p.91). The geographer David Harvey a leading radical planner, introduced the political economy approach[19] into the field of planning theory in 1973 tried to establish a Marxist tradition within the ideology of planning (McDougall, 1981) states:

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[16] Both Equity and advocacy planning approaches are known as the pluralism approaches to planning. Equity planning is recognised as the extension development of the advocacy approach. (Brindley et al 1996).

[17]Norman Krumholz the chief planner of the city of Cleveland in the 1970s and Robert Mier Krumholz the head of economic development in Chicago, through the planning experience of Cleveland City in the United States introduced the Equity planning approach, stressing on its link with the ideologies of the advocacy planning (Krumholz, 1994)

[18] Marxism is the political practice and social theory mainly based on the work of Karl Marx, a 19th century philosopher, economist, journalist, and revolutionary. Since Marx's death in 1883, various groups around the world have encourged the re –emergance of the Marxist school of thought, taking it as a basis for their politics and policies, which can be dramatically different and conflicting (McDougall, 1981. Wikipedia, 2005) .

[19] Political economy was the original term for the study of production and the relationships of buying and selling processes and their relationship to laws, customs and government, institutions and political system. it was used by Adam Smith, John Mill, David Ricardo and Karl Marx, along with the term

"By the mid 70's it became clear that the planning inspirations of the 1960s had faded and that our main task was to define new horizons for planning into the 1980s- new technologies, new instrumentalities, new goals...new everything, in fact, except a new ideology [...] the real task was to plan the ideology of planning to fit the new economic realities rather than to meet the social unrest." (Harvey, 1996, p.192)

Based on underpinning several key events that happened in the USA through the 1970s, that had a direct effect on the failure of planning to solve the cities problems, Harvey (1996) tried to put the basis of a new planning ideology. In the USA, during the period 1969-1970, Stagflation[20] emerged and was seen as the main problem resulting in the negative growth rate of the 1970s, which indicated that the processes of accumulation of capital were in deep trouble. While the 'boom' that happened during the 1972 was heavily dependant on the over-investment in the land, property and construction sectors, by the end of 1973, it was obvious that the built environment couldn't absorb any more surplus capital, so the decline in property investment and construction sector together with financial instability triggered a subsequent depression (ibid, p. 193)

"Physical planning through its failure to understand the mechanism of distribution of both public and private goods in the urban system, has led not only to the perpetuation of inequality but in many cases to the enhancement of inequality [...] to understand these distributional mechanisms and their consequences it is necessary to understand the processes which produce public and private goods"

(Harvey cited in McDougall, 1981, p.259)

"economist", to define someone who believed that "political and social problems could be solved by means of political economy". Political economy is most commonly used to refer to interdisciplinary studies of economics, law and political science in order to understand how political institutions and the political environment influence market behavior. Within political science, the term refers to modern liberal, realist and Marxian theories concerning the relationship between economic and political power among states. Economists, however, often associate the term with game theory. "International political economy" is a branch of economics that is concerned with international trade and finance, and state policies that affect international trade, such as monetary and fiscal policy. Anthropologists, sociologists and geographers, use the term "political economy" to refer to neo-Marxian approaches to development and underdevelopment poineered by Andre Gunder Frank and Immanuel Wallerstein (Wikipedia, 2005).

[20] Stagflation is a term in macroeconomics used to describe a period of characteristic high increase in the level of prices, a fall in the market value or purchasing power of money within an economy, combined with economic stagnation, unemployment, or economic recession (i.e. fall of a country's Gross National Product) (Wikipedia, 2005).

Harvey (1996) pointed out basic assumptions of the social order of the society, and the role of state and its planners. Critiquing the role of the planner in a pluralist society; the planner acting as a corrective weight amongst a diversity of interest groups, Harvey argued out that pluralism ignores a crucial point that society works on a basic principle that "the most important activity is that which contributes to its own reproduction" (Harvey, 1996, p.177). The built environment[21] as a complex physical resource created by human primarily must function to be useful for production, circulation, exchange and consumption. Based on the conceptions of the city as 'the nerve centres for the economic, social, cultural and political life' of society, or 'centres of innovation, exchange and communication and living environments for people', the role of the planner was basically to ensure that the built environment offers the necessary physical infrastructures that serve the functions of the city (ibid, p.180).

Moreover, Harvey (1996) argued that society is founded on 'capitalist' principles of private property and market exchange that reproduces basic social relationships with respect to production, distribution, and consumption. If simply considering the economic system, the factors of production can be broadly based on land, labour, and capital[22], an abstract concept of a class relationship between landlords, labourers and capitalists, and how they relate to the built environment can be recognized. First, the class of labourers or individuals who 'sell a commodity or labour power in return of a wage or salary', view the built environment as a means of consumption and of its own reproduction. This class is basically sensitive to the cost and access of the various items of the built environment (e.g. housing, services, educational, and recreational facilities) that assures survival and reproduction at a suitable standard of living.

Second, the class of capitalists and its sub-categories, or those who are involved in entrepreneurial functions in an attempt to gain profit, are mainly concerned with accumulation, economic growth and development. Capitalists look to the built environment as it functions a set of values that encourages the production and accumulation of capital. The physical infrastructure seen as a fixed capital can be used as a means of production, exchange and circulation. Also, the production of the built environment forms a market for commodities and services that contribute to the total

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[21] The built environment is defined as the diverse elements that make the physical structure-houses, roads, factories, offices, hospitals, schools, water and sewage disposal facilities, etc. (Harvey, 1996, p.176)

[22] These three categories are rather too abstract, and by no means homogenous. They can be broken down into endless sub-categories. For details see (Harvey, 1996, p.178).

demand for the products that capitalists themselves produce. Developers, a particular sub-category under the capitalist class, seek a rate of return on their capital by adding new elements into the built environment. Third, the landlords, those by virtue of their ownership of land and property, can extract a rent for the use of the resources they own.

Assuming the clear distinction between these classes for the purpose of analytic convenience, in a capitalist society, the whole structure of social relations is founded on the domination of capitalist over labourers. Investment decisions are made by the capitalists, creating jobs and commodities, and functioning as a catalyst of capitalist growth. The production and use of the built environment has been at the centre of arguments between different classes and within the same class. The competition over the use of resources of the complex commodities of the built environment is a "monopolistic competition within space" (Harvey, 1996, p.180). Capitalists competing with capitalists for 'advantageously positioned' resources, labourers competing with labourers for chances, survival, and access, while land and property owners seek to influence the positioning of new elements within the built environment. Investment within the built environment has generally been influenced and coordinated by market mechanisms, monopolistic control and state intervention.

In trying to understand how planning is located within the political economy approach, it is necessary to deeply understand the relationship of between the state and the processes of capital. Castells (1978) argues that urban planning is the main mechanism by the state is able to intervene in the capitalist mode of production and accumulation. specifically on the urban level. The state within this capitalist society plays an important role in ensuring the creation of a balanced built environment that mainly serves the purpose of social reproduction and growth of its system through basic functions: 1. helping to stabilize the economic and social systems by acting as a 'crisis manager'[23], 2. attempting to create the conditions for 'balanced growth' and accumulation. 3. containing civil strife and struggles (Harvey, 1996, p. 185). These functions can effectively be preformed only if the state succeeds in harmonizing between conflicting interests of classes, factions, preventing any one faction or class from seizing direct control of the state.

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[23] Harvey defined a crisis, as a particular conjuncture in which the reproduction of capitalist society is in jeopardy. The main signals are: falling rates of profits, soaring unemployment, inflation, idle productive capacity and idle money capital lacking profitable employment, and financial, institutional and political chaos (Harvey, 1996)

Seen as an instrument of the state primarily concerned with aiding the process of capital accumulation with the great aim of ensuring social justice, Castells (1978) identifies the three main political functions of Planning as: "an instrument of rationalization and legitimation; as an instrument of negotiation and meditation of the different demands of the fractions of capital; and as a regulator of the pressures and protest of the dominated classes" (Castells, 1978, p.87). Based on these political functions, planning's continuous attempt is to 'render the chaos of individual decisions' (Sandercock, 1998, p.91) more practically by means of regulatory mechanisms such as zoning, and by supplying urban goods and services. O'Conner (1973) views that planning will be mainly concerned with the social investment expenditure such as provision of infrastructure services and the use of planning instruments to promote private development and social consumption expenditure such as the management of local government capital expenditure projects like housing schemes (O'Conner cited in McDougall, 1981, p.261).

While laying aside the different categories of conflicts within the state and limitations placed upon the urban planner to fulfil his role, Harvey suggested that:

> "The planners task is to contribute to the processes of social reproduction and that in doing so the planner is equipped with powers vis-à-vis the production, maintenance, and management of the built environment that permit him or her to intervene in order to stabilize, to create the conditions for balanced growth, to contain civil strife, and factional struggles by repression, cooptation, or integration."
>
> (Harvey, 1996, p.186)

The effectiveness to perform these tasks depends highly on the planner's knowledge and understanding of how the built environment works in relationship to social reproduction, and interrelations between market competition, monopoly and state production of the built environment in the context of conflicting classes. This basic understanding of how the system works enables the planner to reach the required justification and set of arguments with which to confront class or factional opposition.

This understanding and knowledge cannot be separated from the planner's commitment to the ideology of 'social harmony', putting him/her in the role of 'righter of wrongs', 'correctors of imbalances' and 'defender of the public interest'. The definitions of pubic interest, imbalances, and of inequality within this approach are set

according to the requirements for the specific reproduction of the capitalist social order.

Rationality, a central core of the planning's ideology, depends upon the "notion of harmonious processes of social reproduction under capitalism" (Harvey, 1996, p.191). Therefore, the planning's central aim is seen as doing whatever must be done to re-establish the conditions for a positive rate of accumulation. Pointing out the negative economic growth in the U.S (1893,1930, 1970 and 1974) as an example of the disorder in the social reproduction, Harvey viewed the appropriate course of action was to find out what is wrong and to make it right, giving the following example:

> "The physical infrastructure of the city may be congested, inefficient, and too costly to use for purposes of production and exchange. Such barriers must be removed, and if the planner does not willingly help to do so, then the escalating competition between jurisdictions for 'development' at times of general decline will force the planner into action." (Harvey, 1996, p. 191)

Therefore, planners have nothing to do with planning in the traditional and professional sense within this structured society. They are no longer planners but rather radical activists – politicians-within the state building alliances and bargaining using a mixture of cooptation and integration policies that facilitate social control and that serve to re-establish social harmony, to redistribute resources through structural change, and to achieve equity and efficiency.

> "The pursuit of the City Beautiful is replaced by the search for the city efficient; the cry of social justice is replaced by the slogan "efficiency in government"; and those planners armed with the ruthless cost-benefit calculus, a rational and technocratic commitment to efficiency for efficiency's sake, come into their own." (Harvey, 1996, p. 191)

In practice, when adopting the political economy approach to land development, the traditional physical planning tools presented in the master plan, land use planning, detailed planning, and planning regulations no longer was seen as appropriate tools. They were replaced by loose physical planning tools such as simplified planning zones that assures that developers' interests are to be met with less planning rules and regulations (i.e. the development in Britain, Essex, Colchester area,

under the 1986 Housing and Planning Act) (Farnell 1983; Thornley 1986, p. 63). Brindley *et al* 1996 claim, that whenever adopting the political economy approach to land and development, the results are 'non-strategic' planning policies and decision-making processes. Thus, Brindley *et al* (1996, pp. 15-7) conclude that in practice, political economy planning, is only to be adopted in areas that have free urban problems and no public[24] (Brindley *et al* 1996).

With the emergence of the political economy approach, planners have been presented with a challenge to their different schools of thoughts and practice. The division between theorists and practitioners that already existed widened. While theoretically oriented planners aimed to import this new radical approach into the planning field, the more practice-oriented denied any practical relevance of it in their field (Healey el al, 1982). The main critique to the political economy approach comes out from the understanding reaction to that Marxist analyses clearly denies any significant role for the planner in the social transformation and that planning can never operate in the public interest making it clear that class interest in always the driving force. Although the approach located planning as a pure political activity within a capitalist state, which itself is a part of a world capitalist system, it didn't offer an alternative definition for planning and for what planners can do (Sandercock, 1998).

An underlying methodological and theoretical criticism of the political economy approach is a common attack on the claim to the 'universality' of the concepts and analysis used[25]. Pahl (1975) argues that not all capitalist societies are the same and therefore a set of fixed categories cannot be used in every case.

Upon the introduction of this approach into the field of planning had started to emerge, a wide spread frustration had started to gather pace. Little attention was given to the planning process and methods with a marginal or neglected role of planners. As a consequence, planners had to abandon the profession of planning as a whole and to become radical activists (McDougall 1982, pp. 262-3). Planning had deepened in its crisis, and the need to re-establish new ideology to rebuild the early planners dream and re-establish the authority and importance of planners was very crucial at this step.

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[24] Brindley el al, had named the planning approach under 'trend planning' (Brindley *et al*, 1996, pp. 15-7)
[25] Surprisingly, Marx had already criticised precisely the abstract categorization made by the classical British economists, Adam Smith and David Ricardo in 'Capital: A Critique of Political Economy'. He disbelieved in establishing general principles for political economy, arguing the study of specific socio-historic local cases (McDougall, 1981).

2.2.2.4 The Entreprencurial Planning Approach

The post-war period was dominated by a specific mode of economic organisation known as Fordism[26], and associated by specific forms of state intervention and regulations (i.e. the welfare state) based on an institutionalized capital/labour relationship associated with collective bargaining and the rise of mass consumerism. Through a set of zoning and other physical arrangements, a specific physical form of the urban areas started to emerge, adding large manufacturing plants functionally and spatially separated from housing, recreation and commercial spaces and long distance transportation networks to guarantee an efficient and fast supply of goods and labour.

> "The structural crisis of the 1970s and 1980s provoked a sea change in the global, national and international frameworks as well as in urban areas. This raised some critical issues concerning the planning agenda [...] the legitimation of planning as a political process to guide the forces which determine the development of a community/locality in a socially acceptable direction began to be increasingly questioned"
>
> (Albrechts, 1991, p. 123)

By the end of the 1960s and through the 1970s and 1980s, the existence of the Fordist mode of production started to be threatened by its technical limitations, the practices of institutionalised regulations, and the fall in the rates of profit and capital over accumulation. Moreover, congestion, pollution and deterioration of working and living conditions within the structure of the built environment were obviously seen as direct results of the re-growth of the industrial system. As a result, traditional industries started to restructure or completely close down (de-industrialization), deserting entire areas with new high technology industries and service activities created in other areas.

At the same time of this economic shift to a more flexible, geographically-open and market-based mode of production, a parallel shift occurred regarding the role of the state, from being a welfare state, intervening in the market process, into gradually an entrepreneurial state with a supportive role to individuals and market within the capitalist development (Unsal, 2004). In other words, the intervention of the state and

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[26] Fordism goes back to Henry Ford, who invented mass production and perfected the assembly line method of manufacturing early in the 20th century. Fordism was characterised by the 'mass production of standardised consumer goods, vertical integration of the production process and a detailed technical and spatial international division of labour on the level of industrial firm' ((Wikipedia, 2005; Albrechts, 1991, p.130)

its planning process in the late 1970s were critiqued as the main causes of inefficiency, unnecessary regulations and control and excess control, continuing to be 'an irritating hindrance to individual freedom and to the functioning of the free market economy' in the 1980s[27]. With the gradual shift of the role of the state, state intervention had to be limited to 'merely attempting to ameliorate the socially undesirable consequences of economic growth by simply adjusting the institutional or physical setting in which these economic forces operate' (Albrechts, 1991, p. 125).

Recognising the importance of the locality of places, adopting bottom- up planning strategies and a shift from urban Managerialism to Entrepreneurialism in the second half of the 1980s helped in building the basis of the new approach (Albrechts, 1991). Harvey (1989) pointed out four main reasons that supported the shift to an urban Entrepreneurialism system. First, he stressed on the 'competition within the international division of labour'. Along side the basic advantages of the availability of resources or location, strengthening the economic base and enhancing the quality of the urban region could be created through the public and private investment in the physical and social infrastructure.

> "A careful attention to the industrial and marketing mix backed by local state actions promote growth of new industrial districts and configurations" (ibid, p. 127)

> "The ability of capital to exercise greater choice over location highlights the importance of particular production conditions prevailing at a particular place" (Harvey, 1989, cited in Albrechts, 1991, p. 127)

As the cost of transport decreases and spatial barriers to the movement of goods, people, information are dramatically reduced; making the decision based on distances from markets or from raw materials becomes less relevant when it comes to location decisions. So as capital can move freely across space, the success of any locality to attract any part of this capital depends largely on the physical, infrastructure, institutional and regulatory frameworks that this locality can offer. Castells and Henderson (1987) view the actual dynamics within any locality depends on as follows:

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[27] This critique to the states intervention can be traced to the 18th century liberalism ideas, a philosophy that stresses freedom and individualism and *laissez-faire* capitalism (Begg, 1988)

> "Mainly on the connection between the population and activities of that territory and activities and decisions that go far beyond the boundaries of each locality" (ibid, p. 10)

Second, and as a consequence of the first point Harvey points out, the aim was to improve the competitive position of cities with respect to ' the spatial division of consumption'. On an international and national level, cities all over the world focused their investments on the quality of life to attract consumers: Applying different strategies of regeneration, gentrification, cultural innovation, physical upgrading, adding items of consumer attractions and entertainment. Seen as a start point to begin with, Albrechts (1991) states that 'the selling of the city as a location for activity depends heavily upon the creation of an attractive urban image' (ibid, p. 129).

The third reason is the competition of cities for the gaining the key control and command functions in high finance, government, or information gathering and processing. To be able to attract consumers from all over the world, countries have to compete globally to control the key elements that influence the development process; and cities within each country have to compete nationally to control the key factors that direct the national distribution of resources as a matter of survival. Harvey stresses that these specific functions requires a provision of a highly expensive infrastructure, which makes the inter-urban competition very expensive and tough, specially when it is hard to break supreme monopoly power of already established centres (i.e. London, Tokyo, New York).

Fourth, the competition for the redistribution of surplus to support urban areas. With the growing competition to enter within the globalisation process, governments all around the world that adopted the neo-liberal[28] policies to economic processes such as the UK government under Margaret Thatcher, concentrated all their efforts to cut back spending on public services (e.g. health, education, transport, etc), which had proven to be extremely difficult. Harvey (1989b) concludes that the urban ruling alliance with the different groups in society manage to seize any available opportunity 'to exploit redistributive mechanisms as a matter of survival'.

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[28] The term neoliberalism is used to describe a political-economic philosophy that had major implications for government policies beginning in the 1970s – and increasingly used since 1980 – that de-emphasizes or rejects positive government intervention in the economy, focusing instead on achieving progress and even social justice by encouraging free-market methods and less restricted operations of business and "development" (Wilkipedia, 2005).

As planning is 'not an abstract analytical concept but a socio-historical practice', Albrecht (1991) argues that the international, and national structural (economic/political/social) changes has a major impact on planning, shifting with it the planning ideology, the expected roles of planners and the state. Moving on from the 1970s concept considering socio-economic contexts as given, planners in the early 1980s started to argue that these structures had to be placed at the centre of the planning problem. Arguing that planning's role doesn't stop at only understanding the consequences of emerging trends and processes (such as deindustrialisation, de-investment, environmental decay, unemployment, etc.), scholars of the entrepreneurial planning approach based their own ideology on that their role is to continue to understand completely the dynamics of these processes.

Understanding these structural economic processes and recognizing the limitations of intervention, it was necessary to replace the commonly known tool kit of planning (i.e. master plan, land use planning, detailed planning, and planning regulations, zoning) by a system in which planning and the planner direct their intervene in the social fabric. The planner in this new adjustment had to take the role of a pure entrepreneur and to direct the economic force by himself, aided by his political power, skills, knowledge and technical expertise to execute the required tasks. Designating Enterprise zones, offering subsidies to private sector development through low-cost land sales or infrastructure investment, plus a flexible attitude to development proposals, are the typical tools (Brindley *et al*, 1996).

> "In activating markets the emphasis tends to be on the supply rather than the demand side [...] the favoured package includes training to increase and update skill levels, assistance and support to entrepreneurs in establishing and expanding business, relaxation of planning control as in enterprise zones and simplified planning zones, abolition or relaxation of rent controls, diversification of housing tenure, together with financial leverage to stimulate property development to develop confidence and attract inward investment" (Solesbury, 1987, p. 10)

Within an environment oriented to provide a good business climate and to construct all sorts of incentives to attract international and national capital, the planner's main role as supporters of individuals and market processes, in becoming a dealmaker with a mission to sell the city, instead of a regulator (Fainstain, 1988,

Beauregard 1989, Albrechts, 1991). This skill had to be matched along with their ability to act as entrepreneurial managers, as they will have to negotiate with the various sectors and departments involved in the planning process while taking into account existing power structures between and within social groups. Albrechts (1991) re-emphasis on the political and role of the planner as follows:

> "This role emphasis that planners have to operate in cooperation with both other actors of the decision making process and the target groups. Performing the function of a catalyst and initiator of change on one side, and lobbying and negotiating to gain the necessary support on the other side [...] The planners have to become an instrument within the governmental apparatus to reduce or eliminate unequal power structures between social groups and classes [...] rather than being a neutral eunuch, the planner himself/herself is a strong partisan for certain outcomes as opposed to others, for the interests of some groups over others, for some styles of governance, for some styles of governance, for some conceptions of justice, some patterns of future development..." (Albrechts, 1991, p. 133)

As an approach based on stimulating the private sectors investment, and on the willingness of state institutions to support private agencies in dealing with land development, the relationship between state institutions and private agencies had to change from regulator/regulated to a public-private partnership (Brindley *et al*, 1996). Moreover, this change in relationship needed a re-arrangement in the institutional structure to make planning work, giving leading roles to local/regional quasi-governmental, corporation, or enterprise agencies. Brindley (1996) argues that the entrepreneurial planning approach, naming it the leverage approach, adapts a corporatist political style[29] in which the 'effectiveness of the implementation of any policy will depend on various agencies taking part in the policy formulation' (ibid, 1996, p. 165). This form of corporatism exists in the involvement of the powerful private sector interests in order to ensure their full commitment and co-operation.

[29] Corporatism or corporativism is a political system in which legislative power is given to corporations that represent economic, industrial, and professional groups. Unlike pluralism, in which many groups must compete for control of the state, in corporatism, certain unelected bodies take a critical role in the decision-making process (Wikipedia, 2005)

> "The technical skill of the planner should predominantly consist of the ability to operationalise policy proposals capable of implementation. Therefore, each project should be divided into more or less autonomous phases, and include financial and budgetary implications"
>
> (Albrechts, 1991, p. 134)

Unlike the rational comprehensive planning approach, which views the implementation as a separate stage, the Entrepreneurial planning approach locates this stage in the centre of the planning process. The physical planning tools used within the rational comprehensive planning approach (i.e. structure, land use planning, zoning) are adopted, using the skills of consultants to prepare physical plans for the implementation phase. With the states support to individuals and market, the negotiation processes to reach practical solutions and agreements, and the commitment of the private sector, it is believed that the notion of "public interest" was believed to being achieved in a natural way.

The adoption of the Entrepreneurial planning approach has been widely criticised within reports of Governments, community groups and private agencies. The main criticism of this approach comes form the general objection that Entrepreneurialism leads to the loss of individuality of localities due to the changes and investments aimed to make cities/regions and urban regions attractive for investment implying some level of inter-urban competition. Esser and Hirsh (1989) state that the level of inter-urban competition that entrepreneurialism brings into individuals cities operates as an 'external coercive power' over the individuality of the city, which brings them into a repetitive set of conditions set by the world market. This results in a reproduction of a typical urban pattern (i.e. World Trade centres, waterfront developments, shopping malls, science parks, cultural and entertainment centres.etc) that could be quickly imitated elsewhere. In this sense, local governments experience the pressure that 'they have no option expect to keep ahead of the game', forget about their own weaknesses and strengths and aim for the same path of development and infrastructures.

As Castells and Henderson (1987) points out that the dynamics of any locality depend on the connection between its population, activities and the decisions that go beyond this locality. This creates a tension between dominant interests that may lose sense of place in the process of development. They add:

> "The new territorial dynamics, then, tend to be organized around the contradiction between placeless power and powerless places, the former relying upon communication flows, the latter generating their own communication codes on the basis of an historically specific territory " (Castells and Henderson, 1987, p. 221)

The criticism of planning also stresses that outcomes rarely bring direct benefit to the locals and existing resident, while frequently bring in environmental and social disadvantages. Moreover, the competition between urban areas eventually turns into a struggle for survival, which is often at the expense of the local population. The fact that an uneven distribution of benefits experienced within this approach create a major source of conflict between the existing communities, new residents and workers, is considered a big challenge to the legitimacy of the practice of this approach (Brindley *et al*, 1996), which is clear in the words of Harvey (1989) as he points out the negative outcomes of the re-development of London Docklands:

> "The triumph of image over substance is complete.... but behind the mask of many successful projects lie some serious social and economic problems and in many cities they take geographical shape in the form of dual city of inner city regeneration and a surrounding sea of increasing impoverishment "
>
> (Harvey, 1989, cited in Albrechts, 1991, p. 130)

The designation of single-purpose authorities, with its function to take over some responsibilities of existing local authorities, and aiming to overcome the limitations of the usual planning procedures and organizations, has had its share of criticism (e.g. the LDDC, a quasi-governmental agency designated for the regeneration of the London Docklands[30]). Moreover, the worries of the production of "dual cites with poverty and equality among some segments of the population as others prosper" (Mollenkopf and Castells, 1991) associated with global economic changes and Entreprencurialism, the focus on programmes and projects to achieve social equity, social justice, participation, and democracy in the name of "public interest", have been washed away (LeGates *et al,* 1996). Haider (1992) points out that " the emphasis in

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[30] The London Dockland development corporation (LDDC) set up in 1987 was a special-purpose executive agency, centrally funded and responsible to a government minister and Parliament. It had been criticised for its 'insulation from existing local government institutions and democratic accountability'. This independence of the corporation, and the power of development control overriding planning and housing policies of the boroughs involved together with the land ownership, had caused great tension in its relationship with the local government. (See (Brindley *et al*, 1996, pp. 97-120)

local economic development planning ...is not on social equity" and that "place wars" between competing areas are not at all concerned with economic and social equity (ibid).

With the emergence of the Entrepreneurial planning approach, the modernist planning was on the first steps to 'demise' into the postmodernist conditions, as the shift in trend from Modernism towards post –modernism in design, cultural form and life style was connected to the rise of entrepreneurialism (Albrechts, 1991, Levy, 2004, Beauregard, 1986). Moreover, Levy (2004) points out that many scholars do not consider postmodernism as a separate period in planning theory, but recognize it as a natural extension of modernism[31]. Bauman (1992) views Postmodernity as follows:

> "no more than modernity taking a long and attentive look at itself, not liking what it sees and sensing the urge to change. Modernity coming of age: making a full inventory of its gains and losses, discovering the intentions it never before spelled out [...] Postmodernity is modernity consciously abandoning what – as it now seems- it was unconsciously doing " (ibid, cited in Thomas, 1995)

The form and dynamics of cities have changed to a point that the principles of 'modernist planning' of the 1960s and early 1970s were unsuitable. Modernity in planning had started after the Second World War, when planning accepted to engage with the industrial capitalism and become instiutionalized to give the states intervention, with a main role to "diminish the excesses of industrial capitalism while mediating the intramural frictions among capitalists that had resulted in a city inefficiently organized for production and reproduction" (Beauregard, 1986,p. 217). "The knowledge and society linked to the rise of capitalism, the formulation of the middle class, the emergence of a scientific mode of legitimation, and the concept of an orderly and spatially integrated city that meets the needs of society, and technical

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31 This perception, as levy (2004) stresses, is problematic as it could be misused to support the idea that underdeveloped countries have to walk the same path of developed countries to achieve development goals. Egypt, as an example of a developing country, had started in the process of reconnecting with the world economy in the early 1970s31. External forces have forced the total transition to capitalism on Egypt; especially the World Bank believed that 'extensive economic reform' was the only means to save debt-ridden and low productivity economies. Sadat embraced a open door policy (infitah) with a limited reopening of Egypt to world capitalism, together with partial development of the private sector. This transition to a capitalist was never a complete one; the national economy was totally dominated by the public sector and central planning. (Stewart, 1999)

rationality as a superior and valid means of making public decision" (Beauregard, 1986,p. 220) had been utterly challenged with the new conditions of the 1980s.

With the emergence of the postmodernism movement around the mid 1980s, planning theory was being viewed through the lens of the postmodern cultural critique[32] (Beauregard, 1986). Stressing on key changes in conditions, postmodernists started challenging viewing the thoughts of modernism as being irrelevant. (See table 2.3 for the key global changes in the modernist conditions, and the postmodernism critique to modernism planning). Thomas (1995) discussed the widely held dissatisfaction with the results of nearly a hundred years of the modern project as follows:

> "The modern project...used to denote the actions and policies which during the 20th century have transformed the world through the application of science and technology to control and manipulate nature on a large scale for the benefit of humans and programmes of social engineering dedicated to creating a society based on rationally grounded theory. The promised benefits of the modern project were freedom from scarcity and individual emancipation [...] but modernity is not what was anticipated, the full benefits have not materialized, the world seems a more dangerous and less fulfilling place than it was"
>
> (ibid, p.4)

It seems that the field of planning theory was not capable of catching up with the rapid transitions happening globally. Healey (1996) argues that:

> "...The dilemma faced by those committed to planning as a democratic enterprise, aimed to promote social justice and environmental sustainability. This dilemma is that the technical and administrative machineries advocated and created to pursue these goals in the past have been based on what we now see as a narrow scientific rationalism. These machineries have further compromised the development of a democratic attitude and have failed to achieve the goals promoted. "
>
> (ibid, 1996, p. 234)

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[32] The postmodernism movement in planning was drawn on a terminology first developed in art and architecture critique. Although postmodernism in architecture is primarily a critique of a particular paradigm or style within Western art and architecture, postmodernism in planning is primarily a critique of systematic reason in modern western thought (Healey 1996, p.237).

Table 2.3 Postmodernism Challenge to Modernism: Key Changes in the Modernist Conditions

Issues	Economic processes associated with capitalist development	The form of social relations	The role of the state in capitalist development	Methodology
Modernist conditions	Associated with the rise of industrial capitalism "…. Fordist means, techniques and social relations of production" (Beauregard 1996, p. 221)	Rise of capitalism linked to 'embourgeoisement', reduction of class differences and diffusion of middle class (while male) values (Conflict-free society)	State had progressive tendencies (despite alliances with industrial capital Progressive in the sense of appearance of representation and support of growth of democracy)	" Reason […] as logic coupled with scientifically constructed empirical knowledge" (Healey 1996, p. 237)
Postmodernist conditions	Rise of financial capital Globalisation of economic processes (information and communication technology, flexible and fragmented production processes, weakened workforce) (Harvey 1987)	Unequal economic growth (locally, nationally, and internationally Growth cleavages in society on the basis of class, race, ethnicity, age, etc, as groups express diversity and challenge exclusion through insurgent practices (Healey 1997) (Conflict-ridden societies)	State has become conservative, in the name of efficiency (because of alliance with financial capital) Conservative in the sense of abandoning the link between efficiency and welfare; and focus on the market	Deconstruction of scientific rationalism as methodology of 'truth' it is narrow and dominating and excludes 'other ways of being and knowing' (Healey 1996, p. 237) Reconstruction of knowledge through communicative rationality

Source: adapted from
Beauregard R., 1996, Between Modernity and Postmodernity: The Ambiguous Position of U.S. Planning, in S. Campbell and S. Fainstein (Eds.), *Readings in Planning Theory*, Blackwell Publishers Ltd, UK, pp. 213-234;
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Healey P., 1997, *Collaborative Planning: Shaping Places in Fragmented Societies*, Macmillan press Ltd, London; and
Levy C., 2004, Urban Policy, Planning and Management, Module on MSc in Urban Development Planning, Development Planning Unit, University College London
Shetawy, A., 2004, 'The politics of physical planning practice: The case of the industrial areas in Tenth of Ramadan city, Egypt", PhD, DPU, UCL

While planning had been criticized generally in the 1970s to create a arena for struggle between classes for the control of the management of the urban environment, by the 1980s this critique had triggered the search for "a less one-dimensional view of conflict and cleavage in society" and more appreciation of the experienced diversity in urban life and environment, which was pointed out by Healey (1996) as the "search of democratic pluralism". Therefore, a different kind(s) of planning alternative(s) had to be identified addressing the new era of postmodernism, to be compatible with what was seen as 'contemporary understanding of democratic attitudes' at that time. The main challenge was to how to arrive to decisions through 'collective' deciding and acting (Healey, 1996,p. 235)

One direction of alternative conceptions of planning purpose, practices in the 1980s had moved on from "material analysis of options for local economies exposed to global capitalism" to independent concerns with culture, community, place and consciousness. This direction was viewed as an alternative that still is totally dependant on the "imposing the reasoning of one group of people on another"; the problem of what is good/bad, right/wrong (i.e. local economic development presented as 'good', national economic intervention as 'bad'). Offering a way out of this dilemma of 'relativism', another direction of alternative concept was taken; the 'process' route that focuses on "communicative dimensions of collectively debating and deciding on matters of collective concern". This process assumes to treat every position as someone's opinion, and that the dominance of a position through the planning strategies and their implementation is clearly the outcome of a 'power game'. Therefore, planning had to be seen as a concept of a "communicative enterprise that holds most promise for a democratic form of planning in the contemporary context" (Healey, 1996,p.236)

New planning approaches and directions had emerged to address these contemporary needs such as the collaborative planning presented by Patsy Healey in 1992, insurgent and communicative planning. Whatever the label given to the approach, the main ideals that built the approach were similar. Healey (1996) had identified five main directions of planning as follows:

> "1- a retreat to the bastions of scientific rationalism as expressed through neoclassical economics...2- an idealism based on fundamental moral or aesthetic principle...3- a relativism in which self-conscious

> individuals assert their own principle and mutually adjust when they get in each other's way.... 4-enlarged conceptions of democratic socialism beyond economic struggles over material conditions to incorporate other loci of cleavage, such as gender and race and allow more space for cultural issues...5- a communicative conception of rationality to replace that of the self-conscious autonomous subject using principles of logic and scientifically formulated empirical knowledge to guide action "
>
> (ibid, 1996, p. 238)

Holding on to a utopian ideal model, the new planning approach has been widely criticised for not providing yet any practical methodology in dealing with land and development (Healey 1996). As a result, the gap widened more than ever before between the theory and planning practice; theorists hanging on to utopian ideal and highly eclectic theoretical frameworks, practitioners losing their faith in theorists to present applicable and practical methodologies.

Given the historic context, assumptions and beliefs of each theoretical approach (style) to land and development, it can be recognised that planning traditions simultaneously have adopted different planning approaches and methodologies as a result of the continuous shift of focus and scope of both planning theorists and practitioners. Although planning traditions weren't consistent in applying a specific planning approach or methodology, each approach emerging into the field of planning theory was dominant within and attached to specific planning practice tradition(s).

An analytical framework will be constructed to analyse the practice of urban conservation within the shift in the planning theory and practice. However this will need an in-depth analysis of the area of urban conservation theory and practice before constructing the analytical framework. Therefore, the following section(s) will be exploring the debates and arguments and the historic development affected by the global political economy of the area of urban conservation approaches, styles and levels in an attempt to pinpoint the practice within the shift of scope and focus of each planning theory and practice.

2.3 URBAN CONSERVATION THEORY AND PRACTICE

Urban conservation has dramatically witnessed a change in its theories, practice and methodologies and even basic definitions over the past half-century. The practice of urban conservation in the past used to mainly focus on the location of monuments worthy of architectural restoration. Alongside, the definition of 'human heritage'[33] has been evolving since the 1931 Athens charter[34] to cover historic towns and urban areas as well as natural landscape, community-valued natural and man-made artifacts. Ouf (2001) points out that the complexity of the field of urban conservation comes from its parallel theoretical and practical developments from the fields of archaeology, architecture, urban history and urban design and planning, each of which has different areas of interest when it comes to protecting or conserving the human urban heritage (ibid, 2001).

After being in the sphere of archaeologists for a long time, urban conservation became the interest of urban planners and designers and city administrators concerned with providing and saving the historic urban identity and authenticity of city districts. This was because of the increasing role and new understanding about 'urban heritage' to cover whole districts and communities, that led to new methodologies and theories of urban conservation have been brought into light. The creation of " enjoyable urban experiences not at the mere retention of authentic urban history for succeeding generations" was one and still is an important objective of urban conservation in our modern cities (Ouf, 2001,p.73).

The term 'conservation' had only been widely used after the introduction of the term 'conservation areas' under the Civic Amenities Act of the 1967 in the UK, that later influenced the field all around the world. Until then, preservation was the usual expression for the retention of buildings, but because of its static connotations it was supplemented by conservation, as it allows for more change than does preservation. Whilst preservation implies no more change than necessary to keep an artefact in existence, enhancement in conservation areas allows an indefinite degree of change

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[33] According to the World Heritage Convention "cultural heritage' is a monument, group of buildings or site of historical, aesthetic, archaeological, scientific, ethnological or anthropological value. Natural heritage designates outstanding physical, biological, and geological features; habitats of threatened plants or animal species and areas of value on scientific or aesthetic grounds or from the point of view of conservation" (Whc, 1997)

[34] The Athens Charter for the Restoration of Historic Monuments was adopted at the first International Congress of Architects and Technicians of Historic Monuments in Athens 1931 (see ICOMOS (2004) for the main resolutions and general conclusions of the Charter).

(Dobby, 1978). So, conservation covers all circumstances from absolute retention to partial or complete demolition within the area, aiming to enhance the environment and to ensure its continuity. (Orbasli, 2000)

As soon as one begins to analyse and explore urban conservation theory and practice, there appears the problem of the vocabulary used and its meanings. Urban conservation does not have professional barriers to the comprehension thrown around it, except those deriving from the planning machinery that operates the conservation legislations, and from architectural terminology. It does however have the basic problem, like planning, of defining itself (Larkham, 1996).

International experiences in urban conservation vary widely in their focus and intentions and still demonstrate the different types and levels of conflicting interests (Ouf, 2001). Moreover, the conflict between 'continuity' and 'change' within the urban structures and its elements always arises. Continuity is commonly understood as the use of existing urban structures and elements incorporating minor transformations to adapt them to new activities and styles of urban life, while keeping the 'originality of the place'. While change on the other hand, is globally referred to the process of radical modification or alternation of urban structures to the extent of major transformations (i.e. spatial, economic, and even social) or even substitution of the urban elements (Zancheti, 1997). In practice, projects within the context of historic areas take part of each, with has mainly lead to the existence of different levels of urban conservation.

2.3.1. Levels of Urban Conservation

Before discussing the different levels of urban conservation, it is necessary to differentiate between the commonly used terms in the field of urban conservation; 'conservation', 'rehabilitation' and 'restoration', in order to discuss and properly explore their significance in the context of urban planning. By definition, conservation is considered "a process, and social form of acting over the urban environment that permits the maintenance of the existing urban structure in its integrity" (Harvey, 1972). A distinction was also drawn between the two terms 'preservation' and conservation, as Harvey (1972) emphasizes that preservation is the process of the static maintenance of an object in unaltered condition, while conservation, in addition to including maintenance, takes on dynamic character by being concerned also with needed adaptations (Ross, 1996).

Rehabilitation is also defined as "a process, but with a specific scope on aiming to give life back to built structures (i.e. modifying a built structure from an undesired situation or condition into a new one). Moreover, Restoration is a technical procedure used to act on decaying built structures with the aim of stopping the process of decay. Sanpaolesi (1972) defines restoration as "maintaining edifices to prevent them from falling into disrepair, and repairing previously disfigured parts". From these definitions, it can be concluded that 'conservation' is therefore a process that can include in its procedures both the rehabilitation and restoration (Korkmaz, 1997).

Urban regeneration or revitalization is another term that is commonly used, as it has become an important concern in urban planning and design studies from economic, cultural, technological and physical points of view. Korkmaz (1997,p.1) emphasizes that urban regeneration means that "we re-invest in the social, economic, cultural and physical structure of existing built areas". In other words, regeneration of a city not only means to revitalize urban areas for serving needs and interests of users in the urban structure, but also means the management and maintaining of the existing built environment. Moreover, Couch (1990) also argues that urban regeneration seeks to bring back investment, employment and consumption, and enhance the quality of life within urban areas. Furthermore, Holcomb and Beauregard (1981) stress "urban revitalization implies growth, progress and the infusion of new activities into stagnant or declining cities which no longer attract investors and middle-class households". They also pointed out that revitalization efforts in most cases include the preservation and conservation of buildings and places that symbolize the city's past (ibid, 1981).

The successive international charters pointed out the different levels of urban conservation. To anyone involved in the field of conservation, the charter of Venice 1964[35] is regarded as the prime document regarding theory and philosophy of the conservation and restoration of monuments and sites. Although many other charters, recommendations, and guidelines, followed each with its specific value, the 'Charter of Venice' became a 'monument' by itself, untouchable, and the mother of all charters (De Naeyer, 2003). As time passed, great changes appeared in the way historic buildings and sites were evaluated, integrated, used and often misused. Similar to the Venice

[35] The 2nd International Congress of Architects and technicians of Historic Monuments met in Venice May 1964 to approve the main principles of 'The Venice Charter'. See Gdrc (2004) for main outlines and principles

Charter, in October 2000 the Krakow Charter[36] was approved, coming out with updated principles for conservation and restoration of the built heritage.

Whatever the term used (preservation, conservation or restoration), it is always commonly agreed that the main objective or aim of the practice is to save the 'heritage'. The European Charter of the Architectural Heritage[37]- 1975 explains the term 'architectural heritage' as an expression of history that helps in understanding the relevance of the past to contemporary life in the following:

> "The European architectural heritage consists not only of our most important monuments: it also includes the group of lesser buildings in our old towns and characteristic villages in their natural or manmade settings" (European Charter of the Architectural Heritage, cited in ICOMOS, 1996)

The charter continues to stress on that:

> " For many years, only major monuments were protected and restored without reference to their surroundings...most recently it was realized that, if the surroundings are impaired, even those monuments can lose much of their character" (Cited in Korkmaz, 1997, p.2)

Steinberg (1996) also gives a further definition and claims that most urban planners and managers think of 'urban heritage' as usually 'monuments (i.e. churches, temples, all sorts of religious buildings, palaces, castles, fortresses, historic city walls and gates and institutional buildings...etc.). This understanding excluded historic residential areas and city centers that equally represent the urban heritage (Ibid, 1996)

Where the Venice Charter was dealing with 'monuments and sites' in its limited sense of the word, the Krakow Charter started dealing with the notion of 'built heritage' and presented a clear definition for the term, that also included monuments and sites. However, the Krakow Charter was not substituting the Venice Charter as it still

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[36] On the initiative of prof. A. Kadlucka from Krakow University, a group of around 30 experts from 20 European countries and representatives of international organizations (i.e, ICOMOS, IFLA, ECCO) came together in 1996 trying to update the Venice Charter. They organized during 4 years about 20 international conferences and symposia, what resulted in the final document of the Krakow Charter 2000 (De Naeyer, 2003). For details of the charter principles, definitions, see (Krakow, 2000)

[37] The Council of Europe's initiative in declaring 1975 European Architectural year came out with the draft of the 'European charter of the Architectural Heritage', Amsterdam October 1975, in an effort to make the public more aware of the irreplaceable cultural, social and economic values represented by historic monuments, groups of old buildings and interesting sites in both towns and countryside. for details of the charter see (ICOMOS (a), 1996)

remained in full force and value for monuments. But the Krakow Charter enlarged the conservation and restoration concerns towards so many other buildings, city centers, sites, gardens, landscapes, artifacts and/or any fragments bearing 'memory' or includes intangible heritage.

From the above discussions, two main interlocking levels of urban conservation are distinguished. The first level is focusing on the individual building(s) termed architectural conservation, while the second level is concerned with a wider focus on the urban environment conserved.

2.3.2. Styles of Urban Conservation

On the different levels of conservation, architectural or urban, different styles or types of conservation have been adopted. At the time of the Venice Charter, it was rather clear that all buildings called a 'monument' were unique and rare by aesthetic or by historic significance. They were protected and restored on the basis of that significance, and it was evident that the decisions about what and how to restore were determined by those aesthetic or historic values that established their specificity (De Naeyer, 2003). The charter put a small opening for limited adaptations, as it stated:

> "Conservation of monuments is always facilitated by making use of them for a socially useful purpose. Such use is therefore desirable but it must not change the layout or decoration of the building. It is within these limits only that modifications demanded by a change of function should be envisaged and may be permitted"
>
> (Article 5, Venice Charter, cited in GDRC, 2004)

An example of the strict application of Venice Charter article 6, Professor De Naeyer states:

> "When I remember my first restoration-experiences at Grand Beguinage in Louvian- Belgium, as a young practitioner, modern modifications were limited to the addition of a bathroom, a toilet or a modern kitchen with a minimum of new materials and new forms
>
> (ibid, 2003)

Where possibilities according to the Venice Charter were strictly limited, the Krakow Charter was more open to 'up to date' requirements. Instead of the affirmation

of 'must not change the layout or decoration of the building' the Krakow charter stated, "...the purpose of conservation of historic buildings and monuments, is to maintain their authenticity, and integrity, including internal spaces, furnishing and decoration according to their original appearance. Such conservation requires an appropriate 'project of restoration' that defines the methods and aim (see box 2.1). In many cases, it also requires an appropriate use, compatible with the existing space and significance." (Article 6, Krakow 2000). The Krakow Charter was obviously more open to interpretation by the architects, and whoever involved in the conservation and restoration projects, as the concepts of 'authenticity, identity, and integrity' are seldom specified (De Naeyer, 2003).

Box 2.1 Aims and methods of Conservation of the Built Heritage, the charter of Krakow,2000

1. The architectural, urban and landscape heritage, as well as artefacts, are the result of an identification with various associated moments in history and social –cultural contexts. The conservation of this heritage is our aim. Conservation can be realized by different types of interventions such as environmental control, maintenance, repair, restoration, renovation and rehabilitation. Any intervention implies decisions, selections and responsibilities related to the complete heritage, also to those parts that may not have a specific meaning today, but might have one in the future.
2. Maintenance and repairs are a fundamental part of the process of heritage conservation. These actions have to be recognised with systematic research, inspection, control, monitoring and testing. Possible decay has to be foreseen and reported on, and appropriate preventive measures have to be taken.
3. The conservation of built heritage is implemented by the project of restoration, including the strategy to conserve in the long term. This 'restoration project' should be based on a range of technical options and prepared in a cognitive process of gathering knowledge and understanding of the building or site. This may include traditional and subsequent new materials, structural investigations, graphical and dimensional analysis and the identification of historical, artistic and socio-cultural significance. All pertinent disciplines have to participate in the restoration project and the co-ordination should be carried out by a person qualified and well trained in conservation and restoration.
4. The reconstruction of entire parts 'in the style of the building' should be avoided. Reconstruction of very small parts having architectural significance can acceptable as an exception on condition that it is based on precise and indisputable documentation. If necessary, for a proper use of the building, completion of more extensive spatial and functional parts should reflect contemporary architecture. Reconstruction of an entire building, destroyed by armed conflict or natural disaster, is only acceptable if there are exceptional social or cultural motives that are related to the identity of the entire community.

Source: (Krakow, 2000)

If analyzing the recent situation, those involved are not really sure about what is theoretically allowed in relation with historic buildings and sites. Architects are not sure what functions are possible and to what degree modern design and their creativity are acceptable. New functions are destroying completely the former identity and specificity of the building- the general image may be preserved but the 'genius loci' has totally

changed. The most extreme form of such painful operation applied during the last decades, is the intervention technique of 'facadism'- which consists in preserving the outer skin 'the façade' of the building and completely cleaning or demolishing the inner spaces for radical substitution by new modern structures. Such artificial splitting between inside and outside contests all sensible architectural concepts, but on the other hand urban planners support this operation and see it as an acceptable compromise to guarantee modern comfort inside, and at the same time to preserve the traditional scenery and urban image throughout the public space (De Naeyer. 2003)

According to De Naeyer (2003), incompatible objectives must necessarily result in a compromise between the historically acceptable, the architecturally desirable, and the economically affordable. Depending on the weight given to each value, De Naeyer pointed out two clear different types or styles within the different levels, architectural and urban as follows: 1. A first type of intervention strictly according to the principles of Venice Charter, named 'traditional or museum type of conservation' with acceptability only for technical equipments of modern comfort as electricity, heating and sanitary, and very small functional changes. 2. The second type or level named 'architectural style' where also limited architectural and/or spatial considerations can contribute in to changing the original structures. (ibid, 2003)

As much of the vocabulary used within the context of urban or architectural conservation, which maybe partly clarified by government legislations, circulars, international charters, scholars have attempted to clarify the different terms used in terms of the implied or expected amount of change in any particular area/building or artifact. Dobby (1978) summaries the degree of change within the context of the most common terms used in conservation in the following table:

Table (2.4) Degree of change and the common terms used in conservation

Degree of change / Term used	None (Except minimum repair and maintenance)	Some	Much	Total
Repair	*			
Preservation	*	*	*	*
Enhancement		*	*	*
Conservation	*	*	*	*
Restoration		*	*	*
Demolition		*	*	*

Source: (Dobby, A., 1978, Conservation and Planning, Hutchinson & Co, London)

2.3.3 Approaches to Urban Conservation

Conservation, as with planning, underwent a cyclic process of change. Approaches and styles of Conservation have developed over more than one hundred years around the cities of Europe, where the origins of the interest in conservation were to begin (Nasser, 2003).

> "During the 1800's, the map of Europe changed as new nations were born and others fought for independence. Conservation was used as a political tool to express national identity, glorious pasts or independence. Politics, nationalism, and religion created the concept of conservation, and it was used to highlight those aspects of a nation's history that were worthy of its future. Buildings were rebuilt to express the politics of the day and were restored to look as they did during times of national consequence; the Germans favoured the Middle Ages and in Britain Gothic religious architecture had a revival"
>
> (Ark3, 1999, p.2)

The approaches towards conservation and restoration have been influenced by the shift in fashions throughout time. The approach towards conservation in the first half of the eighteenth century was that of repair and restoration, influenced by a small and wealthy intellectual elite (Jokilehto, 1999). Classicism[38] encouraged the concept of 'imitation of models or objects in order to reach the closest possible resemblance'. The ideals of 'stylistic' conservation or reconstruction, pioneered by a French architect, Violet Le Duc, around late 1840's made an impact all over Europe (Ark3, 1999).

Reaching the end of the eighteenth century, influenced by the movement of Romanticism[39], conservation was no longer directed by politics but became a means of holding to the past. Parallel to the apperception of architecture of townscape and landscape, a respectful attitude towards the building's present state was promoted. A distinct reaction against the stylistic approach emerged, with the ideals of 'historic' conservation emerging. An example of these actions were the isolated efforts of the

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38 Classicism, a term applied generally, referring to clearness, elegance, symmetry, and the attention to traditional forms. It is sometimes related to excellence and artistic quality of high distinction. More precisely, the term refers to the admiration and imitation of Greek and Roman literature, art, and architecture.

39 The Romantic Movement was a revolt against the prescribed rules of classicism and rationalism. Its basic aims were: a return to nature and to belief in the goodness of humanity; the rediscovery of the artist as a supremely individual creator; the development of nationalistic pride; and the exaltation of the senses and emotions over reason and intellect.

English social reformers and preservationists promoting respect for medieval social and physical heritage, such as John Ruskin and William Morris, and the foundation of the 'English National Trust' in 1895. (Boylan, 1994, Larkham, 1996, Ark3, 1999).

As Authenticity became the core theme of this approach, Ruskin argued that ' a retained building should be restored to its original state and use where possible' (cited in Nasser, 2003, p.468). Moreover, the issues of authenticity and originality in evaluation of historic buildings was addressed in the society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (SPAB) manifesto, founded by William Morris as follows:

"Among these were that: protection was now not limited to specific styles any more, but based on a critical evaluation of the existing building stock; and that ancient monuments represented certain historic periods only so far as their authentic material was undisturbed and preserved in situ; any attempt to restore or copy would not only result in the loss of authenticity and the creation of a fake."

(Jokilehto, 1999, p.185)

The approach of historic conservation was considered the modern approach to conservation and continued to be so, and quickly spread internationally (Nasser, 2003). In 1931, historic conservation approach was further developed with the Athens Charter[40], as its general principles states:

> "When, as the result of decay or destruction, restoration appears to be indispensable, it recommends that the historic and artistic work of the past should be respected, without excluding the style of any given period...the conference recommends that the occupation of buildings, which ensures the continuity of their life, should be maintained but that they should be used for a purpose which respects their historic or artistic character." (Cited in ICOMOS, 1996)

The post-Second World War phase (1945-1970) all around Europe was a period of rapid social, economic and physical changes, with correspondingly high threats to the

[40] The Athens Charter for the Restoration of Historic Monuments was adopted at the first International Congress of Architects and Technicians of Historic Monuments in Athens 1931 (see ICOMOS (1996) for the main resolutions and general conclusions of the Charter).

historic urban fabric in particular. Demolition and comprehensive development in town centres continued, where rebuilding took many different forms; conservationist in seeking to reconstruct vanished townscapes, and Modernist, in seizing the opportunity to build new urban infrastructures (Esher, 1981). With the increasing pressure for change and redevelopment on one hand, a widespread interest in the past, throughout the Western world, was evident on the other hand. Public interest in conservation and preservation continued to grow, with the raise of a common concern fostered by events (e.g. the founding of the Civic Trust in Britain 1957, European Architectural Heritage Year 1975).

With the shift in the approach towards conservation widened the attention from isolated buildings to areas and fabrics, introducing 'conservation areas', town planning, urban design and architecture. Planning policies towards conservation started to evolve in the 1960s and development in historic settings was being controlled through guidelines. Legislations had to be used in the process of allocating conservation areas and creating building lists, giving a clear process of identification, delimitation and designation, which differed from country to country. Italy was the first to have regard to the historic centre as a whole (i.e. Master plans of Assisi, Gubbio and Vicenza), but it was mainly concentrating on the buildings as separate objects. France, as another example issued the first law regarding the protection of historic areas in 1962. Nevertheless, all these first attempts were not consistent in practice and it was not until 1965 with the foundation of ICOMOS[41]- the International Council on Monuments and sites- that the protection of the historic fabric of cities gained an international dimension.

With the identification of a conservation area in relation to other areas of a town/city, the area's physical and social importance is established. Worskett (1969) defined the term 'conservation area' as follows:

> "It must be taken to mean an area in which preservation will be a principal planning aim but in which some change, although small in scale, must nevertheless take place. The listing of buildings is also determined by their special historical or architectural interest. Listing

[41] ICOMOS is an international, non-governmental organization, with an international secretariat in Paris. The organization is one of the participants in the World Heritage Information Network (WHIN), providing the world Heritage Committee with evaluations of cultural and mixed sites proposed for inscription on the World Heritage List. (UNESCO, 2004)

adds an administrative layer of protection to a building, so that change is controlled." (ibid, p.48)

With the major changes and development pressures on historic areas and towns in the last half of the twentieth century, urban conservation and planning had three interrelated objectives; physical, spatial and social (Orbasli, 2000). Physically, linked to building preservation and assuring a type of new development will combine the area's past, present and future in a recognizable unit. This involves improving old environments and bringing them into modern use, which was always seen hard to achieve without wasting some of the investment of previous societies (Larkham, 1996). Spatially, in viewing the townscape as holistic entity, with its relationships between spaces and their uses, in addition to circulation and traffic. The third objective, which is considered the most neglected in both disciplines, is the social, which concerns the users, local community and urban population (Nasser, 2003).

2.4. URBAN CONSERVATION AND PLANNING APPROACHES

Within the context of planning in historic environments, a conflict always exists between preserving the character inherited from previous cultures, and the need for development and change in response to the values and demands of society. In other words, conservation of historic buildings and areas has always being referred to as a "potential constraint on future development" (Urban Task Force, 1999, cited in Strange and Whitney, 2003, p.219), where as mainstream planning functions has been seen weakly integrated with urban conservation objectives. In believing that achieving the desired balance within our urban environments lies in focusing only on the present and the future, Campbell (1996) argues that " the romanticised past offers little to planning [...] Our modern path to sustainability lies forward, not behind us" (ibid, p. 302). in his view, taking a historical perspective in not instructive as he states: "solutions to the problems of pre-industrial society are not transferable to those created by modern industrial and postindustrial society" (ibid, cited in Nasser, 2003, p.468).

On a theoretical level, Campbell's point of view is quite true, but planning to achieve the ideal balance within historic areas is practically different due to their inescapable link to the past as a continuum. As historic areas generally represent layers of evolving traditional forms of architecture and living culture, together creating a

'sense of place', urban planners recognize the link to the past and its influence on this sense created as an important dimension for the continuity and strengthening the local identities, contributing to investment, and retaining communities (Beatley and Manning, 1997).

As the function of the planning system is "to regulate the development and use of the land and to reconcile the need for economic growth with the need to protect the historic and natural environment" (Strange & Whitney, 2003, p.224), the scope of urban conservation will shift dramatically depending on the planning approach adopted within the historic context. The following paragraphs will try to illustrate these shifts. Table (2.5) illustrates the different perspectives of urban conservation within the different urban planning approaches adopted in the context of historic areas and cities.

In an ideal world, society has always been seen as a stable system within which there is a common acceptance of values. So, within the rational comprehensive approach, planning thus operates as a technical exercise in the interest of the general 'public good'. Faludi states "a planning agency is simply an organisational unit specialised for the formulation of programmes designed to solve problems in the most efficient way" (Faludi, 1973,p.84). Scientific principles would result in " the efficient use and distribution of available resources" (Nuffield Foundation 1986,p.7) In this tradition of thought there was considerable "consensus about what society wanted, what direction it was going in, and how it was to be achieved"(O'Rourke 1987,p.13).

Part of this consensus is the protection of the built environment, and this is achieved through legal and administrative action. Areas and buildings were identified and designated by 'experts' from central or local government, and a succession of national laws; legislations and local policies determines the types of development that would be acceptable in the conservation context. However, even very early in this development concept, some felt that this restrictive expert-driven approach had been taken too far in practice. As a result, it has become harder to sustain the 'public good', consensus-based argument for conservation (Larkham, 1996).

Table 2.5 Urban Planning Approaches/Urban Conservation relationship

PLANNING APPROACH (STYLE)	RATIONAL COMPREHENSIVE PLANNING	ADVOCACY PLANNING	POLITICAL ECONOMY PLANNING	ENTREPRENEURIAL PLANNING
SCOPE OF URBAN CONSERVATION	Conservation was clearly opposite to what planning believed in under the modernist paradigm, " breaking every tie with the past and history". -Based on consensus within society- protection of the built environment, and this is achieved through legal and administrative action. Areas and buildings are identified and designated by 'experts'. **(Expert-driven approach)** -Succession of international conventions, national laws, legislations and local policies determines the types of development that would be acceptable in the conservation context. -The achievement of the goals of any conservation policy depends on the effectiveness of the development control system, which is usually a **'negative'** form of control, preventing what is seen as 'inappropriate' change rather than 'encouraging favourable'.	-Accepting incompatible interests within society- it is insufficient to view conservation is for the benefits of 'society as a whole'- the consensus view- or that it is in the 'public interest'. -Conservation needs to be defined in more places by more people with different perspectives/ the engagement of the local authorities with different players in the conservation community in order to foster more effective patterns of governance **(Local democracy)** - Conservation like any other planning activity is political. It cannot succeed in a socially acceptable way without political support.	-As a result of the control of production, enables one class to exploit the others, the physical arrangements and management of cities are influenced by ideals of the dominant class **(capitalist)**. - The process of conservation will selectively be advantaging some members of the society, most particularly those with interests in property and investment within these areas. - Planners **(open to class alliance)** supporting and enabling these capitalist pressures by serving the interests of the powerful elite (i.e. in this case the middle-class amenity societies). - The class of labourers who 'sell a commodity or labour power in return of a wage or salary', sensitive to the cost and access of the various items of the built environment (e.g. housing, services, educational, and recreational facilities) that assures survival and reproduction at a suitable standard of living. This class will support the process of urban conservation only if the built environment (in this case the historic areas) will continue as 'a means of consumption and of its own reproduction'. (Under the **notion of class struggle**).	- Based on a more flexible, geographically-open and a global market-based mode of production, and states with a supportive role to individuals and market within the capitalist development, that aim was focused on the ' **the selling of the city as a location for activity depends heavily upon the creation of an attractive urban image**'. - Built heritage is being transformed into a product for tourist consumption, while urban conservation is used as a tool for promoting **'heritage tourism'**. - 'Tourism led development' + 'heritage conservation approach', (exploitation approach) may in some cases justify extreme methods of redefinition and reinterpretation of their cultural heritage in order to be competitive and attractive, in some cases creating heritage (i.e. 'museumification'/ 'disneyfication'), compromising the basics of urban conservation.

Source adapted from:

Albrecht, L., 1991, "Changing Roles and positions of planners", Urban Studies, Vol.25, No.1, pp.123-137

Harvey, D., 1996, "On Planning the ideology of Planning" in Cambell S and Fainstein S (eds) Readings in Planning Theory, Blackwell, pp. 176-197

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Throughout the development of conservation legislations, especially in its early stages, the consensus view that was shared with the comprehensive planning approach was the dominant view. Modifications of these legislations continued throughout the middle of the twentieth century, although attention was diverted by the two World Wars. After the Second World War, there was another major period of legislations. This was based on an accumulation of experience with existing laws, and reinforced by the awakened interest in historic preservation and conservation, which was reflected in the rapid growth in the number of local environmental and amenity groups forming pressure on local authorities (Larkham, 1996).

> "Planning is the means of conservation; it is also the means of total destruction." (Pershore Civic Society, Worcestershire, 1972, cited in Larkham, 1996)

The post-Second World War phase (1945-1970) around the western world could be described as a period of rapid social, economic and physical changes, with correspondingly high threats to the historic urban fabric in particular. Demolition and comprehensive development in town centres continued, where rebuilding took many different forms; conservationist in seeking to reconstruct vanished townscapes, and Modernist, in seizing the opportunity to build new urban infrastructures (Esher, 1981). The profession of urban planning had developed during the twentieth to address the issues and problems facing the adaptation and renewal of old urban areas. The dominant paradigm and the ideological structures favoured by the planning system were often "radical urban reshaping, rather than gradualist adaptation" (Larkham, 1996, p.), as the philosophy of comprehensive clearance was dominant.

With the increasing pressure for change and redevelopment on one hand, a widespread interest in the past, throughout the Western world, was evident on the other hand. Public interest in conservation and preservation continued to grow, fostered by events (e.g. the founding of the Civic Trust in Britain 1957, European Architectural Heritage Year 1975). Another phase of more sophisticated legislation was developed. Architecture, urban design and town planning were dealt with under a number of consecutive laws (i.e. the 1961 Monuments and historic buildings Act of the

Netherlands, Denmark's Preservation of Buildings Act 1966, Britain's Civic amenities Act 1967[42], the French law of 1913, 1930 & 1958).

Both valuable individual buildings and planned units of townscape could be preserved. Scheduling and listing of buildings, monuments and fortifications were provided, and then later, the introduction of 'protected perimeters'. A system of licences had been developed, and no alternations could be made to monuments without the Minister's permission. Different legislations clarified the source of and use of the funds needed for protection, restoration and enhancement. (Van Voorden, 1981, Cherry, 1982, Kain, 1981).

These innovative legislations that extended consideration from individual buildings to the conservation of entire areas, were the beginnings of effective urban conservation. Later refinements, and in many cases completely new legislative systems, broadened the scope of legally constituted conservation (Larkham, 1996). Box (2.2) generalizes the rational steps taken to form a structure for urban conservation.

Box (2.2) Structure for Conservation

List of the steps that have usually been taken by most countries in forming a structure for conservation is given as follows:

1. Interested people produce surveys of monuments and protect by purchase.
2. Government department established and eventually produces inventories or 'lists' that may include scholarly analyses.
3. Legislation is introduced in order to protect the most important monuments and buildings, defined by lists, against destruction, removal or inappropriate alternation.
4. Funds are provided by central/ or local government, for the purchase, repair and restoration of the buildings and monuments.
5. Means are made available for the expropriation or compulsory purchase of buildings where they are neglected.
6. Provisions are extended to cover the whole areas of buildings and their surroundings.
7. Conservation measures are linked to a pre-existing planning framework with the aim of providing positive conservation planning in order to fit repair and selective retention into comprehensive programs which require some renewal and redevelopment to take place.
8. Conservation is explicitly associated with tourism and with it regional planning.

Source: (Dobby A., 1978)

[42] The Civic Amenities Act 1967 was not sponsored by the government, or even by a major political party. The founder and president of the Civic Trust, Duncan Sandy MP, originated it. (Cherry, 1982)

Planning policy is an important factor affecting the decision making with regards to urban conservation. Central governments issue guidance to local planning authorities that together with the official attitude towards listed buildings, monuments and conservation areas could be said to form a ' national conservation policy'. However, these policies are sometimes confusing and contradictory in implementation. The achievement of the goals of any conservation policy depends mainly on the effectiveness of the development control system, which is usually a 'negative' form of control, preventing what is seen as 'inappropriate' change rather than 'encouraging favourable' (Larkham, 1996).

Previously mentioned, as time and urban conditions that developed modernist planning changed, and what was developed under this paradigm was seen as undesirable and unacceptable in the successive eras. While conservation was clearly opposite to what planning believed in under the modernist paradigm " breaking every tie with the past and history", with the start of the post modernism era, its competing approaches to planning, stressed on return of human scale, recreation of community, and finding ways to express 'the aesthetics of diversity'. The restoration of old urban fabrics, the rehabilitation to new uses, and creation of new spaces that express traditional values with modern technologies and materials were the main aims of post-modernist planners and architects (Macleod, 1996). Table (2.3) highlights some main differences between Modernist and Post –Modernist planning regarding the concept of the city, and the themes undertaken.

Table (2.6) Differences between Modernist and Post-Modernist planning regarding the concept of the city, urban design themes, strategic planning and decision-making.

	Modernist	**Post-Modernist**
Concept of the City	The city as an object (mass housing)	The city as landscape, as an expression of social diversity.
Themes in Urban Design	Emphasis on functional zoning, mixed uses and lower densities.	Emphasis on local context, more diversity, and mixed land uses.
Themes in strategic planning	New towns, greenbelts, controlled expansion (suburbs), redevelopment of slums.	Regeneration and renewal.
Decision making process	Comprehensive, either 'blueprint', unitary or adaptive.	Coping with conditions (piecemeal)

Source: (Macleod, 1996).

As the advocacy planning approach accepts that incompatible interests do exist within society, the concept of planning being in the public interest has been eroded. A number of key questions concerning conservation started to be taken into consideration when it comes to a pluralist society; whose heritage is to be preserved, which groups in the pluralist society should be concluded in the debates, and which are excluded. While the advocacy planning approach was mainly focusing on the critique of capitalism, where power, which is a result of the control of production, enables one class to exploit the others, the physical arrangements and management of cities was clearly influenced by ideals of the dominant class. As an example, the designation of conservation areas, for an example, was seen as selectively advantaging some members of the society, most particularly those with interests in property and investment within these areas. Therefore, planners were seen to support and enable these capitalist pressures by serving the interests of the powerful elite; in this case the middle-class amenity societies (Blowers 1986, p.17).

> "Conservation…. a conventional wisdom so unarguable that its virtue is simply not questioned" (Rumble[43], cited in Larkham, 1996,p.16)

This early view of conservation has been continuously been questioned as time passed. Particular groups with the society insist that conservation is 'not unarguable' and that its 'virtues are fundamentally questioned'. As a part of the pluralist perspective, Worskett (1975) argues, "At root, conservation like any other planning activity, is political. It cannot succeed in a socially acceptable way without political support"(ibid, p.9). So, with the emergence of the advocacy planning approach and its clear standing point from 'consensus', the new approach argued that it is insufficient to view conservation is for the benefits of 'society'- the consensus view- or that it is in the 'public interest' (Larkham. 1996).

Until very recently, social attitudes around the world regarding conservation were those of the ruling classes, known as the 'elite intellectual force', but a small proportion to the general population. These elites claimed to represent the public opinion, and tended to focus their attention on major monuments and areas of high land values. However, throughout time rising academic pressure has forced local amenity

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[43] Peter Rumble is a former chief executive of English Heritage.

groups to consider local heritage as worthy of conservation as the heritage of the social elite (Ashworth, 1990).

Regarding who is involved in the process of urban and heritage conservation and its governance, an interconnection of a variety of organizations and interests ranging from central government departments to quasi-government bodies, from local authorities to locally –based conservation groups and from private sponsorship to central funding programmes. Local Amenity societies admit to be the representatives of the general public within the planning systems, showing a vociferous, well educated, minority (i.e. conservation elite). The official conservation systems reinforce the concerns of whose heritage is being conserved and for whom. Listed buildings are designated according to national, not local criteria, and the designation is by a small number of well- educated people, which Larkham (1996) sees as a 'high Art' approach, sometimes unresponsive to local wishes, where the public are rarely consulted in the designation of conservation areas. With the introduction of legislations during the 1960's, the planning systems allowed the public involvement and local democracy within the planning process, especially through inspection of planning applications and the participation in the preparation of structure and local plans (Strange & Whitney, 2003).

However, accepting pluralist views of society has been given very little weight when it comes to conservation; designation, conservation planning and managing change in conservation areas. The English conservation planning system is a clear example. The government advises that Local Planning authorities (LPA's) are encouraged to make designations for example, and advertise their decisions later, where it is unlikely that all those parties affected or interested in this designation are informed prior to an area's designation notice. Once the LPA's decide to make a designation, the involvement of different interest groups arise. Development proposals are advertised, and resulting comments are taken into consideration in making a decision. Minor and local elites, such as local amenity groups, are then consulted. Depending on the scale and nature of proposed plans, academic concerns are taken into consideration and major elites, such as the English Heritage, may also be consulted. Therefore, LPAs are seen as a key player in influencing the role and extent of the pluralist discussion (Larkham, 1996).

With the gradual shift towards urban entrepreneurialism, states no longer had to focus on how to minimise the socially negative consequences of urban development through redistribution, but how to maximise opportunities given to individuals within the changing conditions on the global scale (Albrechts 1991). A refocus was echoed globally through books, articles, and reports on "urban productivity", "urban management", "enabling" market to work, "partnership", and "privatisation" with was aimed on both developed and developing counties to adopt (Levy 2003).

> "Globalizing forces inherent in the shift from production to consumption are influencing changes in the built environment and in their local cultures..." (Nasser, 2003,p.487)

With the emergence of the Entrepreneurial approach in planning, urban conservation was seen from a totally different perspective. The term 'heritage' had taken the centre stage, instead of conservation, where marketing of heritage as a product according to the demands of the consumer, in this case mainly the tourist, has resulted in the 'commercialisation of heritage' over conservation values. In other words, local cultures with its built heritage are being transformed into a product for tourist consumption (Nasser, 2003).

> "With the emergence of a greater number of destinations competing for unique tourist experiences, traditional historic places are undergoing a redefinition and reinterpretation of their cultural heritage in order to be competitive and attractive..." (Nasser, 2003,p.487)

With the global scale of tourism and its increasingly related uniformity evident (i.e. standardized hotel architecture, restaurant chains, and street furniture and services...etc), local cultures gradually lose their local identities to give in to 'selling the city' and 'global cultural industries' (Oncu and Weyland, 1997). As a response to the global competition between destinations, heritage places had to respond to the commercial forces of consumer demand; within many cases conservation and cultural values are sometimes being compromised.

Accepting Heritage as the most contemporary phase of conservation, providing a concept that offers "the link between the preservation of the past for its intrinsic value, and as a resource for the modern community as a commercial activity" (Ashworth and Tunbridge, 1990, p.24), a shift has been moved to adopt the 'heritage conservation

approach' in management and development of historic places with a strong link to 'heritage tourism'. Seen as an 'approach of exploitation', heritage approach seeks:

> "An apparent shift to a market orientation that focuses upon the relics of history as a product, selected according to criteria of consumer demand and managed through intervention in the market..."
>
> (Ashworth and Larkham, 1994,p.16)

However, in a seemingly radical point of view, this approach has the tendency to change the past to suit changing requirements; relics can be adapted, added, copied and interpreted in order to idealise the past. Ashworth (1992) argues that " the heritage is the product of a co-modification process in which selection is central: heritage conservation is creation and not preservation of what already exists" (ibid, cited in Nasser, 2003,p.471). Therefore, the nature of the final product (heritage) is not determined by the existing resources nor does it accurately reflect facts of the past, but its definition will depend totally on the consumer. This ideology has led to emergence of new phenomena referred to as 'museumification' and 'disneyfication'[44] of new forms and varieties of presentation and interpretation, copying of heritage all around the world (Larkham, 1995).

Although these trends have proved popular, the question whether 'tourism –led development' is undermining many of the principals that conservation is based on, particularly the overemphasis on the physical and external aspects of heritage and conservation, at the expense of an in-depth understanding of the urban culture. This heritage planning approach has been widely criticized on the issue of authenticity and originality, which are considered totally irrelevant, leaving it to the choice of the consumer. Wilsmore (1994) stressed on the importance of authenticity in heritage as follows:

> "Philosophically, it is impossible to consider whether it is wrong to replace the old with the new in order to deceive the eye. Thus, in projects that are open to public view, it may be argued that the intention is to allow the public to see the grandeur of the original design.

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[44] Museumification represents a new type of cultural heritage museum based on re-acting history by assembling authentic materials to create scenes appropriate to a period and animated by waxworks or people dressed up in period costumes. Similarly, Disneyfication adopts its term from the area created based on an abstracted, fictional history first seen in Disneyland in California, with the re-creation of the nineteenth century American main street. This trend has spread to urban areas all over the world to create a pleasurable tourist experience (Nasser, 2003).

> Therefore, it may be possible to return to a finish that, to the uninformed eye, appears original. This then begs the question whether something is allowed to be created for the tourist who is too unfamiliar to be critical. But should appreciation be just scholarly activity or for those that are otherwise informed?"
>
> (Wilsmore, 1994,p.25)

Although Tourism has always been the moving force for heritage planning approach, the relationship between urban planning, heritage and tourism is one of conflict. As with any economic activity, tourism makes use of resources and produces "an environmental impact that amounts to exploitation if the quantity and quality of those resources are degraded" (Nasser, 2003, p.472). Newby (1994) had identified a complex relationship between heritage and tourism in his words:

> "Culture evolves from being a shared entity, to being exploited, and in extreme cases created. When culture is shared, tourism and culture coexist so that tourism revenues can be used to sustain and conserve environments of heritage value"
>
> (ibid, 1994,p.60)

However, when culture is exploited or created, there will be a domination of commercial values over conservation values, as tourism becomes central to the local economy. In this case, cultural heritage becomes "a consumer product susceptible to a selection process restricted by the choice, fashion, and taste of international organizations involved in the marketing of the heritage product and the consumers" (Nasser, 2003, p.472). Worldwide, the increase of tourism has generated cultural and economic problems having a great impact on the conservation of the built heritage. Commercial pressures associated with the tourism industry may lead to public investment in urban conservation being directed 'disproportionately' to support the tourism economy, leading to a trend of 'area, style and time bias' in conservation (Newby, 1994, Nasser, 2003).

Moreover, tourism activities result in land use selectivity; tourist activities and growing number of tourists give raise to spatial transformation processes. Changes in

the morphology of the place, the physical structures, functional patterns and the use of public space, all contribute to this transformation process. These processes have its direct impact on artefacts in the historic environment. The spatial concentration of historic buildings as a setting for sightseeing and a range of opportunities for cultural activities such as visiting museums attract tourists visiting historical cities. This spatial concentration and the number of attractions explain to a large extent the way in which the tourist activities is evolving in time and space, causing a wide range of problems (i.e. over crowdedness, traffic congestion, shortage of parking, biased range in retail trades, rising prices... etc) (Jansen-Verbeke, 1997).

While tourists may be strongly attracted to the conserved historic urban areas, they will also require modern facilities. Those functions that support the tourist activity may provide a use and justification for parts of the historic city, but simultaneously attract less welcome land use demands, such as hotels and infrastructure needed to cope with the high demands of tourists (Ashworth and Tunbridge, 1990).

> "The progressive domination of tourist service functions leads to functional conversion, particularly from retail to food service provisions, and the expansion of the tourist area into surrounding craft and residential areas. Uniformity in retail and service provision such as the introduction of fast-food outlets, modern car park facilities, street furniture, and standardised hotel architecture often represents a significant distortion of what is required to serve the local population"
>
> (Nasser, 2003, p.473)

Where the type and location of facilities are not oriented towards the local community, a particuiar form of tourism referred to as 'enclave tourism' takes places. In this case, money generated has little effect on the local economy or even the host country, especially if foreign interests own the facilities (Healy, 1992). As an example, 'Heritage shopping' creating a district specifically to serve the needs of recreation and particularly the needs of tourists, the reuse of historic buildings will be seen a positive approach from a conservation perspective. But, the more attention paid to the conservation of these areas of any historic city that are intensively used by tourism, results in land use selectivity, leading to a "upward inflationary pressure on local economies", as prices of land, property and goods are neither affordable nor responsive to local needs (Nasser, 2003,p. 473).

With the emergence of the postmodernism movement around the mid 1980s, and the shift of focus and assumptions regarding the planning approaches to development, the concept of the city and its management (table 2.6), urban conservation was to be centrally located within the newly emerging planning traditions. Emphasizing on the diversity of local identities, urban conservation was to be used as a tool of the Cultural planning tradition to preserve such identities. Moreover, achieving the balance between the development and management of cities, protecting its heritage and identity, urban conservation was to be at the centre core of Environmental Planning traditions. This new scope of urban conservation encouraged scholars to adopt borrowed models from neighbouring disciplines modes one the theory of urban conservation (e.g. Conservation and enhancement of urban habitat and ecological systems- sustainable conservation-sustainable tourism in heritage cities…etc)

Presenting the theoretical debates and analysis of the different planning approaches adopted to land development, and their relationships with urban conservation in sections 2.2, 2.3 and 2.4, the following section will construct an analytical framework upon which the main areas of potential conflicts and contradictions within the areas of physical planning and urban conservation practice in the context of historic areas and cities within Egypt in general and of the case study in specific will be explored.

2.5 AN ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

As planning has seen a global shift in its paradigms, new discourses and fragmentation of its theories and a widening gap between its theorists and practitioners has taken place, alternatively societies had to adopt some kind of urban planning systems and mechanisms in dealing with land development. Urban development had to shape according to, first the political and economic context and second the social context within which land is given meaning. Land produced as an environmental good to be consumed by different groups within society, each of which has its goals and agendas (Healey 1997, pp. 73-87). Therefore, urban development planning policies and its subsequent physical planning practice mechanisms and systems, promoted by the state, were initially built to respond to the demand on services, utilities, and resources such as land required for development by the various interests represented in institutions, agencies, and individuals in society.

Where international economies have influenced the establishment and shift within urban systems, especially those of the developing world, international agencies have forced specific development models to be adopted. Enforcing transition to global economies, capitalism models and extensive economic reforms were examples of the frameworks countries were expected to follow[45]. Imported conditional aid and technical support packages had to be associated with alterations; reforming the institutional frameworks, shifting governments' roles in development and their view of society and with no doubt allocation of funds.

Brindley et al (1996, p.7) argue the establishment of urban planning system of practice are not only affected by the international and national political economies but also by the political economy changes at the level of localities, at which regional urban development plans are produced. Regional-local development planning aims at implementing the general policy and objectives of national development policies; and it has to be carried out through coordination between the central government and localities acting together to foster development in all fields (e.g. social, economic, urban development…. etc) and at all levels starting from the regional level, downwards to the governorate level and to the local units level.

Provided with the above critical understanding of the relationship between physical planning practice and the global political economy change as well as the national and regional contexts within which it is practiced, figure (2.2- the analytical framework) points out the main influences that shape both planning and urban conservation processes, moreover widening the gap within and between the two processes. Furthermore, this research will also focus on the areas of conflicts and contradictions that might exist on the national and local levels with respect to urban conservation practice. The research has identified systematic areas of potential conflict and contradictions within and between physical planning and urban conservation practice. Such areas of conflicts and contradictions are echoed in three major debates in the literature, upon which the analytical framework is constructed.

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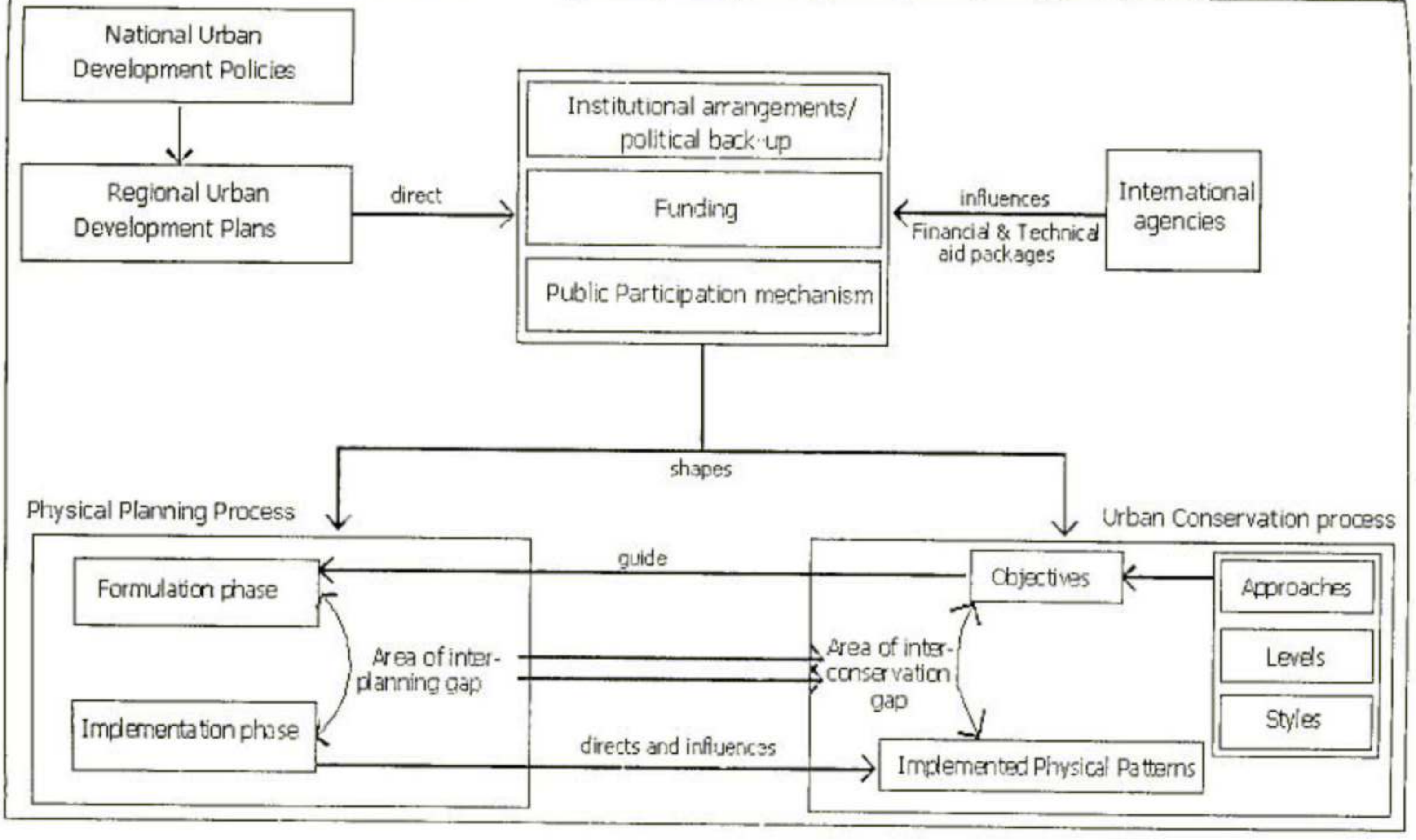
[45] World Bank believed that 'extensive economic reform' was the only means to save debt-ridden and low productivity economies. Egypt has been a clear example of a developing country that was obliged to enter a capitalist model stating from the transitional phase of economic reform followed by the open door policy during Sadat's presidency era in 1970s. International parties (e.g. World bank, IMF, UNDP, USDP) have and are still influentially directing development in Egypt (Stewart, 1999).

Figure (2.2) An Analytical Framework: Areas of Conflict and Contradiction between Physical Planning and Urban Conservation Practice



First, one of the major problems resulted from physical planning practice is the continuously reported gap between the original physical plans (e.g. zoning, master plan, land use plans, detailed plans) and the implemented land use patterns (Devas 1993, pp. 73-4; Hai 1981). As a consequence, planning practitioners and analysts have tried and are still trying to describe, explain, and analyse such gap that affects the physical distribution of activities within the built environment. As it is well documented in both developed and developing countries, many analysts and scholars have linked such gap with local conflicting political interests, corruption, and decision-making process (Shetawy 2004; Attia 1999; Devas 1993, pp.77-8), others with the inefficiency of the institutional arrangements that are responsible for the physical planning process, legislative weakness, and lack of enforcement (Foglesong 1996; Mattingly 1993, p.113).

Second, related to the above debate and the various explanations illustrated, another widening gap started to emerge in the literature and practice of urban conservation (see section 2.3.1). As discussed before, since its very existence as an identified discourse, the literature and practice of urban conservation was and still is attached to and influenced by the discourse of urban planning (see section 2.4). From the literature of urban conservation, a common agreement between scholars and practitioners that the required levels of urban conservation were critically affected by the approaches of urban planning in dealing with land development adopted by governments all over the world is evident (Larkham, 1996). In this sense, urban conservation practice can never be analysed and/or explained without a critical understanding of the planning system that facilitates its very existence; and of the unique context within which it operates. Moreover, the ongoing frustration within urban conservation scholars and practitioners with respect to the gap between the required level of conservation in specific historic area and the implemented diverted pattern[46] can be critically explained.

The third area of conflict, related to the above two areas of conflicts and contradictions, emerges quite often from the intangible relationship between urban conservation and tourism representing the struggle against forces of market processes that started to dominate the urban planning as well as urban conservation theory and practice since the mid 1980s (see section 2.4). Tourism and its dependant economic activities that sustain local cultures and residents are of major economic importance for

[46] See section 2.4 for extended discussion on this point.

many countries. Tourism, in the past, was naively considered to be a "natural renewable resource industry" due to its supposedly "non-consuming" attributes (Haggag and Rashid, 2004). In other words, tourists were always thought to visit places to admire their unique charter but not to consume or disturb them. Scholars and practitioners started to seriously challenge the nature of tourism as an economic activity and tourists as users and their impact on urban conservation practice (Larkham, 1995, Nasser 2003, Ashworth and Larkham, 1994). Haggag and Rashid (2004), for example, challenged the "neutrality" of tourism with relation to urban conservation, while emphasising the latter challenge as follows:

> "Today it is difficult to justify this "non-consumptive" character, as a tourist industry had grown tremendously and studies show that the proposed benefits are illusory. Social and cultural patterns have been disrupted, consumption of resources by tourists has disadvantaged local population, the character and quality of local identity has suffered, and profits flowing from the tourist industry have been channelled to overseas companies." (*ibid*, p. 2)

Nasser (2003) stresses that historic cities, sites and monuments are major economic resources and irreplaceable capital assets, contributing significantly through tourism to the earning of foreign exchange, to local employment and to government taxation. In other words, historic cities, sites and monuments are being transformed into a product for tourist consumption. This forces analysts and scholars to acknowledge the significance of the debate over whether to compromise tourism in favour of the present and future of urban conservation practice, or to disrupt such practice to serve tourism. There is no easy solution; only critical understanding of such conflict might give way forward that protects our heritage and boom future development.

Within the following chapters, the main areas of conflicts and contradictions mentioned above regarding the relationships between urban conservation and the physical planning process on the national level will be explored, examined, analysed. Moreover, this relationship will be tested under the dynamics influencing and shaping the shift within both processes of urban conservation and physical planning within the context of the case study to present the empirical evidence supporting the research hypothesis.

CHAPTER 3: URBAN DEVELOPMENT PLANNING AND URBAN CONSERVATION PRACTICE: EGYPTIAN CONTEXT

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Worldwide, mainly across Europe, an urban conservation culture had already developed, supported by legislation, policy and control mechanisms and explicitly taken into consideration within the national physical planning systems. Meanwhile, it is not always possible to apply these clear cut principles to cities of the developing world, that usually face rapid and uncontrolled urban growth, with related consequences for urban services and debt-ridden national economies. Unfortunately, with less stable economies where pressures for development and the influence of interest groups opposing conservation policy are much greater and where the funds available are negligible, urban conservation is considered marginal. Orbasli (2000) states that the major issues facing conservation in general and urban conservation in particular in developing countries is as follows:

> "a- urban growth can be phenomenal and is taking place at a much greater pace than has ever been experienced in the West; b- urban resources are limited and under greater demand; c- national or local budgets rarely stretch to urban conservation; d- aesthetic and cultural appreciation of the historic environment can be different than in the west; finally ,e- there is a desire to modernise and pressure for related and tourism development." (ibid, p.26)

Like most cities of the developing world, Egyptian cities are facing a growing number of poor population, often crammed into the old city centres, where residents not only depend on for accommodation, but also for access to their daily economic activity. With constant economic and modernisation pressure on cities to deliver the needs of its residents, urban conservation policies and projects aiming at restoring the historic urban fabric are often hindered by lack of funding, and by the pressures for urban growth and the influence of specific interest groups opposing conservation in their local areas (Orbasli 2000).

The conflict between the 'old' and the 'new', 'conservation' and 'modernisation' could be recognised when tracing back and analysing the existing land use pattern of historic cities and urban areas. Nevertheless, analysing the most commonly acknowledged and hotly debated gap between prepared original physical plans and the implemented land use patterns of the built environment within historic cities and urban areas, can enrich and provide a deep understanding of the poor connection between the dimensions of physical planning practice and urban conservation. It would also develop a solid understanding of the underlying political,

economic, urban and social networks directing and controlling physical planning practice within the context of historic cities and urban areas.

The analytical framework in chapter two constructed to identify the systematic areas of potential conflict and contradictions will be a helpful basis in providing empirical evidence for the direct, interlocking and dynamic relation between physical planning and urban conservation practice, and the socio-political and socio-economic context at the national Egyptian level. Therefore, the Egyptian context will be brought to discussion within the following sections of this chapter, which can be divided into two main sections that will give an overall picture of the frameworks of physical planning and urban conservation practice within the Egyptian context. The first section will be analysing the challenges and potentials that faced and still faces urban development, in addition to presenting the major national economic policies and its impact on urban development and physical planning in specific. The second section will present the historic development and institutional context and framework of urban conservation practice in Egypt.

3.2 URBAN DEVELOPMENT PLANNING: POTENTIALS AND CHALLENGES

Throughout history Egypt had always been struggling to strike a balance between what it considered as potentials of national development and the challenges that it faced to achieve such development. The potentials varied from its international importance of strategic location, to its abundant and trained labour force, numerous natural resources including oil and water, fertile arable land, tourism potentials, and fishing resources. Ikram (1980) points out a number of potentials with he specifically considers good potentials for the countries economic development in the following words:

> "The present and the future are not without opportunities. There are prospects of earnings from petroleum, revenues from a widened Suez Canal, and rapidly increasing remittances from Egyptian working aboard. Other assets include the opportunities from tourism, the cultural and political links with the capital-surplus Arab countries, the location of the country (in the Middle East but well placed for European markets), and a reasonably well trained labour force. The Egyptian economy thus possesses considerable potential in the longer term"
>
> (ibid, 1980, p.26)

With clear national development potentials, successive Egyptian governments were faced with many development challenges. The most important and daunting of all are the human settlements and economic challenges. These challenges were not only recognized as the main obstacles to national development but also as the prime force for the adoption of Egypt's major national development policies between the 1970s and early 1990s. Understanding these challenges provides a background to the analysis of the case study and aids in explaining the adoption and application of certain national development policies in specific times and its direct consequence on the local level.

3.2.1 The Human Settlement Challenge

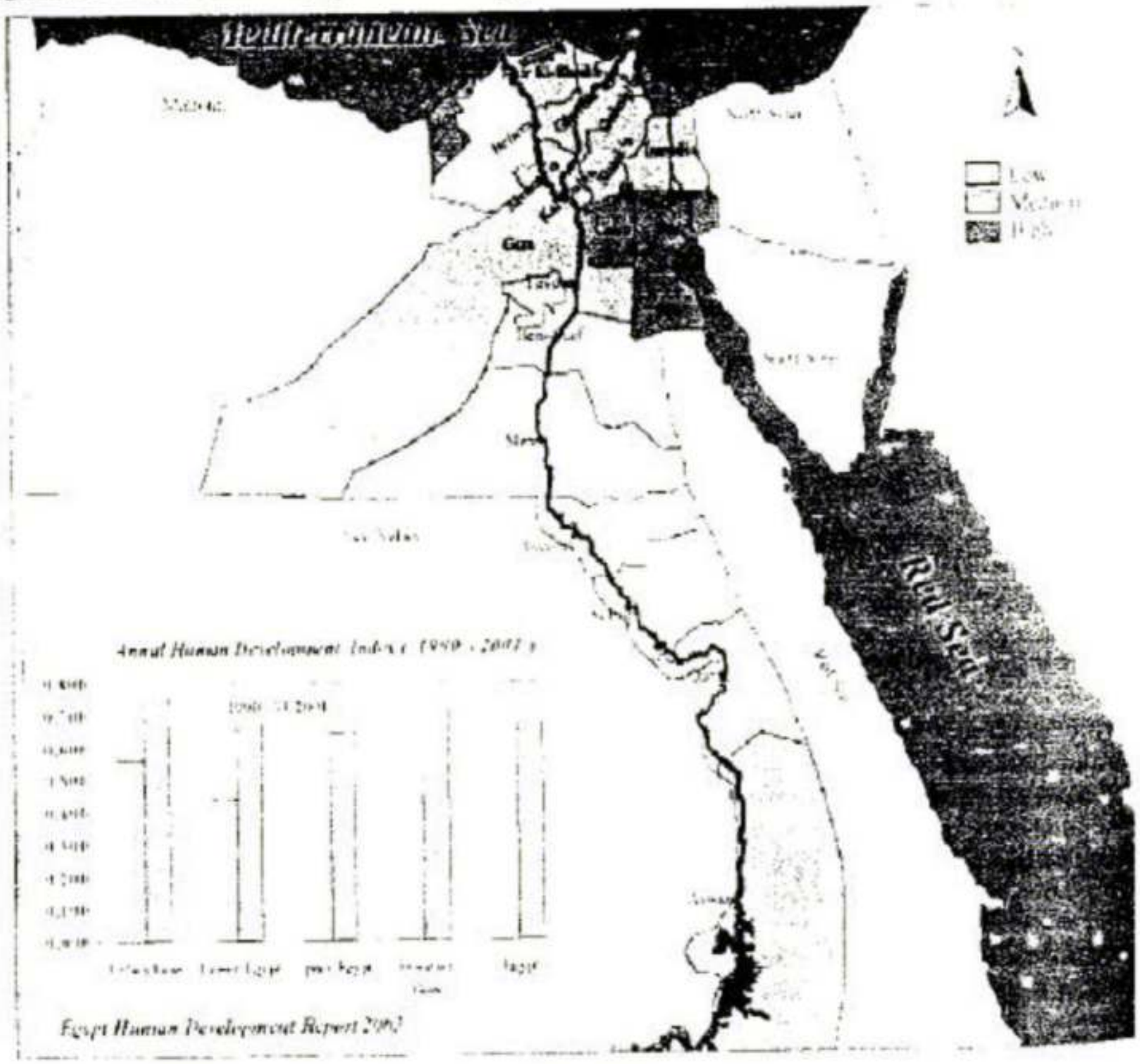
The rising average increase in population numbers, the imbalance between the inhabited areas in both the Nile valley and Delta and the desert land, the decrease of arable land due to the over-expansion of urban areas, the increase of squatter and informal settlements, are considered different interlocking problems of the Human Settlement challenge that hinders every effort of development.

The first concern, considered the most daunting challenge is the rising average increase of the population. The size of Egypt's population has changed considerably over time, reflecting the changing political and economic conditions in the country. The growth rate increased during the British colonial period of thirty five years between 1882 and 1917, the population rose from 6.804 million to 12.75 million .The next doubling took forty years, when Egypt had a population of 26.1 million in 1960, after which the doubling of the figure took less than thirty years. In 1990 Egypt had about 55 million inhabitants that reached to 70 million in 2003.

Decades of intensive governmental campaigns propagating birth control, increase of urbanization, growth of female employment, high rate of inflation and increase in poverty, are all various factors that led to the decrease of the population growth rate. During the 1980s the rate of population growth was 2.8% annually dropping to 2% in the 1990s. Birth rates dropped from 41.8% in 1965/1970 to 26.4% annually per 1,000 inhabitants in 1995/2000, while mortality rate declined from 15% to 6.4% annually per 1,000 inhabitants in the same time span. Despite this progress, Egypt still confronts a tremendous and continually increasing population, especially when it is associated with the urbanization problem and the imbalance in the distribution of human settlements throughout the country.

The second concern is related to the increasing population density throughout the narrow Nile valley and Delta, resulting in overcrowding, shortage of housing and services. Although Egypt's area is 1 million km, the inhabited narrow strip in the Nile Valley and the Delta only represents less than 5% (40,000 square Km) of the total area. Where almost 98.8% of the population are crammed within this small area, the remaining 96.5% of the land is inhabited only by 1.2 % of the total population[1]. See Figure (3.1) for the uneven distribution of the population throughout Egypt.

Figure 3.1 Distribution of population in Egypt



Source: (Egypt Human Development Report, 2003

By 2003, with a population of 68 million inhabitants, the actual average population density had reached 1940 inhabitants/Km^2, which is an unusual figure for an agricultural country of this size[2]. The imbalance between the inhabited and desert areas

[1] The 1.2 % of the Egyptian population live concentrated on the oases, which are dispersed over the desert areas that constitutes 96.5% of the country's total surface (Ibrahim and Ibrahim, 2003)

[2] In order to be able to compare the population densities of the various governorates correctly, the different shares of desert land must be taken into account. Considering this factor, the governorates of central Nile Delta are extremely densely populated: El-Qalyubiya with 3,301 inhabitants/Km^2, El-

and the concentration of Egypt's population within the Nile Valley and Delta imposes increasing pressure on the state to allocate more resources towards those inhabited areas to sustain its growing population (Ibrahim and Ibrahim, 2003, Attia, 1999).

Finally, Urbanization and decades of accelerated rural-urban migration, resulting in a continuous increase in population densities within the Nile Valley and Delta and the continuous decrease in the arable land per capita are also considered related phenomena's to the human settlement challenge. Centralization of administration, production and services attracted the majority of migrants to the two largest urban agglomerations of Cairo and Alexandria, which led these two cities to host about 66% of Egypt's population in year 2003[3]. Informal housing appeared as a common phenomenon (e.g. squatter areas, graveyard dwellings…etc) with the increasing demand for housing, services and infrastructure. As a consequence of the expansion of the cities and increase of population, fertile land was consumed and at a rate of 10,000 to 12,000 hectare per year in favour of urbanization [4](Evin 2003).

Minufiya with 1,302 inhabitants/Km^2 and El-Gharbiya with 1,754 inhabitants/Km^2. on the other hand, the marginal Delta governorates of Kafr el-Sheikh and El-Beheira with 647and 394 inhabitants/Km^2 respectively are much less densely populated. In Upper Egypt the governorates of Sohag with 2,019 inhabitants/Km^2, and Asyut with 1,804 inhabitants/Km^2 are those with the greatest population density (1996 Census)

[3] Urbanisation is dominated by the growth of Cairo, Alexandria, Suez and Port Said, which are seen as being rich in job opportunities, higher wages. The only governorate of Upper Egypt that was able to strike a balance between emigration and immigration was Aswan, by the virtue of the construction of the High Dame, industrial development as well as flourishing tourism which created wide range of jobs. In general, Upper Egypt is considered the traditional emigration area, where apart from agriculture, employment opportunities are limited (Ibrahim and Ibrahim, 2003).
However, studies have shown that although Cairo continues to dominate the national urban system (approximately 12 million inhabitants, that is 12.6% of the total population and 28.8% of the urban population), there has been a growth of small and medium-sized towns during the last three decades. In fact, the results of the last census published by CAPMAS (Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics) reveal stabilization in the growth of large towns in Egypt: Cairo, Alexandria, Port Said and Suez. These provincial cities have seen their population go from 49% to 45.9% of the total population during the inter-census period (1976-1986). The urban centres of the rural provinces have benefited from this stabilization, mainly in the towns of Upper Egypt that harbour 25.5% of the urban population of the country against 24% in 1976, the centres in the Delta which have increased their growth from 26% to 27.1% and the towns of frontier districts which gained 6%. This trend is illustrated by the example of several urban centres of the province of Minia that were left on the fringes for a long time and have experienced major increase between the last two operations. The small towns are therefore fulfilling an increasing number of functions due to the development of service activities that include administration, education and health. Through decentralisation and the downward migration of civil servants and managerial personnel, they have acquired the position of administrative, commercial and even manufacturing centres (UNESCO, 2005).

[4] Each day 4 feddan (1.6 hectare) of prime agriculture land of the Greater Cairo Region as an example, which includes Cairo, Giza and Qalubia, are being destroyed for urban expansion. In fact, in the 1977-1982 period the expansion of the built area including villages around Greater Cairo agglomeration, consumed 600 hectares of agriculture land per year. Only Cairo, which accounts for 22 percent of Egypt's total population, receives 60 percent of all rural- urban migration; and its population grows by 150,000 migrants annually (Becard 2003).

Faced with all these challenges, the need to redistribute the population and resources, to open up new vitas for social- economic development, and to raise the living standards of the people, were always the main objectives of Egypt's national development policies. However, on the level of decision-making, the mismatch between planning regions' borders and administrative borders of their governorates, was always a concern that faces the allocation of resources towards services and infrastructure provision within each governorate and the local development processes within each planning region[5]. The challenges the research has pointed out will give a clear background to the associated economic challenges Egypt has also faced in the last decades following its independence (after 1952 revolution), and the National policies that were adopted.

3.2.2 National Economic Policies and its Impact on Urban Development Planning

In the last decades, numerous events and shocks have confronted and often disrupted the Egyptian economy (e.g. the various wars within the region, terrorist attacks, sudden changes in oil prices, sudden changes in foreign remittances, etc...). Furthermore, given the structure of the Egyptian state especially the elements of large-scale corruption, patronage, horizons of planning were limited as these activities dramatically influence the actual course of development in a way that diverges away from what was planned (Thissen, 1994). (Table 3.1 summarizes the impact of main events on the political, social and economic context of Egypt)

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[5] Egypt was divided into eight planning regions according to the presidential decree 495 in 1977, which was amended by the presidential decree 181 in 1986 whereby Egypt is to be divided into seven planning regions instead. Egypt's planning regions according to the presidential decree 181 in 1986 are as follows: I. Greater Cairo Region includes Cairo, Giza, and Qalubia governorate; II. Alexandria Region includes Alexandria, Behera, and Matrouh Governorate; III. Suez Canal Region, includes North Sinai, South Sinai, Port Said, Ismailia, Suez, Sharkya, and the north part of the Red Sea governorate; IV. Delta Region includes Kafr El-Sheikh, Gharbia, Menofia, Domyat, and Dakahlia governorate; V. North of Upper Egypt (*Shamal Elsaeid*) Region includes Bany Sweif, Fayoum, and Menia governorate; VI. South of Upper Egypt (*Ganoob Elsaeid*) Region includes Sohaag, Qina, Aswan, and the south part of the Red Sea Governorate; VII. Assiut Region includes Assiut and El-Wady El-Gadid governorate (National Report 1996, pp. 12-3).
Meanwhile, There are continuous adjustments within the administrative borders of many governorates to solve conflicts regarding authority over local development and the share in resources and fund allocated by the central government to each planning region and governorate. For instance, the presidential decree 24 in year 1994 regarding the adjustment of the administrative borders of 6 governorates that are Bany Sweif, Menia, Assiut, Sohaag, Qina, and the Red Sea governorate. The presidential decree 102 in 1990 regarding the Adjustment of the administrative borders of Aswan with both the Red Sea and El-Wady El-Gadid governorate. The presidential decree 411 in 1981 regarding the adjustment of the administrative borders between Assiut and El-Wady ElGadid governorate (The Development and Construction Map 1998, p. 64)

Table (3 .1) Overview of the main events in the political/social/economic context of Egypt (1952-2003)

Period	Main Events
1951-1952	Militant opposition to the British gathers strength as the Egyptian parliament approves decrees cancelling its treaty with Britain and proclaiming Farouk King of Egypt and Sudan. Rioting in the cities and a guerrilla war against the British in the Suez Canal region due to the absence of a strong ruling state. Nasser's "free officers" group seize power in July 1952. King Farouk forced into exile.
1953-1955 (Nasser's era)	July 1953, Egypt declares a Republic under President Muhammad Naguib, a leader of the Free officers. Nasser's takes over in 1954. As a popular, influential leader, Nasser attempted economic reform through socialist policies. Egypt's relationship with the West is in crisis. Disagreements over loans and arms sales led Egypt to turn towards the Soviet Union.
1956	Nasser nationalizes the Suez Canal, which was run by the Paris-based Suez Canal Company. Egypt promises compensation to canal company shareholders and access to all ships. The British and French rely on the canal for transporting oil supplies, and with Israel's help, Egypt is invaded. They are then forced to withdraw under international pressure.
1957-1966	Nasser nationalizes British and French assets, private banks, insurance, shipping and manufacturing firms. Income taxes reach 90%. Government-funded programs give the working class free education and job opportunities. A new National Charter emphasizes Egypt as an Arab nation based on Islamic principles and creates the Arab Socialist Union as the sole political party.
1967	Tensions grow between the Arab states and Israel. On the June 5, Egypt, Jordon and Syria are all attacked by Israel, destroying most of Egypt's air force. By June 8, Israel troops reach the Suez Canal. Arab states and Israel accept a UN security Council call for cease-fire. June 11, Israel's victory is complete, occupying all of historic Palestine, Sinai and Gaza.
1968-1970	The war leaves a total loss of 11,500 soldiers and 80% of the military's equipment. The USSR offers aid to Egypt. Saudi aid is conditioned on that Nasser halts his attempts to destabilize their monarchy. Economic stagnation follows the high war costs, protests erupt, and Nasser dies in 1970. Endorsed by the Arab Socialist Union, Anwar Sadat is elected as president with a 90% of the vote.
1971-1973 (Sadat's era)	Military spending makes 25 % of the GDP. Student riots break out. In 1973, Egypt launches a surprise attack on Israeli forces across the Suez Canal. In support, Arab oil producers reduce shipments to Israel's backers. The October War ends with victory, improving morale and Sadat's position.

Period	Main Events
1974-1977	An Israeli- Egyptian agreement calls for Israel's partial withdrawal from Sinai. The Suez Canal reopens. Sadat favours the US over the USSR, in a step to recover Egyptian land from Israel. The US and Egypt launch a cooperative development program. Sadat announces Infitah (Open Door) policy, to ease controls and encourage private investment. The political arena partially opens to multiple parties.
1978-1981	Sadat and Israeli prime Minister Begin, sign the Camp David Accord. Sinai is returned to Egypt. The US expands economic and military aid, and Egypt becomes a top aid recipient, receiving $24.3 billion by year 2000. In spite of that, the economy remains stagnant. Sadat's popularity declines in the Arab world and at home. Expanding censorship and jails opponents, Islamic extremists assassinate him in 1981.
1982-1990 (Mubarak's era)	Hosni Mubarak, Sadat's chosen successor, is elected as president. He continues the 'open door' economic policy. Opposition political parties are permitted to organize slowly. Five parties participate in 1980's elections. Rescheduling billions of debt money follows the negotiations with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the Paris club.
1991-1995	The US forgives $7 billion in military debt after Egypt's involvement in the Gulf War. The deficit and inflation are reduced. Privatization is taking a slow pace, partly due to state-owned enterprises' debts and overstaffing. Economic Reform Structural Adjustment starts in 1991. Islamic groups demand for a strict Islamic state to be established.
1996-2000	Tourism suffers after an attack by Islamic militants at Luxour city in 1997. Lower oil prices, government investment, remittances and the Asian economic crisis slow growth. Structural Economic Reform also takes slow pace. In spite of the presence of 13 active political parties, Mubarak's National Democratic Party (NDP) controls parliament. NDP candidates winning 1996 and 2000 elections despite allegations of fraud.
2001-2003	Mubarak enters his third decade in power. Emergency powers first established after Sadat's assassination, is again extended. Tourism, Egypt's most lucrative industry is totally devastated after September 11th, 2001 attacks, and darkens the investment outlook. Egypt allows the currency to float freely in 2003. Structural reforms are stagnant.

Source: Pbs, 2005, Commanding heights: Full report: Egypt retrieved July 22, 2005 from http://www.pbs/wgbh/commandingheights/lo/eg

After the 1952 revolution, which brought the monarchy[6] to its ends and forced the ruling family that had its roots outside the country into exile, three extremely diverse economic phases of policies followed. Closely associated with the three different state presidents and their personalities, the changing international/national political and economic environment played a decisive role in the economic policies they tried to adopt in Egypt.

> "Muhammad Ali's era saw strong state intervention in the economy; the subsequent century witnessed a passive state and the dominance of private foreign and domestic investors. Yet both failed to achieve economic development or to lift Egypt from poverty and dependence" (Nyrop, 2003, p. 22)

The Gamal Abdul Nasser regime (1952-1970) inherited an undeveloped economy with great inequalities. A few rich foreigners and nationals controlled the countries wealth, from large landed estates to manufacturing and commercial firms, while the wider population was poor. A process of transformation had to occur; this was based on a transition from a free, private enterprise system to an economy characterized by state planning, public ownership of means of production and services, and a wide ranging administrative control and policy interference (Attia, 1999).

High-scale industrialization, strengthening of the public sector as a strong base of the economy; the construction of the Aswan High Dam[7]; were the most significant changes that occurred during the era of Nasser's' presidency[8]. With the introduction of Egypt's first national development five-year plan (1960-1965), import substitution and liberalization, nationalization of big businesses and utilities, either foreign or locally controlled were the dominant trends (i.e. 300 large private firms were nationalised alone

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[6] The Egyptian monarchy was established by the elite of the Turco-Circassian mercenaries (i.e. hired soldiesrs in Foreign Service). In 1952, the revolutionary government headed by military officers overthrew the monarchy

[7] The necessary capital, the technical support and qualified manpower for the construction of the Aswan High Dam was provided by the Soviet Union, which led Egypt to become totally dependant economically on that superpower for years ahead (Ibrahim and Ibrahim, 2003).

[8] Nasser's era was famously marked by the introduction of socialism as a national policy to replace the communist states; and the two Egyptian –Israeli wars (1956 and 1967). Socialist Land reform, also one of the major changes introduced by Nasser's regime was designed more as a political strategy of elite replacement eliminating the rural aristocracy allied with the previous regime and redistributing land to small peasants and landless, which then moved on to be a considered a "qualitative improvement of the rural welfare of the mass of the landless peasantry" (Thissen, 1994, pp. 8). Baring in mind that the growth of rural poverty from 1929-1950, paved the way for the 1952 revolution; one of the major merits of Nasser's policy, was the special consideration paid to the poorer sections of the population (i.e. *fellaheen* and workers) in terms of strengthening their position with regards to the big landowners and the owners of industrial companies. Landownership was limited to 100 feddans (42 hectare) per nuclear family; the legal position of small farmers owners and landless *fellaheen* working on rented land was strengthened. (Adam, 1986, Ibrahim and Ibrahim, 2003, Thissen, 1994)

in 1961). By 1964, a huge public sector had evolved[9], including all utilities, communications, and finance as well as large manufacturing enterprises, transportation, wholesale and foreign trade, some big retail stores, and construction firms (Ibrahim and Ibrahim, 2003, Nyrop, 2003).

In spite of the recovery of the countries economy, the polices laid the foundation of a highly centralized and over-political institutional structure. Army officers widely dominated the civil management system and decision-making. Negative attitudes towards private and foreign investments, profits were promoted (Handoussa, 1995, cited in Attia, 1999). The most serious effects of Nasser's socialist policy that are still apparent in the recent structures of Egypt's economy are the inflation of the public sector and the weakening of the private sector[10].

Nevertheless, at the end of the first five year plan, the adoption of a second five year plan was impossible due to the decline in domestic and financial resources, as a result of diverting all known resources to defence in addition to the interruption of the Western World aid flow. The 1967 defeat and the Israeli occupation of Sinai Peninsula was followed by the loss of oil fields, closure of Suez Canal, and the dramatic death of the tourism industry. The years following the 1967 War till 1974, defence-absorbing resources for the preparation for War, witnessed an overall collapse in the economy and management efficiency within the public sector (Attia, 1999, Handoussa, 1995).

Therefore, President Sadat had inherited in 1970 an "authoritarian, centrally controlled and closed state, with a severely strained economy, with an effectively frozen foreign policy by the growing *détente* between the super powers and the superior position of Israel " (Attia, 1999, p. 127). Major changes had to take place within the political and economic arenas. Sadat mainly initiated an orientation towards the West, which stood in a clear and sharp contrast to Nasser's socialism, especially after his partial victory in 1973 War[11]. In spite of introducing economic liberalization polices

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[9] By 1973 the ratio of public to private in the composition of the GDP was 58:42 in contrast to 15:85 in 1953 (Nyrop, 2003).

[10] The foreign and Egyptian private companies that were nationalized during Nasser's era were controlled and managed by organizations that managed in the same way the public sector. Due to corruption and mismanagement, it has been proved that these companies didn't work efficiently (Ibrahim and Ibrahim, 2003).

[11] Sadat believed that the way ahead (i.e. open door policy) is essential to winning American commitment to Egypt's recovery of the Sinai Peninsula from Israel. After War 1973, Sadat acted as the leading force in the peace process with Israel, which concluded with the signing of the Camp David Agreement in 1979. This led to the termination of a thirty yearlong war with Israel. Sinai was returned after Egypt had paid considerable sums to Israel as compensation for the infrastructure it had established on the land during its occupation since the 1967 War (Ibrahim and Ibrahim, 2003, Nyrop, 2003).

following the example of the Western capitalist countries, a contradictory strategy was also placed to strengthen the Islamic character of the country[12]. Economically, Islamization under Sadat led to the increase of Islamic banks and investment companies that were based on the principle of profit sharing instead of paying interest[13].

Egypt's new confidence after 1973 War encouraged Sadat in putting down his policies for the development of Egypt. Based on four main policy objectives: defence preparedness, reconstruction, economic development, and the preservation of the social welfare framework, Sadat presented the October Working Paper (OWP) in April 1974[14] (Ikram, 1980). Its polices were to "bring victory on the home front in the shape of prosperity for all, and thereby resolve Egypt's major problem of a rapidly growing population dependant on a weak economic base" (Sadat, 1974, cited in Attia, 1999, p.127).

3.2.2.1 Open Door Economic Policy (*Al-Infitah Al-Iktsadi*)

> "Egypt's state-dominated economy, Sadat declared, was too burdened by military spending and bureaucratic inertia to mobilize the resources for an economic recovery. But post war conditions, namely the diplomatic opening to the United States and the new petrodollars in the Arab hands, presented a unique opportunity to spark a new economic take-off combining Western technology, Arab capital and Egyptian labour."
> (Nyrop, 2003, p.3)

To achieve the goals and the aims of the OWP, an 'open door' economic policy was adopted favouring the market economy concept, instead of the centralized Arab socialism that dominated the state economy during the 1950s and 1960s. Relaxing inherited and existing government controls over the economy and bureaucratic procedures, to encourage the private sector, and to stimulate a large inflow of foreign funds were the main ingredients of the new policy. The dominate thinking started to advocate the creation of a new foreign sector, the partial dismantlement of the public

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[12] Sadat allowed the return of members of the Muslim Brotherhood (*Ikhwan Muslimeen*) that had been forced into exile under his predecessor. The tolerance, if not outright support for the right-wing Islamist groups like *Al-Jama'at al-Islamiya*, which later proved a fatal mistake for the President, and cost him his life.

[13] Around 300 Islamic institutions managed a total capital of US$8-12 billion at that time, equalling the state's entire annual budget.

[14] In April 1974, the OWP was circulated and presented to the People's Assembly (Parliament) and was approved by a national referendum in May of the same year. This document was raised as a 'document of revolution', lying out a comprehensive outline for the major redirection of both political and economic policies (Cooper, 1982).

sector and the restriction of the public sector to large industry and infrastructure[15], in addition to opening all other sectors to private capital (i.e. foreign and Arab) (Mietal, 1998, Nyrop, 2003).

The economy grew at impressive rates, as the open door policy succeeded in generating a large inflow of foreign funds in the form of remittances, foreign grants and aid, specifically from the United States prior the Camp David Accord. The policy successfully increased the total resources available to the economy; the tolls from Suez Canal, oil exports, tourism and the remittances form Egyptians working aboard, all contributed to diversifying the national income (Attia, 1999).

However, the policy's critics debated the negative side of the policy on the economy, underlying the fact that it neither succeeded in attracting the expected investment, nor did it decrease the size or role of the public sector. Ayubi (1980) stated that the state was clearly inhabited by private interests, where corruption was the dominant norm not the exception. The establishment of many modern factories as an example, mostly backed by foreign investors, caused serious problems for existing local industries that had offered better chances of employment for the local population. Ikram (1980) pointed out the effect of the policy on the social equality as follows:

> " ...It can be said that both economic reform, envisaged wrongly by the Open Door Economic Policy, and social equality became to great extent victims of the policy goals and administrative capabilities of the state" (ibid, p.63)

A limited number of individuals, the 'fat cats' could profit immediately, commonly through corruption and illegal transactions, while the disparities between the social classes grew as the income gap between the rich and poor classes has clearly widened (Ibrahim and Ibrahim, 2003). While massive imports led to the Egyptian market being flooded with foreign goods, national production was shrinking. De-industrialization was the common norm. Arab capital was moving into financial activities, tourism and luxury housing construction. Egyptians shifted their economic activities and commercial activities to service the international trade heading into the

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[15] Up to the declaration of the 'open door' policy in 1974, the public sector was responsible for 77% of all industrial production in the country, 78% of construction works, 100% of electricity production, 76.8% of transportation and communication, 78.8% of services. it under took 90% of all national investments. The economic public sector was being run by 34,000 managers distributed among the various public authorities, organizations and companies (Attia, 1999)

country; specifically concentrating in the free zones to escape the socialist laws (Shetawy, 2004, Cooper, 1982).

Moreover, intra-elite conflicts emerged centring on the proper scope and management of ODEP in the following:

> "These conflicts typically pitted liberalizing economists, who were convinced that a fully capitalist economy would be more efficient than an economic incorporating a public sector, against more statist-minded bureaucrats and state mangers, who wanted reform, rather than to dismantle the public sector. The latter were often allied with politicians fearful of public reaction to the rollback of the populist measures such as subsidies and public-sector employment[16]." (Nyrop, 2003, p.3)

Despite the attempt to decrease the role of the state in development in favour of the private sector, the government found itself even more deeply involved in the economy. Subsidies grew from 1 % of GDP in 1970 to 11 % in 1979. In 1977, government employment accounted for 32 % of the total (Nyrop, 2003). Whereas, the state's role had dramatically moved on from an overall development role to a producer's role; from a role where industrialization forms a major pillar of the comprehensive national development to one where the state in one among several industrial investors seeking profit[17] (Wahba, 1994, Attia, 1999).

Another dimension of the October Working Paper policies was the New Map Policy; proposing the phases of urbanization for the whole country, the targeted policy areas, main development axes, and growth directions. Acknowledging the problems resulting from the high concentration in the capital Cairo (i.e. population, services, job opportunities, infrastructure…. etc), the widening gap between Cairo and the different parts and cities of the country in terms of targeted development and progress, a national urbanization framework was needed. In order to face the human settlements challenges, the Egyptian New Towns Programme was launched in the mid 1970's;

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[16] One major episode regarding this conflict came in 1976 when pressures from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and foreign banks to cut subsides and devalue the Egyptian pound as a necessary step in the liberalization of the economy. The subsidy cuts triggered the 1977 food riots, the government had to back down in favour of the social safety of the poor.

[17] Several industrial public companies had to shift to trading activities to escape the fate of abolition. The state bureaucracy; in offering services and commodities in general was also following a commercial attitude towards the citizens (e.g. special speedy deliveries of state houses for whoever pays in foreign currency, special prices for faster governmental services: fast telephone line, fast passport). Food as another example, ordinary, improved, deluxe and touristic grades of bread, rice, sugar, etc was introduced. This was also adapted to the public transportation services offering different categories with different price tags (Attia, 1999).

targeting the development of desert land instead of remaining confined to the Delta and the narrow valley of the Nile. Based not only on an demographic and geographic, but also on an economic map, new towns and the expansion of new towns would be the ideal solution to the concentration of the capital and major cities. Sadat, (1974) pointed out the main areas of development as follows:

> "Taking the circumstances of each area into consideration, reconstruction areas should be extended westward along the Mediterranean coast, eastward along the Red Sea coast, and southward around Lake Nasser where the possibilities for mining, industries, fisheries and tourism are largely available in these areas" (ibid)

Therefore, the Egyptian New Map policy based its guidelines on the following three objectives; first the construction of several new settlements and towns in the desert based on priority areas[18], second, the decentralization of authority by giving more power to local governments regarding the economic and social development decisions (see appendix III for the development of local governance in Egypt since 1960), and third the development of remote regions in general and rural areas specifically (Shetawy, 2004).

However, continuous studies, academic researches, reports, conferences and seminars have analysed the Egyptian New towns experience have confirmed the fact that the ENMP failed to achieve any of its objectives; a major disparity existed between what was planned and what was implemented in reality. The concentration of urbanization continued to follow the pattern of centralization on the Nile corridor and Delta in general, Cairo and Alexandria in specific. For more details on the ENMP, see Attia, 1999, Shetawy, 2004, Deaf, 1986, Ibrahim 1993, Hamdi 1987. Meikle, 1987. 1992).

The new polices introduced after 1974 (e.g. ENMP, ODEP) has dramatically altered the scope, objectives and tools of national development planning. Meanwhile, 'scientific rationality' continued to be the general methodology path adopted

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[18]Regarding priority areas; from a practical, political, and economic sense, the Suez Canal zone was identified as the immediate area. Practically, after it's extensive War damage and the displacement and evacuation of its population; the reconstruction and development would enable its original population to return back to the area, thus easing some of the pressure on the over stretched urban environment in Cairo. Economically, the reconstruction and development of the area would follow the re-opening of the Suez Canal which would re- provide the country with one of its main revenues. Politically, the investment in the reconstruction of the Suez Canal and the cites adjacent to Sinai (i.e. Port Said, Ismailia, and Suez) was to demonstrate Egypt's future peaceful intentions to the international community, encouraging international investment (Attia, 1999, Meikle, 1987)

throughout. The leadership stressed on the importance of the role of experts and scientists in the national planning process as follows:

> "...Our country has piled up a priceless wealth of experience, capacities, expertise and abilities [...] we all should work in unison brought about through agreement on the supreme ideals, adherence to the institutions we set up and the responsible democratic dialogue to arrive at the best and speediest methods [...] Planning is important to serve all sectors of the economy. It serves these sectors through preparation of studies, data analysis, information and laying down plans for the supply of the necessary technical skills and foretelling the circumstances of various investments and their effect in general "
>
> (Sadat, 1974 cited in Shetawy, 2004, p.157)

The state was committed to build a democratic environment through which decisions regarding national development policies would be arrived at. It also stressed on the importance of experts and scientists role in assessing and providing the technical assistance to decision makers while debating policies in a 'responsible democratic dialogue' environment. However, while the political leadership was inclined to favour technical and scientific-based decisions, it did not imply that decisions regarding national policies would only be based on a technical and scientific approach, as it might or might not actively involve the science and technology community in contributing to the decision-making process (Shetawy, 2004, p. 157).

National Development Planning had already shifted its attitude from an approach redressing imbalances and equalities created by market processes 'market critical', into another approach that was willing to correct inefficiencies while supporting market processes 'market-led'. Rules and regulations moved on from protecting the 'public interest' from market processes, into rules and regulations formulated to protect the interests of the new era of *Infitah*. Moreover, planning tools shifted from master plans aimed for nationally funded programmes focused on the basic needs providing basic public services: health, education, and provision of infrastructure, low-income housing and large-scale industrial projects, into national and international funding for sectoral urban programmes, State/Private sector partnership programmes focusing on new towns and settlements, in addition to Urban upgrading projects. See table (3.2) for the changes within National Development Planning before and after the adoption of the policies under Sadat's presidency.

Table (3.2) National Development Planning before and after the Open Door Policies (Sadat's era 1970-1981)

	1970-1974	1974- 1981
ATTITUDE TO MARKET	Market-critical Redressing imbalances and equalities created by market processes	Market-led Correcting inefficiencies while supporting market processes (public sector reform, encouraging private sector to participate in the development process, investment and labour laws)
PURPOSE AND SCOPE OF PLANNING	Environmental improvement and management in the name of "public interest", with a Physical/ spatial and socio-economic scope of stability through: providing basic public services: health, education, and provision of infrastructure, low-income housing and large-scale industrial projects. Equal distribution of resources and opportunities (e.g. jobs, incomes, rights, land)	Environmental improvement and management in the name of "public interest", with a Physical/ spatial and socio-economic scope of stability through the adoption of the new *Infitah* polices (ODEP, ENMP).
PLANNING METHODOLOGY	Scientific Rational Methodology	Scientific Rational Methodology
PLANNING TOOLS	Master plan/ Zoning National funding for programmes provide basic needs	Master plan/ Zoning (new towns/settlements proposals) Development rural and urban areas to lessen and control growth in major cities. State/Private sector Partnership programmes. National/international funding for sectoral urban programmes. Urban upgrading projects.

Source adapted from:
Levy C., 2004, Urban Policy, Planning and Management: Theory and practice, UO2 Module on MSc in Urban Development Planning, Development Planning Unit, University College London
Shetawy, A., 2004, "The politics of physical planning practice: The case of the industrial areas in Tenth of Ramadan city, Egypt", PhD, DPU, UCL.

3.2.2.2 The Economic Reform and Structural Adjustment Programme (ERSAP)

> "Managing *infitah* remained the major problem of public policy under Mubarak's presidency. Rather than producing a dynamic capitalist alternative to Nasserite statism, *infitah* had stimulated a consumption boom that put Egypt in debt and made it heavily dependent on external revenues, which declined in the mid-1980s, plunging the country into economic crisis" (Nyrop, 2003, p. 4)

Mubarak unlike his predecessors didn't introduce any new spectacular concepts in foreign or home affairs or in the economy. Insisting that the Open Door policy would be reformed not reversed, Mubarak continued with what had proved successful before bearing the burden of the problems forwarded by these policies (Ibrahim and Ibrahim. 2003).

> "The interests created under Nasser remained obstacles to capitalist rationalization and belt-tightening. The public sector was still the main engine of investment; the public sector mangers and unionized labour tenaciously defended it. The bureaucracy, employing a large portion of the middle class, was a formidable consistency. Meanwhile, Egypt's huge army had not been demobilized, and, indeed, Sadat had brought its acquiescence to his policy by replacing weapons from the Soviet Union with more expensive arms from the United States, for which the military showed a voracious appetite" (Nyrop, 2003, p.5)

Moreover, attempts for reform of the Open Door policy faced severe resistance from the interests it had already created. A larger and richer bourgeoisie class was unprepared to give up opportunities for more wealth or to trim down its level of consumption[19]. Any reverse of course affecting this class would have cost the regime its strongest social support.

Caught between the rich and poor, the regime had aimed for incrementalism instead of radical reform. It gradually shaved subsidies; replacing items with better and higher in quality alternatives (e.g. replacing the one piaster loaf of bread with a better quality higher priced loaf), increasing the price of other services and infrastructures (e.g. electricity) and eliminating subsidies on other items (i.e. feed corn). Exchange rates

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[19] The contract between the new wealth and the mass poverty generated a 'moral malaise' with the Egyptian society, which made the issue of 'Egypt's debts' a political one. The government provided subsidized food to masses in return for their tolerance of the growing inequality occurring. Demonstrations in 1986 claiming that the poor population and the middle class is the real one paying Egypt's debts, while the rich class live in their palaces and villas, which was likely to fuel Islamist political activism (Thissen, 1994, Ibrahim and Ibrahim, 2003).

were partially reformed; taxes on luxury imports were raised (Nyrop, 2003). In an attempt to protect the value of the Egyptian pound and controlling the foreign currency, the government tried to close down 'black-market' moneychangers that were absorbing most remittances. Also, liquidising Islamic banks and investment companies was the other main battle facing the government in the mid 1980's[20].

> "Mubarak's state was no longer a mere champion of the Bourgeois interests as was the state under Sadat, neither had it regained the power other society of Nasser's days" (Nyrop, 2003, p.6)

Under the pressure of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), Egypt was forced to start a neo-liberal Economic Reform and Structural Adjustment Programme (ERSAP) from early 1991[21]. The program aimed at a number of structural reforms fostering the expansion of the private sector to promote investment, growth and employment. The government committed itself to applying strict measures for the liberation of the economy, decentralizing and bringing a fundamental change in the ownership structure of the Egyptian economy[22]. Moreover, the World Bank strategies for Egypt focused on developing the areas of export, private sector, human resources such as education, health and poverty relief, in addition to natural resources management such as oil and natural gases) (Shetawy, 2004). In 1994, the GATT Agreement was signed[23]. State control over the price of cultivated products that were formerly of strategic importance

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[20] In 1985, Minister of Economy 'Mustafa Said' the attempt to close down black market moneychangers was dismissed when foreign currency dried up and business demanded his head. Moreover, in 1986, 'Lutfi's' government fell because of a bid by the governor of the Central Bank, to restrain the Islamic investment companies that also dealt in foreign currency. The rising power of this bourgeoisie resulted in its ability to disrupt the economy. In 1988, Prime Minister 'Atif Sidqi' personally led the government's efforts while the companies mobilized the Muslim Brotherhood *Al Ikhwan al Muslimun*, and the New Wafd Party in defence of the private sector. With the help of financial scandals that damaged depositor's confidence, the government brought the companies under its regulative control, but with considerable self-governance (Nyrop, 2003).

[21] The IMF actively supports countries in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region in adopting economic policies and reforms aimed at achieving stronger economic performance and higher living standards. This support takes the form of policy discussions and advice, technical assistance, and training, in addition to lending. IMF work within the region has focused on (i) public sector reform; (ii) transparency issues; (iii) financial market development; (iv) integration with the global economy; (v) reform of the exchange rate regimes; and (vi) post-conflict situations. While the World Bank traditionally takes the lead in advising on privatization, the IMF has strongly supported the process in Egypt. The IMF has also helped to strengthen banking supervision, in conjunction with the joint IMF-World Bank Financial Sector Assessment Programs (FSAPs) (IMF, 2003).

[22] Public Enterprises accounted as much as one-third of Egypt's manufacturing sector, half of investment expenditure and 15 % of total employment. By 1995/1996, Real GDP growth accelerated to over 4 % from virtual stagnation in 1991/1992, while the rate of inflation declined from over 21% to 7%. (IMF, 1996)

[23] Although the GATT agreement imposes painful limitations on the countries economy, Egypt tries to increase its exports of industrial and agricultural products, and to reduce its imports. Competition on the international market forced the Egyptian industrial products to improve its quality and many firms to apply international quality standards hoping to enhance their export chances (Ibrahim and Ibrahim, 2003).

like wheat, rice and cotton, was lifted, while high customs tariffs on imported goods were reduced. State subsidies were stopped (with the exception of those for bread, edible oil, sugar, mineral oil and gas). This was associated with a strong devaluation of the Egyptian pound (Ibrahim and Ibrahim, 2003).

Given the economic context in the 1990s, the Egyptian administration was forced to shift its national development planning to achieve the following objectives summarized in the following:

> "The Government sees the principle challenge to be that of increasing economic growth so as to create employment opportunities for a rapidly growing population and raise living standards [...] intensifying the structural reform agenda through privatization, deregulation, trade liberalization, and fiscal sector reform [...] help bringing down the rate of unemployment and raise of living standards [...] the expansion of the private sector in order to promote investment, growth and employment [...] further liberalization of Egypt's international trade system [...] improving Egypt's health and education system "
>
> (IMF, 1996)

Therefore, National Development Planning had to stick to the same market-led attitude adopted during Sadat's era as Egypt entered the era of Mubarak's presidency in 1981. Correcting inefficiencies while supporting market processes was apparent in several areas. The government focused on the implementation of social and urban programmes such as upgrading and infrastructure provision projects, putting extra resources into education and health, tackling slum areas within the main cities, construction of residential projects targeted of young people in the new towns (i.e. Mubarak's Housing for Youth), specifically promoting private sector investment in Upper Egypt region[24].

New laws and regulations were introduced to reduce bureaucracy and to simplify and rationalize investment regulations (i.e. law 203 of 1991 to regulate public sector activities and to frame its relations with the private sector). Encouraging private sector to take a major role in the development process led to the launch of a major privatization programme and the introduction of a number of related laws (i.e. retail tax

[24] The 1992 earthquake had forced the government to state with several social and urban recovery programmes, for example the construction of schools programme, residential projects for young married couples, the launch of Toshka project in 1997, targeting development to Upper Egypt region.

law 11 of 1991, law 8 of 1997 to facilitate foreign and domestic investment through a package of guarantees and incentives, law 91 of 1995 regulating the activities of insurance companies, law 22 of 1998 regulating the privatization of the telecommunication sector, law 155 of 1998 providing constitutional basis for the privatization of the banking system…etc).

Despite the ERSAP success in achieving the most of its economic objectives, several studies (such as Eissa 1996, Fawfy 2002, Ibrahim and Ibrahim, 2003) have pointed out the continuous failure of the program to achieve any of its intended social development objectives. The application of such programme was criticized for only benefiting certain class (i.e. businessmen and entrepreneurs) within the Egyptian society leaving behind the majority of Egyptians with a range of social problems to deal with.

Therefore, the state became merely an investor among many others striving for profit, cutting down on its developmental role and sacrificing its welfare commitments, the private sector became much more influential controlling all aspects of national development planning starting from setting its priorities and goals to decision-making process regarding their implementation. Moreover, the approach to the formulation and implementation of national development planning policies had changed dramatically from being 'Rational Comprehensive Planning' during the 1970s and 1980s to a mix of 'dominant liberal entrepreneurial planning and less-dominant rational comprehensive planning' approaches during the 1990s after the adoption of the ERSAP in early 1991.

Moving on from Nasser's Nationalism ideologies and socialist economic policies to Sadat's Internationalism ideology and capitalist economic policies, Egypt still continues to be motivated by the international aspirations of 'global capitalism'. The development of the planning approaches and the planning traditions related to the development of the planning profession over time within the global arena had already influenced the National Development Planning approaches (i.e. key global institutions enforcing western models of development on the national level such as UNESCO, UNICEF, UNDP, UN-HABITAT, World bank, IMF...etc). Planning had already shifted its attitude from an approach redressing imbalances and equalities created by market processes 'market critical', into another approach that was willing to correct inefficiencies while supporting market processes 'market-led'. Rules and regulations moved on from protecting the 'public interest' from market processes, into rules and regulations formulated to protect the interests of the new era.

Furthermore, for a number of decades till recent, continuing to be motivated by the international aspirations of development, Egypt has been forced to strengthen the 'public participation' dimension within its national development processes[25]. Adopted from the assumptions, scope and aim of the 'advocacy planning approach', 'user participation and self management' have been well-established mechanisms in urban development projects within the Western hemisphere, which wasn't necessarily a success when exported into the Egyptian development process. User participation in a governmental-led mechanism like Egypt was confined to the investigation of users' opinions and expectations only. Local communities are often not encouraged to act; rather, it is expected to respond to actions taken by government bodies instead of empowering them in order to influence the process and become involved in decision-making during all phases of local projects (Ouf, 2002). Further investigation of this critical dimension with respect to the planning process will be presented later in order to analyze the physical planning process and its impact on the practice of urban conservation in the context of the case study.

After reviewing the range of challenges Egypt was and is still facing, and the features of the national development polices associated, the following section will view the dynamics of the Tourism development within Egypt's context. This discussion will give a clear idea of the impact of this specific industry on the urban development in Egypt, which will help in underpinning this impact within the local context of the case study in the following chapter.

3.3 TOURISM DEVELOPMENT

As a site of one of the oldest civilizations, Egypt holds many unique attractions, historic monuments, archaeological sites and landmarks for tourists. In addition, the country has some of the finest beaches, modern cities, attractive climate, modern prices for services, and a reputation for hospitality to foreign visitors, all considerable potentials for developing its tourism sector. Whereas tourism as a resource was not on the same level to the extent as oil or remittances was, it had also been affected by politics and external developments in which Egypt had little say (Nyrop, 2003).

Historically, Egypt was the first country outside the European continent to be visited by tourist; as such travels became a fashion among the educated and rich elite in

[25] International funding agencies (e.g. UNDP, World bank) use 'public participation' criterion as a prerequisite for funding local projects.

the nineteenth century. Moreover, new interest in travelling to Egypt became more popular after Napoleon's invasion in 1797-1801[26]. The two World Wars and the worldwide economic depression had dramatically affected Egypt's tourism, which had to recover only very slowly thereafter (Ibrahim and Ibrahim, 2003).

In a World Bank report it has been pointed out that the tourism revenues in Egypt are "particularly volatile and vulnerable to external shocks" elaborating that the growth of tourism industry "has always been hampered by political events in the country and region, and this remains a future constraint" (Reuters, 1997). While Egypt had passed through different, sometimes diverse political and economic environments with a state associated with playing a decisive role, tourism development has always been seen and understood as a solution to many of Egypt's problems, despite the fact that Modern tourism to Egypt will always depend on both the internal and external political stability. However, as the development shifted to the industrial sector during Nasser's presidency[27], the support for tourism had softened, which was followed by a dramatic deterioration within the tourism sector by the 1967 War[28] and the continued state of warfare for about ten years until the Peace agreement (Abdel-el Wahab, 1997).

3.3.1 The Egyptian Tourism Map

Changing the structural skeleton of tourism in Egypt was another aim of the open door policy, by giving special attention to promote tourism in new areas to suit the new international trends towards recreational tourism[29]. In compliance with the recommendations of the October Working paper in 1974, the diversification of the tourist product from a solely cultural destination to a combined leisure and cultural

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[26] While Egypt's treasures from the times of the Pharaohs had been concealed, Napoleon Bonaparte's army had been accompanied by an expedition known as the 1797 Expedition of numerous elite scholars and scientists who unearthed these treasures and explored the country and gave detailed reports about their discoveries in their *Description de l'Egypte*. Archaeological activities and new discoveries through the fascination of Egyptian culture developed into Egytomania. Moreover, the development of photography supported the increase interest in Egypt, as a multitude of Pharaonic monuments and fascinating sceneries drew photographers to the Nile valley and dessert. In 1850, there was an estimated 20, 000 annual tourists, mainly upper class in their home countries and spent several weeks. This number increased to 50,000 by the time of the First World War. (Ibrahim and Ibrahim, 2003, El-Kadi, 2000).

[27] Following the 1952 revolution and 1956 Suez Canal crisis, under Nasser few tourists are said to have visited Egypt. Major Cairo monuments falling into disuse. However, the construction of the Aswan High Dam had its impact on visitors' interests.

[28] The number of annual tourists during the year 1966 had reached 578, 734 tourist. Following the 1967 War, this number dropped shapely for several years afterwards and then gradually began to rebound (Nyrop, 2003).

[29] Recreational tourism represented 50-60% of the international tourism movement, while cultural tourism represented only 10% (WTO, 1991)

attraction was considered to be the prime objective of the Egyptian Government. By 1974 the government had already started to issue several tourism strategies and five-year tourism plans. The ministry of Tourism[30] (MOT) took the responsibility of planning, supervising, regulating and exploiting the country's tourism regions, particularly the coastal regions.

The government's policies introduced financial and development measures to facilitate and encourage the restructuring of Egypt's tourism industry, from being based only on historic tourism to leisure and recreational tourism. The main objective was to develop the extended coasts on the Red Sea and Mediterranean[31], while conserving the sites such as the Roman city of Alexandria, the Pharaonic city of Thebes (Luxor), and the Islamic city of Cairo add to the country's cultural and historic heritage (Attia, 1999). By 1974, the MOT issued a national tourism strategy determining six priority regions; each region includes natural attractions and tourism potentials that vary in importance and significance and level of infrastructure and living conditions in it.

Accordingly, the six regions were classified into three categories (See Figure 3.1 Egypt's tourism Map, and priority zones). First, were considered the most important regions that need immediate attention to improve their infrastructure and living conditions, but with a reputation for their attractions and touristic importance (e.g. The North Coast region, Luxor and Aswan centres. .etc). The second category includes the regions that can be promoted for tourism activities but lack some essential infrastructure and investment projects (e.g. Sinai). The third category includes the reserved regions that can be developed in future plans (e.g. The Nile Valley, The Oasis)

Following the peace agreement of 1979 and the new policies adopted by the state during Sadat's era (see section 3.2.2.1), the emphasis on tourism was increased. Tourism was viewed as "an economic activity that could rationalize economic policy, especially through balanced economic growth brought about by new or additional business production cycles promoted by tourism expansion" (Abdul-el Wahab, cited in Attia, 1999, p. 150).

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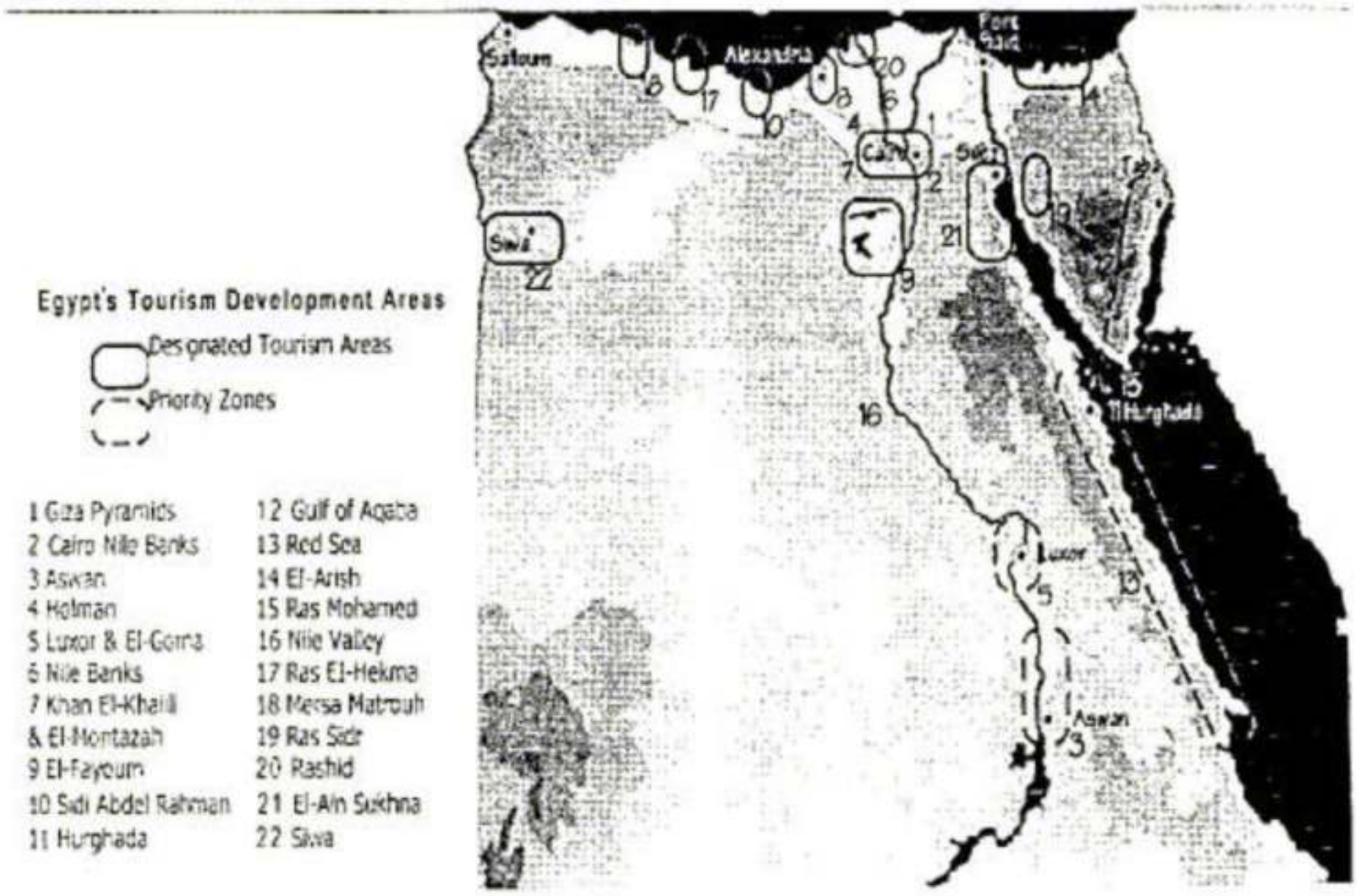
[30] Under law 2 of 1973, the Ministry of Tourism was to be responsible for the preparation of comprehensive plans to develop and manage the tourism regions within the framework of the October Working Paper. The ministry under this law was given the authority to reserve areas for tourism development, in order to supervise and plan for their development. Also, the ministry coordinates with other government agencies to provide infrastructure. This law was considered a powerful tool to make private developers comply with the government's regulations and building codes since "No person or corporate body may exploit any tourist area without authorization from the Ministry of Tourism".

[31] The Red Sea and Mediterranean coasts offer an extended length of 2400 km, 60 % of which are on the Red Sea alone (Attia, 1999)

Fig (3.2) Egypt's Tourism Development Areas and Priority zones



Source: (TDA, 1998)

Furthermore, Attia (1999) states that tourism was believed to be a potential to generate employment for skilled and unskilled labour, bring in foreign currencies and most importantly shift development away from the densely populated areas towards less developed regions. Moreover, tourism had been used as a catalyst for development in those desert regions that has susceptible natural attractions for exploitation for tourism purposes, as well as benefiting other development sectors and extending infrastructure to remote areas (ibid, 1999). Table (3.3) gives an indication of the growth in the Egyptian tourism industry during Sadat's era (1975-1980).

Table (3.3) Tourists' arrival numbers (1975-1980)

Year	Total tourist arrivals
1975	793.100
1976	984.000
1977	1,003.900
1978	1,051.800
1979	1,064.100
1980	1,253.100

Source: (Der Spek, 2003)

As Egypt entered the 1980's, as a gradual entry point into the neo-liberal Economic Reform and Structural Adjustment Programme (ERSAP) (see section 3.2.2.2), the first Five year Tourism Development plan FYTDP (1982-1987) was introduced with a prime objective to achieve an annual growth rate of tourism arrivals of 6%, that could reach to a contribution of nearly 8-10% of the GDP, if its policies succeeded in lifting the constraints facing the tourism sector[32]. The government started to initiate various measures to attract more tourists and to encourage them to use official exchange channels instead of the free market[33], intensified marketing efforts and adding tourist offices to its diplomatic missions in key countries. Privatization of hotel managements and improving services (e.g. Egypt air services), improving tourists' sites such as Sinai were key elements of the tourism development in this era. As a result, tourism income started to rise steadily, placing it next to the Suez Canal as a source of foreign exchange.

As international tourism worldwide was slow, the FYTDP (1982-1987) had failed to achieve the share of international tourism and was unable to offer what may attract tourists to spend more time in the country. However, the plan did achieve some success in developing non-traditional areas especially in southern Sinai, the Red Sea and the Northern coast regions; increasing the attention to domestic tourism and the country witnessed some improvements in the transportation system and networks (e.g. airport conditions, transport facilities and internal road networks).

By the introduction of the second Five Year Tourism Development Plan (FYTDP 1987-1992), actual investments totalled more than four times the planned

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[32] Attia (1999) states that the first FYTDP (1982-1987) identified the following constraints:

- The political and military conditions present in the Middle East.
- Lack of infrastructure in major cities and tourism regions and lack of proper environmental conditions.
- Lack of tourism awareness among the population and the efficiency of the employees working at the authorities that deal with tourists (immigration, customs, banks, ports…etc).
- Lack of coordination among the multi-form authorities that deal with the tourism sector and decide for its development (MOR, archaeology department, local authorities, investment board…. etc).
- High priced tourism facilities that discourage international tourists arrivals and lead Egyptians to look for other less expansive tourism markets in other countries.
- Lack of adequate tourism marketing and promotions.

[33] Tourists preferred to exchange their money in the free market, with its higher exchange rate, rather than in the official market. As a result, the records did not reflect actual income, which was believed to be much higher. The government had to lower the official tourist value of the Egyptian pound vis-a- vis the United states dollar, if it wanted to encourage tourists into exchanging their foreign currency through its banks. For example, the tourist rate rose from L.E0.83=US$1 to L.E1.12 =US$1 in March 1984, in January 1985 it went to a flexible rate that stood at L.E1.25=US$1 to the first half of 1986. The value of the Egyptian pound continued to diminish, dropping by about 30 % against the dollar in 1986.

investments during the five years by the private sector[34]. Such an increase boasted the industry and achieved amazing rates of growth that even survived the Gulf crisis and the terrorist's attacks in Egypt, which affected the tourist inflow to a great extent. Coupled with a worldwide campaign and a comprehensive tourism-marketing plan, tourism has received an unprecedented tourists' flow by 1992[35]. This booming of tourism had created a booming within the construction sector; an expansion in hotels, tourism facilities and services, improvement of infrastructure, airports and utilities.

In spite of holding one the biggest shares of the total national foreign exchange earnings, the industry of tourism has been extremely vulnerable to the international, national and local political and economic stability. The unstable internal political and external conditions (i.e.1952 revolution, 1956 Suez crisis, military excursions in Yemen and Israel) coupled with the shifted attention of the state to industrialization and defence, had created a low tourism interest through out the country. Only at the start of the 1970s and onwards, and as a part of the 'Open Door' economic and industrial policy, would priority be given to the development of the tourism industry, becoming a main source of the economic revenues of Egypt (see section 3.2.2 for details). Table (3.4) pinpoints the position of Tourism as one of the major foreign exchange earners)

Table (3.4) Tourism's share in the main foreign exchange earnings

Main Foreign Exchange Earnings (million US$)	**1997**	**%**	**1998**	**%**
Tourism	**3,646**	**26.7%**	**2,941**[36]	**22%**
Worker's Remittances	3,256	23.8%	3,519	26.3%
Oil exports	2,578	18.8%	1,728	12.9%
Non-oil Exports	2,352	17.2%	3,400	25.4%
Suez Canal	1,849	13.5%	1,777	13.3%
Total	13,681		13,365	

Source: (Egypt: The World Bank: Stabilization and structural change, 1999)

However, Egypt has never awakened from the downfall in the number of visitor to Egypt from the start of the Gulf war in 1991, followed by the tragic terrorist attack in Luxor. The global drop in tourism after the 11 September 2001 attack and the Iraqi war

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[34] Since 1992 more than 3 billion Egyptian pounds have been invested in tourism projects through the private sector (Abdel-Wahab, 1997)

[35] By 1992, the tourism sector had witnessed an increase in figures; 150% increase in the tourist arrivals for the planned (2,500,000 planned in 1987, to 3,200,000 tourists achieved in 1992), 150% increase in tourist nights (17, 500,000 planned in 1987 to 21,835,000 achieved nights in 1992) and a 140% increase in tourism receipts (1.750 million US$ planned in 1987 to 2.400 million US$ achieved in 1992).

[36] A noticeable slip in the ranking of Tourism can be noticed after 1997. The Luxor terrorist attack in late 1997 had caused a major damage in the industry across the country. Arrivals had fallen 13%.

has also had its dramatic impact on the numbers of tourist heading generally to the Middle East.

Although tourism has diversified its product line throughout the years, from a solely cultural destination to a combined leisure and cultural attraction in order to consolidate its position in the world's travel marketplace, Egypt still depends highly on its cultural resources led by its unique Pharonic monuments, followed by its Islamic and Coptic heritage to form part of the nation's international appeal. Offering a seaside resort experience, available as in many parts of the world, but combined with an Ancient Egyptian and Arab cultural aspect was considered a highly marketable package for tour operators. The respond was a continuous growth in tourist arrival and nights, specifically from the Western European Market (MOT, 1997).

Knowing the importance of 'cultural tourism', Egypt as most countries also faces the famous dilemma of historic cities; sites and monuments being transformed into a product for tourist consumption, which has been discussed in chapter two (theoretical debate). Moreover, with cultural tourism playing a significant role in the growth of historic cities and economic regeneration, it also has played a powerful role in guiding the practice of urban conservation. It is a fact that urban heritage has been conserved as a result of tourism interests, but also heritage worldwide has been destroyed because of it. The following section will present a discussion of historic development and institutional context and framework of urban conservation practice in Egypt.

3.4 URBAN CONSERVATION: THEORY AND PRACTICE

Urban Heritage and the nation's architecture is a mirror of its history and civilization. Living and studying the remains of such heritage not only provides information on the physical and non-physical conditions in which our predecessors once lives in, but also a great value to our modern lives. Preserving a nation's heritage reinforces its identity and guides its future (Serag Eddin, 2002).

Egypt with its long distinctive history as the oldest civilization of the world and hosted other civilizations; enjoys a great diversity of architectural heritage of buildings and sites (i.e. Pharonic, Roman, Greek, Coptic, Islamic, Colonial, and Pre-modern). Stewart (2003) claims that the main problem for Egypt is that " it is blessed with too much cultural heritage; there is simply too much in need of attention" (ibid, 2003, p. 137). Moreover, while Pharonic, Greco-roman, Coptic and Islamic monuments have

always attracted the attention of a wide range of international and national scholars and conservation bodies, scholars have recognized that the "less fortunate" heritage- that is not listed- faces a less attention from the general public (Ettouny, 2000).

3.4.1 Historic Development of Urban Conservation Practice

The current administrative structure of the conservation of Egypt's Heritage is the result of nearly two hundred years of haphazard institutional development. This haphazard development is partly blamed on the major changes within the governmental control (i.e. French, British, Egyptian) and on the involvement of different multiple actors (i.e. governmental, non-governmental, foreign, expatriate) during this long period in historic conservation. Table (3.5) summarizes the historic development of events regarding the 'Safeguard and conservation of Egypt's heritage'.

Through out history, Egypt's Heritagization[37] process had compromised a range of successive stages: study, appraisal, documentation, selection, classification, legislation of protective laws, creating special institutions to manage safeguarding efforts and deploying its tools, raising awareness, training and ongoing maintenance. Moreover, the emergence and development of public policies designed to enhance the notion of 'heritage', indicates a shift within the focus of urban conservation to extend from a single building or monument to the historic centre then to larger areas, from ancient to more recent and contemporary properties, which is clear in the words of El-Kadi (2000) as follows:

> "No longer confined to historic monuments and edifices classed as Arab art, the focus of attention has shifted to the broader notion of urban and architectural heritage, taking in whole towns and city districts built both in the distant and recent past, and featuring a diversity of cultural and ideological referents: Arab-Islamic, Mediterranean, cosmopolitan [...] More recently, public heritage policies have broken new ground by recognizing the value of the 19th century "
> (ibid, p.2)

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[37] Heritagization as a process hosts numerous procedures at several levels: political, administrative, legislative, cultural and operational. While 'heritage' is a term concerned with the architectural objects and urban sites that are recognized as tangible vestiges of bygone ages. El-Kadi (2000) goes on to define Heritagization as the process geared to convert exchangeable values into cultural values by enhancing objects and sites with new functions: so they might serve as means to transmit knowledge, build up cultural identities, creating places of leisure and aesthetic beauty, as a driving force for local and regional development (ibid, 2000).

Table (3.5) Historic development of the 'Safeguard and conservation of Egypt's heritage' – Summary of events.

Period	Main events
1st Period: From 17th to late 18th Century	Under the Arab rule - Safeguarding/management system for 'historic monuments' developed *(Waqfs)*[1]
2nd Period: (1797- 1883)	- Egypt ahead of Arab countries in the notion of 'heritage'/Expedition of Egypt 1797+ attempts to gain independence from Ottoman Empire1805 - **Institutional reforms**; *(Waqfs under **state** control+ nationalizing all their tied properties-the state in charge of maintaining buildings)* - **First law** was passed to protect ancient objects (**1835 Edict**); first national museum set up; protection of upper Egypt's ancient monuments Egypt a province of the Ottoman Empire, the state governed by an elite of foreign origin, backed by European advisors, setting out a pursuit of Modernity/ ***Service de Conservation des Antiques (SCA)*** strictly subject to ruler's will. - **1858, 1862 & 1867 Decrees** gained the SCA administrative autonomy from ruling power. *(Protection, excavations, enhancement, listing. Etc)* - Foundation of School of Egyptology (1868); training local elites in excavation/management-*1st key step to recognize Heritage as a science & culture.* The scope of heritage extended to include 'monuments of Arab art' with the establishment of *the Comite de Conservation des monuments de l'Art Arab* (CCMAA), composed mainly of European experts (1881). Its approach was at odds/ clash with those of the Modernists. (The historic monuments that the CCMAA was seeking to list/restore appeared as obstacles to be removed in order to make way for a fresh form of urban planning)

[1] The *Waqfs*, or *Awqaf* system- known in some countries as *Hobous* is founded upon charitable endowments ensuring the unkeep of the buildings following the benefactor's death.It was traditionally run by certain judges followed by the establishment of *Nezaret Al-Awqaf*. In 1952, the system was abolished and all *Awqaf Khciriyah* properties were placed under the control of the Ministry of Awqaf (Hanafi *et al.* 2000)

3rd Period: (1882- 1947)	Under British protectorate launching series of reforms: - *Decree 1883; antiquities claimed as public property-* - *Decree 1912; MOPW became 1st standing body in charge of safeguarding the National heritage, with a clear role to play.* This period can be characterized by three main features: 1. A clearer picture emerged to the meaning of 'heritage' as a concept: new definitions on historic criteria, extending the range to *Greco-roman eras.* 2. Official listing leading to establishment of a legislative framework 3. Local elites growing more aware of the meaning of history, attempting to identify their heritage. (*Awareness that heritage provided foundations of national identity-linked to Liberal Age of social change led by national movement (Nhada)* **Identity problems, the gap b/w safeguarding methods and development of 'heritage' as a concept and failure to enforce laws/regulations led to the degradation of many monuments and their surroundings.**
4th Period: (1947- 1980)	The period of independence - Egypt becoming a republic 1952- main objective: industrialization & technology transfer, housing & infrastructure- **architectural heritage no longer figured on institutional agenda -put on hold.** (Historic monuments in old towns were abandoned to their fate/ inner immigration turned the old towns into slums-Cairo. Except for individual restoration projects (e.g. Philae temple project) Pharaonic temples falling in ruins, tombs closed to the public. With Egypt's defeat in 1967, the situation worsened.) - In 1970's, a turn point; government officials take a fresh interest in protection of heritage- motives were economic in nature/ promotion of tourism as a national/regional development policy priority. **(International Influence)** In 1977, Egypt one of 80 nations to sign the World Heritage Convention (UNESCO)
5th Period: (1980 to the present)	Urban rehabilitation programmes established with widening the scope of protection from just 'monuments/historic buildings' to 'entire urban fabrics' + extending the concept of heritage to include late 19th and early 20th century productions. (See table 3.6) on the safeguard development following this period.

Source adapted from:

El Kadi, G., 2000, HERCOMANES: heritage conservation and management in Egypt and Syria, retrieved March 11, 2004, from http:// www.hercomanes.com
Stewart, D., 1999, "Changing Cairo: The political economy of urban form", International journal of Urban and Regional Research, Vol. 23,pp. 128-147.
Stewart, D., 2003, Heritage Planning in Cairo: Multiple Heritages in a Mega-city, IDPR, vol.25, pp. 129-152

Given the Egyptian context (see table 3.1, and section 3.2.2), the main political, economic and social events have dramatically reflected on the development of conservation and it's practice. Although the system of safeguarding and management of historic monuments had already developed from the early periods of the Arab ruling (7th century, table 3.5), this section will focus on the development of urban conservation after Egypt's independence (1952). Furthermore, table (3.6) provides a reflection of the main features of the Egyptian political economy context on the practice of urban conservation

As Egypt became a Republic, Nasser's ideology to reject any foreign domination, pushing towards the nationalization of Egypt's economy, and adopting of models based mainly on industrialization and transfer of technology; no fresh development model had the chance to come out embracing any aspiration of progress or modernity, or the country's cultural specificities. As a result, urban planning as a practice was completely purged of any considerations related to matters of identity or of socio-historical context, while concentrating on bare technical functions[38].

At this point it is important to mention that most of the studies carried out to analyze the conservation practice in the Egyptian context during Nasser's era has been based mainly on western studies emphasising merely on the neglect of the cultural aspects in the path of the national development[39]. Meanwhile, major projects regarding Heritage protection (e.g. saving the temples of Abu-Simbel and Philae in Aswan in 1967) in spite of the limited resources gives a clear indication of the level of attention the notion of heritage protection was already receiving, contradicting such claims of cultural and heritage neglectance. However, ElKerdany (2002) documents the political attitude towards the urban and architectural heritage after 1952 revolution in her words as follows:

> "A lack of coordination between the different concerned authorities such as the Ministry of Culture, and Ministry of Endowment. The ignorance on behalf of some of the Revolutionary politicians had lead to the nationalization and seizing of palaces valuable buildings, which were inappropriately used as public elementary schools and police

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[38] During Nasser's era, the state was focusing upon a programme of emergency action in the fields of housing and infrastructure.

[39] It is essential to point out the heritage protection during this era was focusing only on the protection, restoration and preservation of individual monuments and buildings with no integration within a comprehensive planning process, whereas the concept of 'urban conservation' was still a freshly-adopted idea in the countries of the western world.

> stations. However, in spite of the deterioration and misuse of these buildings, the rent control law and nationalization policy helped in preserving them against demolishing and rebuilding with better economic return" (ibid, 2002, p.3)

In spite of the official statements stressing on the identity of the nation, and the plans to bring the institutions in charge of safeguarding and maintaining the nation's monuments into a single body[40], in practice, the architectural heritage; its management or safeguard had no place on any institutional agenda. Representing a major obstacle in the way of any new urban development, renovation and new infrastructure projects, historic monuments within the old towns were more or less left to their fate; rural-urban migration and population growth had already turned the old areas within the cities into a huge slum (e.g. Old Cairo areas). No more than single projects and attempts to conserve[41], the protection of the Pharonic heritage was in no better situation; Pharaonic temples falling in ruins, tombs closed to the public. Moreover, the situation worsened with the countries defeat in 1967.

As Egypt gradually entered the era of the Open Door Policy (see section 3.2.2), a fresh interest in the protection of the country's heritage started to take place[42]. Although the motives of the state were economic in nature, in addition to the promotion of tourism as a national and regional development policy priority; the rehabilitation, preservation of the monuments and historic centres were seen as a part of the international trend of Modernity. By the mid 1970's, an international interest in the conservation of Egypt's heritage started to be established[43], which led to Egypt as one of eighty nations from five continents in signing the World Heritage Convention in 1977.

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[40] This emerging body was under the authority of the Ministry of culture (laws of January and November 1953).

[41] The temples of Abu-Simbel and Philae in Aswan were only saved from flooding after the construction of the High Dam thanks to the efforts of Tharwat Okacha, Minister of Culture in 1965. a art lover and man of refined tastes, Tharwat managed to bring the attention of the international organizations and Europe to Egypt's heritage to face the indifferences of the local political and academic elites.

[42] This new interest was seen on different levels, academics, writers, architects, art-lovers, intellectuals, and students. Moreover, the interest of the state and the governmental officials was translated through a number of successive ministerial decrees regulating the development and planning of areas surrounding important monuments. In the field of research and awareness raising, a series of books was published on the architecture of Arab monuments. Two associations were formed for the protection of the heritage in 1973.

[43] In 1977, studies began on two urban renovation projects financed by the World Bank; one was covering the Fatimid district of Cairo and the other the Eastern Cemetery. At the same time, UNESCO in response to a request from the Egyptian Government despatched a team of experts to Egypt, to map out six zones of Old Cairo area for renovation and rehabilitation. By the end of the decade, medieval Cairo was added to UNESCO's World Heritage List (WHL).

Table (3.6) Reflection of the Main Features of the Egyptian Political Economy Context on the Practice of Urban Conservation

Period	Main Features of Political Economy Context	Urban Conservation
1952-1970s (Nasser's Era)	1952 Revolution 1956 War 1967 Egypt-Israel War Highly centralized institutional structure Rejection of any foreign domination Nationalization of the economy Strengthening the public sector Resources heading mainly to Defence Adopting models of high-scale industrialization, mass production Low-income housing and large –scale infrastructure projects	A practice still not developed to include urban areas surrounding monuments[1], confined to individual projects. Considered as 'the legacy of western colonial practice' Associated with 'Pharonic Westernised elite'.
1970s- 1980s (Sadat's Era)	1973 Egypt-Israel War Launch of Open Door Policy in 1974 Orientation towards the West Influenced by the western models of Capitalism/ private sector investment Partial dismantlement of the public sector Relaxing control over the economy and bureaucratic procedures New Map Policy, New Towns Programme, and priority zones Urban upgrading projects. Promotion of tourism as a national/regional development priority.	Signing the World Heritage Convention in 1977 Inscription of several heritage sites on UNESCO's World Heritage List (WHL) in 1979 Heritage sites were to be extremely exploited to locate Egypt on the global tourism map Protection of heritage based on economic motives
1980s-till recent (Mubarak's Era)	Application of the ERSAP from 1991 Entreprencurial state with a supportive role to individuals and market processes within a globally capitalist development. Flexible, geographically-open and market-based modes of production Maximizing opportunities offered to individuals	Positioning urban conservation within comprehensive development plans highly on the state's agenda Strategies of regeneration, gentrification, cultural innovation, upgrading Tourism industry perceived as the driving force of urban conservation practice

[1] During this era, the practice of urban conservation was confined to individual architectural buildings, meanwhile ' conservation areas' or 'zones' was still a fresh concept on its first steps of application in Europe

The early 1980s marked a turning point in the development of the urban and architectural conservation practice; the government's commitment to protection and conservation policy and lawmaking. Having a number of sites inscribed on UNESCO's World Heritage List (WHL) (i.e. medieval Cairo, Ancient Thebes and its Necropolis on Luxour's West Bank, Memphis and its Necropolis-the Pyramids field from Giza to Dahshour, Nubian monuments from Abu Simbel to Philae) in 1979, the state had a duty to assure "the protection, conservation, and transmission to future generations of the cultural and natural heritage" recognized and encouraged by the international community (El-Kadi, 2000. p.20). However, this inscription on the WHL, the UNESCO only offered World Heritage Fund in the form of technical cooperation and training for restoration specialists. The fact that any historic site added to the World Heritage List, with all the changes in the management process that might follow, didn't give any guarantee of any immediate or sustainable safeguarding.

3.5 Urban Conservation and Physical Planning Practice

With a wealth of diverse cultural heritage (i.e. Pharaonic, Coptic, Islamic and European) all around the country, Stewart (2003) fears that this wealth may be more of a 'curse' than a blessing as it "complicates efforts to include heritage preservation in the urban planning process" (ibid, 2003, p.2). Moreover, knowing the fact that restoration of monuments without rehabilitating their historic environment and without supporting the vital social and economic forces that sustain them would make little sense and eventually "deprive the historic substance for its nutrients", a successful conservation policy cannot be conceived in abstract (Afify, 2002. p.1)

The integrated fabrics of overlapping historic landscapes within the inner cities of Egypt have always been associated with common characteristics of social, economic, and urban degradation (i.e. overcrowding, social problems, lack of modern services, poor infrastructure, poor quality construction…. etc). The challenge that was always facing the Egyptian government was to strike a balance between urban development modernization of its inner cities, improving the quality of life for its residents and between protecting the nation's heritage. This struggle directly led Egypt to face the dilemma of adopting the appropriate planning approach within its historic areas and cities (see section 2.4 for the theoretical debate on Urban conservation and Planning approaches).

Many scholars, books and articles (such as Stewart 2003, Afify 2002, Williams, 2002, ElKadi, 2000) have analysed the problems and obstacles that has been facing and still faces the implementation of urban conservation policies, ranging from institutional and organizational obstacles to economic and political and participation obstacles. The gap that exists between urban development and efforts towards heritage preservation has often been related to the claim that government agencies and planners involved in the urban planning process in the Egyptian context may have very little perception and ignorance for many cultural heritage preservation issues (Stewart, 2003).

Conservation of the urban heritage in the Egyptian context has always involved a wide range of actors; governmental and non-governmental organizations and private sector. However, the state and its governmental organizations acting as the legitimate representatives of society, has always been expected to set up the right strategies, implement the necessary conservation actions, and to defend these actions against the interest of individuals. Moreover, dense bureaucracies in which numerous organizations hold full or partial responsibilities for specific historic structures or their surrounding environments, most often overburdened and left with few or no recourses to address the needs of conservation (Stewart, 2003).

Academic experts in the field of urban conservation tend to specialize in a specific heritage (i.e. Pharonic, Coptic, Islamic and European) with no comparative analysis between the different heritages, helped in giving a clear picture of the entities involved in the preservation of each of these heritages and the development of the practice. The preservation of the Pharaonic artefacts remains the primary focus of cultural heritage efforts that dates back to Napoleon's expedition in 1798. Recording Egypt's antiquities by the archaeologists and artists created a 'fever' in the western world for Pharonic heritage (Fagan, 1975). It wasn't a surprise that Europeans created the first administrative structure to monitor preservation. In 1858 the French, the Egyptian Antiquities Services (EAS)[44] was to be founded by the French. Following Egypt's independence, the EAS became the Egyptian Antiquities organization (EAO), which later in 1988 with a reduced mandate was transferred to become the Supreme

[44] Despite the EAS organization's focus was on Egyptology there was very little involvement by the Egyptians. Egyptology was considered a "Western science beyond the capabilities of the Egyptian subject" (Reid, 1996, cited in Stewart, 2003). This was based on that to the Muslim Egyptians, the artefacts created by the ancients were 'pagan' having been constructed in the time of ignorance before the coming of Islam. This attitude was evident in the use of Pharonic sites for the construction of mosques and city walls. Moreover, much of this unappreciated wealth by the Egyptians were simply shipped out of the country without even the knowledge of the Egyptian government (Fagan, 1975)

Council of Antiquities (SCA) under the direction of the Ministry of Culture. The SCA was given the task to oversee exploration and preservation of the Pharonic heritage and to take control over all identified historic monuments in the city, despite of its relatively low recourses[45]. Apart from the occasional restoration projects of the monuments, the concern for Pharonic cultural heritage has always been essentially an archaeological mission more focused on excavation and discovery rather than preservation. Stewart (2003) points out the following:

> "Once unearthed, sites are cordoned off and there is little effort to create interpretive displays. All small artefacts (e.g. jewellery, earthenware, statuary) are sent to the Egyptian museum in the heart of the city (Cairo). Exploration continues in earnest between 150 and 160 foreign missions digging every year. All too often after foreign groups have excavated, the site is left unsecured and ripe for plunder"
>
> (ibid, 2003, p.142)

With a continuous belief for decades that urban development and Pharonic heritage preservation do not and will never intersect, Pharonic heritage was never addressed in any conservation and urban development polices[46]. With the gradual awareness of the increasing contact between the urban areas and Pharonic monuments and analysing the urban growth trends (i.e. Sprawl and densification)[47] within the cities of Egypt and the deterioration of its monuments, no longer was it simply enough to excavate, document and secure this heritage. A greater emphasis had to be placed on preserving them within the context of a dynamic urban environment.

Islamic cultural heritage has always presented the most severe challenge to urban planning, since it a part of a vital living landscape. Traditionally in Islamic cultures, the resources for the upkeep of the religious structures (e.g. mosques, *madrasas*, *sabils*, hospitals) were provided under the '*Waqfs*' system[48]. However, today after hundreds of years of established Waqfs, the annual income that they generate in

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[45] The revenues from ticket sales to tourists visiting sites as an example went directly at a time to the EAO, they are now directed to the Ministry of Culture (Stewart, 2003)

[46] An example of the neglect of the relationship between the pharaonic heritage and the living urban landscape was obvious in the proceedings of a seminar held by the Agha Khan Foundation in the 1980 in Cairo entitled ' The Expanding Metropolis: Coping with the Urban Growth of Cairo' (Abdelhalim, 1985).

[47] Sprawl and densification are considered two main trends that dominate the urban development context within which urban conservation must take into consideration. Sprawl is the spatial expansion of the city as a result of its population growth. Sprawl had brought the city very close to monuments (e.g. The Great Pyramids enclosed by the urban Sprawl). Meanwhile, densification or high density levels in spite of the increase of the city's size, remains high specially in the old districts reaching a figure of 100,000 person /km^2.

[48] By the end of the Mumluk period, virtually all Cairo's land and buildings had already been made *Waqfs* (Hanafi *et al.* 2000)

real terms is very little. With the institutionalization of the Waqf system into a government ministry in 1913, today the government primarily owns the entities of this heritage; funds are now a part of the general revenues for the state and the care of them is shared between SCA and the Ministry of Endowments (AWaqf) (El-Kadi, 2000). Early concerns for the fate of the Islamic heritage initiated the establishment of the Committee for the Conservation of the Monuments of Arab Art (CCMAA) in 1881 by the French, which was taken over by the Islamic section of the EAS after the county's independence[49].

The concentrated Islamic heritage of Medieval or Old or Fatimid Cairo had always been the focus of studies, initiating models of urban conservation frameworks to be adapted throughout the country[50]. Urban decay in dangerously overcrowded neighbourhoods growing worse; buildings collapsing and monuments occupied by a whole population of homeless people; were some of the concerns that called for urgent action plans and long term strategies to protect the history fabric and safeguard individual monuments. (See table 3.7 for the main approaches regarding the safeguard of Cairo's heritage). In spite of the inscription of Old Cairo on the World Heritage List (WHL) in 1979, the official approach to conservation focused more the historic monuments rather than conserving the whole urban fabric. In favour of tourism, the government imposed regulations that contributed to further social exclusion and urban degradation. Moreover, the attempt to implement any urban conservation project was mainly faced by its conflict with the perceptions and attitudes of the local people and with the difficulties in identifying legal property boundaries, a side of the numerous obstacle that faced the materializing of any integrated urban conservation project in the area (Elkadi, 2000, Sutton and Fahmi, 2003).

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[49] Furthermore, a non-profit group of volunteers named the Society for the Preservation of the Architectural resources of Egypt (SPARE) working in corporation with the EAS was formed to carry out the tasks previously done by the former CCMAA. However, the activities of this group were short-lived (Stewart, 2003)

[50] Old Cairo covers an area built up during the Fatimd, Ayyubid, Mamluk, Ottoman, French expedition and even Mohammed Ali periods. The urban development during these successive eras together led to the establishment of Islamic Cairo, all based on conceptually on Islamic urban patterns. Recently, several monuments dominate its townscape. Recently constructed high-rise buildings on the late constructed new street (al Azhar- that splits the main historic spine into a northern and southern section) have changed the urban fabric and altered patterns of land use. Modern buildings that can reach to ten storeys have replaced many traditional ones, modernizing the urban fabric within the long established street pattern and landownership framework. Old Cairo still remains central to a wider city's economy and society. in favour of promoting tourism, central bazaars have experienced economic revival; the increase in the number of small manufacturing enterprises producing consumer and tourist goods. An economic growth has occurred despite a population decline of one-third in the old city since the 1960s (Sutton and Fahmi, 2003).

Table (3.7) Approaches to the 'Safeguard and Urban conservation of Old Cairo' – Summary of events

Year	Main Events
1979	Designated as a Wold Heritage site by the UNESCO
1980	-1st International Conference convened by the Sadat's wife (first step to recognize conservation of entire urban fabric rather than single entities -A review of the 1970 urban planning /national & regional development plan: General Organization for Physical Planning (**GOPP**) coming up with a new blue print for urban management and development dividing greater Cairo into 16 "homogenous sectors" (central Cairo accounting for 5000 hectares of old and modern districts/ identified as zones for priority development)- the scheme late approved in 1983. - Governorate of Cairo adopting Decree no. 257: building could be no longer more than storeys. According to article (2) every informal sector business based and around historic buildings would have to be moved out; a statuary 50 meter safeguarding perimeter imposed around each monument; facades of new buildings had to comply for 'simplified Islamic architectural style'.
1983	Decree no. 117 making any edifice built before 1883 eligible for listed- building status; boasting the powers of SCA making it the central institution in charge of protection, restoration and rehabilitation with the authority to approve building and demolition permits, restore and protect the monuments and its surroundings. Every organization involved in national, regional and urban planning had to secure the approval for work in protected areas or districts containing listed buildings, heritage sites[1].
1984	-1st project aiming to safeguard the old town of Cairo; UNESCO responding to a request from the government pointed out the following measures:[2] - A 3.5 Km^2 perimeter to be established around a district containing 450 listed buildings - Six priority conservation areas within this perimeter. - Restriction of road traffic with the perimeter; cleaning and maintaining the existing road system. - Regulations designated to promote the architectural coherence of any new or rehabilitated buildings. - An International conference organized by the Agha Khan Foundation on Cairo led to the realization of the situation of the 19th and early 20th century heritage and their incorporation into the urban heritage (i.e. European architecture, especially the suburbs of Heliopolis)

[1] As a critique of the 1983 framework law; given the fact that SCA was a body within the Ministry of Culture it had ultimately boasted the power of Central government instead of giving more authority to the local governments. Moreover, giving a single body the responsibility of managing a diversity of Heritages, a vast number of sites and buried treasures, was seem as somewhat ridiculous (Elkadi, 2000).

[2] Despite the support for Egyptian and international experts, the UNESCO plan was never implemented. For an example, the "Greater Cairo Waste-Water" to improve the water supply infrastructure explicitly excluded Cairo's historic areas; which was believed to have aggravated the rising groundwater level in the historic areas (Lewcock, 1985).

Year	Main events
1988	-Three proposals to rehabilitate whole districts (Sayeda Zainab quarter/ Gamaliya quarter/ Darb-el Asfar Quarter). - A collaborative Egyptian –French agency (General Organization for Physical Planning/Institut d' Amenagement Urbain et Regional de France [GOPP/IAURIF, 1988-1991) proposing a strategy to enhance the urban fabric around monuments by creating new public spaces and pedestrainisation.
1990	Formulation of two committees to encourage and facilitate urban conservation and to coordinate between various players involved in the safeguarding of the old town; the Executive Agency for Renovation and devolvement of Fatimid Cairo (EARDFM) and the Permanent Committee for the Preservation of Cairo Monuments (PCPM). Each committee governed by a board of representatives of the governorate, the High Council of Antiquities (HCA), the Ministry of Waqfs, tourism and housing and architects.
1993	- American research centre in Egypt (ARCE) secured a fund of 15 million dollars in funds from USAID for preservation, working in conjunction with the SCA. Apart from the restoration of many monuments within the area; a large-scale map showing the ground floor plan of every monument was created.
1997	A UNDP plan for the rehabilitation of historic Cairo regarding pedestrianisation and closure to traffic circulation as significant methods of achieving improvements.
1998	The launch of the Historic Cairo Restoration Programme (HCRP) an integrated historic preservation policy conceptualizing the old city as a unit; with an aim to rehabilitate 195 monuments in four phases from 1998 to 2006.

Source adapted from:

El Kadi, G., 2000, HERCOMANES: heritage conservation and management in Egypt and Syria, retrieved March 11, 2004, from http:// www.hercomanes.com

Fahmi, W., & Sutton, K., 2003, Reviving Historic Cairo through pedestrianisation: The al-Azhar Street axis, IDPR, vol.25 (4), pp. 407-431

Stewart, D., 2003, Heritage Planning in Cairo: Multiple Heritages in a Mega-city, IDPR, vol.25, pp. 129-152

The 1992 Earthquake had marked another turning point in the approach adopted for urban conservation[51]. A widespread consensus in favour urban conservation was produced in the name of scientific, aesthetic, social, urban and memorial values. Several groups of actors- the High Council of Antiquities (HCA), Governorate of Cairo, and the ministries of Waqfs, culture, housing, tourism and environment had to take central stage, where they were joined by local organizations, the media and a new group; the business community. Moreover, the earthquake had resulted in securing funds for the projects that were previously lacking the means to proceed[52] (Elkadi, 2000, Sutton and Fahmi, 2003).

A number of consecutive new projects emerged with international funding (e.g. the Sustainable Development Association of Gamaleya-SDAG- financed by the UNDP, UNUMP and the Ford Foundation). However, the Egyptian government pursued its own separate conservation policy (Historic Cairo Restoration Programme- HCRP), in spite of the availability of an overall UNDP-SCA rehabilitation plan (UNDP, 1997). Given its tourist potential, Al- Azhar square was considered a priority area by the government officials and by the Historic Cairo Studies and Development Centre (HCSDC)[53]. (For more details on the HCSDC urban planning studies and conservation, refer to Sutton & Kamil, 2003)

Therefore, new approaches were emerging; restoration works were being placed in the hands of specialized research consultancies on one hand, and the other hand, the approach of a complete rehabilitation of the whole historic core was discarded in favour of small- scale, localized projects with a new type of partnership between the public and private sector (e.g. rehabilitating house blocks and roads of "Darb el Asfar project"). Another key development within the conservation approaches was the reuse of the restored monuments for mainly cultural and traditional-crafts related purposes (e.g.

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[51] The October 1992 earthquake revealed that monuments had been hastily restored for the sake of tourism and were ill equipped to with stand the quake. The whole process of restoration had to start properly from scratch. Moreover, old palaces and late 19th and early 20th century houses that were converted into teaching establishments were severely damaged and close to collapse. The ministry of Education took the decisions to tear down the worst affected of those buildings. At this point, the danger of losing the heritage forever was realized (Elkadi, 2000, ElKerdany, 2002).

[52] For an example: The restoration works the GOPP had planned to carry out with the *Institute d' Amenagement Urbain et Regional de France* (IAURIF) and the HCA within the framework of the North Gamaleya project in 1998. After the earthquake, securing the funds resulted in the northern walls of Bab el- futuh to be cleared and restored, buildings set against it demolished, and their inhabitants relocated (Sutton & Kamil, 2002)

[53] The HCSDC was a technical body founded within the framework of the Ministry of Culture's national project for the development of historic Cairo (Sutton & Kamil, 2002,Kazandjian, 1999).

Wekalet Al Ghouri, annual festivals held at the Citadel, concerts and plays staged in the Khanka al Ghuri andat Harawi and Zeinab Khatoum houses).

Based on the works of Der Spek (2003), Stewart (2003) and El-Kadi (2000) and provided with the history of Egypt's political economy context discussed in this chapter, a framework is constructed that basically analyses the ideologies and approaches adopted by the successive governments, and its impact on the associated urban planning, conservation and heritage management strategies as shown in the following box (3.2)

Box (3.2): A framework of the different political approaches to heritage conservation and the associated actions in the Egyptian context

The possibilities:

a-Government officials politically influenced by the post-revolutionary and pan-Arab ideology[54], which demonstrated little concern for either archaeological research or pro-active conservation work.

b-Government officials with ideologically based views about national development viewing archaeological sites as an economic resource, their use solely intended to maximise foreign currency earnings, but at a risk of compromising the archaeological and landscape-cultural integrity of the site;

c-Government officials who may either still view monuments as 'the legacy of western colonial practice' and the ideology of its associated 'Pharaonic Westernised elite', or who view international organizations (e.g. UNESCO) as interfering bodies in the national affairs.

d-Government attitudes and bureaucratic practices, adopting 'negative' protection measures towards heritage, lacking the political will to commit to any long-term development plans. Since these plans require major allocations of funds, where in the case of its absence, imaginative alternative funding arrangements, politically situated notions of long-term value will always face short-term resource allocation.

Aspects of these attitudes may feed into:

e- Tensions between the Ministry of Culture, incorporating the Supreme Council of Antiquities and the Ministry of Tourism, over the conservation management of sites and their economic and tourism-development potential; and

f- Political appointments of senior military personnel to the position of Governor (as in Luxour). In spite of having their own specific ideas of how to achieve policy objectives, they are politically pressured from 'above' in the decision-making process. Appointees are in most cases external to the local region and have little identification with the local population and their cultural sensibilities.

Source adopted from: Der Spek (2003)

[54] Nationalist definitions of the Egyptian identity developed after the 1952 revolution all shared the focus on the 'East', Islam or the larger Arab nation, thus pursuing a role of leadership for Egypt in the region. The Egyptian Arab Nationalism became the most widespread ideology of the era (Spek, 2003)

This framework can somehow provide a base for analysing the different actions and ideologies that led to the evident gap between urban development, tourism, and urban conservation and have influenced and possibly continues to influence the decision making process and implementation of heritage measures on the local level of Luxor city. The different ways and means in which this may occur are various in the following possibilities which will be followed by the different aspect that may feed into, with a specific reference to the Pharonic heritage of the case study. As the political and economic dynamics of Egypt have played their role in influencing the approaches to National development, urban development and have obviously influenced the attitude to conservation practice, heritage protection and management. The following chapter will examine the extent of the impact of these dynamics on the physical planning practice, and urban conservation in the context of Luxor City.

CHAPTER 4: PHYSICAL PLANNING AND URBAN CONSERVATION PRACTICE: LUXOR CITY

4.1 INTRODUCTION

From the discussions presented in the previous chapter, it can be pointed out the socio-political and socio-economic context at the national Egyptian level was clearly leading the national economic and urban development processes. The continuous frustration of the Egyptian state to find solutions for both the human settlements and economic challenges and the external (international) pressure imposed by the IMF and the World Bank as well as the internal pressures to direct and control Egypt's national development planning policies, were the main reasons that led to a dramatic shift of the goals, objectives, focus, interests and directions of the state. Moreover, different approaches and assumptions over viewing the 'balance between development and protection of the nation's heritage of its inner cities' has also been affected by these overall shifts within the states agendas, goals and development priorities which has widened the gap between urban conservation practice and heritage management on one hand and the urban development process on the other hand.

This chapter will aim at presenting the interfacing processes of urban planning development and urban conservation within the context of Luxor. As the research has previously justified the choice of Luxor city as a case study in chapter one section (1.5.3), Luxor city provides the research with a rich and unique example to analyse the process of urban conservation, heritage management and urban development manipulated by the national/ local political-economic context. Before documenting such processes and analysing the formulation/implementation gap in terms of the successive physical plans targeting the urban development of Luxor, a brief background of Luxor's local context will be presented.

4.2 THE CONTEXTUAL BACKGROUND

Located in the Upper Egypt region at a distance of 635 kilometres south of the capital Cairo, Luxor city that was the seat of the Pharonic power from 2100 to 75 B.C. and once commanded the most prestigious spot on the river Nile is now a city with antiquities sites extending across both banks of the Nile, which are placed along with 560 worldwide natural and cultural sites of the exclusive UNESCO World Heritage site. Although, the eastern bank has been thoroughly swallowed up by the modern city, towns and fields, however, the temples of Luxor and Karnak continue to provide the

architectural focal point for what was once the spiritual centre of the whole of Egypt. The remains of the temples of the god Amun in Karnak and Luxor and the great processional way (Avenue of the Sphinxes) between the two temples still receive the non-stop flow of tourists. Thebes or so-called 'the City of palaces' can be marked by two major groups of antiquities: first, on the East Bank, there are the temples of Amun (more than 20 temples), Mut, Khonsu, Montu, Karnak and Luxor temples. Between the temples of Karnak is the Avenue of Sphinxes, which has been partially excavated. At a distance from the centre of Luxor, the remains of the Temple of Medamut and Toad that date to the earliest Theban periods are located at early settlement villages, which were part of the region of Thebes.

Second, The West Bank, the city of the dead, has been reserved for the tombs and ceremonial palaces of their rulers. Beyond the green valley, the rocky hills and the Theban mountain- a natural pyramid dominates the horizon- present the Necropolis of Thebes- the site of the Valley of the Kings (62 tombs) and the Valley of the Queens (75 tombs) in addition to many funerary temples. The column-fronted Temple of Hatshepsut that is widely recognised by its sweeping broad terraces. Moreover, the Collossi of Memnon dated to the Roman era is the only remaining statue from a temple that was surely unique.

The visual bond between the two parts of the city, the city of Thebes on the eastern bank to the river and green valley stretching away to the Necropolis of Thebes in the hills of the West Bank has always been an essential element of the beauty of Thebes created. This grand and beautiful regional landscape, which was once considered an important symbol of beliefs in antiquity, is now clearly a visible setting of the contemporary life of Luxor.

Holding on to this grand setting of antiquities and landscape, Luxor constitutes the crown of Egypt's tourism industry. The following sections will provide further background regarding the city's context with specific reference to tourism development, existing urban development trends, the status of the city's heritage, and the areas of urban-heritage interface as to pinpoint the constraints, challenges and potentials the contemporary city is facing in the process of urban development and protection of its unique heritage.

4.2.1 Tourism Development

Luxor has always been an obligatory stop for the first time cultural tourists to Egypt and for many repetitive visitors. Every visitor to Egypt, with even the slightest cultural interest will certainly want to visit Luxor. Luxor city depends on four main key aspects for tourism; the first and most important key attraction depends on the antiquities on both the banks of the Nile and within the city's region. The second aspect lies in the natural beauty of the Theban Mountains and the Nile River that offer outstanding scenery for all types of tourists. The third attraction is the local rural life of its people in the town and throughout the river valley. Finally, the fourth key attraction falls on the mild, dry and sunny weather of the region for most of the year, particularly in the winter months[1]. Box (4.1) illustrates the main strengths and weakness facing Tourism development in Luxor.

Box (4.1) Main Strengths and weaknesses facing Tourism development in Luxor City

Strengths:

- **The Enduring popularity of its cultural attractions.**
- **Mild wintertime climate** (note; tourism operators regularly increase prices during the peak seasons).
- **Excellent Transportation network:** Luxor functions as a good transport hub for international, domestic air, road, cruise and rail modes with good links with Cairo, red sea and a gateway to upper Egypt.
- **Factor availability:** Labour and land are available enabling expansion in the scale of tourism.
- **Low price level:** Hotel and services are competitive internationally all through the season.

Weaknesses:

-One-dimensional product: the offering of attractions and activities are limited. There is absence of activities and facilities such as cultural events and performances, sport facilities ...etc.

- Substandard service quality: the unfamiliarity of foodservice and hotel staff with international standards of service result in unsatisfactory service of tourism establishments and dissatisfaction of visitors.

(Source: MOH, 1998)

Previous studies analysing the tourism industry in the context of Luxor city (e.g. MOH, 1998 and 2000) have pointed out the factors that are considered to greatly constrain the development of the industry. Furthermore, government officials has

[1] Luxor lays in a desert climate with significant temperature differences between day and night, and very little rainfall, with the exception of some major rainstorms on the eastern mountains during the unstable season (March, April, October, and November) that result in floods. During the summer and the winter the weather is stable, whereas spring and autumn are considered unstable. Temperatures in winter can reach an average of (23 max. and 5.4 min) while in summer it can reach an average of (42 max and 23.5 min) (Abo El Fetouh, 2000)

always referred to the one-dimensional product the city offers (i.e. monument sighting) as a major weakness with regards to the development of the industry as stated in the following words:

> "Luxor has always been known for cultural tourism only. This has meant that tourists spend only 20 minutes in the city itself. We ship people in and out to see this or that temple but there is nothing else to keep them here." (Selim[2], cited in Farag, 1998)

Tourism development in Luxor had started very slow; by the last 1960's there was only 4 hotels in the city with a capacity of 1,000 beds[3]. The 1980s saw the first upward trend and a boast in the tourism industry, reaching a capacity of 9,000 hotel beds in eariy 1990. Based on the studies of ministry of tourism, a total exceeding 1 million visitors can be estimated in 1997, including the day visitors staying outside the Luxor area and those tourists lodged in the floating boats. The gulf War in 1991 followed by the dramatic terrorist attack in Luxor in late 1997 had shown its catastrophic consequence on the industry[4], in spite of the concentrated efforts that had followed by the government to recover the industry, the success it once achieved in the mid 1980s had never been achieved[5]. As the effect of the attack on the city was totally devastating to the city's one and only industry, the common impression from the locals, such as tour guides, shop- owners, carriage and taxi drivers, and boat men were as follows:

> "The streets were empty and only a handful of tourists were out, giving you the impression that you have the entire place for yourself... These have been very hard times. Right after the incident [massacre], we had no work at all [...] Even though the whole town had been hard hit: some have suffered more than others [.] What is really sad is that the people who were hit the hardest are the drivers, tour guides and day

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[2] General Selmi Selim was an Ex- Governor of Luxor's City Council late 1990s.

[3] Thomas Cook initiated tourism to Luxor and Upper Egypt; in 1869 he hired two of the Khedive's steamers and took 32 Englishmen and their ladies upstream (Ibrahim *et al*, 2003).

[4] On the 17th of November 1997, six armed gunmen killed 58 foreign tourists inside Hatshepsout Temple grounds, killing 4 Egyptians in the process. The Quarnawis chased the terrorists into the hills behind the Valley of the Queens where they committed suicide. Responsibility of the attack was claimed by Gama'a al –Islamiyya in their attempt to destabilise the political system to pursuit their Islamic state (BBCnews, 1997, Walker, 1997)

[5] National figures released by the Central Bank indicated that visitor arrivals dropped to 178,000 the lowest in three years since the 161,000 arrivals in February 1995 and less than half the 368,000 reported in December 1996 (Tantawy, 1998)

> vendors -- people who cannot turn to other jobs when tourism isn't flourishing." (Quotes gathered from the fieldwork trip, Jan 2006)

Having a devastating impact on one of the prime source of foreign exchange[6] November 1997 Luxor's terrorist attack had alerted the government to review its policies regarding national and local security, tourism and urban development. Restructuring Luxor security framework and security measures were put to order, with an extensive army and police presence around visiting sites, hotels and gathering points of the city[7]. Initiated by its minister at that time (El-Beltagi) the Ministry of Tourism, had to adopt from its side a 'quick and firm management of the crisis' to restore the tourist arrival numbers to Egypt and Upper Egypt in specific. As a quick response, staging the performance of Verdi's opera 'Aida' in front of Hatshepsout Temple was promoted with the aim to advertising Egypt as a safe tourist destination in an attempt to 'outface' the militants (Fahmy, 1997). Moreover, urban development projects were also initiated; the construction of the river promenade. new bazaar areas, and the building of a new Luxor bridge south of the city to replace the crossing of the Nile by ferryboats.

However, Egypt's policy continues to this date to manage its tourism as a crisis-management situation in order to decrease the effects of the worldwide instability and the continuous global drop in tourism following the 11 September 2001 attack and the Iraqi Wars. The former minister of tourism, El-Beltagi states that:

> "…. I think all ministers of tourism all over the world have to be good at crisis management. Because we are living in a very volatile world. But the will to travel is very strong, so the tourist industry is very resilient." (ibid, cited in Voss, 2003)

As more than 45% of population are involved in tourism and related services, the local tourism-dependent population of Luxor are considered to be the mostly

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[6] Tourism had already represented nearly (18%) of Egypt's foreign exchange earnings (3.6billion $ for the financial year ending June 1997) (Stewart, 1998, Der Spek, 2003)

[7] President Mubarak made an appointment of a General Major to the Government ship of Luxor (General Selmi Selim) in the days following the attack, which followed the appointment of Habib El-Adli to the post of Interior minister for the purpose of restructuring Luxor's security. Local police commanders were re-deployed elsewhere or sacked for neglect Local police personnel were replaced with forces from other locations. Army vehicles and troops were to be posted outside ancient temples and major hotels. Army posts were established on the West Bank Mountains. After-dark curfew was imposed on all passage through the mountains. El-Tarif's West Bank youth centre was taken over by the army as their local base, whilst a new major army headquarters was constructed at Es-Suyul. Tourist coaches were constantly escorted by army or police vehicles (Der Spek, 2003, Ibrahim, 1998)

affected by the intervals of downturn in tourism[8] (MOH, 2001). Resentment and devastation towards the current tourism movement has been clearly sensed from the local inhabitants and local tour operators during the fieldwork phase of the research. The economic, urban and social impacts of the tourism movement can be seen in the following combined quotes from residents, tour guides bazaars owners, and tourists themselves:

> "While attention has been concentrated into boasting tourism on the Red Sea coast, Upper Egypt has been widely neglected. Luxor, the worlds greatest open museum is practically fading ...the reason is the 'one-day visit program'. Local and international operators have transferred visiting Luxor into an–one-day trip- destination. Large number of escorted buses transporting guests from the Red Sea coast head to the city, arriving in the morning and leaving the city in the late afternoon. Therefore, they have no time to stroll through the bazaar streets, buy souvenirs or hire a sailing boat on the Nile at sunset, once popular tourist activities in the city...usually guests are also provided with packed lunches and drinks by their trip organizers..."

> ". ...A typical scene of the once so quiet and picturesque Luxor can be during the high season, can be as follows: the river crowded with hundreds of Nile cruise boats, and one of the three daily conveys heading for the Red Sea coast consisting of about 200 buses and taxis rushing through the desert late at night to take their passengers- who have spent just about 5 hours in Luxor- back to their quiet peaceful holiday resorts in Hurghada.... Visiting Luxor has made an unpleasant impression with its visitors"

> "... Instead of crossing the river on ferryboats from Luxor, which was an experience itself, today the giant air-conditioned tour buses take the tourists straight away to the sites on the Western Bank of the Nile directly passing over Luxor's bridge, without any loss of time. So the duration of the tourist's stay in Luxor has been drastically reduced...sooner or later Luxor bridge will encourage new hotels and other activities to be built at Qurna on the West Bank, which has always been a no-go zone for new developments"

> "... Our visiting sites and antiquities zones seem to be under siege; army vehicles are continuously escorting convoys of tourist-

[8] Tourism and its related services employs (42%) of the labour force in Luxor region. Agriculture is the second employer (29%), while industrial production is insignificant representing (6.3%) focusing on tourism –related products (e.g. rugs, carpets, papyrus, alabaster) (MOH, 2001)

coaches...plain clothes' security personal are stationed at tombs popular with tourists, submachine or hand gun concealed under their jackets...concrete and brick constructions have been erected on the mountains of the West Bank for permanent surveillance disfiguring the mountains silhouette and in clear contradiction with the construction prohibitions imposed on the locals of the West Bank"

"Moreover, the majority of visitors has shifted to be more of Egyptians and thus are less inclined to buy what Luxor has to offer. Why would an Egyptian want to buy souvenirs of Egypt, anyway? Besides, they usually bargain over prices!!!!"

Although Tourists have always been enjoying the aspects Luxor provides them as they arrive; well supplied with excellent hotels, rivalling even those of Cairo, where their comfort is catered for and anticipated and great hospitality, tourists most recently visiting Luxor feel totally disconnected with oriental local life it's towns due to the constant tight security measures tightening their movements and the limited time stayed in Luxor.

"One of the problems of travelling in Upper Egypt is the need to travel in a police convoy.... it doesn't really make one feel secure! The convoy travels at a breakneck speed, being swept through towns and checkpoints, and would be a prime target, as it would easily be seen to be full of tourists! ... Whoever has thought of that all trips outside the major cities should be made by convoy will increase the confidence of tourists in the safety of Egypt wasn't thinking of the practicalities of the situation. We have never felt unsafe wherever we were in Egypt, and if the convoy system is to provide this feeling of safety and security, a four and three-quarter hour unescorted presence in a small town is surely more 'unsafe' than an unescorted drive in a mini-bus for 45 minutes. The convoy disbanded as soon as we reached Luxor Bridge - so within 25 yards we went from being unsafe to safe! Again, I blame the bureaucracy behind such a system!!"

(Quotes gathered from foreign tourists, Jan 2006)

4.2.2 Social and Economic Profile

Based on 2006 statistics, a population of nearly 430,000 inhabitants stretches over an area of 277 km^2, presenting a population density of 1550 inhanitant/Km^2 . Luxor regional area is administratively divided into: Luxor city (the main population centre of about 200, 000 inhabitants representing nearly 46% of the entire region's population according to 2006 statistics), Al- Awamiya, Mansheit-el Amary, New Karnak, Old Karnak, and El-Quarna. Table (4.1) illustrates of increase in population from the start of 1996 till 2006:

Table (4.1) Luxor region's population (1996 –2006)

Year	No.
1996	**361,138**
2001	391,726
2002	399,713
2003	406,908
2004	414,397
2005	421,770
2006	**429,782**

Source: (CAPMAS, 2006)

Distributing the population in terms of gender, the male population represent nearly 51% of the whole region's population while the female population represents 49% of the region's population.

Table (4.2) Luxor region's population distribution according to gender type[9]

	Male		Female		Total Population	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Luxor city	101,419	**51.3**	96,279	**48.7**	197,699	**46**
Markaz	118,129	**50.9**	113,952	**49.1**	232,082	**54**
Luxor region	220,481	**51.3**	209,301	**48.7**	429,782	**100**

Source: adapted from CAPMAS, 2006 & IDSC, 2006

[9] The figures represented are inclusive of Egyptians and foreigners located in the region of Luxor.

Based on 2006 statistics, the actual labour force represents around 26% of the total population, moreover constituting 48% of the age group (age 15 to 60), while the remainder came down to full-time students, housewives, not interested in work, retired, disabled or unable to work. Combining the previous indicators with the clear low rate of females' participation in economic activities to provide a ratio of male: female involvement in the labour force around (9:1) this locates the dependency rate at nearly 3:1[10]. Based on the analysis of the actual labour force engaged in the different economic activities, the 2000 statistics shows the following:

Table (4.3) Distribution of population according to the different economic activity

Economic Activity	Luxor City Level		Luxor Region	
	No.	%	No.	%
Agriculture/Fishing	3,582	**8.5**	21,185	**24**
Construction	3,830	**9**	12,825	**14.6**
Public Administration/Defence	7,399	**17.5**	11,663	**13.3**
Education	4,832	**11.4**	8,456	**9.6**
Transportation, Storage/ Communications	5,138	**12.2**	7,993	**9.1**
Trade	4,379	**10.4**	5,766	**6.5**
Hotels /Restaurants	3,601	**8.5**	4,437	**5**

Source: (MOH, 2000)

4.2.3 Institutional Arrangement

As mentioned in chapter three, the Egyptian government had committed itself to achieve its national development goals after October 1973 War and adopt the Open door policy, to save the arable land, economic growth and urban development. Accordingly, the region of Upper Egypt continued to be considered a 'priority zone' for attracting population, generating employment and enhancing the national economy, especially through tourism. New institutional arrangements had to be established which could give a clear picture of the conflict that literally arises when it comes to how development was supposed to take place and which institution(s) is in control.

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[10] Providing a category within the economic activities referring to tourism is impossible. 'Hotels and restaurants' can clearly identify a clear sector of this activity, however, a big portion among those working in 'Transportation' for example work in tourism transportation and thus should be included among the tourism industry. This also applies to 'Trade', where a certain percentage concentrates on working in bazaars and other tourism-related activities and outlets.

Theoretically, regional development planning had always been clearly a process stated according to the Constitution[11] to be done through coordination between Central government and localities through a model of the following brief steps[12]:

Box (4.2) Regional Development Planning Process in Egypt

1. The Central Government informs the Governorates and local Authorities of the general policy and main objectives of the national development planning which the governorates study and then inform the local units in order to set out their local plans.
2. Local Units are responsible for the preparation of development plans for their local communities. The resources are allocated according to the priorities set in local plans. The Public Council of the Local Unit approves the budget plan and reports the plans and budgets to the Public Council of the Governorate.
3. The Planning department of the Governorate, the Regional Planning department, and the planning department of the Local Units study the proposed plans of the Local Public Council and submit the proposed annual plan and the annual budget to the Governorate's Public Local Council.
4. After the annual plan and budget are approved by the Governorate's Council, they are presented to the High Committee of Regional Planning which coordinates the plans of different governorates and prioritizes the proposed projects according to the available resources and then submits the plans to the Ministry of Planning.
5. The Ministry of Planning studies and coordinates the plans in the light of the objectives of the national plan and coordinates with the ministry of local Authorities, the Ministry of Finance and other relevant ministries.
6. The approved regional policies, development plans and budgets are then reported to the Governorates and ministries for executing the local plans.
7. The follow up reports of executing the projects of the local plans are submitted periodically to the Ministry of planning and Ministry of Local Authority to be evaluated.

Source adapted from (Attia, 1999)

Although Regional development planning process gave a clear way of how development should be take place, by whom and the type of coordination needed between the different bodies involved in the development of Upper Egypt, it came into clear conflict with other institutions and ministries claiming their responsibility of the regions development, specifically when it comes to an important city as Luxor city. Packed with a wealth of cultural heritage, offering opportunities for international tourism growth, but located in an undeveloped region with lots of potentials and resources became an arena of continuous struggle between different parties to gain control over its development.

First, The Ministry of Tourism (MOT) had continued to consider itself the body solely responsible for developing Egypt's tourist regions from the early 1970s; Luxor was considered a part of the Tourism Development programmes. Moreover the establishment of the Tourism Development Authority (TDA) as an affiliate to the MOT

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[11] The Constitution of the Arab Republic of Egypt was issued on September 11th 1971 and amended on May 22nd 1980.

[12] Studies have shown that the sequence of this model has varied form region to another.

in 1989, power was offered to selling land within tourism regions to investors, retain the income, implementing tourism projects and even issuing building permits[13]. Also, the TDA continued to encourage investors to establish companies to establish regional infrastructure (water supply, electricity, sewerage, and construction of roads). Moreover, the preparation of 1984 approved plan for the development of Luxor city and its region by MOT which will be illustrated in the following section came into direct conflict with the what was supposed to be the responsibility of the Ministry of Housing which was to prepare physical plans for the development of existing urban areas.

Second, The MOH had been given a privileged and powerful position from the late 1970s, as a commissioner and manger of human settlement development. As a governmental institution responsible for the physical implementation of the national New Map Policy, the establishment of the Ministry of Housing was followed by a number of affiliated agencies and regional departments to carry out the tasks and objectives of the Ministry (MOH) (e.g. Advisory Committee for Reconstruction ACR, the Agency for Research and Projects ARP, Central Organization for Reconstruction COR). The unusual and advantageous position of the MOH from the early 1970s in terms of the scope of its responsibilities, its budget and the ability to bypass normal administrative procedures and the high level of presidential support continued to be the norm even with successive ministries and new structures[14]. The Ministry of Housing continues to be the one that 'sets the rule of the game'.

Moreover, with the foundation of the General Organization for Physical Planning GOPP in 1973 as one of the MOH organizations[15], a single body became

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[13] The World Bank established a Tourist Development Unit (TDU) in order to form the structure plans for Egypt's tourism regions with an aim to regulate the activities of investors in the tourism industry (Attia, 1999). This followed by the establishment of the Tourism Development Authority TDA entrusted the responsibility of the realization of the structure plans the TDU had formed. The TDA primary objectives included:

- Establish a national strategy for tourism development
- Decrease the public sector role
  Promote tourism investment opportunities with a greater private sector role
- Increase coordination between authorities involved in the tourism industry
- Take a leading role in promoting Egypt's Tourist potential
- Promoting sound policies of environmental planning to preserve the natural assets

[14] The close association of the Minister of Housing (Osman A. Osman, 1973-1976) association with Sadat gained the Ministry its powerful position in the National Development process, which also continued as Hassaballa El- Kafrawi took over in 1977. Modifications in the structure of ministry had to take place reflecting new objectives (e.g. ACR becoming an administrative and executive department instead of an advisor to the Minister, a new organization responsible for the creation and management of new communities was established Authority for New Urban Communities ANUC, in 1979 enhanced by Law 59/1979)

[15] The GOPP was formulated according to a Presidential Decree 1093 for 1973.

responsible for planning existing cities and their extensions. As local governments had insufficient planning capacity to prepare their own physical development plans, GOPP was given the authority to review and approve their physical planning of the existing towns and villages. While the responsibility of the GOPP only focused on reviewing and approving the local physical plans so that allocation of necessary finances could be allocated by MOP, after 1979, the responsibility extended to include the preparation of the physical plans of existing settlements in addition to new towns and villages.

Moreover, the GOPP could also charge the Governorates or the Central Government for its services, supported by the Presidential Decree 655 in 1980. A change had already occurred in the operation framework of the GOPP from a service to a production unit, charging market rates and profiting from the preparation of physical plans and competing with private consultants in winning contracts and planning competitions. As a result, the functions of the organization fell into contradiction with the achievement of the 'public interest' that any state institution had to be concerned with. (For more details on the development of the structure of the MOH, GOPP see Attia, 1999, Meikle, 1987, Ibrahim, 1993, and Shetawy, 2001).

The power and authority of MOH has contributed to the very little influence other bodies were supposed to have in the development process of the region. Ministry of Planning MOP, as an example, enhanced its position by the 1971 Constitution, considered itself the body responsible for preparing the different development plans for Egypt (e.g. Social, economic, urban...etc), after defining the financial resources, studying the available financial opportunities and potentials and working out the planning alternatives. Moreover, the distribution of investments among the different sectors of the economy and coordination of the socio-economic planning and projects, and the following up the execution and evaluation of the performance were considered the main tasks of MOP. A Regional Planning Agency RPA had to be established in every region, with defined responsibilities and clear relationship with the local governments, specifically Department of Planning in every Governorate. However, conflict was evident due to the duplication of responsibilities and overlapping between the departments and agencies within both MOH and MOP (i.e. preparation of planning studies for regional development, studying the existing socio-economic conditions of regions, preparing the Terms of Reference and coordinating with Local governments were the tasks of ARP and RPA).

Fourth, as the Egyptian Government had also given a high priority for the preservation of the historic sites and monuments and their preparation for tourism exploitation, the Supreme Council of Antiquities SCA under the Ministry of Culture MOC was considered the only official governmental agency responsible for the registration, preservation and management of the country's heritage. Therefore, the SCA took the mission to "do the research, to prepare documentation, and to protect the antiquities in a way that is compatible with their security and preservation ...and to identify and define the sites and their buffer zones, record them on maps and distribute the information to the competent local and general authorities for urban planning" (Kari & Peltonen, 2004). Taking over the control of entire areas within the region, as antiquities and sites cover vast areas of Luxor, the SCA considered itself as an important agency regarding the development of Luxor (e.g. the entire West Bank area is under the SCA control, which has witnessed a history of tension between the SCA and Luxor City Council and MOH)

Another new dimension of the conflict that was expected to rise to the surface due to the new powers and authorities offered to the local government. Luxor city and its region[16] had always been a part of the administrative arrangement of the Qena's governorate. Considering its unique status on the World's tourism and cultural map and in response to the increasing need for control over the urban growth within it's region, in 1989, the city of Luxor had been given a special status by a Presidential decree (No. 153 in 1989) and enhanced by the amended local governance law (no. 9/1989), creating the Higher Council for Luxor (HCLC). The new arrangement had to be associated with the modification of its boundaries, and granting the HCLC jurisdictional authority given to any other Governorate, replacing the previous authority of Qena Governorate. As any other governorate, the HCLC was empowered to prepare, approve and enforce land-use plans within the area of its authority.

However, given the centralized nature of the Egyptian Bureaucracy, the HCLC was always considered a weak party regarding authority and decision making, in spite of the power it had been given by the 153/1989 decree. The HCLC, as a local government was inadequately staffed to undertake comprehensive development projects. The HCLC not having the resources, the qualified staff, the clear authority and

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[16] Luxor regional area is administratively divided into: Luxor city (the main population centre of about 175, 000 inhabitants according to 1996 statistics), Al- Awamiya, Mansheit-el Amary, New Karnak, Old Karnak, El-Quarna.

the funds, was forced to accept the much more powerful institutions to get involved into carrying out the plans themselves (El-Bassioni[17], 2006).

To conclude, a struggle for taking full responsibility of the development and management processes within Luxor city was already in place. Different institutions with sometimes-different development objectives and agendas involved themselves in preparation of development plans and implementation of projects. Such 'rooted power struggle' between the different parties claiming their own rights regarding the development and management of the city, will be furthermore presented in terms of the physical plans prepared for Luxor city.

4.2.4 Urban Development Trends

On the east bank of the Nile River, Luxor regional area is located at a distance of 635 kilometres from south Cairo and 220 kilometres from North of Aswan.

> " Change comes slowly in Luxor city. Today, along the eastern coast of the Nile, Luxor is the city of the living. Here, the sun rises above agricultural farms as it has for thousands of years. Along the western coast, where the Necropolis forms the city of the Dead, the sun continues to set behind the same ancient tombs."
>
> (Jarudi, 1998, p.1-2)
>
> "Sugarcane fields, fronds of date palm trees, and farmers in white *galabiya* dresses are still the typical sights around this city, or following a horse and plow across a nearby field, women carrying huge bundles of sticks on their heads and children driving a donkey… "
>
> (Stille, 1997, p.1)

For centuries, Luxor was a relatively small Pharonic settlement clustered around the two major temples, Luxor and Karnak. However, along Luxor, still largely a rural-fabric town, has witnessed a small rate of change over the years, the dramatic population increase over the past few decades as a result of natural factors and immigration, the city was obliged to expand. A strong North- South axis, parallel to the Karnak-Luxor Temples axis, had been well-established stretching 5 km North-South and 1.5 east –West, and over time re-enforced by the Corniche and the railway. The city is densely populated, with an approximate average density of 35-person/feddan citywide, and with considerably higher densities in the older parts of the city.

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[17] Eng. Mona El Bassioni is the National Project Director of the CDCL, interviewed by the researcher in February 2006.

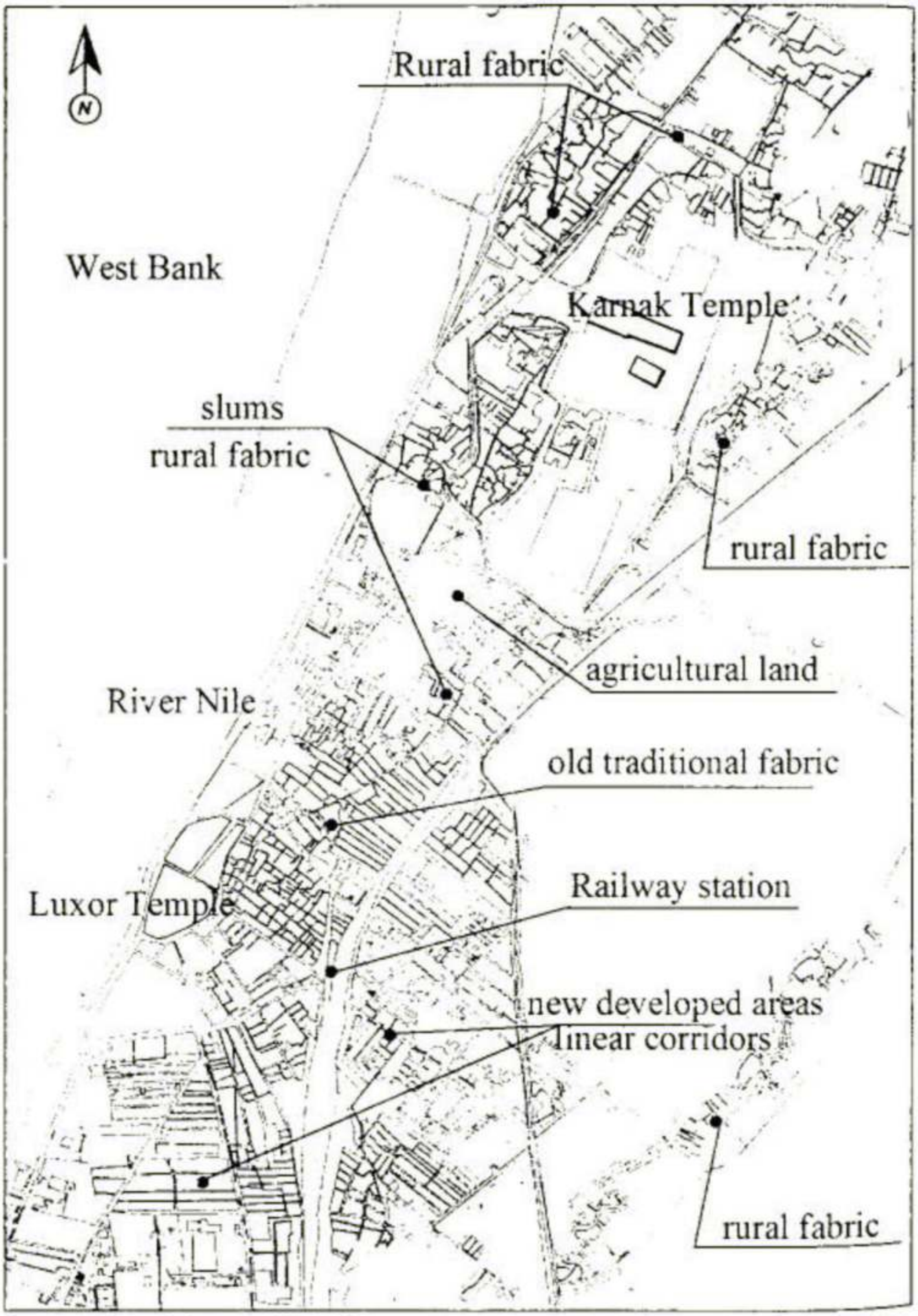
Urban growth had always been contained by the River Nile on the West and the railroad tracks on the east. Luxor Bridge and Luxor airport south and east of the city, two major projects have dramatically influenced the growth of the city in their directions. However, while the city has been expanding in the East direction, agricultural land east of the railroad tracks has been lost. Moreover, a slightly slower growth has been heading in the North direction, increasing the constant threat of encroachment of rural, unauthorized settlements on the antiquity sites surrounding Karnak Temple (i.e. urban-heritage interface), and the adjacent agricultural lands. As Luxor city grows, agricultural land and villages are being swallowed up by new urban development, two distinct poorly connected street patterns can be distinguished: First, the older areas of the city which were once autonomous villages have narrow, irregular streets. Second, the new developed areas planned along linear corridors reflecting the orientation and parcel size of former agricultural land. Figure (4.1) illustrates the different land use patterns of Luxor city.

Classifying Luxor City's land uses can be considered as impossible, as most of the city is 'mixed-use' in character. Commercial, residential, offices and workshops are located in nearly every neighbourhood, sometimes in the same structure. Commercial activity is concentrated in the central portion of the city, with tourism-oriented commercial activities (e.g. bazaars), hotels. services located along the Corniche. Public facilities and utilities surprisingly are located along or near the Corniche. Small parcels of agricultural land remain throughout the urbanized portions of the city, with larger areas at the northern and southern edges of the urban agglomeration of Luxor. 1996 static's provides a basic classification in term of buildings type is demonstrated in the following table:

Table (4.4) Distribution of buildings according to type

Building Type	No.	%
Apartments	16003	19.33
Rural	57780	69.80
Villa	91	0.11
Work place	2603	3.14
Kiosk/tent	821	0.99
Others	4481	5.41
Total	**82779**	**100**

Source: (CAPMAS, 1996)



Source: adopted from AAW (1998)

Fig (4 . 1) Luxor City - Land Use Patterns

4.2.5 Status of Luxor's Urban Heritage

> "Egyptian reliefs and even whole monuments dating back thousands of years could disappear within a decade if action is not to be taken soon."
>
> (ECHO, 2005)

> "Photographs of the Theban monuments taken 10 years ago show beautiful reliefs. Today, when we return to the same reliefs to further document them they are simply not there, which is not an isolated case of water destruction. It can be cited in many other places around the country."
>
> (Hetherington, cited in ECHO, 2005)

Ironically, while the Egyptian government has always been tackling one of its major problems facing the nation's development; the decrease of arable land due to the over-expansion of urban areas, it has been faced with another concern raised by foreign archaeologist, Egyptian scholars and Heritage preservation organizations (e.g. Nigel Hetherington[18], Renee Freidman, Alexander Stille, Zahi Hawass and Heritage preservation organizations such as the Egyptian Cultural Heritage Organization - ECHO).

The concern has been raised about the damage being done by the encroachment of agricultural land on the monuments. Industrial farming, land reclamation programmes '*Isteslah*' and the extension of farming practices into the desert are moving closer to ancient temples and funeral monuments dramatically raised the water table[19] (Stille, 1997).

> "Monuments that once stood in dry sand are now bathing in water throughout the year. The deadly white bloom of salt crystallization can be seen on the Temple walls at Luxor eating away delicately- carved inscriptions and sculptural relief that had captured the triumph, joys, incantations and fears of a long- past civilization." (Stille, 1997)

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[18] Nigel Hetherington had started working as a conservation manager of the Theban Mapping Project (TMP) in 1994. The TMP, now based at the American University in Cairo) has been working to prepare a comprehensive archaeological database of Thebes (TMP, 2005).

[19] The water table of the entire country has risen around a whole meter in just forty years (Stille, 1997). With an aim to combat the rise in the water table, the government has always been persuading farmers to use 'drip irrigation', a method that uses relatively less water. However, it has had little success because farmers prefer the traditional method of flooding farmland with water (CDC, 2005, ECHO, 2005).

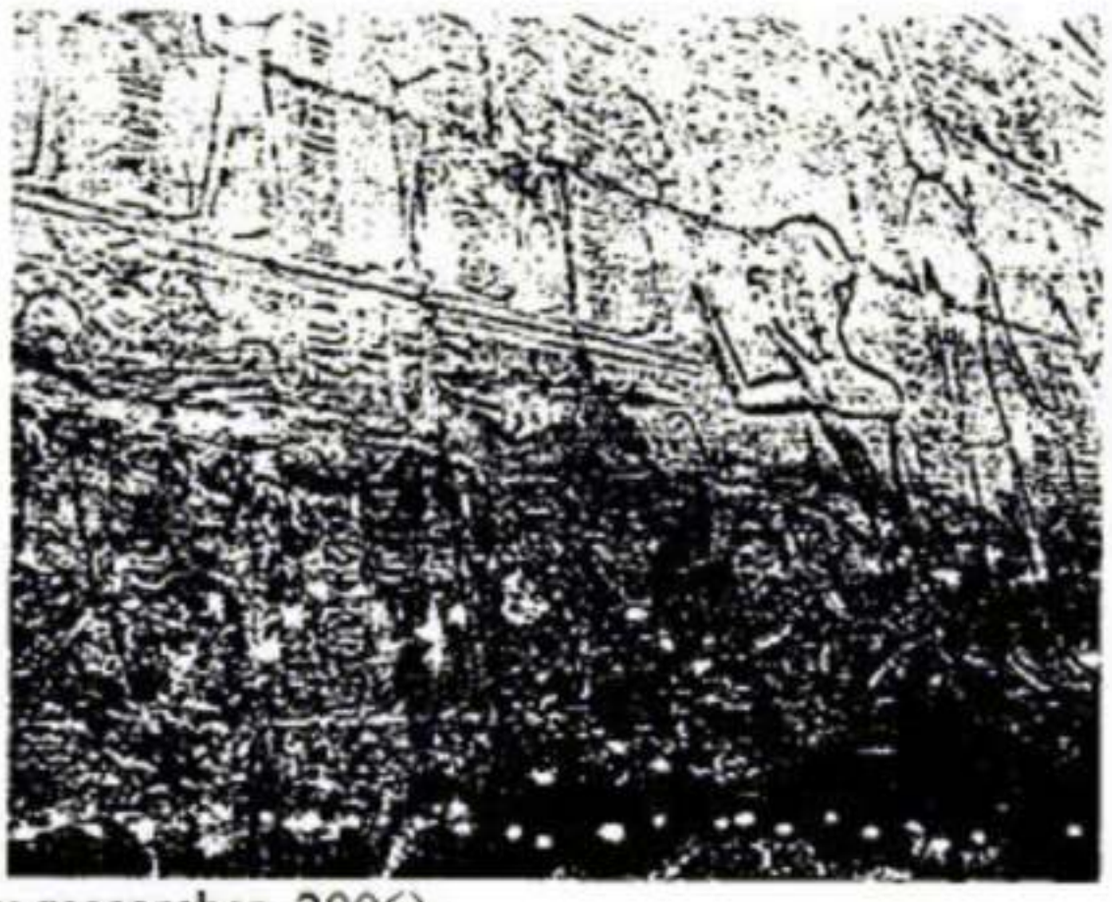
Photo (4.1): Aerial view of the Ramesseum on the West Bank, Luxor, showing the encroachment of agricultural land on the monuments

(Source: ECHO, 2005)

Crystallisation of salts[20] in the pores of the temples' limestone walls and columns, combined with the changing day and night temperatures, leading to the expansion and eventually the reliefs and paintings on the surface crack and flakes off. Abraham (1998) points out:

> "...The old Pharonic monuments of Luxor, Egypt are crumbling.... You can easily hear it...it's a cracking sound in the night, the sound of breaking stone." (ibid, cited in Jarudi, 1998)

Photo (4.2): Reliefs disappearing from the effect of ground water



(Source: researcher, 2006)

[20] Groundwater, loaded with fertilizers and various pollutants rise up the foundations by 'capillary action'. Through the action of heat, the water evaporates, depositing salt crystals and oils that degrade the surface of the stones (Askar, 2005, ECHO, 2005)

In spite of the archaeologist concern over the affect of groundwater, the slow process of erosion of the monuments over these years hasn't captured completely the international attention, as it was not as serious as the threat of flooding Abu Simbel Temple in the 1960s[21]. However, isolated efforts to combat the problem have started and are in progress. Draining the areas around archaeological sites has always been an effective solution but an expensive one, while donations from the international community wasn't always available. Digging trenches around the temples and filling it with gravel to drain the area, then using hydrological sensors to monitor the level of water has been found a method used on a number of sites[22] (ECHO, 2005). Moreover, SWECO, a Swedish consulting company supervised a U.S-led project is recently working with an aim at lowering the level of groundwater under the Luxor and Karnak Temples[23].

While the rise of the water table has been the main concern threatening the existence of the monument, other factors have taken their share of concern: the threat of urban sprawl, increase of tourist numbers within the sites and the environmental problems and pollution. No more working in isolation, at that point, scholars working in the field of archaeology and Egyptology have already admitted that in order to protect the heritage for decades to come, they have to work within a comprehensive framework of policies, laws and programmes combining the fields of Urban planning, Tourism, agriculture and environment. Weeks[24] (1997) points out that:

> "Because of the combined forces of population increase, urbanization, pollution, the rising water table and mass tourism, things have reached a critical threshold: if we don't do something very soon, in another generation we are going to be faced with very ugly choices. One third

---

[21] The rock-faced statues of Abu Simbel in Southern Egypt were under threat from flooding during the construction of the Aswan dam in the 1960s. An international rescue effort led by UNESCO relocated the statues block by block. It was obvious to the whole world that the temples were going to disappear into the lake (Stille, 1997)

[22] The Spanish Mission currently working at the Temple of Horus at Edfu have applied this technology on the site (ECHO, 2005).

[23] SWECO previously participated in the relocation of Abu Simbel Temple in the 1960s. Consultants from SWECO supervised activities of the US-led team including conservators from the SCA to ensure that mitigation measures are implemented correctly when work started. SWECO's contributions are being funded by a grant from SIDA, the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency with a figure around (1.1 million Euros). The remaining fund (4.4 million Euros) has been provided by USAID. SWECO had developed a technical solution for ground water mitigation; water level will be lowered with the help of pumps, 20 wells and 6 kms of underground drainage pipes laid at a depth of 7 m will surround the two temples. With a tight schedule, the project started in January 2006 with a 18 month to be completed (SWECO, 2006, fieldwork trip, 2006)

[24] Kent Weeks is an Egyptologist with the American University of Cairo, who has worked in Luxor for more than thirty years and made the discovery of the tombs of the sons of the Ramses the Great in the Valley of the Kings (Stille, 1997)

> of the monuments may be gone, one third may be fine and we will have to concentrate on efforts saving the remaining third." (Weeks, 1997)

For instance, while the recent Egyptian laws are too weak to stop farmers from grabbing land, a new heritage law has been proposed by Scholar Dr. Zahi Hawass, Head of Egypt's Supreme Council for Antiquities (SCA) and was expected to be presented to parliament in January 2006. The new law imposes stricter buffer zones around archaeological sites and monuments, protecting land around ancient sites from farmers trying to take it without permission. Dr. Hawass states:

> "The present antiquities laws do not punish anyone who takes land; this is why I'm asking for a change in the law now; so that taking antiquities land is a crime. That is the only way to stop those people from taking more land for agriculture." (ibid, cited in CBC, 2005)

Promoting for mass tourism, the main policy of the ministry of Tourism comes into direct conflict with the scholars' concern for the affect of increase of visitor numbers in the archaeological sites, specifically the carved underground graves[25]. At the Valley of the Kings on the West Bank, thousands of visitors arrive on a daily basis, 20 or more crowded at the same time into small-enclosed tombs that were built never to be entered by anyone. Conditions in the tombs have deteriorated badly due to the hot and humid environment, which has led to the closure of a number of them (e.g. Tomb of Queen Nefertari)[26]. Therefore, as the status of the tombs are in continuous deterioration studies by scholars such as Hawass (2005) have suggested a 'crowd management programme' as a solution that limits the flow of visitors into the tombs, allowing small numbers in each morning, afternoon and evening. Moreover, a rotation system was suggested: closing one tomb at a time for conservation and restoration and opening other tombs (Hawass. 2005).

Finally, the urban development has always been considered to be one of the major concerns that directly affect the status and management of the Luxor's heritage: urban sprawl, districts with poor infrastructure or totally lack it, vibrations generated

---

[25] In September 2005, 107,450 tourists from different nationalities visited the valley of the kings, and 3,797 Egyptians (SCA, 2005)

[26] The Tomb of Nefertari, wife of Ramses the Great is currently closed to tourists. However, private groups can gain access with a fee of $5000 for a group of maximum 20 individuals for only 20 minutes. Currently, this money goes to the treasury like all SCA ticket revenues and the SCA receive a grant for their work on a yearly basis (ECHO, 2005)

from the nearby Aswan-Cairo Railway tracks. Serious environmental problems such as the discharge of sewage and other discharges from uncontrolled cruise traffic and air pollution vividly accepted. The approach of scholars had to change and to consider the 'urban settings' as an integral part of the cultural experience as Abrahim (1998) points out:

> "There's now greater recognition that the history of a city needs to be preserved." (ibid, cited in Jarudi, 1998)

Consequently, efforts for the preservation of the city's monuments had to integrate within a broader management strategy combining a higher-level of conservation with urban development. Eviction and Relocation of communities encroaching on the monuments and clearance of other areas creating buffer zones, upgrading, improving infrastructure and urbanizing other areas, rezoning, re-adapting of activities were some of the strategies that were continuously proposed to be followed to achieve the level of protection and management of the monuments within a dynamic urban context.

4.2.6 Conservation, Heritage Management and Urban Development

Conflicting approaches to heritage management appeared on the surface with the inscription of the city's heritage sites on the World Heritage list (i.e. Necropolis), specifically within the areas where contemporary lives of the locals come to very close contact with the antiquities. Raising the profile of these sites by degrees to the point where visitation becomes a museum experience, one approach was heading to convert the city (i.e. Luxor's west and East banks) into a national park or open museums. Another conflicting approach catches the idea of contemporary living communities occupying the spaces and surrounding the heritage sites within the dynamics of specific tourism industry-induced phenomena.

Consequently, a critical question is always vivid in the literature of urban conservation highlighting the inter-conflict with: Are we to offer an experience to show the site, as it was at the time it first existed? Or are we to offer a site that has been fully integrated throughout time with its urban context and local people? Questions that have always been the base of arguments between the different parties and within concerned with the protection of this heritage, and those concerned with promoting this heritage as a tourism commercial entity.

While the latter approach has always been encouraged by tourism developers, integrating the contemporary lives of people with heritage sites has always been considered as a curse to those whose view themselves the guards of the Egypt's heritage (e.g. archaeologists, conservatives). The words of a high- ranking antiquities official when questioned about the situation of the people of El-Qurna villages residing the World Heritage listed archaeological areas of Theban Necropolis " You can not have donkeys and cows in a world-class archaeological site" gives the common impression of the expected vision for heritage sites management (Jenkins, 1999)

The notion of 'open-museum', 'protected monument zones' have been the main concepts of successive proposals, reports, which has left the officials to evidently face the evacuation of the sites, eviction of its local people living and their relocation to other 'suitable' locations. Although offering local communities new housing locations, opportunities of formal and informal employment opportunities related to antiquities, construction and tourism, the locals have already figured out that the reality is that government always acts against community interests in pursuit of national economic and political objectives. El-Damarani (2004) in an interview with Dr. Samir Farag after he was newly appointed as the new head of the HCLC gets the clear impression that:

> "The city's poor are less important than its ancient treasures, as the focus of the interview seemed to be more on aesthetics than on the welfare and well-being of the city's poor. The onus seems to be on making Egypt's ancient capital more aesthetically pleasing to the eyes of tourists. The crux of the new policy seems to be cleaning up the streets and shooing the poor out of the haunts of foreign tourists. The politics of aesthetics is wrecking havoc on the city's poor and homeless"
>
> (ibid, 2004)

Therefore urban conservation in the interest of tourism is ignoring the depth and dynamism of the urban environment in favour of the recreation of 'sterile' settings. Subsequently, heritage is reduced to a chosen interpretation of history and its physical remains as a marketing tool (Orbasli, 2000, Larkham, 1996). Based on the analysis of published articles, studies (e.g. El-Kadi, 2000, Abraham, 1998, Der Spek, 2003) with specific reference to the national and local contexts, it can be commonly agreed that the outcome of the process resulting between the inter and intra conflicting sides with regards to urban conservation process immensely depends on the level and intensity of the political support backing any specific conservation project, the amount and source

of funding available and most important the involvement of the local communities in the process at its different levels. These factors will be analysed further in this chapter with regards to the consecutive proposed development master plans for Luxor city

Furthermore, totally isolating the heritage sites or integrating them with the surrounding urban settings, urban conservation had to deal with a very critical issue regarding the direct interaction of the dynamic urban contemporary life with the city's heritage, which the research has referred to the term 'Urban Heritage-Interface'. More than the physical interaction between the monuments and buildings, this urban-heritage interface introduces another interaction between the social and economic fabrics, networks and activities on one hand surrounding and interfacing with city's heritage on the other hand. Given less weight or totally ignored within the process of putting down urban conservation policies, such dimensions contribute deeply to the gap that eventually arises, as projects are to face execution.

4.2.7 Urban-Heritage Interface

The discussion of the Urban-Heritage interface within Luxor can be viewed from two different areas. First, given that it is a phenomenon that has been in place for generations, settlements disappearing and others created throughout history within heritage sites, archaeologists view at as a rich opportunity for future excavations and discoveries. Weeks (1998) points out the importance of discovering what is still buried under the modern city of Luxor as follows:

> "Surrounding Karnak and Luxor Temple an entire city thrived here for several thousand years. The ancient city may have had a population as much as 50,000 persons…except for a very few excavations, and notes on artefacts found in the course of new construction, nothing is known of this ancient town" (Weeks, cited in MOH, 1998)

Moreover, based on the approach of re-living the history as it was, archaeologists still dream of creating a picture of what it was like during the glories of the Pharonic era. Restoration of the Avenue of the Sphinxes, strengthening the historic linkage of Karnak Temple to the Nile, were examples of the major projects suggested achieving this picture. This concept has been echoed in the physical planning proposals through increasing the buffer zones of the protected heritage sites. owned by the SCA with restricted urban development.

The second area of discussion Urban-Heritage presents is that the phenomena offers Luxor with the problem of existing unauthorized settlements encroaching on the monuments and expanding within the protected archaeological zones on both the East and West Bank. As a clear example, the case study of the villagers of Al-Qurna, residing inside the World Heritage listed archaeological area of the Theban Necropolis on Luxor's West Bank and the state to evacuate their village, has given scholars (e.g. Archaeologists, Urban planners, anthropologists and socialists) a wide base for studying the history of their struggle with the state to leave their family homes, in favour of protecting the ancient tombs they neighbour.

Either in need of the land for more excavation works or as a measure to protect the monuments by emptying the buffer zones or increasing their areas, physical planning had been guided to address these needs. Often based on the guide lines of the main master plans for Luxor or with an 'ad-hoc' manner, the state and the local government have continuously urged the locals to evacuate the areas mostly damaging the monuments they are encroaching or the areas needed for further excavation, by offering other alternative areas for relocation. Scholars from the field of Archaeology and Conservation, Urban Planning, and Architecture have pointed out four main areas of interface in the city between the layers of the dynamic settlements' urban growth and the static monuments and heritage sites as following:

4.2.7.1 The West Bank:

The urban settlements located on the hillsides of the World Heritage listed archaeological site of the Theban Necropolis on Luxor's West Bank provides a rich dimension of Urban-Heritage interface discussion. Numerous social, ethnographic, urban, architectural studies have focused on the unique situation of the villages and their locals intermingling with the ancient tombs of the West Bank. Qurna, which comprised of some 12 villages embedded in the mountains of Luxor's West Bank, is an integral part of the Theban Necropolis, a UNESCO-designated World Cultural Heritage Site. The people that inhabit these villages have always had an extraordinarily complex relationship with their ancient heritage. As the research will not enter into details regarding this area, a brief discussion will be presented.

With a long history of urban occupation of the Luxor's West Bank, efforts of by the government to evict the people of Qurna has always been motivated by the allegations of illegal, black market antiquity deals in addition to the increasing threat

on the ancient tombs from further encroachment of these settlements[27]. Holding on to simple justifications supported by a high level of political backup, officials view that the West Bank is occupied with illegal shanty villages that must be demolished.

> "The people of Luxor receive the priority of the project and if we have to move some villages to protect our heritage and archaeological sites, this does not mean that we do not protect the people themselves, on the contrary we are giving them better alternatives with overall services in the new location."
>
> (First Lady Mrs. Mubarak, cited in SIS, 1997)

> "The land from the mountains in the west till the river Nile is an archaeological area… principally buildings are not allowed."
>
> (El-Banna[28], cited in Askar, 2005)

As a first attempt to relocate the villagers of El-Qurna, a site was prepared in 1946 to carry out a new architectural experiment (i.e. Hassan Fathy's 'New Qurna'[29]). However, construction of the partially completed village had terminated in 1948 due to bureaucratic conflict between the architect and officials and as a result of a breakdown in consultation with the villagers that were to be relocated, who then withdrew their support (Fathy, 1989). Since this attempt, the population density continued to rise in the protected zones of the West Bank, so the government had to renew their initiatives to relocate its residents offering other new settlements (e.g. New El Tarif settlement). Figure (4.2) and photo (4.3) shows the extent and the visual environment of the urban-heritage interface in the West Bank

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[27] Settlements in the West Bank can be rooted from the early Coptic monastic communities inhabiting the tombs. The formation of the foothills community of Quarnawi can be linked to the supply and demand chain initiated by Western archaeology and excavation missions and individuals. During the 18th and 19th centuries and prior to the construction of the aboveground houses, families simply occupied the tombs themselves.

[28] General Desouky El-Banna was appointed Governor of Luxor city since August 2002 till July 2004.

[29] The concept of New Qurna was based on offering affordable and authentic accommodation, reintroducing traditional mud brick construction techniques, doomed roof structures of Nubian origin. Never completed, New Qurna is now badly neglected, ignored by Egyptian heritage managers. Several houses and mosques are still in use. Moreover, a number of buildings have been destroyed by the locals themselves who feared that Fathy's international appeal might result in the site being developed as a tourist village (Rashed, 1994)

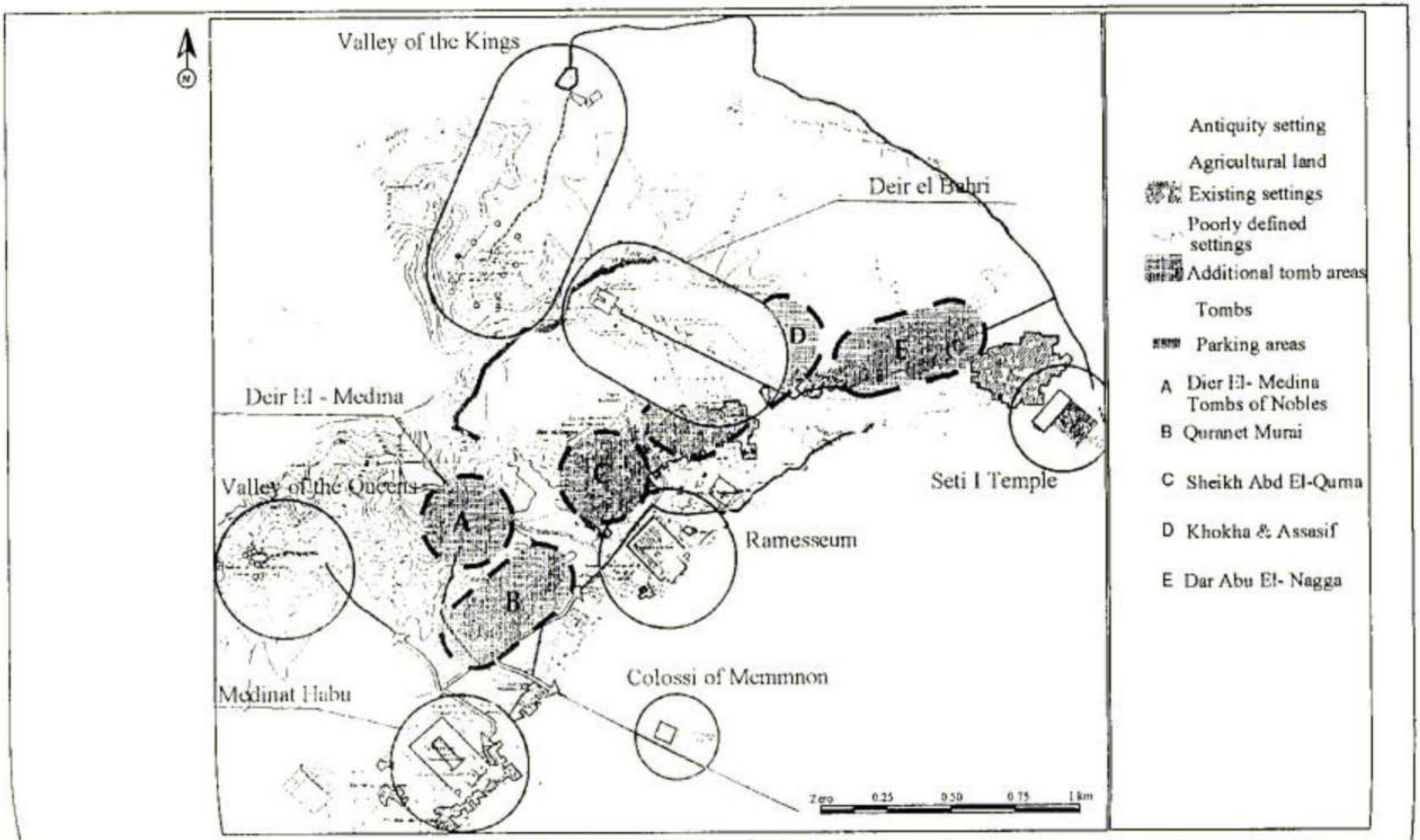
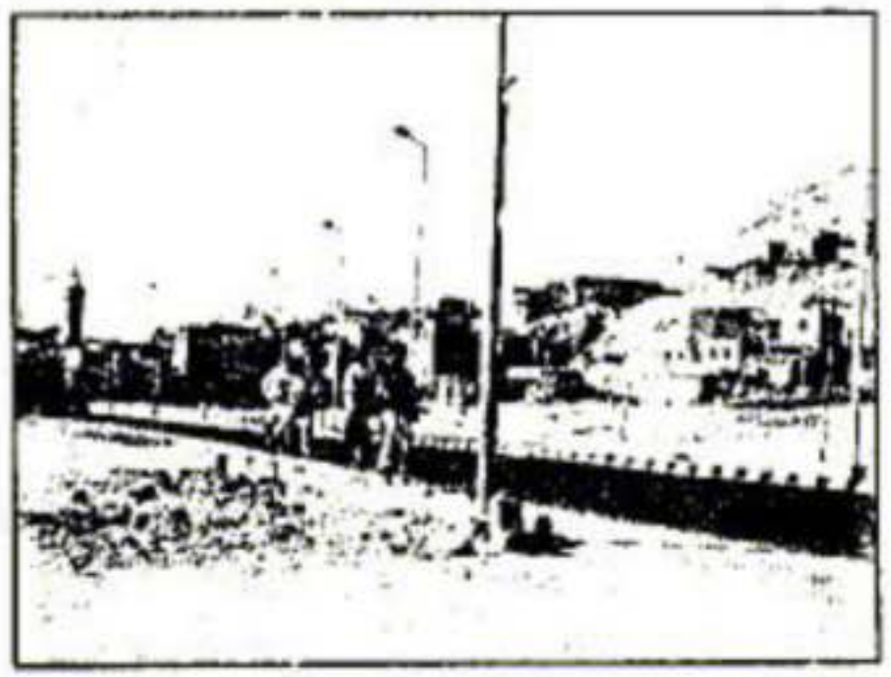
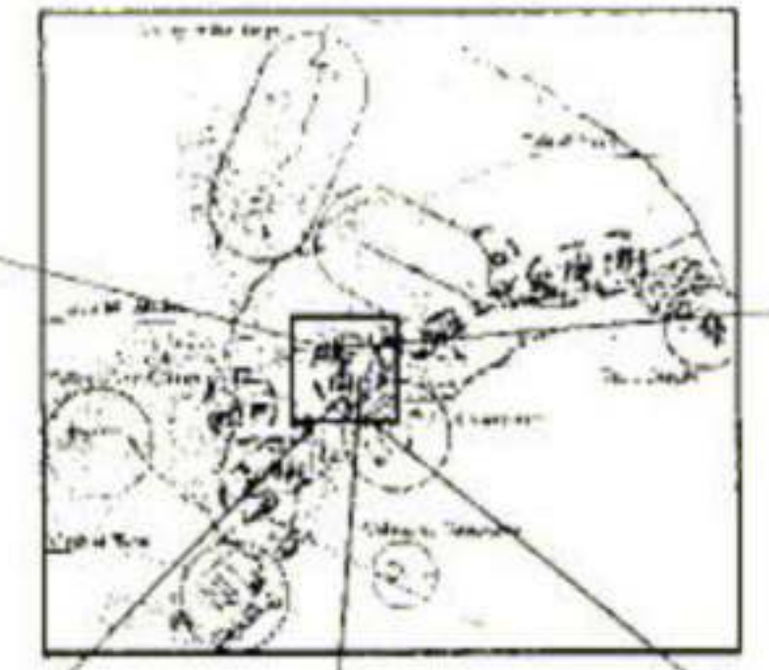


Fig (4 . 2) Urban Heritage Interface: West Bank Necropolis

Source: (MOH, 1998)



The main road connecting West-Bank villages



Housing sitting on the ancient tombs

Deteriorating urban envirnoment

Deteriorating urban envirnoment

Housing sitting on the ancient tombs

Photo (4 . 3) Visual Environment of the Urban-Heritage interface in the Wesk Bank
Source: Snapped by the researcher, May 2006

As a result, the issue of emptying the Tombs of the Nobles area and resettlement in new custom-built environment at a distance from the mountain is the most concerning issue for the Quarnawi society. Till very recently lack of funding, high cost of building housing units and also because of the famous dilemma regarding to which government agencies would have the control of implementation has delayed the development of the sites prepared for the planned custom-designed new settlements. 'Ad-hoc' and opportunistically executed relocations of individual families, and uncertainty about the implementation of the entire relocation process where added to the concern of the local community.

Moreover, acts of God in the form of the 1994 severe floods[30] in the area proved to be a major catalyst for another path of unplanned development, altering the area's topography. An emergency settlement had to be built during 1994-1995 a few kilometres north of the projected New- El Tarif location, later on known as 'Es-Suyul' (the floods). Between 1995 and 2003, the nature of Es-Suyul as a relief settlement gradually extended, serving as a nucleus for later adjoining development with excess housing made available to those Quarnawi who volunteered to move out of the archaeological area. Der Spek (2003) adds, " Es-Suyul was never going to merely serve the immediate need of emergency relief, but contained within itself the seeds of on going West-Bank urbanization" (ibid, p.8).

With the political will and the existence of 'El-Suyul relief settlement', the local government was encouraged to carry out forced evictions with an aim to "remove the slums to save antiquities and demolish nine shanty areas known as Old Gurnah" (Selmi Selim, governor of Luxor, 1997, cited in Farag, 1998). However, the government's violent and heavy-handed response to the people's confrontation had been criticized worldwide[31]. The famous 'gas incident' which took place in el-Tarif on January 17th 1998 alerted the world and the human rights organizations to the ultimate measures taken by the Egyptian state regarding Heritage protection specially after the eruption of violence which left four people dead and several injured. Moreover, this incident highlighted a clear separation between heritage institutions, Jenkins (1998, p.33) adds:

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[30] Around 400 families living on the West Bank were left homeless after severe floods, and had to be relocated away from the flood plain. Consequently, the Army started construction of a relief settlement

[31] The disturbance commenced in the densely populated urban area of Al-Qurna, known as El –Tarif. Despite the 1981 and 1983 building prohibitions, new construction was continuing. It started with the SCA allocating land to a family from 'sheikh Abd el-Qurna ' in exchange for a partial reduction in the number of the family houses there. The El- Tarif plot had subsequently been developed and construction of other modern houses perceived. This growth was in the three-kilometre buffer zone surrounding the Necropolis set by the Antiquities Law no. 117.

> " ...Combined in a deadly mix of perceived or real bureaucratic inconsistency and a brutal police response, the physical encounter which ensued from the differing interpretations of applicable laws by the SCA and HCLC officials, created true victims out of ordinary villagers who happened to be in the wrong place at the wrong time"

Apart from the immediate need brought on by the 1994 floods, the arguments for the removal of Quarnawi of the Theban foothills, the destruction of their hamlets, and their relocation had become ever so sophisticated, has left the debate between two sides; one side totally supporting the relocation movement and another opposing the whole idea. Support for the actions had already been coming from different disciplines and field of knowledge perceiving human presence in the protected zone as contrary and irreconcilable. First, and not surprisingly, the community of Egyptologists have always been concerned on the impact of the villages upon the stability and preservation of the tombs due to theft, vandalism, building and erosion. Piccione (1997) argues that the presence of a community in the area is "disastrous to the survival of the tombs".

Second, for SCA Heritage managers, relocation serves to reduce population pressures in the foothills, thereby protecting the fragile state of many decorated tombs[32]. Third, government officials promoting a politically inspired tourism development strategy, specifically after the affects of the rise of militant Islam since 1992, adopted a view of rebuilding a tourism industry. Therefore, complete evacuation of the foothill was believed to restore a degree of Pharonic authenticity to the West Bank Necropolis, turning the ancient cemeteries into an open-air museum experience benefiting tourism.

Meanwhile the other side of the argument has also pointed out a number of concerns. While archaeologists have raised their concern for the intruding settlements, other voices in the same field fear that the ancient tombs will be more exposed to the deserted hillside especially after the demolition of the houses. Moreover, as the concept of an open museum assumes that the Necropolis was a deserted place during ancient Egyptian times, and that the removal of any contemporary community will enhance the visitors' experience, on the contrary, the history of Pharonic Egypt indicates the West Bank was a very active place. Moreover, the outcome of the evacuations is a deserted empty landscape only of interest to the Egyptologists' community and those visitors

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[32] Although running water has not been connected to individual houses, depending on roadside taps only, and many continue to use 'the mountain' for personal sanitary purposes, the release of sewage and wastewater into the porous limestone has been considered potentially harmful to the painted walls and reliefs of nearby Pharonic tombs.

who have specific desire to visit the Noble tombs[33]. Finally, the fact that the mud brick houses built in between and over the tombs represent a unique historic and cultural landscape can never be ignored and are equally worth of protection.

4.2.7.2 Karnak Temple Area:

While Karnak Temple is considered the largest and most significant Pharonic temple in the world, encroachment of informal rural settlements within the buffer zone of the temple has always existed. A southwest neighbourhood adjacent to the Karnak Temple which is in crying need for improvement can be described as follows: housing is severely deteriorated, public facilities are lacking and sanitation is very poor. Figure 4.3 & photo 4.4 illustrate the dimensions of urban-heritage interface in the Karnak area. As much of the area surrounding the Temple is either owned or controlled by the SCA, archaeologists have always stressed on categorizing the Karnak Buffer zone[34] (Category One and Two) in order to evacuate the buffer for any intruding urban settlements, prevent further development and to facilitate test excavations to determine the location of artefacts and identify which structures should be removed.

Moreover, recreating the historic linkage of Karnak Temple to the Nile River has always been one of the dreams of archaeologists hindered by urban interfacing of the modern city. Relocation of a major coach parking lot, the SCA director's house and the SCA storage lot are the major actions to start with to pursue with this vision of a 'processional way between the Temple and the Nile River'. While improving the settings of the Karnak Temple can be facing a number of obstacles (e.g. public involvement, ownerships, compensations, relocation…. etc), its implementation can be considered the least problematic compared to the problems faced in dealing with other urban-Heritage interface areas within Luxor[35].

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[33] Evidence have proved that the west bank had always been occupied with human settlements; Priestly communities of the nearby funerary temple, craftsmen, agricultural workers supplying the needs of these temple communities and the nearby hillside village of Deir el –Madina, where builders of the tombs in the Valley of Kings and Queens lived. Moreover, Coptic monasteries started to occupy the cemeteries in the 6th and 7th century.

[34] Archaeological classifications are the priority areas receive under the Egyptian law: five categories for antiquities area where category one being the most significant (CDCL, 1999).

[35] Within the area surrounding Karnak temple, the project will mainly need to deal with the demolition of deteriorated housing settlements and properties owned by the SCA, where in other areas such as the Sphinxes Avenue, the local authorities will be faced with the existence of governmental and religious buildings in the areas of Urban-Heritage interface.

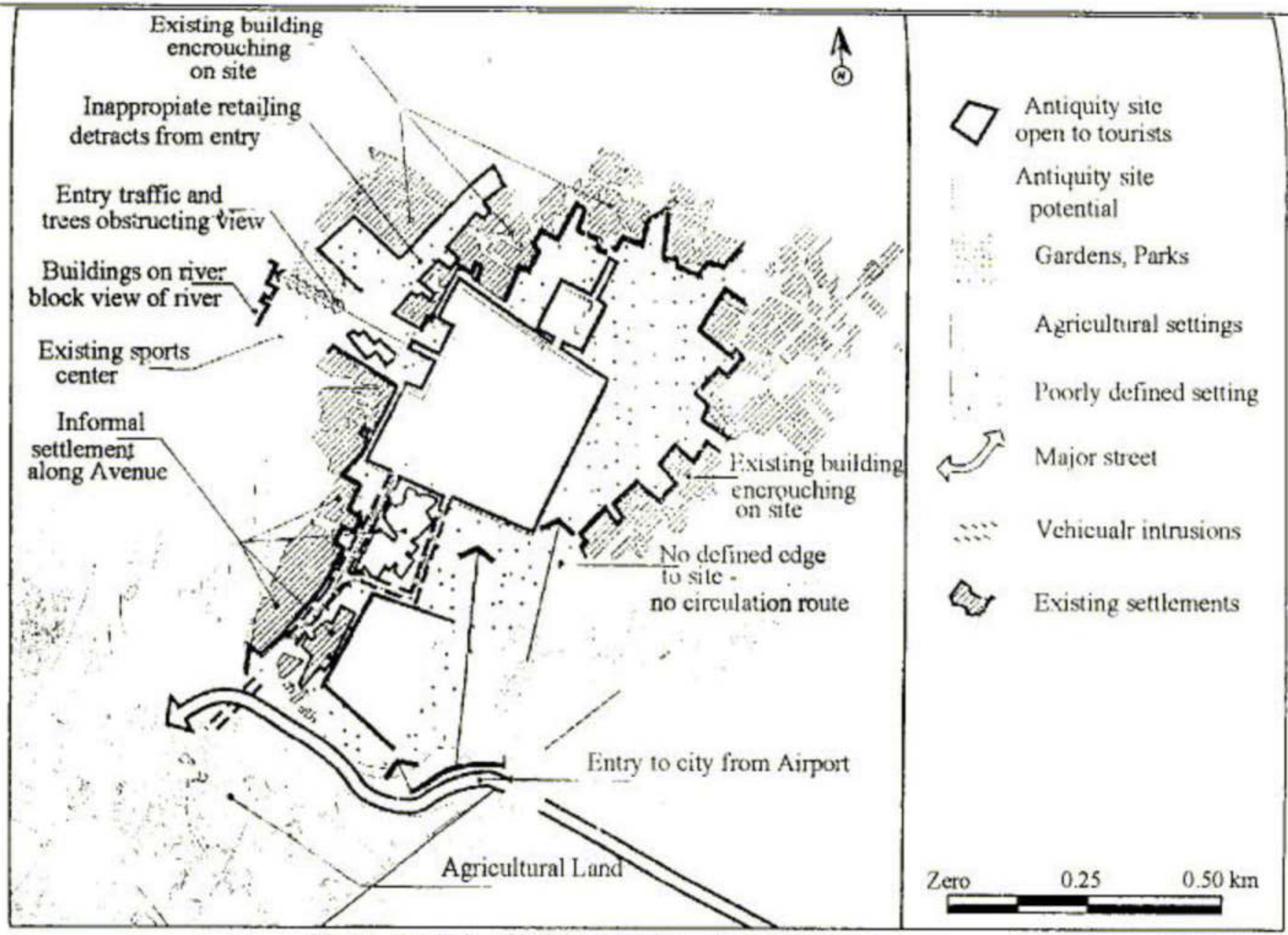
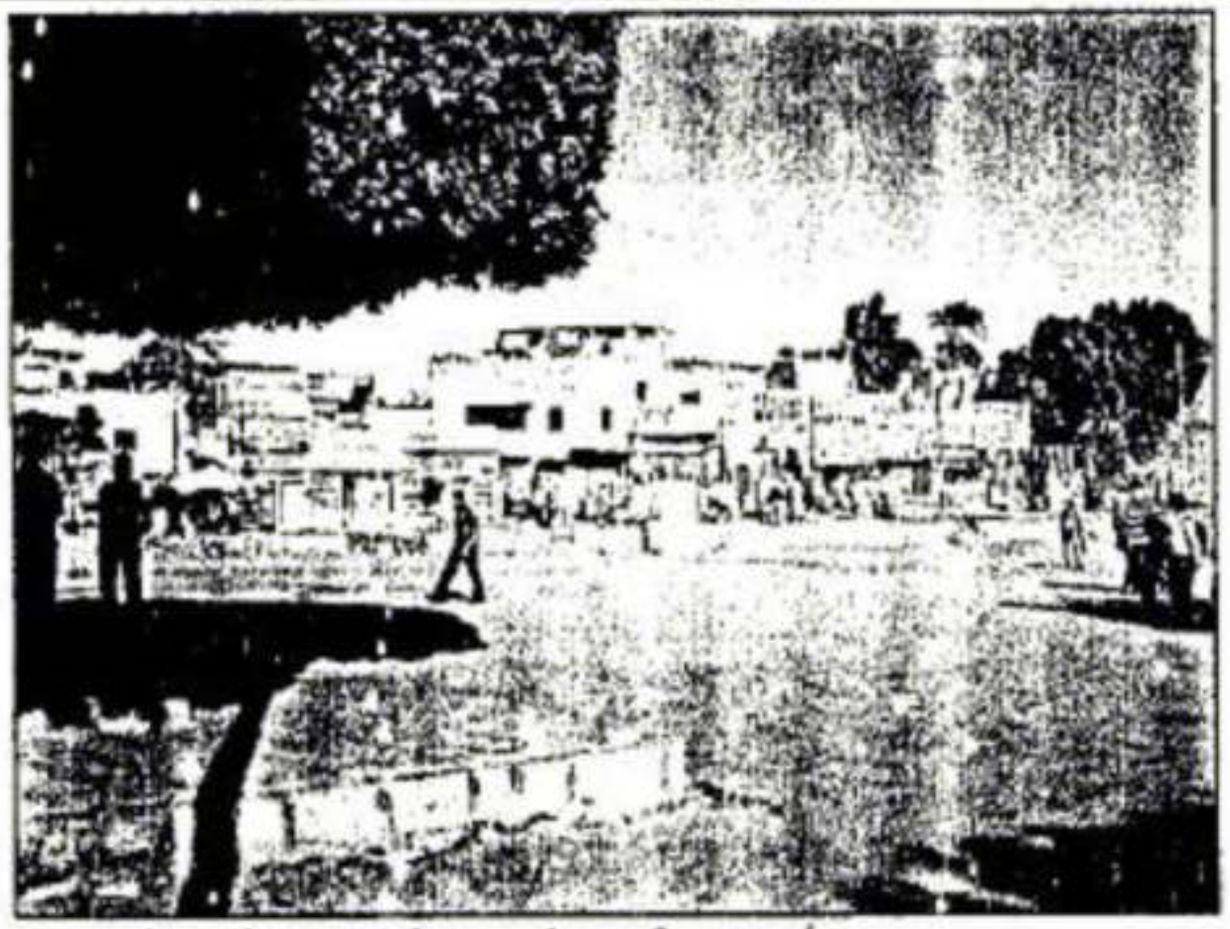
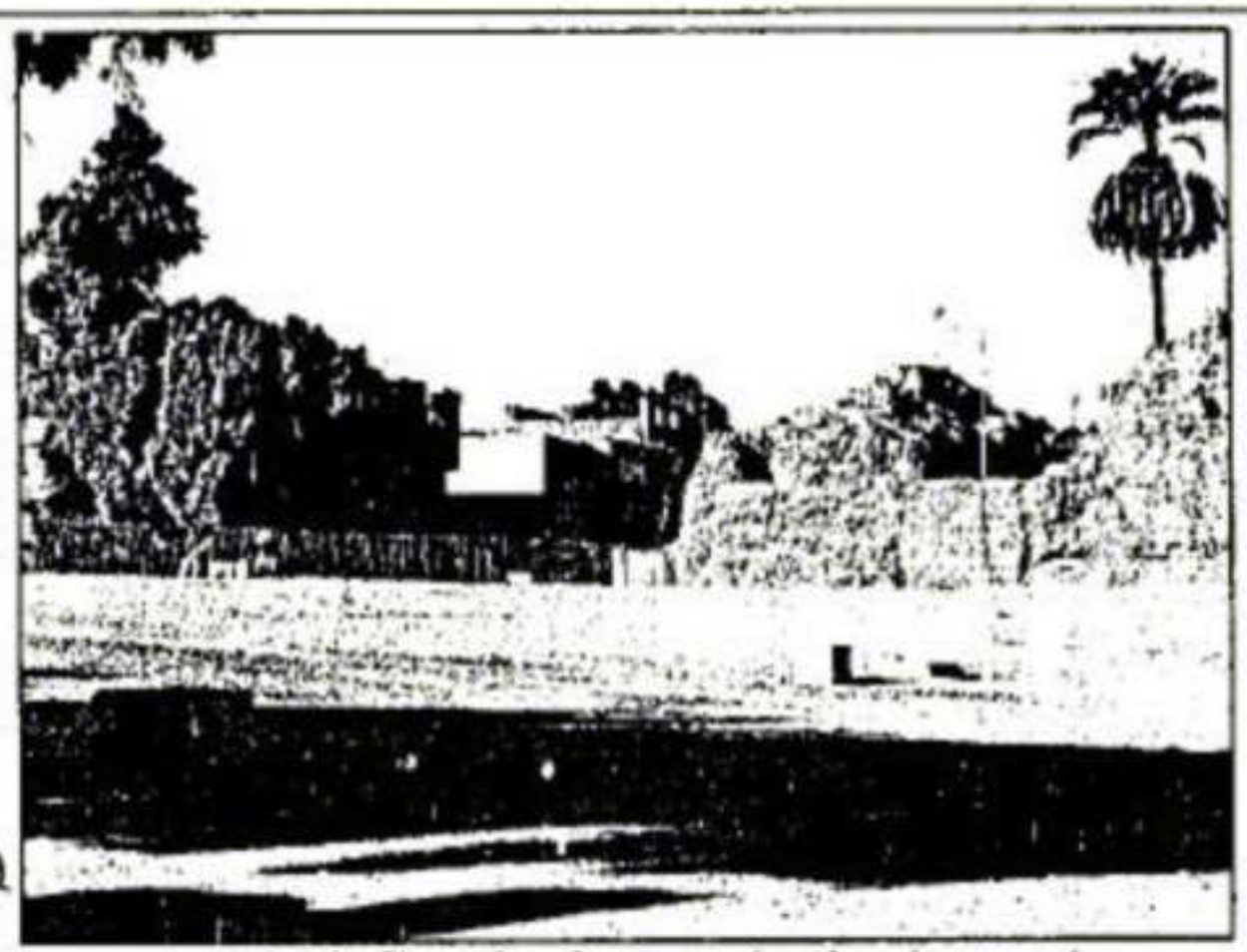


Fig (4 . 3) Urban Heritage Interface - Karnak Temple area

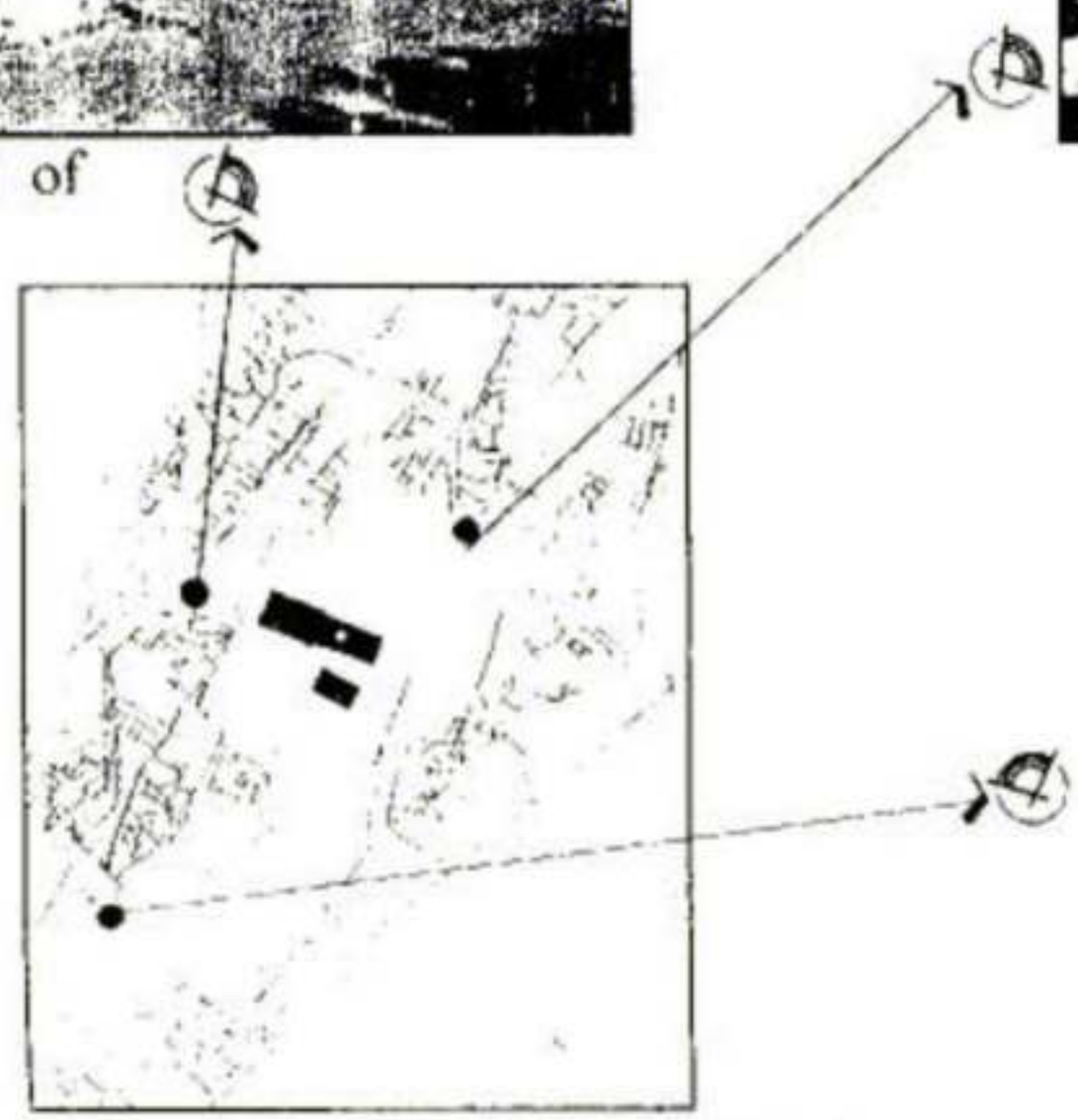
Source: (MOH, 1998)



Housing located north of the main Entrance



Undefined edge to the heritage site



Informal settlement

Photo (4 . 4) Visual Environment around the Karnak Temple
Source: Snapped by the researcher, May 2006

Moreover, The HCLC has already commissioned the phase of execution drawings, and implementation is currently in progress to 'Improve the setting of Karnak', guided by the main outlines of the CDCL, while improving the public participation mechanism in order to achieve the required objectives of the project (more details will be presented later in section 4.3.3)

4.2.7.3 The Avenue of the Sphinxes:

An avenue that was once connecting the Temples of Karnak and Luxor is now only a 'vision' with most of its statues still under the modern settings of Luxor city[36]. The centuries since the Pharonic period have buried this processional avenue and its statues under nearly two metres of silt and sand, and urban development covered it with housing, asphalted streets and other structures interrupting this historic connection. Over the last half century, portions of the Avenue of the Sphinxes, also wrongly named as 'Kebash Avenue', have been excavated, revealing only 34 sphinxes on the western side and 38 on the eastern side so far[37]; while most of the remaining ones are still buried under the houses of modern Luxor (SIS. 2005), as shown in Figure 4.4.

In order to create an 'open-air museum' in the heart of Luxor city, successive physical plans had to base their strategies the restoring the whole length of the Avenue of the Sphinxes, as a main conservation project to fulfil such concept. The latest master plan (CDCL/1997) had already proposed an investment package (project no.1) with an estimated cost of approximately 40 million US dollars, compromising several major actions to restore the Avenue of sphinxes through: (1) Purchasing land to a width of 76m. (2) Relocating residents occupying around 100 housing units on the top of the Avenue. (3) Demolition of housing, commercial buildings, governmental and religious buildings intruding on the route of the Avenue. (4) Excavating to a depth of 2 metres, restoring the statues and landscaping and provision of visitor amenities; then finally (5) Modifying of the adjacent street layout and crossings of the Avenue (CDCL. 1999)

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[36] The temples at Karnak and the Temple of Luxor were connected by an impressive avenue, flanked with grand sphinxes on both sides. The entire avenue was more than 3 km long, and must have had more than 2000 sphinxes all together. But the sphinxes do not belong to the original cult structure of Luxor. It was built under King Nectanebo I in the 4th century, about 1,000 years after the temples it connects. The Avenue of Sphinxes at the Luxor Temple was a double line of human-headed sphinxes that once connected the Temple of Khonsu at Karnak with the Luxor Temple. It was built for processions in which priests and celebrating pious people moved along the shore of the Nile and through the Avenue of Sphinxes to and from the temple. The Avenue of Sphinxes in front of the Luxor Temple was about 2.5 kilometres long. (Kjeilen ...http://i-cias.com/egypt/luxor55.htm)

[37] Short segments of the avenue near both Karnak and Luxor temples have been fully excavated and are now integral parts of the antiquities settings. Moreover, test excavations at other segments have verified its location and underlined its archaeological potential (CDCL., 1999)

Department of Urban Planning
Faculty of Engineering
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Research title:
PHYSICAL PLANNING AND URBAN CONSERVATION PRACTICE: THE CASE OF LUXOR CITY, EGYPT.

A STRUCTURED INTERVIEW FOR THE RESIDENTS AFFECTED BY THE 'RESTORATION OF THE AVENUE OF THE SPHINXES' PROJECT

Questionnaire no:.....

Date/Time:.....

Building Code:.....

SECTION (1): PERSONAL DATA AND FAMILY PROFILE:

1.1 Sex: Male Female

1.2 Age: 20-29 30-39 40-49 50-60 > 60

1.3 Occupation:.....

1.4 Do you work within the Luxor city centre area? Yes No

1.5 No. of people in the household:.....

1.6 How long have you and your family been living here?.....

SECTION (2): PERCEPTION OF PARTICIPATION AND INVOLVEMENT IN THE DECISION-MAKING PROCESS

2.1 What problems do you think the city suffers of?

- ❑ No problems
- ❑ Lack of basic services
- ❑ Poor infrastructure
- ❑ Deterioration of monuments/historic sites
- ❑ Rise of prices of basic services/facilities
- ❑ Lack of urban development/maintenance
- ❑ Lack of social services

While the 'Avenue of the Sphinxes restoration project' has always been considered one of the major projects to gain full support by the state and international bodies, the local government had been given full momentum to proceed with the project especially after the rediscovery of the first Luxor 'sphinx'[38] as seen in photo (4.5). During the Egyptian excavation mission supervised by Secretary-General of the Higher Council of Antiquities Dr. Zahi Hawass, Luxor was on its first steps to rediscover the Avenue of the Sphinxes in December 2005.

Photo (4.5) The excavation mission rediscovering the 'Avenue of Sphinxes" at 'El-Khaledeen garden', December, 2005

Source: (Art & Culture, 2005)

Supported with a political will and enough funding (i.e. a total of 240 million Egyptian pounds in the shape of a grant offered by the UNESCO to start with the implementation process over a period of 30 months), Samir Farag, head of city of Luxor had been given the full capacity to carry out the restoration project of the entire Avenue. Farag (2005) pointed out " the discovery of the first Luxor Sphinx is as a turning point for Luxor city" (ibid, cited in SIS, 2005).

Regarding the start of the execution process of the project, the 2.4 km representing the whole length of the route of the Avenue of the sphinxes had to be divided into three main areas of action that later on reached five main areas. The First section starts from North of Luxor Temple to '*El-Khaledeen*' park where the Egyptian excavation mission has recently discovered the bases of several statues. Photo 4.6 shows the transformation of the *El-Khaledeen*' park into an excavation site. The section located south Karnak Temple has already a number of excavated statues. Furthermore, the middle section is considered the most complicated section as the route passes through an entirely different street grid of roads and a dense urban texture (Assem[39], 2006). Fig (4.5) illustrates the main route of the avenue.

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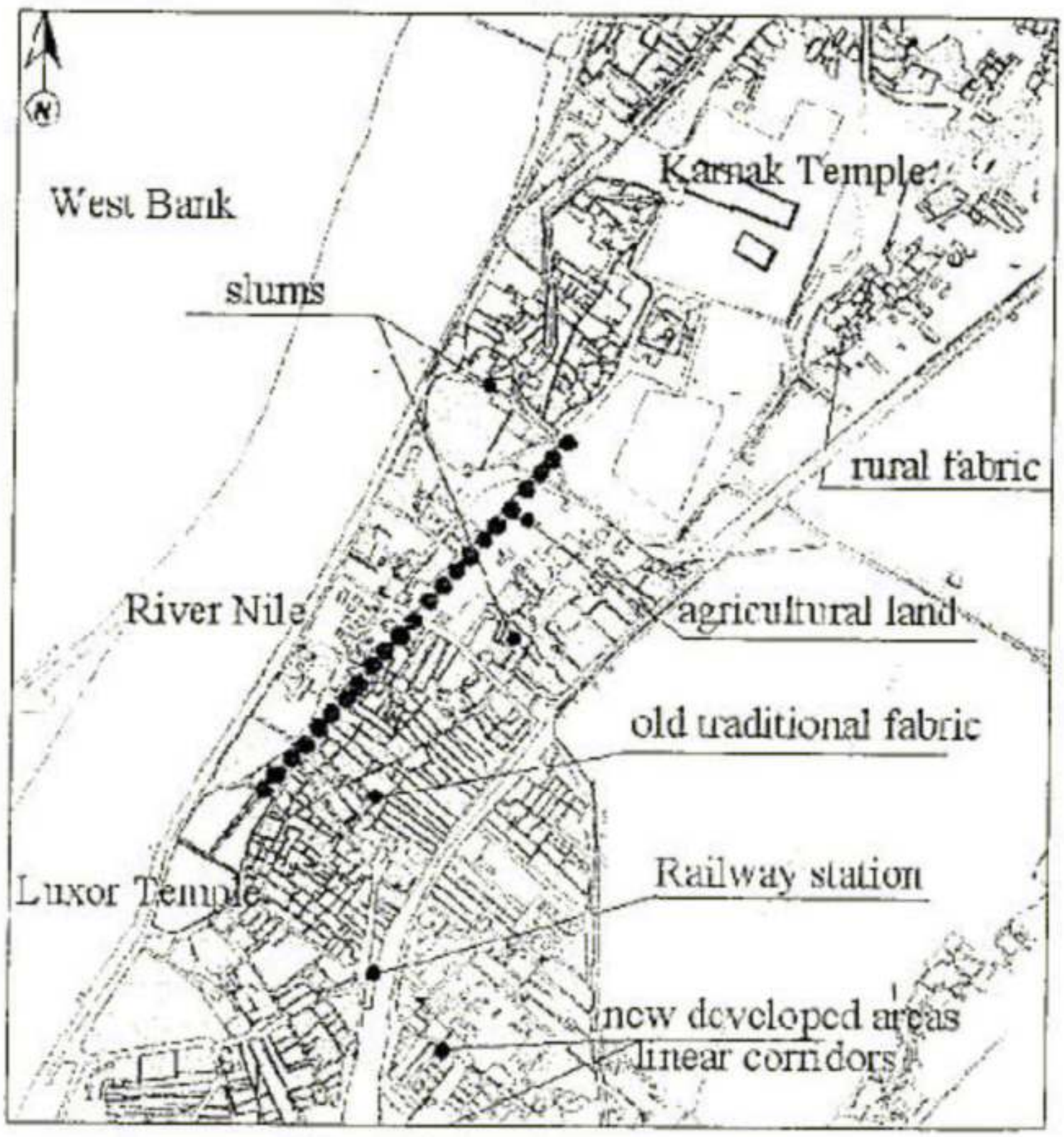
[38] The statue of the Sphinxes that was discovered at *'El-Khaledeen park'*, carried several cravings together with a royal 'Cartouche' (Art & Culture, 2005)

[39] Ahmed Assem, the Head of Luxor Antiquities Council interviewed by researcher March, 2006

Fig (4.5) Avenue of the Sphinxes- Main route



Source: Adopted from: AAW (1998)

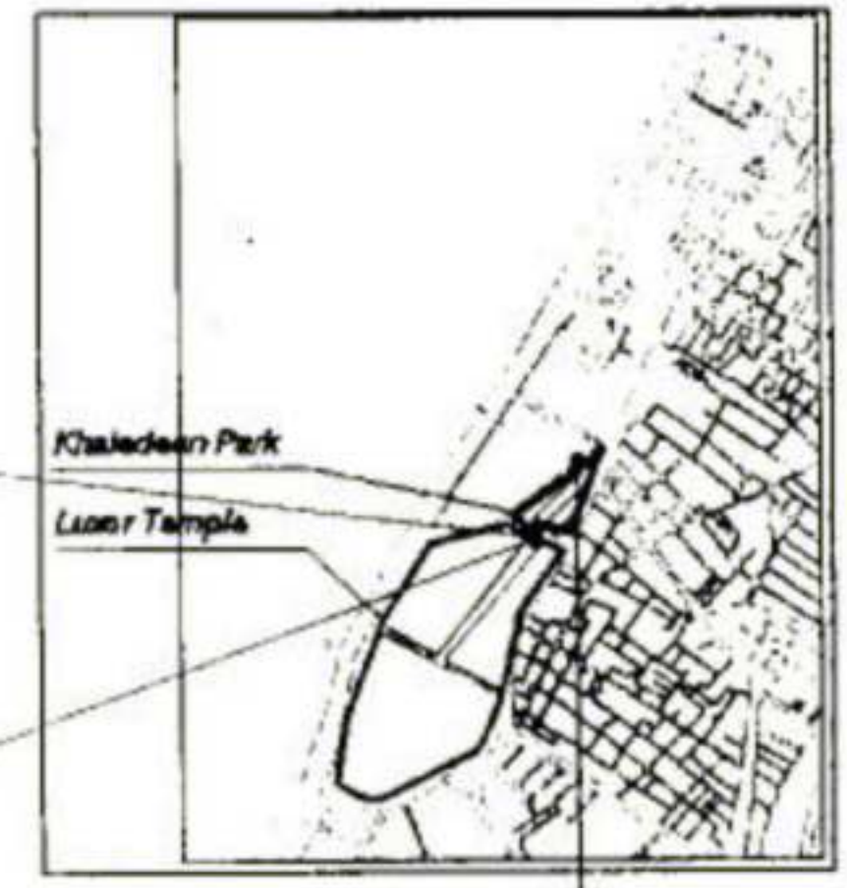
However, a project with this huge scale has had its fair share of concern criticism and doubt of the outcome by other archaeologists, urban planners, Luxor's city Council personals and no doubt the concern of the local residents of Luxor. While the restoration project has been based on the assumptions of a party of archaeologists claiming the existence of the entire route of Avenue of the sphinxes, other archaeologists have doubted this vision entirely. Archaeologists such as James Becky (2005) stated that Luxor modern city sits on more than one avenue, warning that the action of demolition of buildings sitting on the area required for excavation represents nearly half of the city's area, while the results of the excavations may not come as expected (ibid, cited in Hareedy, 2005).

Moreover, as excavation continues till this date to restore the statues within the route wherever the land is available, the results have not been found to be promising. As the mission has only found parts of broken bases of the statues, feelings of pessimism have started to spread between the parties that will be involved in this project as the question arises: Is the project worth changing the unique fabric of the existing city, cutting down trees, demolishing buildings and ordering people to leave their homes? Photo (4.7) presents the visual environment on the Avenue's route. Furthermore, Local government officials also had their concerns about the project and its direct affect on the social and urban pattern within the city. A former local official states:

> "...A vision supported by a party of archaeologists to rediscover a historic avenue between Luxor and Karnak Temple, calling for the demolition of all buildings intruding this route...more than half the city will turn into an excavation site... a wide area of buildings will be needed to be purchased by the local authority offering satisfying compensations. ...This project will negatively affect the urban and social integrity of the modern city...it will really turn the area into a museum, but with no life!!! The existing unique architectural and urban identity of city has to be left, as it is "
>
> (Abu-Haggag[40], cited in Hareedy, 2005)

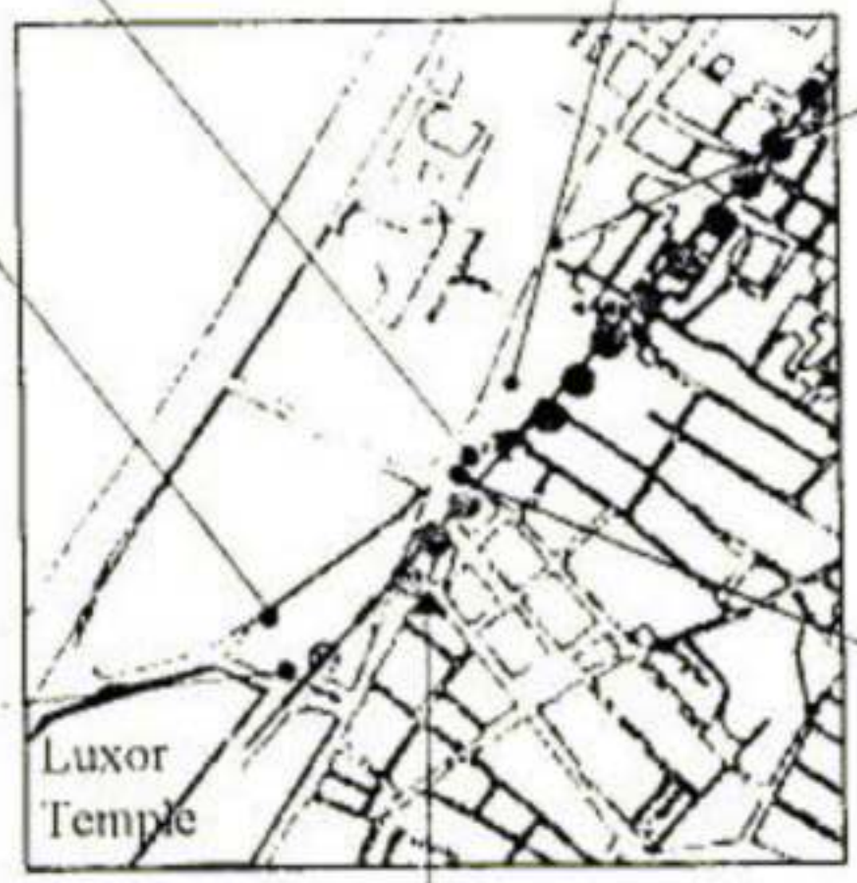
[40] Montaser Abou-Haggag is an Ex-Deputy Minister of Local Governance.

'El-Khaledeen' : A public park turned into an excavation site



Cutting down trees; destroying green areas in favor of discovering buried sphinxes

Photo (4 . 6) Excavation of the Avenue of Sphinxes at 'El-Khaledeen park' Source: Snapped by the researcher, May 2006



A Police Station and Mosque

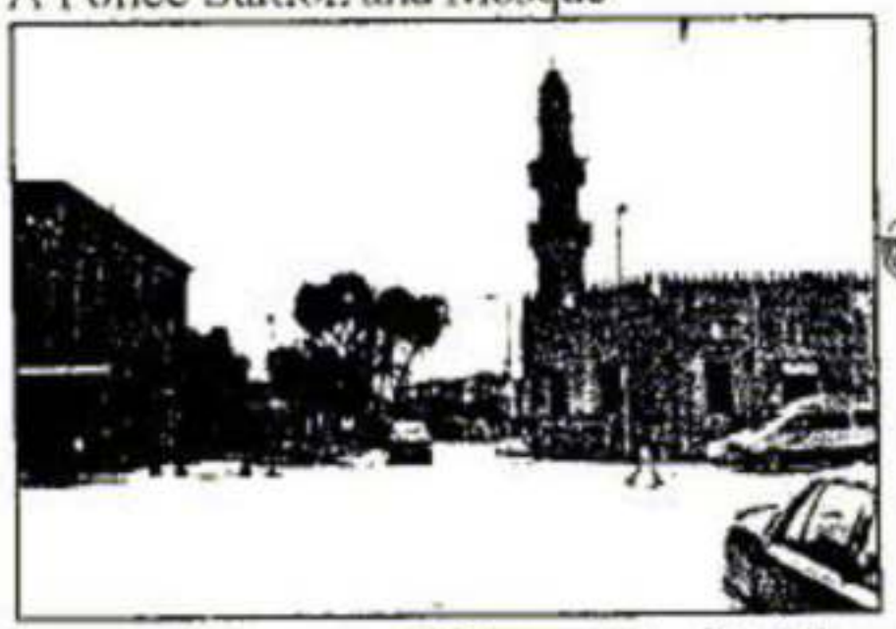
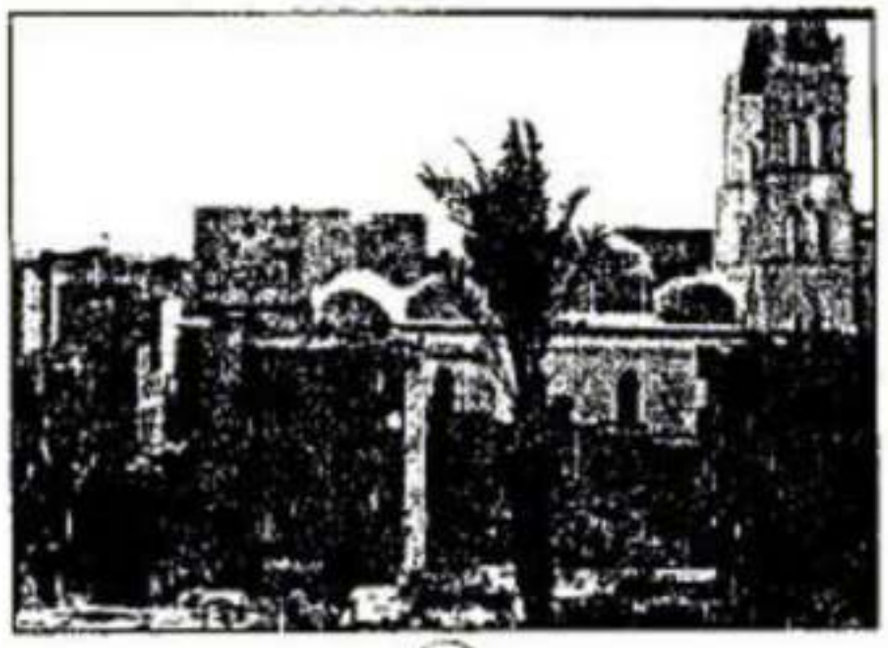
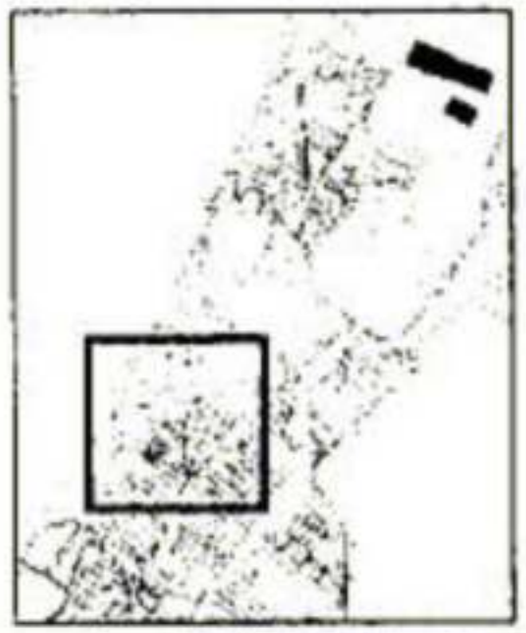


Photo (4 . 7) Visual Environment on the Avenue of Sphinxes Route Source: Snapped by the researcher, May 2006





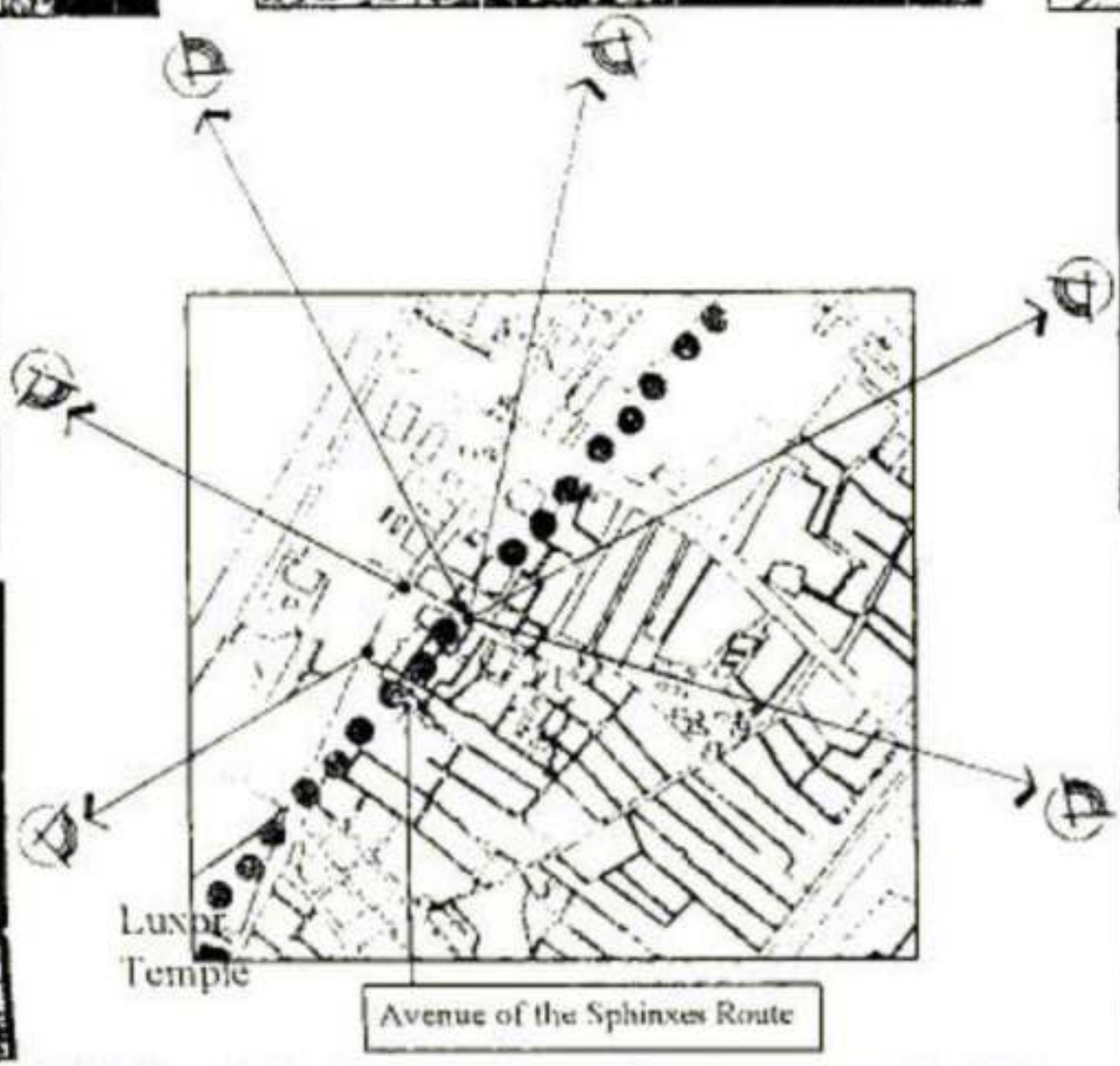


Photo (4 . 7) Visual Environment on the Avenue of sphinxes route - continued
Source: Snapped by the researcher, May 2006

4.3 PHYSICAL PLANNING PROCESS

Egypt through its different governmental departments has commissioned various urban development and conservation proposals for Luxor city, from independent, external and often foreign consulting firms. Consultants' reports had already offered a wide range of studies ranging from capturing the whole region of Luxor and analysing its potentials and opportunities in an attempt to lessen the threats and weaknesses facing development, to focusing on specific areas and locations (i.e. the city centre (East Bank) or the Theban Necropolis on Luxor's West Bank. Different issues such as analysing the problems of relocation of encroachment settlements on heritage sites, visitor management and the potentials of tourism development, archaeological site protection, heritage management and infrastructure development, diverse ethnographic case studies (e.g. the Quarnawi villagers residing the Necropolis-West Bank) were many of the issues discussed by a continuous flow of studies and reports. However, it will be impracticable to review in details the whole history of consultants' reports and studies produced for Luxor city.

Regarding the successive nature of studies, reports, suggestions and recommendations that were literally 'littering' the history of protection and management of the cities heritage and urban development, Der Spek (2003) points out that the numerous reports that were mainly compiled by architectural and town planning consultants with the assistance of sociologists and archaeologists were characterized as " despite commonalities in their terms of reference, are separated in time, seemingly unrelated in terms of their commission history and evidently not representing individual phases of a gradually evolving master-plan" (ibid, 2003, p.13). Even when an individual consultant contributes to separate consulting projects, his participation in both is based mainly on his successful tendering on the basis of prior experience rather than the result of certain continuity in the processes of both physical planning formulation and implementation.

Moreover, the lack of basic database of the pervious consulting work and the minimal reference to other studies were considered other weak points that have reinforced the disparate relationship and discontinuity between successive studies.

Despite the discontinuity, numerous consultants, urban planners and academics, such as Dr. Ayman Ashour[41] and El-Bassiouni[42], agree that throughout a quick review of the urban development and conservation proposals, the 'logic solution(s) for the city- 'from the planners, governmental officials point of view'- is always reached. Possibly inspired by the earlier recommendations that provides at least a 'subconscious basis'; later development and conservation proposals are drawn on similar objectives even with the time span difference. Recommendations are either remembered or subconsciously perceived as 'good sense'[43].

A city possessing a wealth of heritage and sites enrolled from the late 1970s on the UNESCO World Heritage List, but within a context of urban, economic and social constraints hindering the existence of a balanced urban and conservation development, had from very early on attracted first of all international and then national bodies to come up with solutions for the city; preserving its culture, promoting it as a tourism destination and offering a contemporary life for its locals. Therefore, various forms of international development aid or financial assistance predominantly funded these proposals imposing specific planning traditions (i.e. traditional, applied or transformative planning traditions) in the process and adopting the planning approach

However, this mechanism of the commission and production of development proposals for the city has been widely criticized on different levels. Absorbing a notable part of international assistance to developing countries, the cost of consulting fees- apart from the locally employed staff, largely returns to the developed world, only constituting a form of indirect aid to the developing country concerned, in this case Egypt[44].

For the politically conscious decision-makers, foreign consultants' reports represented one more episode of foreign intervention, over which Egyptians could never claim any real ownership. On the local level, external expert advice often contrary to the local and cultural perceptions, recommendations were not in the interest of the

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[41] In an interview with the researcher in February 2006

[42] In an interview with the researcher in February 2006

[43] The reasons for opening up additional tombs in the Necropolis- West Bank- to take pressure off frequently visited tombs, were stated in 2000 by a senior Supreme Council of Antiquities official, follows a rationale which goes back to consultant reports produced in the early 1980's. Moreover, previously discarded, forgotten, amended or partially implanted recommendations have contributed to the development with is considered 'incremental'. For an example, the incremental development of the West Bank has emerged constituting a 'master-plan' by default.

[44] 'Indirect aid' since the recommendations of the reports may or may not be implemented, and the guaranteed benefit to the recipient community concerned is therefore not secured when the money is spent.

communities affected (e.g. the case of the Qurna villages on the West Bank), specifically in the absence of a real representative public participation mechanism during the decision-making and formulation phases.

While a great deal of attention is always received during the phase(s) of formulation as to come out with studies, recommendations and approved plans for the urban development and conservation of Luxor city, implementation however was a phase that didn't often gain the same momentum. Luxor city was faced with a status of a lack of implementation or partial implementation of projects, where development was mainly 'ad-hoc' in manner, eventually leading to a formulation/implementation gap. Based on the theoretical framework designed in chapter Two, such gap between the formulation and implementation phase(s) of the main proposals of Luxor city will be analysed from three entry points: the political will and the institutional framework, the existence of funding and finally the planning approach adopted, pointing out the level of local involvement (i.e. public participation mechanism with specific reference to the areas suggested for evacuating its local residents-Sphinxes Avenue route) during the two main phases of different development proposals.

In order to achieve this goal, presenting the main objectives core themes, strategies that were to be followed and the main components of the three approved proposals for: 1984, 1993, and 1998 Comprehensive Development Plan for the city of Luxor (CDCL) physical plans will be essential[45]. Table (4.5) demonstrates the three approved urban development plans.

4.3.1 1984 Approved Physical Plan

With an objective to maximize tourism industry revenues & to enrich the tourism experience, the proposal's main core was to transfer the city into an international tourism centre through deriving greater benefits from the city's resources at the same time preserving its antiquities (APCO, 1993). In spite of the proposal's clear economic objective, it claimed to benefit the local communities through formal and informal employment opportunities which antiquities-related work and tourism offer. Fig (4.6) illustrates the basic concept of the 1984 master plan.

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[45] Based on the guidelines of the 1998 approved proposal (CDCL), an updated master plan was prepared consequently in 2004 which will be discussed in section (4.3.3)

Table (4.5) The Approved Urban Development/Conservation Proposals for Luxor City

PHYSICAL PLAN COMPONENTS	1984 APPROVED PHYSICAL PLAN FORMULATION	1993 APPROVED PHYSICAL PLAN FORMULATION	COMPREHENSIVE DEVELOPMENT PLAN 1998 FORMULATION (CDCL)
COMMISSIONED BY	**Ministry of Tourism and Civil Aviation**	**Ministry of Housing, Utilities & New Communities (MOH)/GOPP**	**Ministry of Housing, Utilities & New Communities (MOH)**
CONSULTANT	Consulting contractor Arthur D. Little International, Inc (ADL)	Architecture and Planning Consultant Office (APCO)	Abt and Associates Inc.
FUNDING SOURCE	Funded in part from a credit of the International Development Association (IDA), a World's Bank lending affiliate.	Ministry of Housing, Utilities and New Communities	Joint fund between: Ministry of Housing, Utilities & New Communities (MHUUC), UNDP, and UN-Habitat
PLANNING APPROACH	Rational comprehensive planning approach	Rational Comprehensive planning approach	A dominant entrepreneurial planning approach with a less- dominant rational comprehensive with controlled participation mechanism
PLANNING METHODOLOGY	Scientific -Rational Methodology	Scientific –Rational Methodology	Scientific- Rational Methodology
OBJECTIVES	**Concentrating mainly on the local level of the city through:** Maximizing tourism industry revenues & enriching the tourism experience/ transferring the city into an international tourism centre/ deriving greater benefits from the city's resources/ at the same time preserving its antiquities: (conserving the physical environment and maintaining an attractive setting for tourism)	**National:** Protection of agricultural land and preservation of the country's cultural resources **Regional:** developing economic activities/ lessening migration towards the urban areas and outside of the region / balanced redistribution of services within the region (urban alternatives for the city's expansion- new settlements). **Local:** upgrading & harmonizing the urban fabric and land use/ developing the tourism experience through integration between visitors and locals/development of services, facilities and urban infrastructure.	Contributing to the Preservation of the area's unique cultural heritage by lessening the pressures on the existing sites through creation of additional tourism attractions. Preventing further urban sprawl and unplanned development. Meeting the contemporary needs of local residents. Promoting sustainable economic development and creating new economic opportunities within the region.

STRATEGIES & MAIN COMPONENTS	-gative measures' and 'protected zones' around monuments. Restricting new development on the West Bank. Relocation of settlements encroaching on monument areas (Karnak and West Bank). Strengthening the relationship between the Karnak and Luxour temple through the 'Avenue of the Sphinxes'. Increasing visitors' flow. Strengthening the visitors' movement to and from the city centre. Tourism areas on the Nile Façade and North Karnak Temple. Setting a 'new urban agglomeration boundary'. Directing the city's expansion in a 'South' and 'East' axis, absorbing the communities relocated and the growing population. Applying the 'neighbourhood 'concept'. Open and green areas Increasing employment activities. Expanding opportunities for investment of local capital Improving social services	-Limited development on the city's West Bank. -Protecting Karnak & Luxor Temples from the expansion of urban slums within its buffer zones. -Offering improved/ diverse and untraditional tourist packages. -Tourism areas on the Nile Façade, two islands (Temsah & banana islands), north Karnak and south of the city. -Facilitating the movement of visitors in the city (from airport to tourism areas and city centre. - Setting a 'new urban agglomeration boundary'/ redistribution of densities. -Directing the urban growth of the city to the south and east of the railway track/upgrading the existing area in the east. -Excluding the monuments sites from a new proposed zoning (districts) - Defining (housing- tourism-monument) as separate zones/ neighbourhood concept. -Areas for urban expansion on the desert land absorbing the expected growth of population and activities/ ensuring its connection with the main urban setting. **(New settlement: New Thebes,** targeting for a population of 35,000 residents by year 2010) -A new light industrial area east of the railway track.	-The creation of [illegible] and Heritage Districts preserving the key historic features and setting in the city's old section. - The restoration of the 'Avenue of the Sphinxes' linking the Luxor and Karnak Temples. - The development of a tourism zone south of the city in the 'El-Toad', compromising hotels, facilities and a golf course. - The creation of a planned new community 'New Luxor', south of the existing city with a target population of 200,000 residents by year 2017. - Cultivation of higher-value crops in an agricultural zone surrounding the city of Luxor. The CDCL was developed in a series of stages. An initial document to build consensus around the comprehensive framework. The second phase 'Structural and Heritage Plan' translated the basic concepts into specific project elements. These elements were further refined in a series of Six investment project, each focusing on the aspects of the overall project

Source: adapted from:

Abt Associates, 1998, CDCL, The Comprehensive Development of the City of Luxor Project, Phase I, Final report.

Abt Associates (a), 1999, CDCL, The Comprehensive Development of the City of Luxor Project, Final Structure Plan, Vol. 1: Technical Report.

APCO, 1993, Planning and Developing alternatives for the urban extension of Luxor city, Final report

MOH (Ministry of Housing, Utilities and Urban Communities), 2001, "Shelter programmes and city development strategies in Egypt, paper presented at the UN general assembly special session (Istanbul+5), Thematic Committee, 6-8 June 2001.

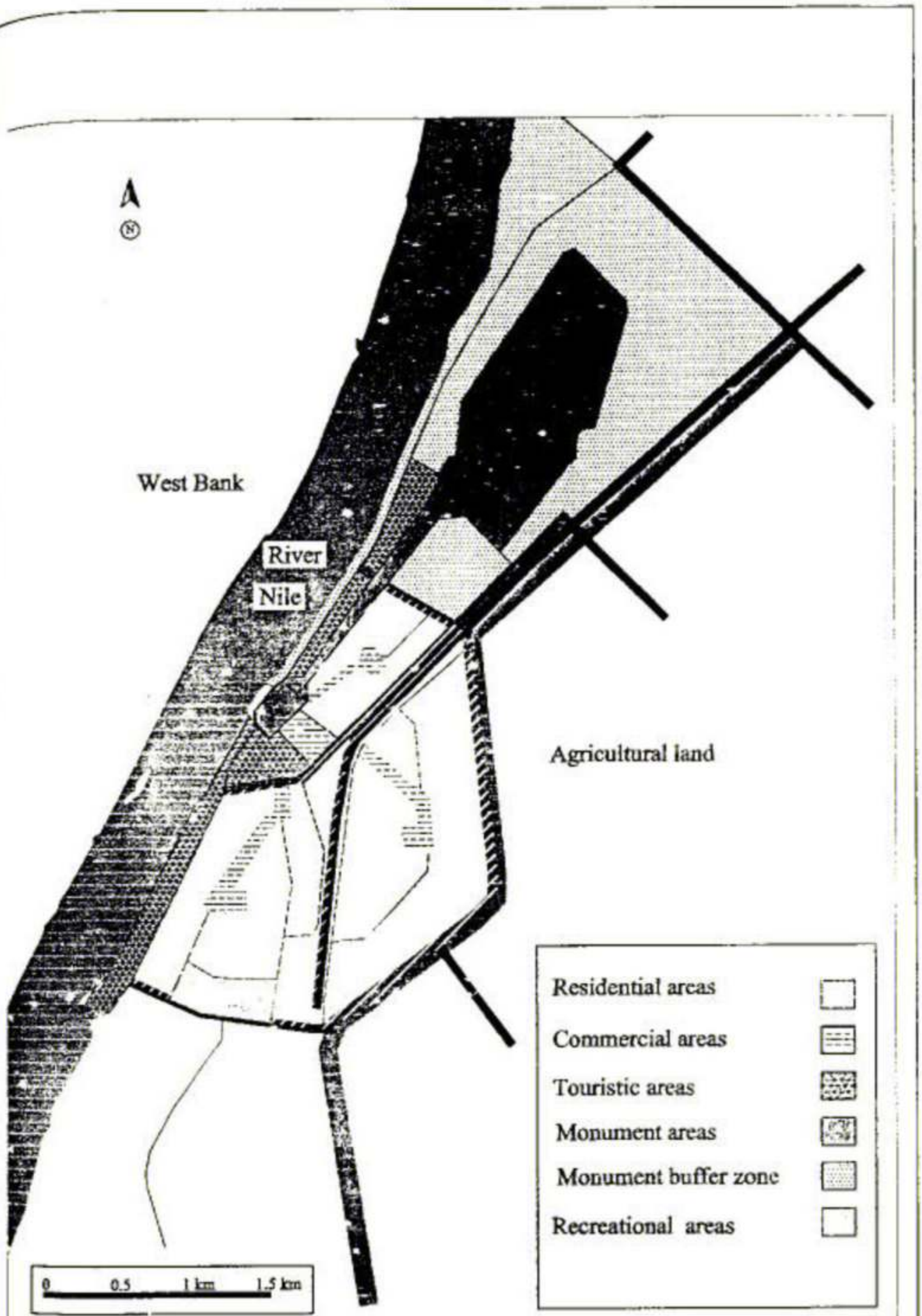

Fig (4 . 7) 1993 Approved Master-plan for Luxor City
Source: (MOH, 1993)

Although the 1984 physical plan of Luxor was reflecting the main objectives of Egypt's urban and economic development policies at the time (i.e. ERSAP), it had already created a critical institutional struggle. Coming up with a physical plan commissioned by the Ministry of Tourism had pointed out the conflict between the Ministry of Tourism (MOT) and Ministry of Housing (MOH) and Culture (MOC), concerning who has the control over the development of the city and its region. Determined from the early 1970s, the Ministry of Tourism was considered the body responsible for the development of Egypt's tourism regions also, supported by law 2 of 1973 that entitled MOT to gain the authority to reserve areas for tourism development, plan and manage their developments (see section 3.3.1). This position greatly encouraged the ministry to come up with the 1984 approved physical plan.

Given the powerful position of the MOH during this era stated in section 4.2.7, the implementation of such a proposal coming from another institution (in this case MOT) was seen as an intrusion to the well-known framework of responsibilities carried out by MOH. As a result, the phase of the implementation of the approved 1984 proposal had no chance in taking place in the presence of a clear conflict regarding who is responsible for proposing, managing and implementing plans for the city.

As previously stated in chapter two, the implementation process has always been considered as a separate phase of the planning process. This was obvious regarding the funds; funding resources was easy to be allocated during the formulation process depending on international donors, however, the implementation phase was faced with the lack of it. Moreover, Luxor city still being under the administrative supervision of Qena Governorate, added another layer of constraint regarding the control over the management during the implementation process of individual projects, and most important the allocation of funding for projects depended entirely on the share of the city in the Governorate's annual budget for regional development

4.3.2 1993 Approved Physical Plan

Continuing with the absence of a comprehensive development plan, the problems of Luxor city was already exfoliating. Increase of population and activities, urbanization, continuous encroachment on the heritage sites and agricultural land, increasing levels of pollution and the rising water table, deterioration of the status of the city's heritage, uncontrolled mass tourism numbers, the state had to address these problems and to come out with a physical planning proposal. The GOPP commissioned

a private consultant (Architecture and Planning Consultant Office (APCO) to come up with a master plan.

The 1993 Approved Physical Plan adopted two main lines of strategies: First, to develop the urban settings of the city, upgrade the infrastructure, protect the heritage sites and to integrate the heritage settings with the city in order to promote the city as a living Open Museum. Second, the proposal studied the alternatives for a new urban settlement on the desert areas as an extension to the mother city in the outer region of Luxor (i.e. New Thebes, north East of the City). Figures 4.7, 4.8, show the components of 1992 approved physical plan and the location of New Thebes city.

As for the existing urban structure of the city, the strategies and components of the proposal didn't differ that much from the 1984 approved plan. The 'logic solutions' were seen as the only way to address the growing problems of the city; directing urban growth in certain directions removing some of the pressure heading towards the antiquities of the city, upgrading housing, services and infrastructure. Moreover, areas of urban-heritage interface were considered the main source of problems regarding the management of the Heritage and protection; clear boundaries had to be distinguished to separate the urban contemporary communities from the monuments. Meanwhile, the proposal gave much more emphasis on studying the growth alternatives in Luxor; a new settlement in the desert lands of Luxor region was considered the ideal solution to accommodate any new growth, decreasing the pressure on the existing infrastructure and services of the mother city.

Apart from the already existing the layers of struggle between the different agencies claiming their responsibility regarding regional development, physical planning formulation and implementation and management of Luxor previously illustrated in section 4.2.7, suggesting a new urban community had already added another layer into this 'game of struggle'. The Authority of New Urban Communities ANUC, under the direct authority of the Central government and headed by the MOH was already given the responsibility to establish and manage all new communities, supported by the Law 59/1979[46].

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[46] According to Law 59/1979, for the setting of the Authority for New Urban Communities, ANUC is the agency responsible to manage and exploit the desert areas other than the ones suitable for agriculture or defence purposes. These areas are given facilities, tax exemptions and incentives to encourage investments in them. The agency is also responsible as a representative of the state for the construction of the infrastructure, public buildings and basic services (Attia, 1999).

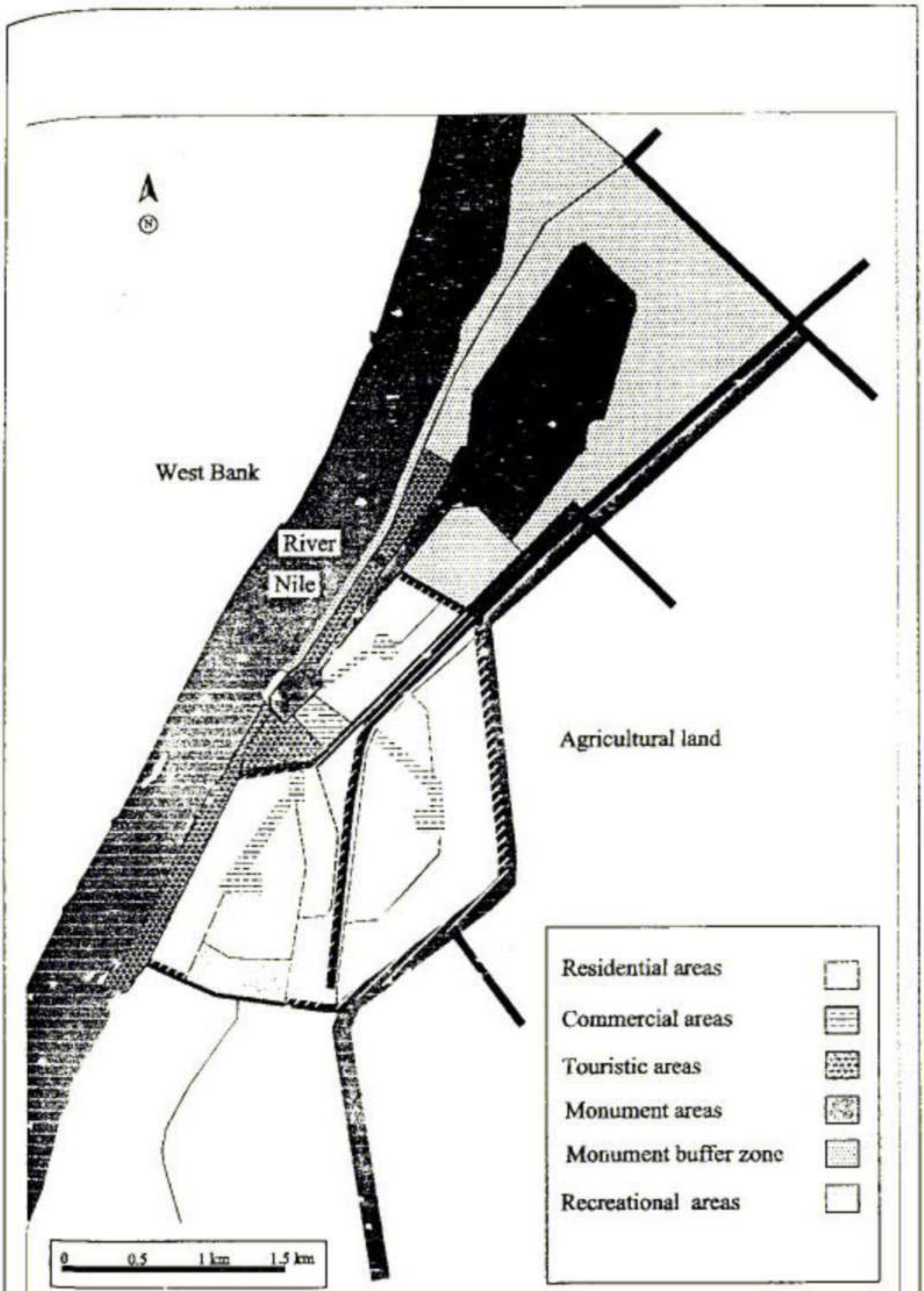

Fig (4 . 7) 1993 Approved Master-plan for Luxor City
Source: (MOH, 1993)

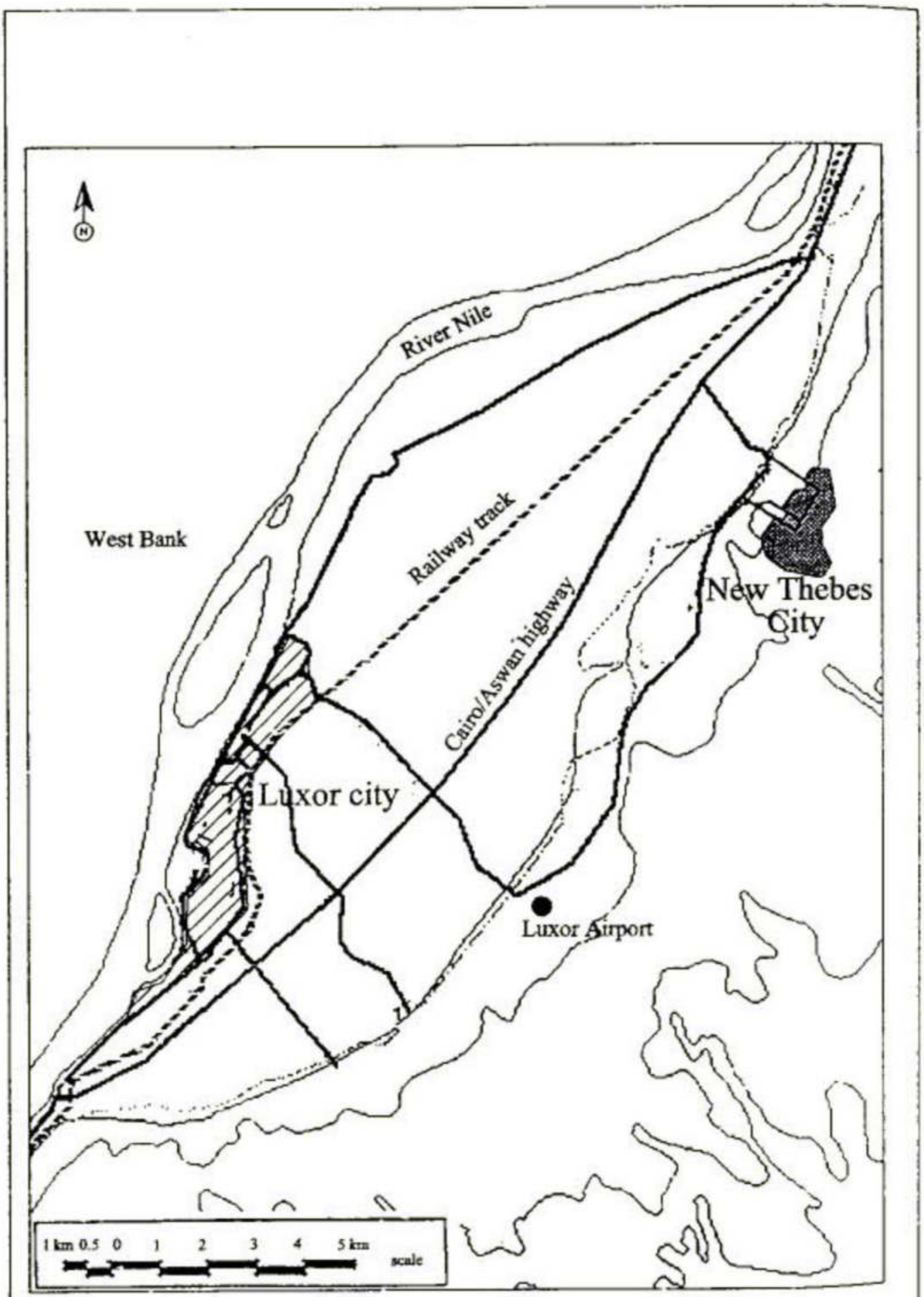

Fig (4 . 8) 1993 Approved Master-plan for Luxor: Location of New Thebes City

Source: (MOH, 1993)

However, this came into direct conflict with the responsibilities of the GOPP and with Law 43/1979 concerning the responsibilities of Local authorities that states 'any project established within the administrative body of a governorate had to be approved by the Local Council before its implementation'.

Moreover, after only three years of establishing a new upgraded administrative framework for Luxor city as a governorate (No. 153 in 1989), by 1993 its staff were still incapable of handling the projects of this scale into their own hands. As a result, the HCLC continued to be a weak party in the decision-making and formulation processes (administrative with no authority). Consequently, the arena was empty for the struggle between the stronger parties to decide what is best for the city.

Regarding the planning approach adopted during the above two master plans: 1984 and 1993 plans, the Rational Comprehensive planning approach to urban, economic and social development was considered the most welcomed by the Egyptian government to enrich the states' role in addressing the 'public interest' and regulating the imbalances and inequalities created by market process, the 'blue- print' methodology was the traditional methodology adopted during the formulation phases. 'Experts' or 'consultants' (i.e. foreign or national) were to be commissioned by the Central Government were placed to analysis the problems of the city and to come out with the ideal physical arrangement of activities. However, apart from lack of funds, the implementation phase of the projects were also faced by the limitations offered by the Rational Comprehensive planning approach previously discussed in chapter two, section (2.2.2.1).

Assuming a common consensus and a 'conflict-free society', the process of public participation and involvement in the decision-making and formulation process of the plan was very limited; only formal local participants were actively involved in the process. Moreover, suggesting the evacuation of settlements and activities and its people and relocating them to other 'expert-proposed locations', which is considered to a certain extent 'a very personal decision', and without taking into consideration their personal opinions and needs, forced a complete freeze of the implementation process of the projects of this nature (i.e. evacuation, demolition, relocation and compensation).

As a result, the gap between formulation and implementation processes was well in place. Given the above context of the 1984 and 1993 plan, Luxor city was exposed to 'short term' individual projects not at all times related to any integrated comprehensive

plan, new development was moving in an 'ad-hoc' manner, with no significant impact on the urban and physical and economic improvement of the city. With the lack of a strong administrative coordination and funding system, Luxor's heritage resources continued to deteriorate. Moreover, conflicting management approaches were adopted in the city's different urban-heritage interface areas; negative control measures preventing any further construction, opportunistically executed relocations of individual families...etc. meanwhile, the shift within the international and national political context dramatically had its impact on the affected the path of development the city of Luxor was taking. (CDCL, 1999 and Der Spek, 2003).

Der Spek (2003) combining different quotes from number of consultants who were working and have worked in Egypt and some of which have been involved in development studies of Luxor city, gives a basic view of the internal political environment revealing the background in which the major development projects were being carried within the city:

> "There was in fact fairly vicious warfare going on between Tourism and Antiquities which was normal and quite predictable with the winning side varying from year to year dependant on who were the lead personalities at the time of question, the state of economy in general and the level of tourism revenues in particular. It was all pretty unedifying...As Luxor was seen as the cash cow and the salvation of Egypt, anyone who dared to frustrate any initiative from Tourism or local entrepreneurs was treated with deep suspicion. In fact anyone who spoke openly against any tourism project was soon removed from office, if in the public sector" (ibid, 2003, p. 13)

As major political events in the Middle East during the 1990's (e.g. Iraq's invasion of Kuwait in 1990, the 1st Gulf War 1991) were already affecting the stability within the whole region, tourist travelling to the area and Egypt had already been undermined. To make things worse for Egypt, the tourism industry have very little time to recover as politically motivated attacks by Islamic militants from 1992 onwards began to hit targets including tourists. As a result, apart from high security measures alongside government initiatives to revive the tourism industry, a sense of urgency escalated from that date on to concentrate on the development of Upper Egypt regions[47].

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[47] In 1996, Ministry of Planning had already prepared The National Plan for the Development of the South of Egypt to the target year 2017.

Mubarak's 1992 visit to Luxor had already symbolized a very high degree of political backup to renew "vigour to any dormant open-air museum and resettlement plans" (Der Spek, 2003, p.18). While Luxor was clearly to be prioritorized on the national agenda for development, urban development, tourism movement and heritage management and conservation were strengthening the politicised nature of these integrated processes in the city[48]. Der Spek (2003) stressed on the political nature of heritage management as follows:

> "Policy will in part obviously be formulated to preserve the heritage, but increasingly official pronouncements about issues surrounding Egypt's archaeological heritage are cloaked in terms which stress the potential to increase tourism revenues over aspects which are rather more heritage management oriented…. In such instances, the political side to heritage management clearly serves domestic, economic purposes, with continuing excavation, preservation and presentation of archaeological sites designed to attract foreign visitor"
>
> (ibid, 2003, p.23)

Reaching the end of the 20th century, the state became merely an investor among many others striving for profit, cutting down on its developmental role and sacrificing its welfare commitments. Moreover, the private sector became much more influential controlling all aspects of national development planning starting from setting its priorities and goals to decision-making process regarding their implementation. As a result, the approach to the formulation and implementation of national development planning policies had changed dramatically from being rational comprehensive planning during the 1970s and 1980s to a mix of dominant liberal entrepreneurial planning and less-dominant rational comprehensive planning approaches during the 1990s after the adoption of the ERSAP in early 1991, although carried out by the same institutional arrangements and controlled by the very same individuals. This had its affect on the process of formulation of the following development proposal (i.e. 1998 physical plan), which can be considered a clear example of 'a state encouraging or forced to encourage the private sector to enter the areas of national development were the government agencies clearly failed to succeed alone'.

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[48] A clear example of the politicized nature of Egypt's Urban Conservation approach; the restoration of Edfu Temple involved both archaeological excavation and the relocation of people living close to the site. However, the announcement of the project in 1997 was not made by the Supreme council of Antiquities or Ministry of Culture or even Ministry of Housing; the project was to be announced by the Ministry of Tourism, emphasizing the movement of the national interest towards obvious tourism development (MET, 1997)

4.3.3 1998 Comprehensive Development of the City of Luxor (CDCL)

A twenty-year project that will oversee Luxor's future as a modern and historic city, a preliminary vision statement, was prepared for the Egyptian Government in June 1997 by a consulting team led by Abt Associates[49] through a joint fund between Ministry of Housing MOH, the UNDP, and UN-HABITAT[50]. The vision was then presented in an international symposium in July 17th, which was attended by the First Lady, Mrs. Mubarak, a number of Ministers and representatives of the involved public participants, in order to discuss the project and orient the consultant for the development of the successive phases (Rashed and Soliman, 2000 and Der Spek, 2003).

The objective was "to extend technical assistance to the HCLC to formulate and implement a strategic development plan for sustainable development of Luxor and for enlisting worldwide support for implementation of priority projects" (UN-HABITAT, 2003). In other words, the project seeks to design and implement "ways to accommodate projected growth in population, tourism, agriculture while preserving and enhancing the antiquities to absorb the escalation in tourism" (Abraham and Tilney, 1998) Therefore, the project was to create an efficient framework for guiding development, attracting investment from the private sector and international institutions for priority projects; prepare a strategic development plan drawing on worldwide expertise and initiate implantation of projects. The project aimed also to involve local human resources in the development process and to generate new jobs specifically in tourism-related enterprises. Dealing with pollution and environmental degradation, another concerning issue, the project had to establish an environmental management programme, and also accomplish an integrated training and human resources development programme for the local administration staff, community leaders and NGO's (MOH, 2001).

Guided by the techniques of urban planning and management developed by Sustainable development programme (SCA), the project adopted a participatory interface between the foreign consultant that is to prepare the development plans and the

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[49] Abt Associates Inc. founded in 1965, is an applied research and consulting firm to a wide range of social, economic and technological issues; international development; clinical trails and registries; and complex business problems. The firm provides technical expertise to U.S Federal, state, and local governments; foreign governments; international organizations; foundations and business and industry. A staff over 1,000 is located in offices around the U.S. A, and overseas in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Middle East (Abt associates, 2005)

[50] The United Nations Human Settlements Programme, UN-HABITAT, is the United Nations agency for human settlements. It is mandated by the UN General Assembly to promote socially and environmentally sustainable towns and cities with the goal of providing adequate shelter for all. (UN-HABITAT, 2003)

interested parties[51]. This was achieved through the incorporation of four board-based working groups established on:

1. Tourism, environment and heritage protection,
2. Future investment,
3. Urban and rural development
4. Fast track and priory projects.

Each group had to consist of representatives of the international, senior government and representatives, local government and community representatives and representatives of the private sector, to ensure the involvement of all parties in the development planning process. The working groups main task was to assess the current situation, highlight major issues, problems, development needs and deficiencies, where their findings had to be addressed be the consultant's plans. Furthermore, the working groups had to provide the consultant with their inputs and participate in the decision-making process (UN-HABITAT, 2003).

As a result, the working groups and consultant together addressed the concepts of a 'Structure plan', and 'Heritage plans', which were presented in a final report of the first phase to the Egyptian government later in January 1998. The structure plan based its core concept on a controlled growth model in order to address specific inherent problems and opportunities in the growth of Luxor city and its region through defining the limits and directions of future growth, developing linkages between the main city and new areas of growth (i.e. new satellites cities) Fig (4.9-11) illustrates the main components of the structure plan on the regional and city level. To formulate this structure concept, the key issues of plan included:

1. To encourage growth in satellite New Towns at a secured distance from the more sensitive cultural areas of the city. New infrastructure and economic services provided to encourage growth within these new areas (i.e. New Luxor, El-Toad, El-Tarif, Mrs Mubarak Village).
2. To provide new tourism zones, hotels and commercial zones while stressing on diversifying the tourism experience (i.e. El-

[51] SCA is a joint UN-Habitat/UNEP facility established in the early 1990s to build capacities in urban environmental planning and management. The programme targets urban local authorities and their partners. It is founded on broad-based stakeholder participatory approaches. Currently SCA and its sister programme Agenda 21 operate in over 30 countries worldwide (UN-Habitat, 2005)

Toad village as a major tourist village, adding new tourism activities in the city of New Thebes, Khuzam and near El- Tarif).

3. The reclamation of agricultural land (80,000 feddan for high-value agriculture and agro-processing industry). New agricultural land will be reclaimed in the East and West Bank. New agricultural communities will be developed to promote relocation and centralize processing of agricultural products. These villages will have access to services while very limited development will be permitted on agricultural land (i.e. Mrs Mubarak Village, Bayadiaa village and El-Tarif).
4. To enhance the circulation within the region and city through upgrading and developing major arteries.
5. To improve social services by developing a new university, technical schools and primary and secondary schools. Furthermore, an international quality hospital is proposed to be located in the new tourism zone.
6. Private- sector participation in major infrastructure, tourism facilities and new towns projects.

In relation to the protection of the cultural Heritage of the Luxor city, the structure plan and the Heritage plan concepts stressed on the need for preservation of Luxor city's monument area and city centre on one hand and creating an open –air museum on the other hand. (Fig 4.12-15) show the main elements of the East bank Heritage concept. Furthermore, emphasising on the sensitivity of the west bank, the proposal added strong controls to be enforced to limit growth and assure architectural controls are complied with. Residents in key monument areas in the East and West bank will have to be relocated and provided new housing areas, while monuments are to be restored and made available for future restoration. Moreover, the relocation of the existing ship ports to new areas south of Luxor Bridge.

Moreover, six priority investment package concepts that constituted to 'central development objectives' were selected out of 40 development concepts presented by the consultant (Box 4.3 presents the six investment packages). With a primary theme of preserving of the antiquities, while providing contemporary needs of local residents, the concept of the Heritage plan, developed the following recommendations:

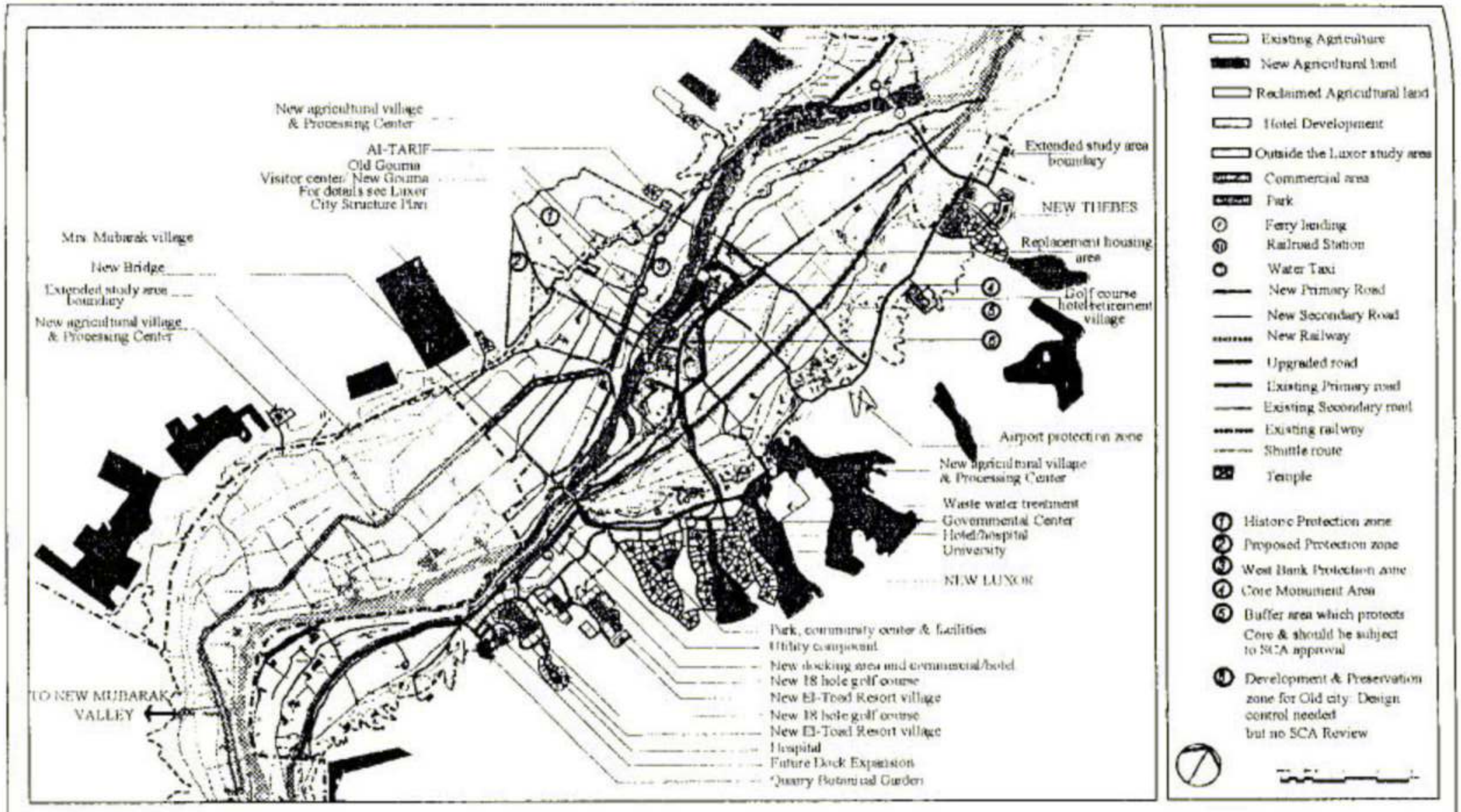


Fig (4 . 9) 1998 Comprehensive Development Plan for the City of Luxor - Regional Structure Plan Concept

Source: (MOH, 1998)

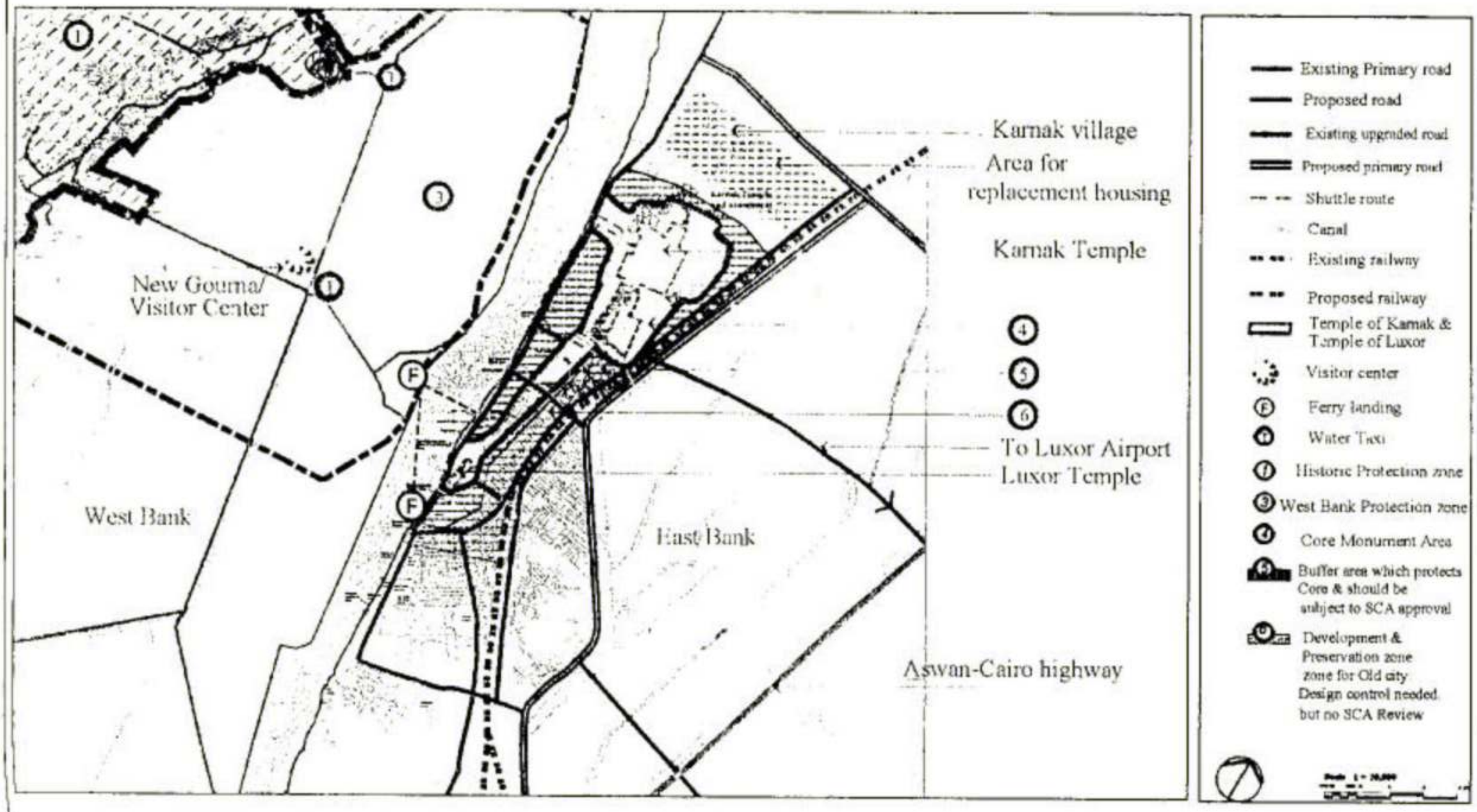


Fig (4 . 10) 1998 CDCL- Luxor City Structure Plan Concept
Source: (MOH, 1998)

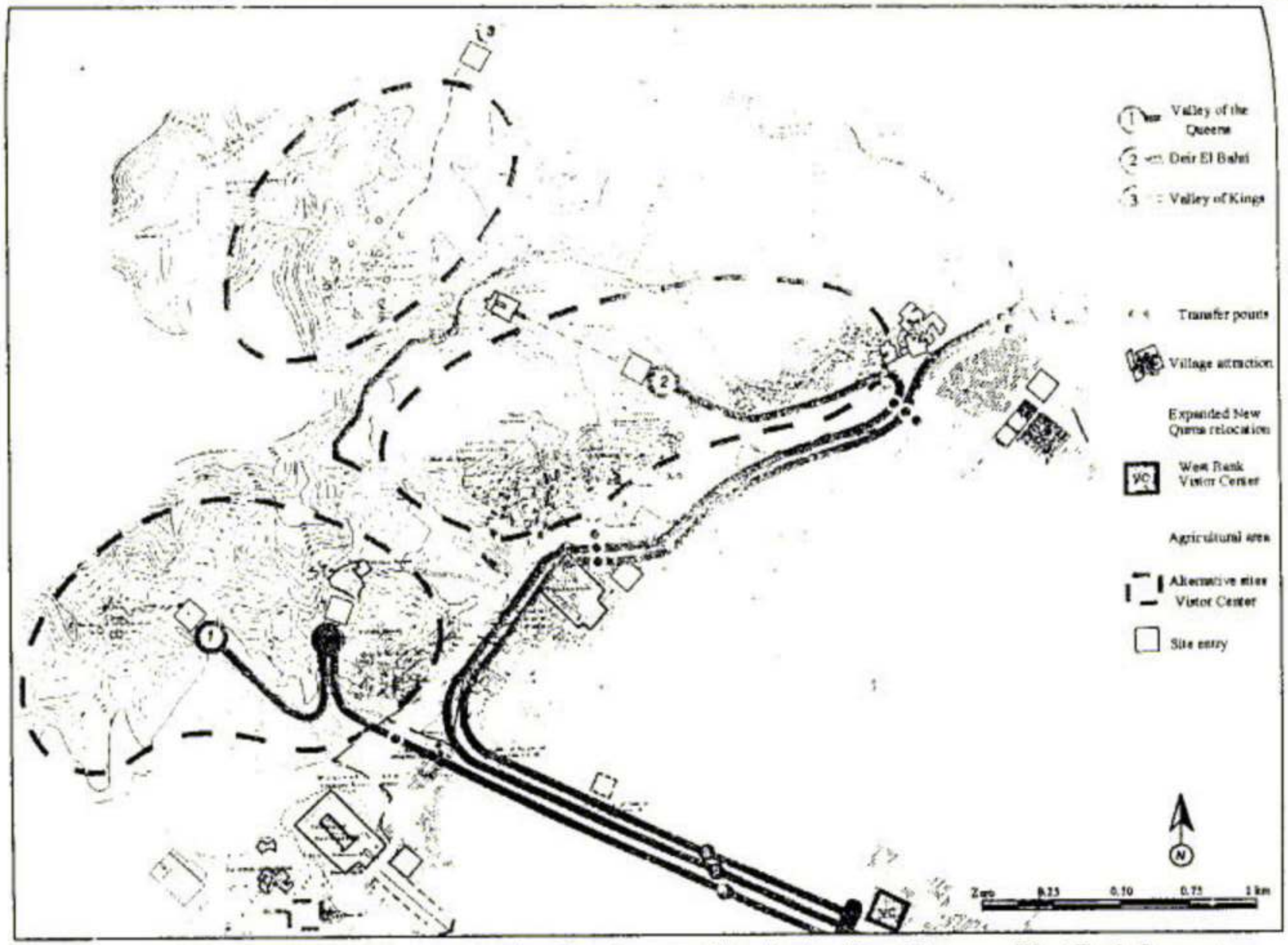


Fig (4 . 11) 1998 Comprehensive Development Plan for the City of Luxor - West Bank Concept
Source: (MOH, 1998)

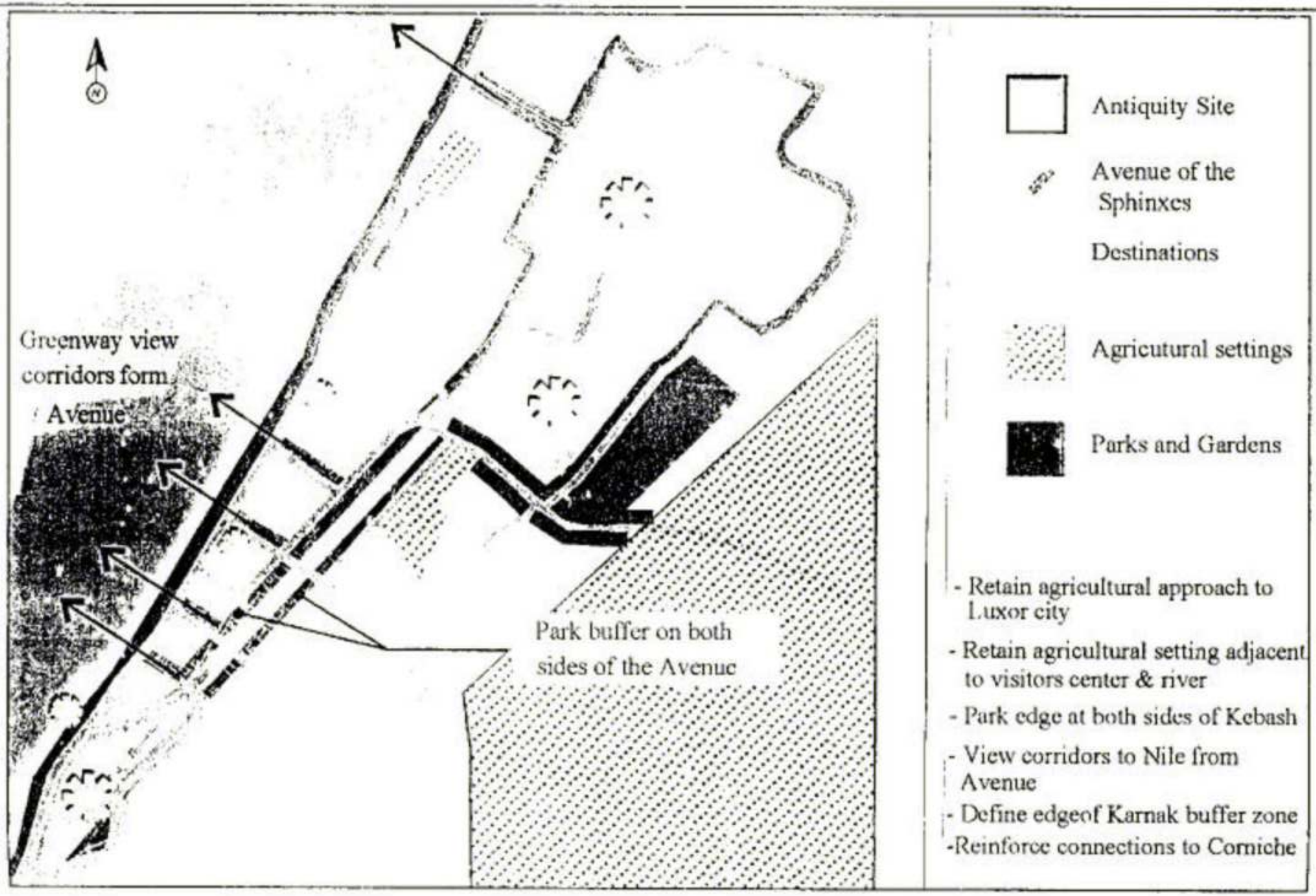


Fig (4 . 12) 1998 CDCI.- Heritage Concept Elements: East Bank: Park and Open Space Concept

Source: (MOH, 1998)

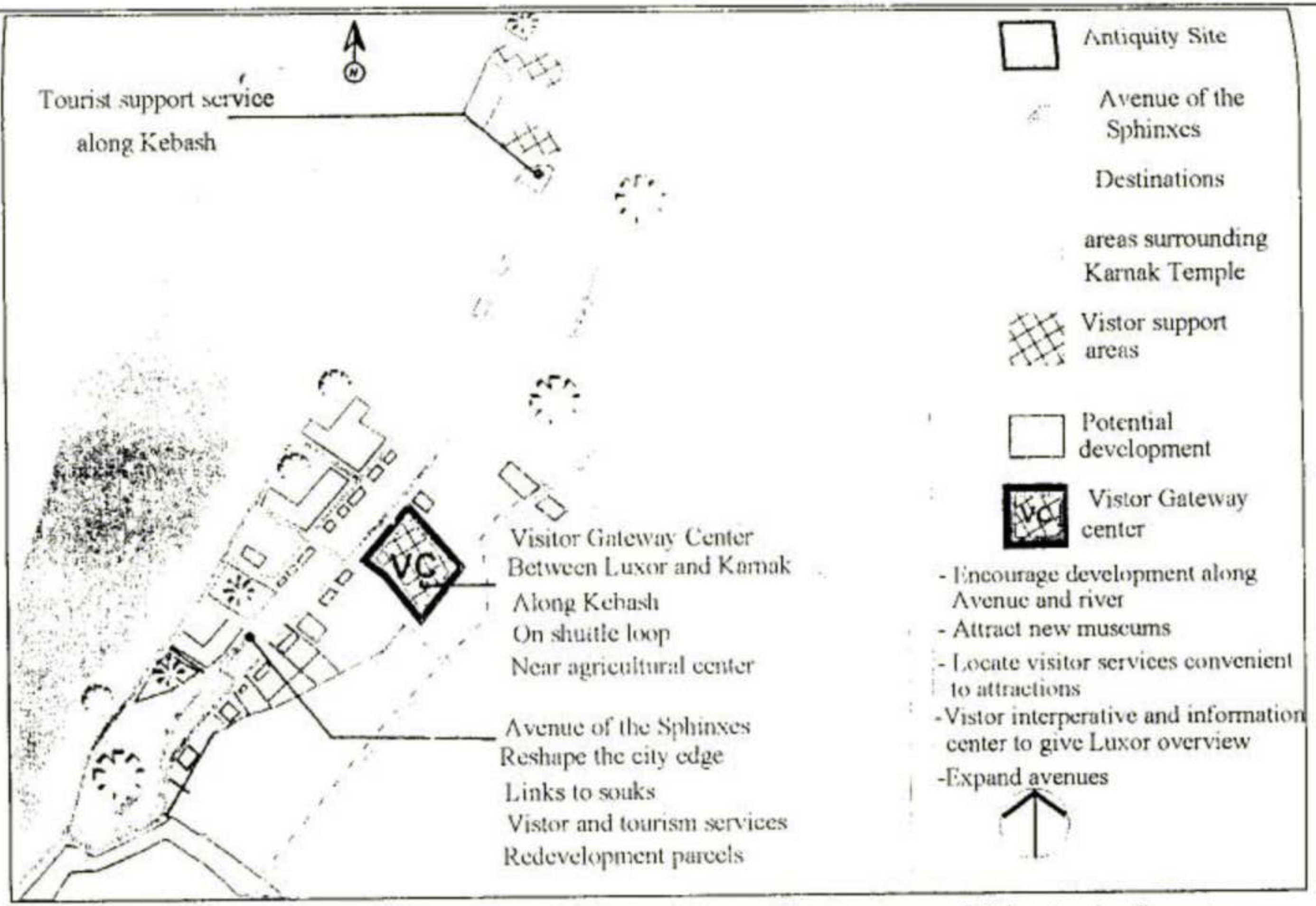
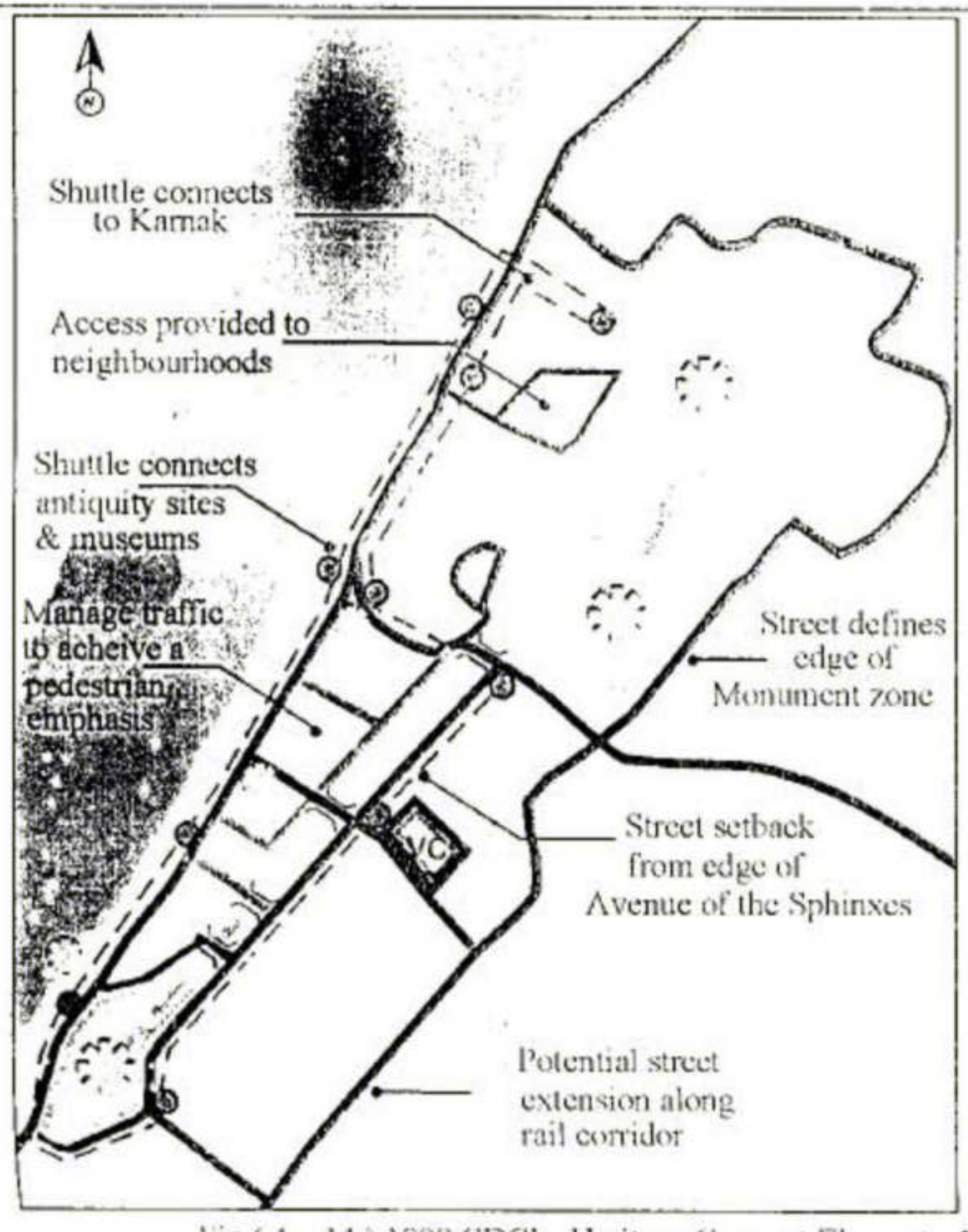


Fig (4 . 13) 1998 CDCI.- Heritage Concept Elements: East Bank Development and Visitor Service Concept

Source: (MOH, 1998)



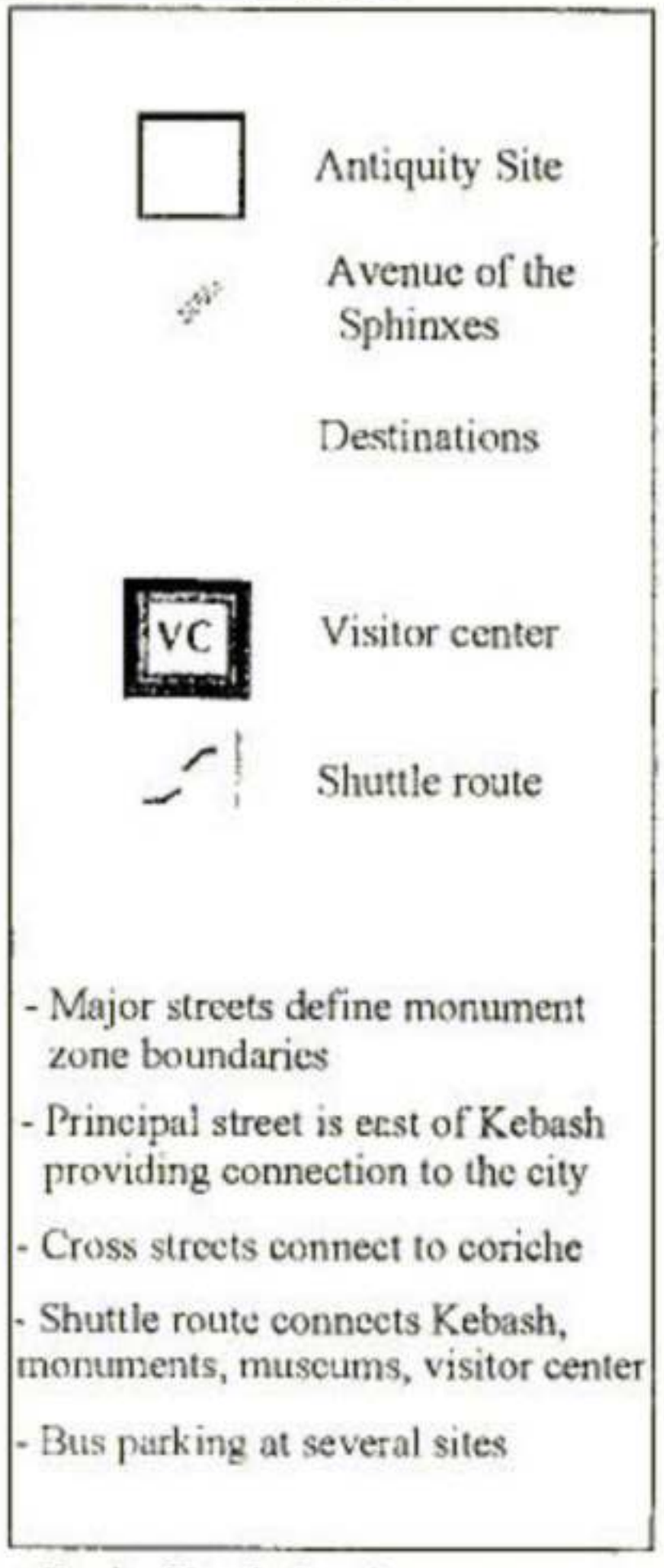
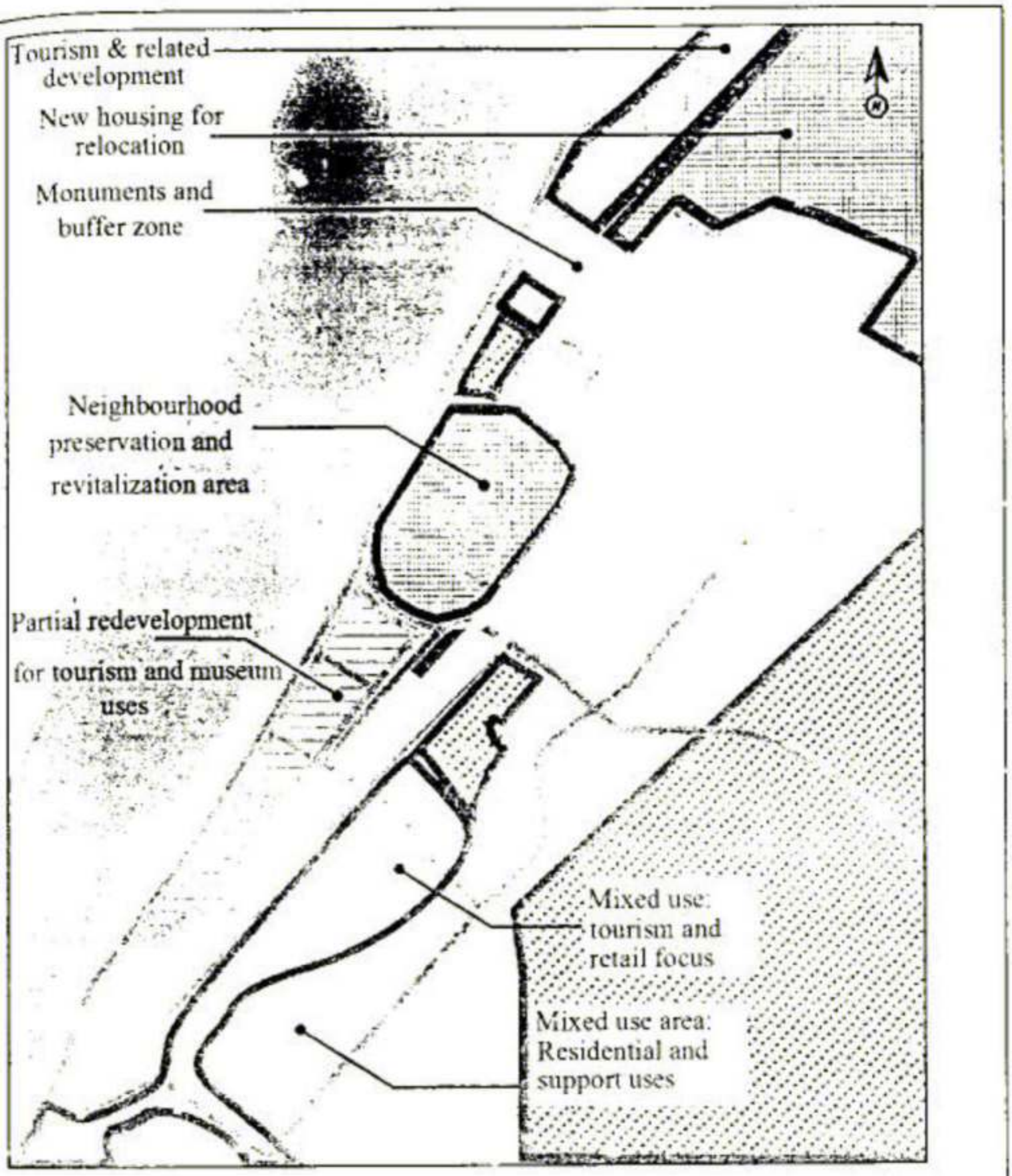


Fig (4 . 14) 1998 CDCL - Heritage Concept Elements: East Bank: Circulation Concept

Source: (MOH, 1998)



- Protect antiquity sites and Avenue of Sphinxes

-Create "open museum" between Avenue of Sphinxes and River providing connection to the city

- Redevelop city edge to east of Avenue of the Sphinxes, adapting, expanding, and improving retail, manging traffic to give preference to pedestrians.

Fig (4 . 15) 1998 CDCL - Heritage Concept Elements: East Bank Preservation and Development Areas

Source: (MOH. 1998)

Box (4.3) the concept of the Six Investment packages, CDCL

Project 1: Restoration of the Avenue of the Sphinxes- to improve the tourist experience by restoring the sphinxes statues and landscaping, increase the vitality of the city centre and form the centrepiece for the Open Museum.

Project 2: Development of the Destination Resort of El-Toad- to establish and carry out a work plan for environmentally sustainable tourism development also benefiting the local population, by creating a tourism zone with new hotels and tourism attractions outside Luxor city to serve the needs of its rapidly growing tourism industry.

Project 3: Development of the New Community of New-Luxor-to design a new city that is a pleasant place to live and work, setting a new standard for development in the Luxor region with its high quality infrastructure of new housing, open spaces, and public facilities.

Project 4: Infrastructure services for New Luxor and El –Toad- to ensure that there is an infrastructure (water, wastewater, transportation, energy and telecommunications) in place to support the investment needs, which will need the participation of the private sector.

Project 5: Establishment of High-Value Agriculture- to develop high-value crop production and agro-processing industry to meet the economic needs of Luxor residents. The majority of the residents depend on small agricultural plots to sustain their families. Reclamation of substantial land is essential for the growing population.

Project 6: Development of the Open Museum and Heritage District in Luxor City- to develop a cohesive and enhanced historical zone that will protect resources and accommodate additional tourist. This will involve the development of a Visitor's Centre and traffic/pedestrian circulation system improvements.

Source adopted from: (MOH, 2001, Abt Associates, 2005)

By 2002, a whole series of studies including the Final 'structure and Heritage plans', investment portfolios for the entire six priority projects were completed and presented to the MOH to start with the strategic and detailed plans in order to commence with the implementation phase of the individual projects. As the foreign consultants' contract came to an end, the following phases were left with loads of problems to tackle; as a consequence approving the Strategy plans was delayed for more than one year. Dr. Ashour (2006) commenting on the problems faced as a consultant[52] commissioned in 2002 to complete with the Strategic and detailed plans states:

> "We have inherited a wealth of problems from the foreign consultant: his recommendations that included proposing a new settlement in the south of Luxor's region (New Luxor) the Abt study hasn't respected the north point of growth attraction (New Thebes). Moreover, proposing 2000 feddan of rich agricultural land to be added to a new urban agglomeration boundary. We have been in constant debates with representatives of the UNDP and the MOH to decrease the area of the urban agglomeration boundaries from 2000 to 1000 feddans, including the illegal slums."
>
> (ibid, 2006)

[52] Professor Dr. Ayman Ashour, head of (ARCH PLAN- Architects, planners and consultants), was commissioned in August 2002 after presenting his technical offer and winning a short-listed tender to complete the CDCL.

Based on the main guidelines and strategies of the CDCL, a master plan was updated and prepared in 2004 and presented to the MOH in order to serve as the proposed master plan of the city of Luxor in 2022. With a main task to avoid the points of deficiencies of the CDCL, the updated master plan aimed at directing a comprehensive development on the level of the region while underlining a development strategy at the scale of areas, districts and neighbourhoods. After approving a new urban agglomeration boundary for the city of Luxor, an area of 2,204.45 feddan with a total density of 138 capita/feddan was the target of the new master plan (MOH, 2004).

The theoretical concept of the master plan was based on adopting a simple compact, pivotal and central pattern for the city while maintaining the continuity of the urban texture emphasizing the centralized facilities of the city centre and pivotal north-south development axis. Furthermore, the master plan aimed at attaining a degree of flexibility in the land use distribution while stressing on the transformation of the antiquities area (Luxor Temple, Karnak Temple and Sphinxes Avenue) into an open museum. To practically address this theoretical concept, the master plan divided the city into three main sections: The Open Museum and the Heritage District, The residential city and the tourist areas[53]. Figures (4.16, 4.17) illustrate the main components and strategies of urban development of the updated master plan-2004.

Based on the three main entry points, political support and institutional arrangement, availability of funding and planning approach specifically referring to the community participation mechanism in the planning process, the gap between the formulation and implementation processes will be analysed in the following points:

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[53] The Open Museum and the Heritage District; includes the Karnak and Luxor Temples and the Avenue of the Sphinxes in between in addition to some parts of the main city and others of the new Karnak area. Second; the residential city; is divided into three residential areas namely: The northern Karnak district, the eastern railway district and the southern Luxor district. Each district contains about 7-8 residential neighbourhoods of an average surface area ranging between 30 and 50 feddans. The main centre of the city is situated in the main city. Therefore it enhances links between the city on the one hand and the Open Museum and the Heritage District on the other. As for residential districts, special district centres have been made available in each district where secondary facilities are gathered. The locations of these districts have been very carefully selected regarding the already existing facilities or the existence of a basis for these facilities. Third, the tourist areas, the selection of these areas has focused along the Nile corniche that has been divided into three sectors: The northern Corniche, the central Corniche and the southern Corniche. The inconsistency of the depth of these areas along the corniche depends on the roads network and the land use in the city level (MOH, 2004).

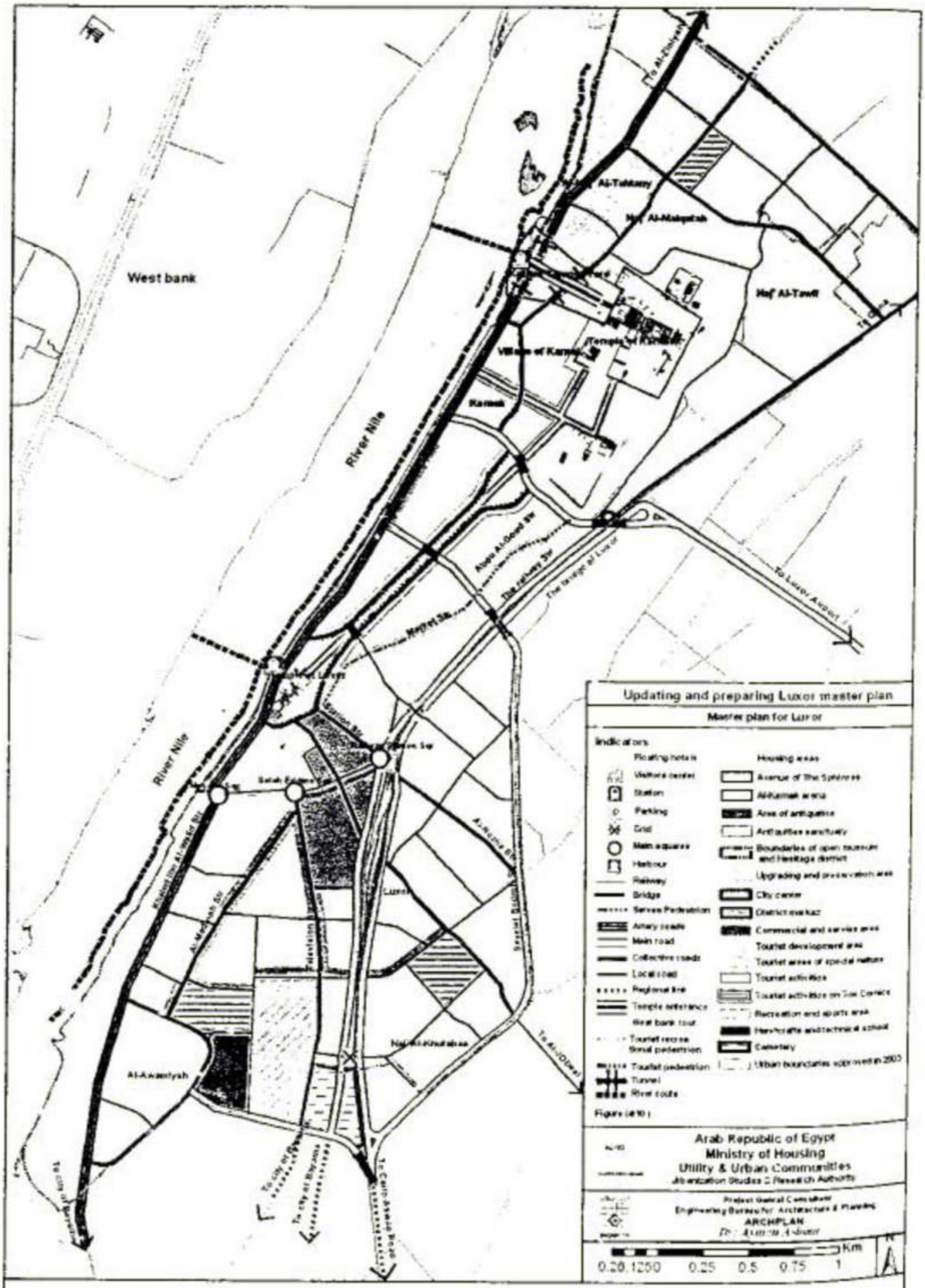

Fig (4 . 16) Updating and preparing Luxor Master Plan-2004 : Master Plan

Source: (MOH, 2004)

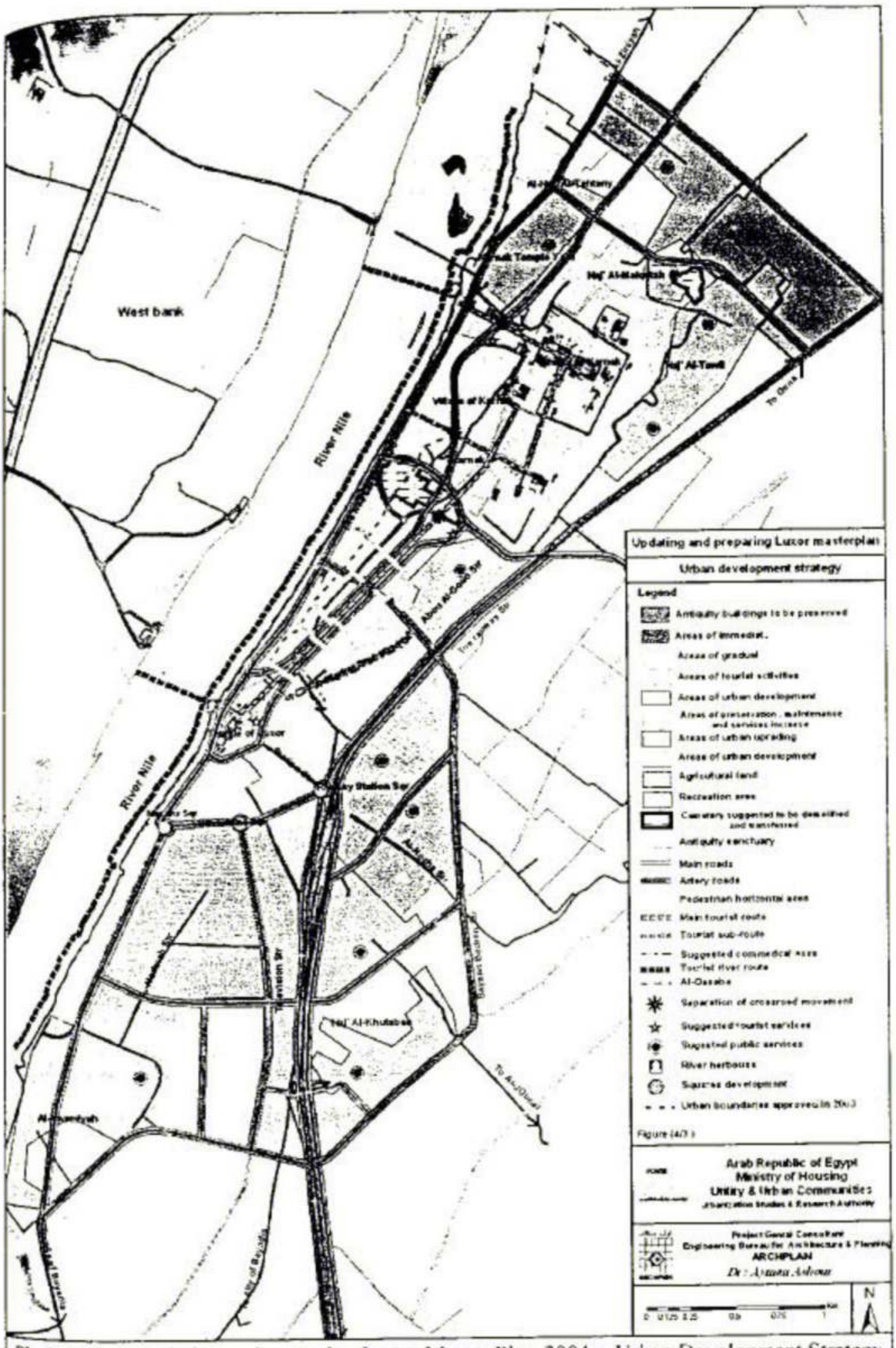

Fig (4 . 17) Updating and preparing Luxor Master Plan-2004 : Urban Development Strategy

Source: (MOH, 2004)

4.3.3.1 Political Support and Institutional Arrangement:

Continuous studies monitoring the development process in Egypt as a developing country struggling with its constraints, international agencies (World bank, UNDP, UN-HABITAT) have pointed out their concern. Moreover, UNESCO had already reported its own concern regarding the state's approach to heritage management and the status of the country's urban heritage. As a result, these international agencies have been constantly offering their technical development aid and financial support. So luckily, the escalating national political-will to continue achieving the development goals for the Upper Egypt region ensuring the state's political security[54], coupled with the international support to introduce new development approaches and expand the existing management capacities; a new momentum was right in place to start with the CDCL study. The First Lady, Mrs. Mubarak sponsoring the Launching Conference in 1997, the participation of ministers and national/international dignitaries in the preliminary meetings reflected the high-level of support the project was about to receive.

Reaching the fact that the institutional capacity of the HCLC has been adequately staffed to undertake a national project of the CDCL, and its lack of resources, staff, clear authority or even the funds to carry out major projects on its own, manage or guide following a planned approach, the CDCL study had to recommend a new institutional framework that will achieve an effective implementation and management mechanism, and that will introduce and encourage numerous ministries to work in the region.

Based on the assumptions of 'Entrepreneurialism' as a planning approach, an independent entity accountable to both the HCLC and the Central government was proposed. A Project Management and Implementation Unit (PMU), with a legislative authority, numerous professionals with clear mandates and roles (i.e. Architects, community developers, Egyptologists, Engineering, Environmentalists, fundraisers, lawyers, project managers, policy analysts, surveyors and urban planners) had to be established. Fig (4.18) shows the proposed structure of the PMU.

The proposed PMU was to be based on a Board of directors to oversee the project that was strongly recommended to be chaired by Mrs. Mubarak and include the

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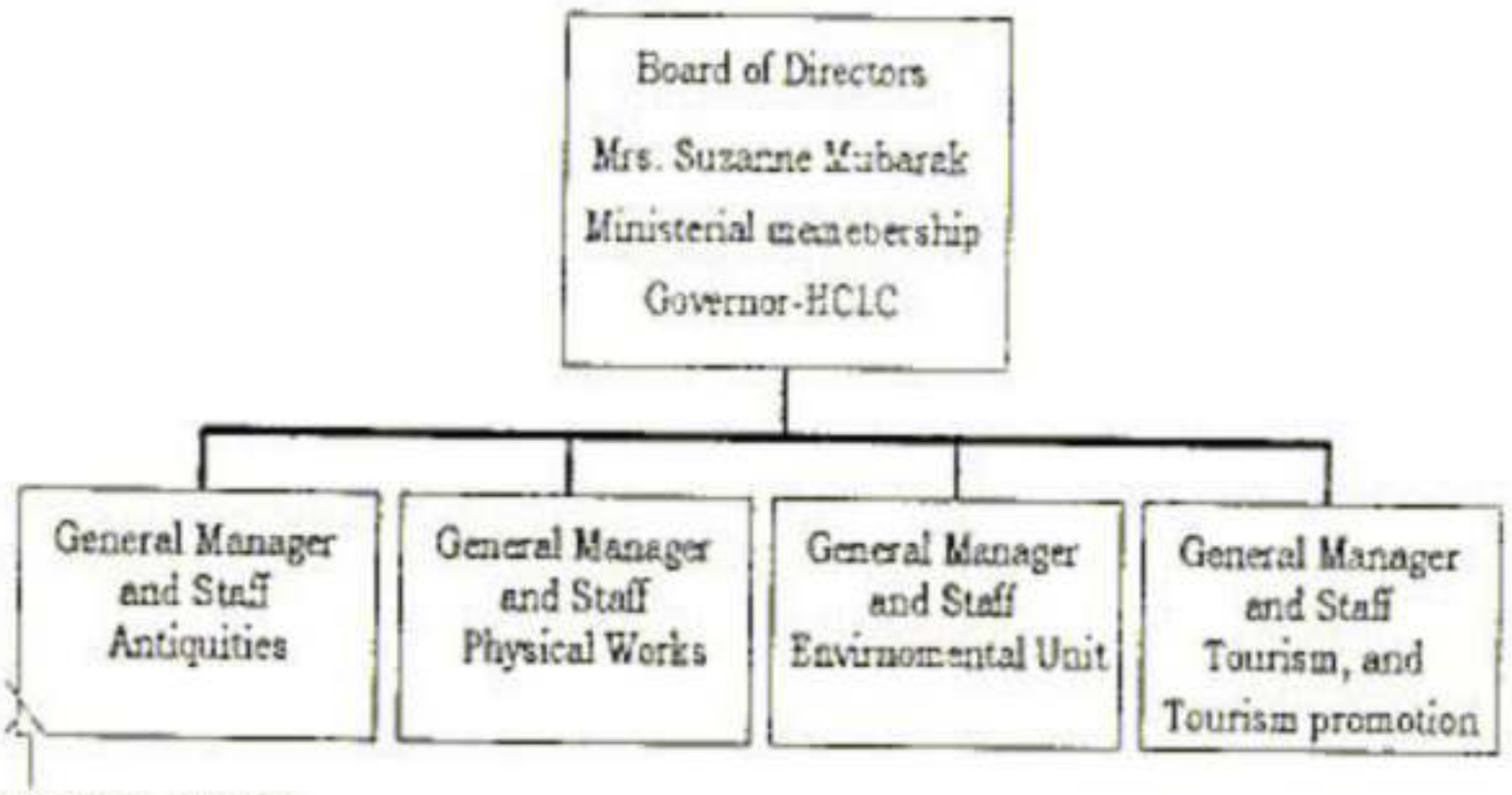
[54] While the November 1997 terrorist attack in Luxor was considered another shock to the national security, it gave more momentum for the Egyptian state to carry on with the Luxor's development plan.

Minister of Housing, Utilities and Urban Communities, Minister of Culture, the Secretary General of the SCA, Minister of Tourism, and the Head of the TDA and the governor of Luxor. Moreover, four main units were to be headed by a General Manager and assisted by directors as follows:

(1) Antiquities, Development Control and Planning Unit responsible for all land use planning, its enforcement, zoning, licensing and the issuing of building permits,
(2) Project Implementation Unit responsible for executing the physical works,
(3) Environmental Management Unit, responsible for water management, solid waste management and urban landscaping
(4) Tourism Promotion Unit that will focus on and develop tourism products to create additional attractions, promote the city and work closely with the staff of the SCA and tourism police.

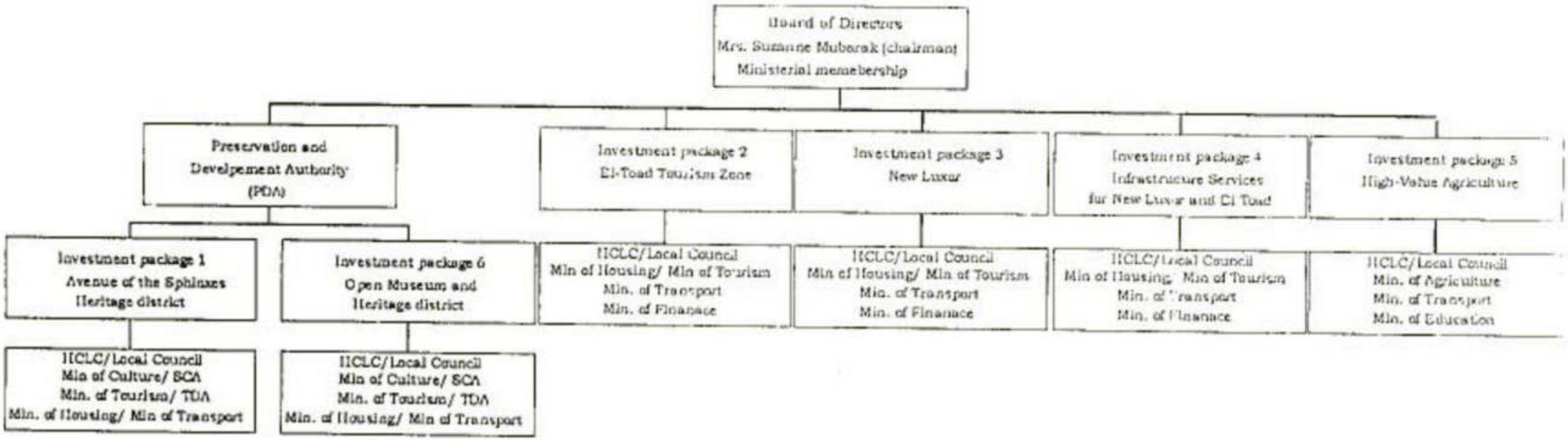
Fig (4.18) Structure of the Project Management and Implementation Unit (PMU)- first alternative



Source: (MOH, 2000)

Another alternative for the structure of the PMU was also presented by the CDCL study that made a clear emphasis on that the implementation of all individual investment projects came in accordance with the overall vision of the proposed 'Structure Plan'. (See figure 4.19)

Fig (4.19) Second Alternative Project Management and Implementation Unit Structure

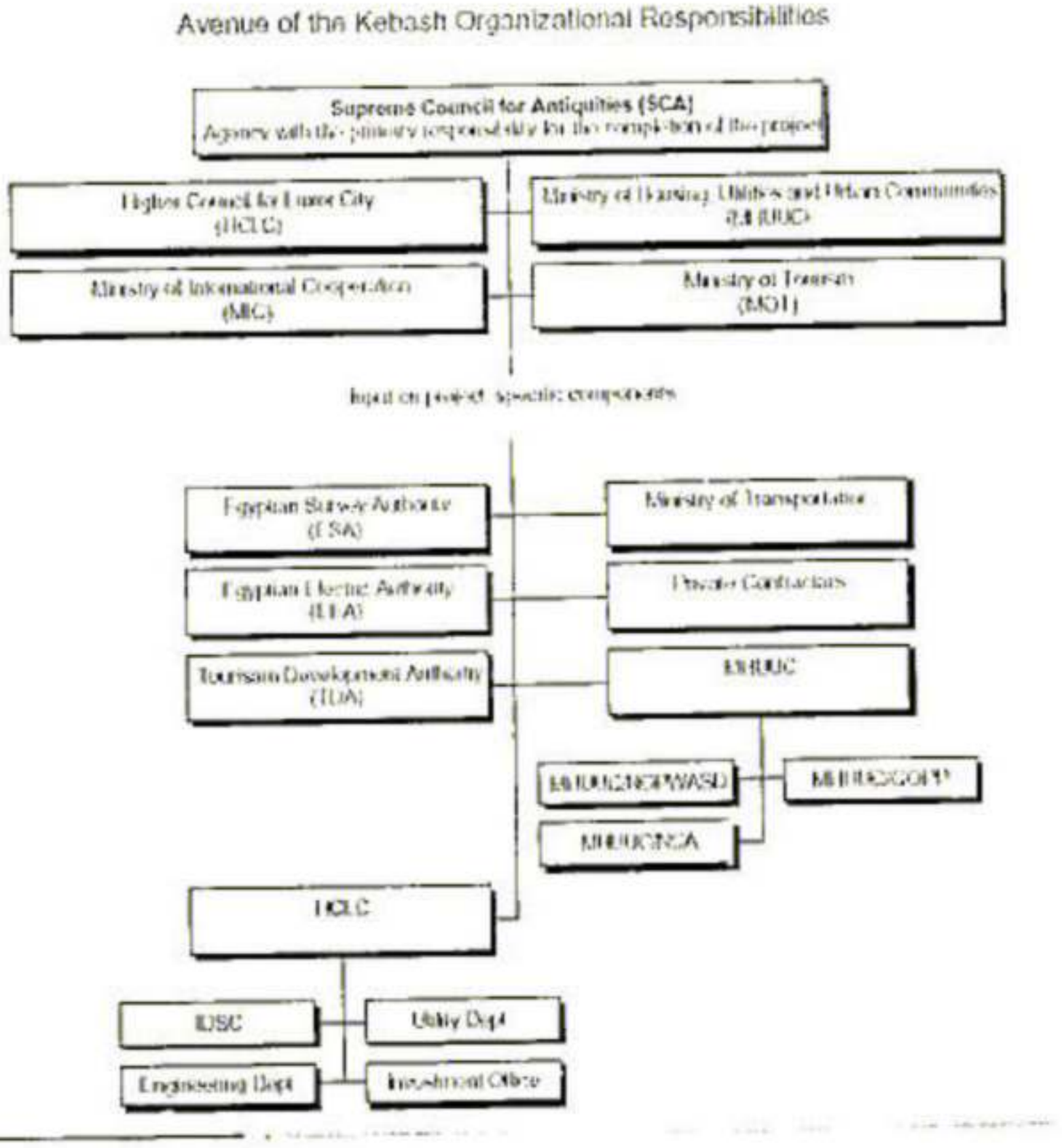


Source: (MOH, 2000)

Most important core principle was to include representatives of the local councils suggested a higher level of involvement form the population of Luxor. A board of Directors composed of Mrs. Mubarak as its chairman, the ministers of Housing, Culture, Tourism, International Cooperation, and agriculture and the Governor of Luxor. Key ministries would have to implement each individual investment project. The project management and implementation units within each ministry would have a single director who would be responsible for fund raising, management, coordination among other ministries and implementation of the project. The board would therefore be able to prioritize funds and make decisions of inter-ministerial cooperation at a senior level.

Furthermore, as the 'Excavation and Restoration of the Avenue of the Sphinxes' project was considered one of the core projects to create the open-museum in the heart of Luxor city, the CDCL study also proposed a framework for the organizational arrangement to go through the implementation phase of the project. Figure 4.20 illustrates the CDCL's proposed organizational framework for this specific project.

Fig (4.20) Organizations involved in the 'Restoration of the Sphinxes Avenue' project



Source: (MOH, 1999)

Theoretically, based on the study of the CDCL, the PMU was to be established in order to offer technical assistance to build up the institutional capacity of the HCLC, but in practice, the unit that will be enjoying the highest political support was seen as a direct threat to the existence of the HCLC, regarding decision-making, authority and management of the city. As a result of this clear threat, Shehata[55] (2006) points out the process that actually took place prior to the projects' implementation process as follows:

> " The appointment of a 'supported' governor armed with the necessary funds, donations, authority and the highest level of political support, was seen as the 'fast –track' solution to quickly start the implementation phase of the CDCL different projects, this was more practical instead of establishing a new framework (i.e. PMU) that will create conflicts with the HCLC in the first phases of implementation…moreover, after the governor has been in his chair for nearly two years now, and has proved he has the capability to do the task, he has the confidence to go on with the creation of the proposed management unit (PMU) under his authority" (Shehata, 2006)

A major general and a former director of the Egyptian Opera House, Dr. Samir Farag, appointed as the Governor of Luxor in July 2004, was assigned with a clear task to start executing the projects of the CDCL. The new governor was challenged with a weak administrative framework of the HCLC, the reality of the 'ad-hoc' nature of the city's development and the 'rooted power struggle' between the different parties claiming their rights to the management of the city. Nevertheless, maybe for the first time, Luxor had been offered a strong local authority through its powerful governor and supported with a political backup in order to achieve the development goals.

4.3.3.2 Funding Resources:

The second entry point regarding the analysis of the formulation-implementation gap can be viewed from is the availability of funding resources. As previously mentioned, the high level of international and national enthusiasm had immediately resulted in the allocation of funding for the different formulation phases of the CDCL study; around 992,600 dollars was the total cost offered by Ministry of Housing MOH as the national partner together with the UNDP, and UN-HABITAT as the international partners of the project (UN-HABITAT, 2003).

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[55] Eng. Mahmoud Shehata, a HCLC senior urban planner, was interviewed by the researcher in March 2006

> "It has always been easy to allocate donations and funding for the commissioning of studies and production of development proposals...however not securing a clear resource of funding to start with the implementation process, projects have suffered a similar fate of non- fulfilment.... the planning process reaches a dead-end"
>
> (El- Bassiouni[56], 2006)

While the norm within the planning process has always been that proposals were to be prepared as long as funding is available for this phase, while the implementation phase had to await in hope that the state secures enough money to start with the projects. In order to tackle this gap, based on a concept on inviting the private sector and the entrepreneurs to participate in the implementation process, the CDCL has theoretically secured some resources of funding; the 'investment packages' concept was to be introduced to support the implementation of the individual projects.

However, the process had taken a different direction already. Not surprisingly, a governor with strong political backup and a city offered a status of priority on the national development map; the state directly allocated the resource of money to fund the projects. Around 275 billion Egyptian pounds from a three-ministerial-partner fund was already secured; Ministry of International Cooperation, Ministry of Tourism and Ministry of Culture, with no mention to any participation of the private sector in the process.

Furthermore, projects mainly concerned with the excavation, restoration of monuments generously received international donations (i.e. Avenue of the Sphinxes restoration project has already received a grant form the UNESCO of a total 240 million Egyptian pounds). The official announcements and news headlines had already indicated the states commitment to carry on with the projects. The governor, Dr. Samir Farag held a press conference in November, 2005 announcing his future projects in the city as follows:

> "There will be a number of projects that have the intention of putting Luxor in a new position on the tourism map. There are more than 25 of these projects and they cover tourism, social development, cultural works and economic development. The planning process for these projects has been finished and the money has been allocated. Some 275 billion pounds is available for 20 projects from the master plan. Some

[56] Interviewed by the researcher in February 2006.

of these projects are: Relocation of the people of *Qurna* who currently live amongst the paranoiac Nobles tombs on the West Bank of Luxor to the new city of *Tarif*, Development of Luxor railway station, Development of the Karnak temple square, Building new anchorages and landing places along the Nile [...] The most important project in the master plan is the opening of the El *Kebash road* that connects Luxor Temple to Karnak Temple. This will make Luxor the biggest open-air museum in the world. The money for this project, some 240 billion pounds is coming from the Ministry of International Co-operation"

(Farag, cited in Askar, 2005)

> "…. 50 million Egyptian pounds allocated for the 'development of the Karnak Temple area...16 million Egyptian pounds for the establishment of the New-Tarif city..."
>
> (Al- Ahram Newspaper, March 7, 2006)

Already divorced from the main strategies proposed by the CDCL regarding the funding mechanism and its associated framework for implementation and project management (i.e. involving national and local private sectors in investment packages), and already politicized in nature, the local government had taken the process into their own hands. Consequently, the shift within the process of funding allocation had dramatically shifted the institutional arrangement of the planning process.

Dr. Ashour (2006) states that "the priorities of development had dramatically changed; the local government are going through with the projects that quickly show[57], opening several spending venues at the same time". While the local government urban planners and civil workers have expressed their common concern regarding the "work has started in a several projects at the same time, instead of a gradual implementation phasing of the targeted projects."

4.3.3.3 Urban Development Planning Approach and Level of Community Participation:

The third entry point to the analysis of the formulation-implementation gap is to be based on the planning approach adopted in the two phases. While the planning

[57] The governor had already started with the improvement of the Station "El-Mahata" road with a budget of 15 million L.E., at the same time work had already started on the development of the market area with a budget of 20 million L.E. moreover, President Mubarak launched the reopening of Luxor's Airport after its renewal project in July 2005 (Hareedy, 2005, Al-Ahram newspaper, 2005)

process in the Egyptian context was influenced by the global models to adopt the 'Rational Comprehensive Planning' approach during the 1970s and 1980s, it also continued to follow their shift within these models to a mix of 'dominant liberal entrepreneurial planning and less-dominant rational comprehensive planning' approach at the beginning of the 1990s. Therefore, planning was already willing to hold on to an attitude of redressing imbalances and equalities created by market processes 'market critical', into another willing to correct inefficiencies while supporting market processes 'market-led'. Rules and regulations moved on from protecting the 'public interest' from market processes, into rules and regulations formulated to protect the interests of the private sector and its entrepreneurs.

From the very beginning, the CDCL has been influenced with the worldwide shift in the approaches to planning development, adopting a dominant entrepreneurial planning approach with a less- dominant rational comprehensive planning approach. As a result, one of the main strategies of the CDCL was based on the Investment packages supporting private agencies into dealing with land development, and stimulating the private sector's investments in the individual projects (i.e. major infrastructure, new towns, tourism facilities using arrangements such as BOT or BOOT[58]). The state that had been for decades taking the role of the 'regulator' had to accept its role within a 'private-public' partnership. Moreover, the CDCL was to introduce the PMU adopting the concept of a 'quasi-governmental, corporation, or enterprise agency' with an aim to overcome the limitations of the usual bureaucratic planning procedures and organizations and to bring the multitude of government agencies involved in the development of Luxor.

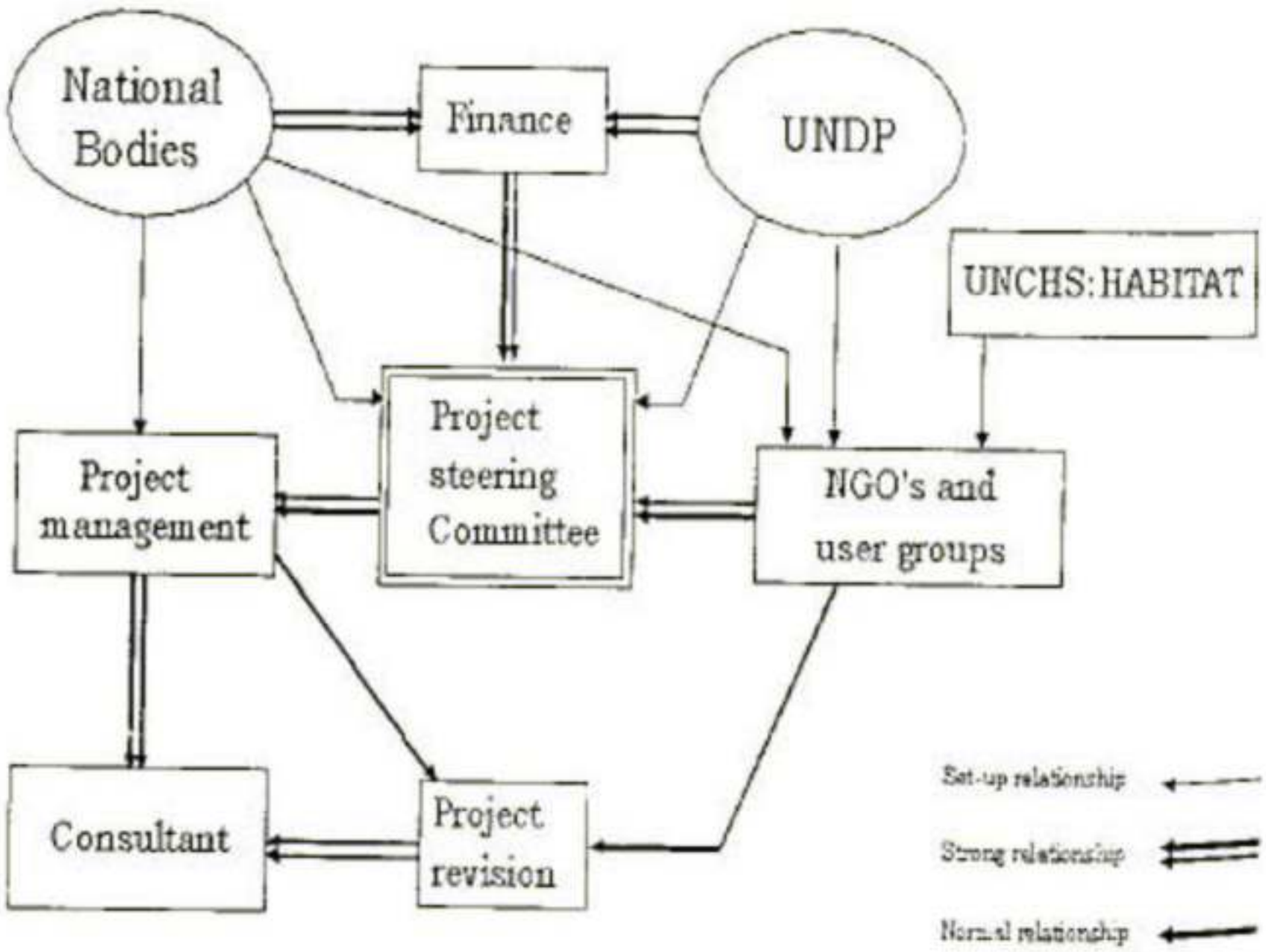
However, although the CDCL study was clearly encouraging the involvement of the private sector in the development process, the implementation phase of the projects was on its first track without any sign of this 'private-public partnership' into place, as the state had already secured a governmental resource for funding. Dr. Ashour (2006) states:

> "When the local government secured the resources of funding from a three ministries partnership (MOC, MOT, MOIC); the role of the private-sector has been totally discarded in the process" (ibid, 2006)

[58] BOT (Build, Operate, transfer): refers to be built by and operate by the private sector then transferred to the state, while BOOT (Build, Operate, Own, and Transfer): refers to be built and operated and owned for a period of time by the private sector then transferred to the state.

As previously mentioned, the inclusion of a complete participation mechanism of the involved parties and beneficiaries in the development planning process was a prerequisite for receiving the UNDP funding (50% of the total cost) of the CDCL study formulation phase. User participation was considered by the UNDP and then followed by the Egyptian government to be a high priority in " ensuring that development decisions were better informed and reflective of local needs and expectations" (Ouf, 2002,p.302). Borrowing the techniques of the Sustainable Cities Programme (SCP), the UN-Habitat's role was to supervise the work of the four main Working Groups and communicating their findings to the national bodies previously mentioned earlier. Fig (4.21) identifies the international enabling management mechanism during the studies phase of the CDCL.

Fig (4.21) International enabling management mechanism proposed for the CDCL project



Source: Ouf (2002)

Theoretically, the proposed mechanism was to achieve its aim of empowering the local community in the decision-making. However, in practice the process was diverted. The 'controlled participation' or the formal planning and the execution of the process limited the opportunities for informal communication between the consulting

team and the local community. Ouf (2002)[59] displays the bias in favour of the formal bodies that were steering the project's objectives, controlling the finances as follows:

> "...The project was arranged at a very high governmental level ...which meant that only formal local participants were actively involved in the process. Local participation was subject to formal legislative and procedural limitations; for example, the participation of local organizations was subject to the approval of the Ministry of Urbanization...so the selection process took place at a ministerial level rather than a local level. Working group meetings were initiated in a ministerial meeting in February 1997 and expected to deliver their findings in another meeting at the same level, or even higher in 1998. The project's workgroups were supposed to find out which issues concerned the local community the most. By contrast, the project management team was responsible for filtering those findings, prioritising local needs and directing the consultant "
>
> (Ouf, 2002, p.303)

Also, Rashed & Soliman (2000) in their analyses of the decision making phase and formulation phase of the CDCL referred to the participation mechanism as "The isolated administrative islands...and the implementation gap between the public participation objectives, governmental administrative sector; consultant and local inhabitants of the city" (ibid, 2000). In spite of the efforts of the working groups to assess the current situation, highlight major issues, problems, development needs and deficiencies, and to provide the consultant with their findings, the consultant didn't take their studies as a reference point to continue with the formulation phase, instead the consultant team initiated its own studies to come out with different recommendations.

Adding to the widening gap between the objectives of the study and real needs of the inhabitants, the consultant (i.e. Abt Associates) made no distinction in their list of 'all interested parties' between local representatives and the HCLC. Local planners and executives of the HCLC confirmed that the elected Luxor City Council members were in fact the representatives who mediated between the HCLC and the consulting Abt team. El-Bassioni (2006) pointed out that "Community consultation didn't involve grassroots community input, but community interests were represented by and mediated through politically elected community leaders".

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[59] Professor M. Salah Ouf served as the National Project Director of the CDCL project from October 1996 to March 1997.

As the participatory approach had already been diverted from its original course during the first stages of the planning process (i.e. decision-making and problem identification), even with the involvement of the international bodies imposing this approach, it was expected that the approach would never be properly adopted in any of the phases to follow (i.e. formulation and implementation). The consultant had already ignored the recommendations of the working groups during the formulation initial phases (Rashed & Soliman, 2000). State-controlled participation was to continue, Dr. Ashour (2006) states:

> " Prior to the approval of the master plans in 2003, meetings were held periodically at Luxor's main Conference Hall, invitations were sent to who ever were recommended by the local government for us to meet with, problems were discussed till we finally reached compromising solutions for the city"

However, in any ordinary development project around the developing world, the absence of public involvement in the decision-making, formulation or even implementation phases has never made a difference, as long as it doesn't negatively affect the users and local community. Meanwhile, projects holding on to a dramatic change in the urban settings affecting the users of the place will no doubt be hindered in the absence of public consultation. This was to be lately recognized as the HCLC started to commission for the execution of projects involving evacuation, relocation and demolition of existing urban settlements.

With a history of confrontation, and opposition and violent reactions to the government's initiatives to evacuate people in favour of projects concerned with preserving the city's heritage, bypassing any form of consultation with the community members and the real people affected by these acts, the HCLC couldn't ignore the power of Luxor's local communities in hindering the implementation phase of such projects. Public participation had to be taken on board, as the HCLC was to start the implementation phase of the CDCL' s open museum concept, and protection zone of the West Bank.

In what he views as a success in achieving a balance between the objectives of urban development, heritage protection and satisfying the needs of the local communities, Dr. Ashour comments on the public participation mechanism that was

adopted during the implementation phase of the 'Improvement of the Karnak settings and planning a neighbourhood in North Karnak development area projects'[60]:

> "A real process of community consultation was occurring in this project (i.e. North Karnak area). A small-scaled community based organization has been formulated- A North-Karnak development organization; questionnaires were carried out by different working groups- tourism, antiquities, and services, recording the real expectations and interests of the people. Their needs were as expected- contrasting with the recommendations of the CDCL study; what the people really wanted was to be offered a piece of land around 150 to160 m^2 for each family and a reasonable amount of money as compensation to start freely building their own properties"
>
> (ibid, 2006)

Given the previous discussion in section 4.2.6 regarding the state's recognition of the areas of Urban-Heritage interface, the approach regarding the evacuation of human settlements encroaching on the city's heritage had to shift after the wide criticism of the heavy handed evictions the government was pursuing. Following the 1998 incident at the West Bank, the state moved to a 'low-key' or 'step-by-step approach' (Hassan, 1997). Apparently voluntary in nature, the reality was that the decline in living standards and general deterioration in the visual quality of the surrounding landscape resulting from the prohibition of any maintenance and renovation forced families to relocate with the desire for improved housing conditions in other areas[61].

> " An individual family may either submit a request to HCLC for alternative accommodation, or is approached by representatives of the HCLC and the SCA who make an offer for alternative accommodation which the family can accept or reject. People may reject the offer being made if they feel that the space offered is not sufficient for their future family needs.... this is in fact what happens: Because the prohibition on alternations to, or renovation of existing houses remains in force, the structural condition of houses may become such that the families are

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[60] The investment package no .6 (Creation of an Open Museum and Heritage District in Luxor city) includes the improvement of the Karnak Temple settings area and planning the North Karnak development area. Ain-shams University- Architectural Unit consultant team, led by Dr. Ayman Ashour have been recently been commissioned by the HCLC to execute these projects in addition to others: Improvement of the market place, Improvement of Karnak temple settings, upgrading of the railway station (Ashour, 2006).

[61] The voluntary movement was particularly significant in the relocation of a large segment of the Qurna Coptic community which represented only a small minority, also reducing the Coptic occupation of the foothills (Der Spek, 2003)

> nevertheless forced to accept whatever accommodation is being offered simply because their present living conditions have become unacceptable. As a part of this process, neighbours (at the same time often close relatives) are also approached, as adjoining houses may become structurally unstable when a neighbouring dwelling is demolished…on the surface voluntary, but in effect leaving nearby occupants with little choice" (Der Spek, 2003, p.23)

The 'Restoration of the Avenue of the Sphinxes' project provides the research with another unique context regarding the level of participation offered to the local community affected by this specific project. Despite the constraints this project is and will face in the coming future, the HCLC has been given the full support to start its execution phase[62]. While numerous officials, urban planners and archaeologists have expressed their concerns about the consequences and results of this project previously emphasised in section (4.2.6), another concern that can practically hinder its implementation has been pointed out. As actions concerned with Heritage management, conservation and urban development has always been the responsibility of the state, taking decisions in the name of the 'National Interest', physical planning process had weakly been integrated with a local participation mechanism.

Moreover, although the 'restoration of the Avenue of the Sphinxes' project will be involved in taking direct action with people and activities located on a site that is needed for excavation; successive master plans (1984,1992, and 1997 plans) had adopted a very weak social consultation dimension regarding this sensitive issue. Local residents and occupiers have had their own concerns regarding the affect of this project on their lives and their participation in its different phases (decision-making, master plans formulation and implementation.

Given the extent of the urban-heritage interface existing within the area of the Avenue of the sphinxes route, a structured interview was designed to measure the level of participation offered to its local residents in addition to document their personal perceptions regarding the projects and its future impact on their lives. Analysing the results of the structured interviews carried out on the residents occupying units located on the Avenue of the Sphinxes route the research has reached the following results:

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[62] At the time of the fieldwork trip (March 2006), excavation works were continuing in the First and Second sections of the Avenue. Survey teams were already existent in the third section entering individual buildings, surveying the amount of work to be executed and estimating the value of every unit needed to be purchased by the local authorities.

Regarding their perception of Luxor's main problems not surprisingly, none of the interviewees pointed out the 'deterioration of the monuments' status' as a problem the city suffers from, in the shadow of other affecting problems affecting their daily lives. 94% of the sample considered the lack of job opportunities the most concerning problem, while 89% considered the rise of prices of basic services and facilities as a critical problem facing the local residents. Moreover, in spite of 90% of the sample considered the poor infrastructure and services as the main problem of the city, 80 % of them reject the whole idea of leaving their units to move to new areas with higher standards of living[63].

Furthermore, throughout the group discussions and interviews to record the local's perception of the process of physical planning and urban conservation, a common impression was recorded indicating the discontent with a wide range of issues; the overall governments development objectives within the city favouring tourism over the basic needs of its people, the ever-growing resentment to the tourism movement and Heritage management, the exaggerating police accompanying tourist groups isolating them from the interaction with the local environment. This can be summarized in the combined words of the local people as follows:

"…. We believe that the well known Pharonic curse *'laanet el faraanah'* is acting upon us –we luxorians are poor and getting poorer; nothing is done to improve our lives; jobs are taken by outsiders, specially jobs related to tourism, while our youth are heading out of the city to find more job opportunities elsewhere …Ironically, in spite of the living conditions we are living in (poor infrastructure and services, high prices of basic services and facilities. .etc), we luxorians are envied by neighbouring cities within the region for the status of our city on the tourist map…"

"The government is and has always been prioritizing the *old stones* of this city over the interests of its *humans*…moreover, tourism has come to take its own share of the city, exploiting its heritage and isolating us"

Regarding the level of community participation in terms of the Avenue of the Sphinxes project, the interviews revealed the following results: although the project is in its execution phase, 70% of the sample have been informed about the project

[63] 85% of the properties in the area of the sample survey are considered to be in a poor condition due to the lack of maintenance

through the HCLC personnel and elected leaders, while the rest have heard from the media, the sample survey has confirmed that none of the residents have been approached by any means to take their opinions regarding this project nor asked about their personal view of the suitable action to be taken following their evacuation, nor has any official offered the residents a clear vision of their fate. This can be sensed in the words of the local residents as follows:

> "The local government claims they have consulted the locals regarding this project…we are unaware of any. A HCLC personnel (i.e. surveyor) suddenly turns at our doorstep, measuring our property and inspecting, then writing down an estimation of its value…."

However, in spite of the weak participatory mechanism in the actual process of the preliminary phases, the local community represented by their politically elected official leaders at that stage did have their affect to some extent on the decision making process, El- Bassioni (2006) states:

> "Evacuating a width of 103m (i.e. the main core of the avenue plus a buffer zone) of the Avenues entire route of the Sphinx had to be decreased to 76m figure within a process of a state- controlled consultation process… " (ibid, 2006)

Moreover, with an intention to record the personal opinions of the locals regarding the project the sample survey has revealed the following: nearly 79% of the sample expressed their deep resentment to the project. Mainly women and elderly people have expressed their anxiety more than the younger aged groups. Their anxiety stemmed from their unknown coming fate, fear of eviction, inappropriate alternative locations for housing in terms of location and size, and most importantly the disturbance of community social ties and networks. Moreover, as a socio-economic effect of the project reveals that 37% of interviewees do not have official documents to prove their ownership of buildings, and thus will be facing eviction and minimal compensation.

The majority of men as well as younger aged groups expressed their concerns mainly over employment, trade, and family income. Only 17% of the interviewees. mainly females, expressed their optimism regarding the project stemming from their aspirations for offering more employment opportunities, new housing units associated

with better facilities, infrastructure and services. Nevertheless, 93% of the respondents are convinced that project is aiming at increasing the tourism experience rather than improving the quality of life of local communities.

Furthermore, nearly 71 % considered that the relocation to an area of their own choice would have been the suitable action, while 22% perceived a suitable compensation for the property and offering a suitable area of land as the appropriate to be taken. The frustration regarding the Avenue of the Sphinxes restoration project and the associated official actions is empirically vivid in the quotes of local residents as follows:

> "...This project is a luxury which we are in no need of, as far as I know if I am told to leave my own property because its existence is causing the deterioration of a certain monument, this I can understand, but to force me to evacuate to give space for archaeologists to dig looking for an "assumed lost" avenue. They are ruining our lives and city... The government will be forcing us to leave our own homes; we have been hearing very vague information about this project for decades now either from the HCLC civil workers or through the media, but no one has came to talk to us, or consult us about our real needs...they haven't given us options for alternative housing. Moreover, at the meantime, we are living on hold; we are not given any permits to develop, refurbish or maintain our own properties, even though nothing is happening towards the implementation of this 'assumed' projects."

In spite of the concerns of the local residents towards this project, a large percentage (i.e. 95% of the chosen sample) of them feel they are still living on the safe-side although regular official statements assure that the government is still committed to go ahead with this project. The project is facing a very critical obstacle; apart from the 110 residential buildings, a number of important governmental, commercial and religious[64] buildings located on the Avenue are required to be purchased (5 governmental, 4 religious and 1 hotel), a problem that has to be resolved, as stated in the words of an HCLC Local official interviewed March 2006:

[64] The Sphinxes route passes under two mosques and two of the main churches of the city (Anglo church and the Orthodox Church).

> "…. If the HCLC manages to the evacuate some of the governmental buildings, a national bank, two of the biggest churches in the city, and two mosques sitting on the Sphinxes route, then evacuating local residents will never be a problem, convincing residents to leave their deteriorating properties will be one of the least problems the HCLC will have to resolve to go ahead with this project"

4.4 Concluding Remarks

This chapter has aimed at presenting the empirical evidence to support the research hypothesis. Applying the constructed analytical framework in chapter two (with specific reference to institutional framework and political backup, funding and planning approaches to land and development), the research has explored, analysed and documented the gap between the phases of decision-making, formulation of the successive planning proposals and the implemented physical patterns in the context of Luxor city.

From table (4.6), it is evident that there has been a dramatic as well as dynamic shift in the adopted planning approaches to land development as well as the urban heritage interface paradigm in Luxor that constrained, and in most of times hindered, the implementation of successive physical plans and urban conservation policies of the city. It is also evident that in addition to the above shift and its effect on the implementation process, there have been a number of important, if not vital, dimensions that contributed to the failure of the implementation process.

The research has found that weak and neglected public participation, adoption and application of conflicting planning approaches through the planning process, short and insufficient enough funding, and lack of political backup and effective institutional arrangements to lead the physical planning process and to implement pre-set urban conservation policies, has seriously contributed to the failure of the implementation process through time and at all levels. Table (4.7) presents a summary to the analysis of the main physical plans approved for the urban development and conservation in Luxor.

Table (4 .6) Concluding Remarks for Physical Planning and Urban Conservation Practice in Luxor City, Egypt

	1984 APPROVED PHYSICAL PLAN	1993 APPROVED PHYSICAL PLAN	1998 DEVELOPMENT PLAN (CDCL)
Institutional Arrangement/ Political Backup	- An urban development proposal coming from MOT comes into deep conflict with MOH (the executive body that carries out physical plans) -Luxor still under administrative control of Qena Governorate. (A local administration rather than a local authority/ decisions coming from Central government) - A 'struggle game' over development and management -A very week overall political backup, especially for long- term urban development projects	- The GOPP commissioning the study but with more emphasis on developing the 'new settlement' concept -Luxor given a status of a governorate (HCLC) in 1989/ still a local administration rather than a local authority - ANUC entering the old 'struggle game' over development - Mubarak's visit to Luxor symbolizing an escalating backup to renew development plans for Luxor	- The Highest level of political back-up/ Mrs. Mubarak sponsoring the Launching Conference in 1997/ ministers participating in the preliminary phase -Appointment of a governor with a high level of authority (Samir Farag, 2004) to assure national security and implementation of the projects
Funding	-Projects restricted on government spending only/ long-term projects (i.e. Sphinxes avenue, Open museum project, evacuation, demolition, and relocation of settlements) had no source of funding.	Projects restricted on government spending only/ long-term projects (i.e. Sphinxes avenue, Open museum project, evacuation, demolition, and relocation of settlements) had no source of funding.	Money secured from a 3-ministerial fund (MOC, MOT, MOIC)- donations from international bodies (UNESCO, USAID) for monument restoration projects Funds from other ministries for individual "service- supply" projects (i.e. Ministry of transport, Health..etc)

Planning approach	-Rational Comprehensive planning approach (Expertise-driven approach assuming to be working in the favour of the 'national interest') -No real representation and involvement of the local communities in the decision-making process and formulation of physical plans.	-Rational Comprehensive planning approach -No real representation and involvement of the local communities in the decision-making process and formulation of physical plans.	A proposed dominant entrepreneurial planning approach with a less- dominant rational comprehensive planning approach shifted dramatically backwards to a dominant 'Rational comprehensive approach' with the absence of the private sector's participation - Controlled public participation
Scope of urban conservation (Peri-Urban Heritage interface)	-'Negative' control / complete isolation of heritage sites from contemporary life (no integration). -No building permits/ limited development of properties	Negative controls preventing any further construction, opportunistically executed relocations of individual families	-Open -air museum concept/no building permits restricted development in the protected zones/ evacuation and relocation of settlements intruding the heritage zones. -Opportunistically executed and voluntary relocations of individual families.
Outcome Formulation-Implementation gap	-Execution of 'short-term' projects/ with 'ad-hoc' manner development' -not particularly based on the objective of the approved proposal, and at times completely contrasting.	-Resources focusing on the execution of 'New Thebes' city -Execution of short term projects depending on the availability of funding	- Projects executed at the same time (with no execution phases) - Governor taking the role of the PMU to execute and mange the projects/ to secure his position, governor starts with projects that quickly 'show'

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION, RECOMMENDATIONS AND ISSUES FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

5.1 OVERVIEW

As the research aims at providing answers to a critical question: how did the change in the national development and urban conservation policies at both the national and local levels influence the adoption and application of conflicting planning decisions and approaches in dealing with land development and heritage management in Luxor city, it also attempts to reveal the main factors that lead to the failure of the physical planning practice in achieving the goals and objectives of the successive urban development and conservation policies. The research hypothesizes that such failure has resulted from the ongoing neglect of one or more critical interlocking dimension(s) shaping the formulation and implementation of physical plans in historic cities: community participation, funding, and political support.

In order to reach a clear explanation for the above failure, the research had to set specific theoretical and empirical objectives. Theoretically, the research aims at presenting a clear understanding of the relationship between and physical planning practice and urban conservation through exploring the interlocking zones between both areas of knowledge, specifically referring to the shift within the urban conservation scope as different planning approaches to land development are adopted. Furthermore, the research constructs an analytical framework that highlights the systematic areas of conflicts and contradictions within, and between, physical planning and urban conservation practice which is used as a tool to analyse the two processes of physical planning and urban conservation within the context of Luxor city with specific reference to the dimensions previously referred to in the research hypothesis.

Empirically, sketching the shift in national development policies with regards to the economic, urban and social challenges provides the research with a basis for analysing the process of physical planning and urban conservation on the national level. Furthermore, the research links such shift of national development planning policies and the physical planning practice and urban conservation process in the context of Luxor by adopting a 'case study' methodology, in order to examine the validity of the hypothesis.

5.2 THE THEORETICAL SCOPE AND ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

With an aim to analyse the process of physical planning and its relationship with urban conservation practice, the research had to provide an understanding of a wider

theoretical context of both fields: urban planning and conservation. First, the study presents a brief understanding of the planning paradigm (i.e. traditions, a body of theory and methodology), in order to clarify the understanding of the global shift within the various planning theories and approaches to land development. Second, the research provides a historic background regarding the shift within the conservation paradigm while demonstrating the interlocking areas between of urban conservation and physical planning practice.

Supported with the analysis of the above areas of knowledge, the research constructs an analytical framework that clarifies the systematic areas of conflicts and contradictions within and between physical planning and urban conservation practice. This framework is introduced as an analytical tool to explain the process of physical planning and urban conservation in the context of Egypt in general and Luxor city in specific. Consequently, the analytical framework points out the critical dimensions upon which the urban planning process and urban conservation practice has based its analysis (i.e. political support, funding and community participation) with respect to the physical planning formulation and implementation processes in Luxor city.

5.3 THE FINDINGS OF THE RESEARCH

An overall presentation of the findings will be discussed through the following three subsections: the national development and political economy environment, urban conservation practice and physical planning practice in the context of Luxor city.

5.3.1 Political Economy Environment and National Development

Sketching the shift within the economic processes globally, Albrecht (1991), Beauregard (1996), Unsal (2004), Harvey (1996) and Levy (2000) point out that at the beginning of the second half of the 20th century, after the Second World War, nations were to be dominated by economic development systems driving the reconstruction of their cities. Dramatically shifting from economic systems based on techniques of mass production in the 1950s and 1960s, into adopting from Western Capitalism systems around the early 1970s, new approaches and methodologies to planning development were to be introduced influencing the objectives and strategies of national development policies. As a consequence, the role of the state, its different institutions, agencies, society and planners in the development process had to change.

As Ibrahim and Ibrahim (2003), Handoussa (1995) and Nyrop (2003) stress on the impact of the above global processes on Egypt's national development policies, the research reveals that 1952 revolution, policies were to focus on high-scale industrialization and mass production, strengthening of the public sector as a strong base of the economy; import substitution and liberalization, nationalization of big businesses and utilities, either foreign or locally controlled. The research also presents in section (3.2.2.1) the diverse path Egypt undertook as it adopted the Open Door Economic Policy by the early 1970s. Consequently, national economic and urban development was to be influenced by Western models of Capitalism. The economy was to witness wide liberalization of its sectors, partial dismantlement of the public sector opening all other sectors to private capital (i.e. foreign and Arab) (Attia, 1999; Mietal, 1998; Nyrop, 2003).

By the 1980s, as post-modernism thinking was steadily influencing development worldwide as discussed in section (2.2.2.4), a shift in the global economic process had already taken place adopting more flexible, geographically-open and market-based modes of production. Consequently, a parallel shift had to occur regarding the role of the state, from being a welfare state, intervening in the market process, into gradually an entrepreneurial state with a supportive role to individuals and market within a globally capitalist development (Albrechts, 1991;Unsal, 2004). The research analyses and documents that a series of economic and structural reform programmes (ERSAP-1991) had to be established at the national level, preparing the Egyptian economy to enter and compete within the global-market.

As a result, the Egyptian state was to take the role of an investor among many others striving for profit, cutting down on its developmental role; sacrificing its welfare commitments. In addition, the private sector became much more influential controlling all aspects of national development planning starting from setting its priorities and goals to decision-making process regarding their implementation. Based on these shifts within the economic process and the attitude of the Egyptian state regarding development, urban development planning had to dramatically shift from how to minimise the socially negative consequences of urban development through redistributive measures during the 1960s and 1970s, to how to maximise opportunities offered to individuals since the 1980.

As the research sketches the shift in the processes of the global economy presented in chapter two, it explains the adoption of different planning approaches in successive government eras. This illustrates the fact that international economies have influenced the establishment as well as the shift in priorities of national and local urban development policies and plans. International agencies have enforced the transition to global economies. Moreover, capitalism models and extensive economic reforms were examples of the frameworks countries, especially developing countries, were expected to follow. Imported conditional financial aid and technical support packages were associated with development: reforming institutional frameworks, shifting governments' roles in development process, and with no doubt allocation of funds.

Given the global influence on the national context presented in chapter three, the case of Luxor city presents a practical example of how conditional aid and technical packages have influenced the objectives and strategies of national development policies. The enforcement of adopted models and methodologies of planning approaches, as a condition for securing the continuity of technical and financial support, has dramatically influenced the process of physical planning practice on one hand, and the protection and conservation of the city's heritage on the other hand. Moreover, the research has pointed out in chapter four the level of interference international bodies impose on the development process in Luxor. Offering their technical support, new methodologies, consultant studies and most important of all financial packages, bodies such as the UNESCO, UNDP, UN-HABITAT, and USAID have gained their strong position into directing and controlling the path of development in the city.

As discussed in section (4.2) the Egyptian state has always considered Luxor and its region as a rich package of resources for national economic and urban development. Apart from the vast areas of undeveloped and desert land, the research reveals that tourism as an expanding global economic process comes into focus, exploiting the region's culture heritage as a primary tourism magnet. However, given the economic, social problems, and human settlements challenges the state has continuously attempted to resolve, discussed in chapter three, section (3.2.1) in addition to the pressure of international and national bodies regarding the protection and management of the region's heritage, the research analyses and documents the ongoing shift within the urban development priorities of the state.

The research also documents the dynamic swing of national and regional policies between different and sometimes contradicting development priorities and objectives of tourism development, urban conservation and urban and social development via the case of Luxor city. It has been revealed that the city managed to attract different institutions and agencies at most of times holding onto conflicting agendas. Without ignoring a wide range of problems (i.e. corruption, lack of coordination between state institutions and agencies on both national and local level, inter-institutional conflicts, waste of resources), the process of urban development and conservation in Luxor city has always been a result of a long lasting 'power struggle' game between the different parties claiming their sole responsibility regarding the development and management of the city and the control over its resources.

5.3.2 Urban Conservation

Many scholars and analysts such as Esher (1981), Campbell (1996), Larkham, (1996), Zancheti (1997), Jokilehto (1999), (Ouf, 2001), Strange and Whitney (2003) and Nasser (2003) analysed the shift in the conservation paradigm. As discussed in chapter two, section (2.3) the literature and practice of urban conservation had already developed over more than one hundred years around the cities of Europe, where the initial interest in the field was to begin, stressing on the importance of the dynamic link between urban planning and conservation. Consequently, while the research sketched the development of urban conservation practice in its own right, the research successfully reveals the effect of the shift in the international global economies and the adoption of diverse development planning approaches, discussed in chapter two, section (2.4).

Already recognizing the vitality of safeguarding local heritages and antiquities, international bodies (UNESCO, ICOMOS...etc) were created on the basis of offering nations worldwide technical support and aid packages, were continuously adding to the practice of conservation new approaches and methodologies. On the one hand, such approaches to urban conservation, as discussed in chapter two, section (2.3.3), moved on from an abstract view of 'restoring and preserving' a single entity, safeguarding and conservation had to extend its approaches to cover the preservation of entire historic towns and urban areas as well as natural landscape, community-valued natural and man-made artifacts. On the other hand, while the practice of urban conservation was shifting from a confined practice of small numbered wealthy intellectual elites in the early 1980s

to an entire movement of heritage advocates opposing to the modernism movement following the Second World War, urban conservation practice was to be in no isolation from the dramatic shifts global political economies.

As the practice of urban conservation was unable to maintain its isolation from the forces of globalization and the global economic dynamics, Oncu and Weyland (1997) Nasser (2003), Ashworth (1992) Larkham (1995) and Albrecht (1991) point out that urban conservation practice had to develop new approaches in order to serve the objectives of the Entrepreneurialism since the mid 1980s. As discussed in chapter two, sections (2.2.2.4 and 2.4) that in order to compete within the International Tourism market, cities had to go through 'creating enjoyable visiting experiences and an attractive urban image'. Consequently, urban heritage around the world in general and in developing countries in specific were to be severely exploited. As an alarming response, strategies of regeneration, gentrification, cultural innovation, physical upgrading were widely applied. In this sense, the research argues that tourism industry is perceived as the driving force of urban conservation practice worldwide.

Given the development and evolution of conservation approaches sketched in section (2.3.3), the research stresses some major inter and intra conflicts in the process of the practice. On the one hand, an inter- conservation conflict that continues till this very date to shape the core of the everlasting argument regarding the appropriate or ideal action towards protection of worldwide nations' heritage. The conflict originated from a vivid clash of ideologies where approaches towards conservation were shifting from 'stylistic' conservation to 'historic' conservation approach as discussed in chapter two, section (2.3.3).

On the other hand, an intra conflict has been evolving over time revealing the struggle for priority of development in historic cities, and the clash of policy priorities between institutions and agencies involved in Conservation, Urban development and Tourism. Many analysts such as Ashworth and Tunbridge, (1990), Oncu and Weyland (1997), Wilsmore (1994), Orbasli, (2000) stress that the dynamics of global tourism, tourism led-development, have given strong basis to the on-going conflict between conservation and tourism. Nevertheless, as discussed in chapter two, section (2.4) the emphasis on adapting historic urban areas to accommodate modern and contemporary needs continues to be the most concerning issue facing the practice of urban conservation. Moreover, this dynamic conflict has been considered greatly as the major

external factors that dramatically magnified the scale of and influenced the inter-conservation conflict.

The research documents critical and vivid questions that emphasize both the intra and inter conflicts urban conservation endures: are we to offer an experience to show the site, as it was at the time it first existed? Or are we to introduce a site that has been fully integrated throughout time with its urban context and local people? Consequently, the research argues that urban conservation has been caught between approaches aiming at converting historic sites into national parks or open museums, and others catching the idea of contemporary living communities integrating and occupying spaces surrounding heritage sites.

As discussed in chapter three, section (3.4), the research presents the Egyptian context to be a system continuously struggling to address the political, social and economic instability, and facing the challenges of population growth and human settlements, it was obvious that the notion of heritage and urban conservation was still a field confined to the small circles of the wealthy intellectual elite was already taking back stage in the Egyptian development process. As Der Spek (2003), ElKerdany (2002), El-Kadi (2000) debate the perception of urban conservation and notion of heritage after the 1952 revolution in section (3.4.1), the research revealed that, on one hand, President's Nasser's ideology continued to reject any foreign domination, nationalise Egypt's economy, and adopt models based mainly on industrialization and transfer of technology; urban conservation was basically considered a 'the legacy of western colonial practice' and its associated 'Pharaonic Westernised elite'. Consequently, urban conservation, a western born practice and its international organizations (e.g. UNESCO) were merely viewed as interfering bodies in the national affairs. On the other hand, while resources were heading mainly to defence, high- scale industrialization, and programmes of emergency action in the fields of housing and infrastructure as presented in section (3.2.2); the protection, management and safeguarding of heritage and monuments was no where to be seen on any institutional agenda till the mid 1970s.

The research analyses and documents that since the early 1950s till the early 1970s in chapter three, section (3.4.1), urban conservation and heritage management was suffering from lack of coordination between concerned institutions, lack of political will that deeply focusing on economic growth and military, lack of the much needed

funding to support conservation 'efforts' if any, and the complete neglect of the public participation dimension. However, scholars such as ElKerdany (2002) emphasise that in spite of the status of deterioration and misuse of heritage buildings and sites, nationalization policy coupled with the governance system somehow saved the nations heritage from demolition and rebuilding for better economic return.

Following the discussion in section (3.4.1), the research pointed out that from the mid 1970s as Egypt gradually was entering the era of the open door policy, a new political and economic context was shaping the practice of urban conservation. On one hand, prior to Egypt's signing the World Heritage Convention in 1977 coupled with the inscription of several heritage sites on UNESCO's World Heritage List (WHL) in 1979, the government was committed to the establishment of a national conservation policy and lawmaking for the heritage's safeguard. However, on the other hand, realizing that the rehabilitation, preservation of the monuments and historic centres serve as a catalyst for promoting tourism as a major economic sector of the Entrepreneurial system, heritage sites were to be extremely exploited inorder to locate Egypt on the global tourism map. Consequently, the research documents in chapter three, section (3.2.4) that strategies favouring tourism development were to come in to direct conflict with the basic concepts of urban conservation, moreover conflicting with the basic contemporary needs, expectations of the local population living in heritage cities and located beside heritage sites.

Given the scope of urban conservation practice in the Egyptian context during the shifting political economy eras discussed in chapter three, section (3.4), the research has revealed that the negotiation process between the different competing institutions within the interlocking inter and intra- conflict areas immensely depends on three main factors, specifically focusing on the conservation projects in Luxor city. First of all, the level and intensity of the political will supporting a certain conservation approach directs the objectives of individual conservation projects. Second, the source of funding (international or national) dramatically affects the entire process. Finally, the importance of the public participation and involvement of local communities dimension in the process of urban conservation process at all levels, has had its effect on supporting the winning side in the conflict game. To conclude, urban conservation till this very date continues to suffer the lack of effective and efficient institutional framework to manage its affairs and accept new approaches, as well as much needed

public support and community participation, despite the partial availability of national and international funding resources.

5.3.3 Physical Planning Practice and Urban Conservation

As the state of Egypt was either willing or forced to join the international economic and development systems in the early 1990s, as discussed in chapter three its political, administrative, economic and social challenges are still hindering the complete integration with the international development of planning approaches. Notions such as "public/private partnership", creating "independent development agencies", "strengthening local administration", and "public participation and local communities involvement in the development process" analysed in chapter two, section (2.2.2.4), were to not to be easily adopted in the centralized context of Egypt's development process. Consequently, the research reveals, as documented in chapter four, that the formulated physical development plans were not to reach its ideal course of implementation. Given the latter findings, the research stresses that in a context of weak inter and intra-institutional cooperation, weak administrative authority, not to mention the vague political support and the discontinuity of funding, the implementation phase of physical plans was not guaranteed to take place as originally planned. The research supports the latter argument through analysing and documenting the gap between the formulation and implementation process of plans 1984, 1993 and 1997.

With respect to the critical relationship between physical planning practice and urban conservation, the discussion in chapter two, section (2.4) stresses on the shift in the scope of urban conservation in order to cope with the shift in planning approaches applied to land development. In spite of the continuous efforts of the international bodies involved with urban conservation (e.g. UNESCO, ICOMOS) to develop new approaches enabling the integration of urban conservation with the international movement of urban development, and dissolving the areas of conflict between tourism, urban development and the practice of conservation, the gap between urban development and conservation practice continues to widen in the context of Egypt. The research has revealed that while urban development was clearly ready to translate the objectives of planning approaches endorsing the ideals of Entrepreneurialism, urban conservation as presented in chapter three, sections (3.4.1 and 3.4.2) was still holding on to its rigid negative-control approaches, confining itself to only preserving individual heritage monuments struggling to isolate its entities from the surrounding environment.

Furthermore, coupling the conflicts between the different parties forming the institutional framework guiding the urban development process and conservation in the case study presented in chapter four, section (4.2.6), together with the shift in the priorities and objectives of the Egypt's national policies presented in chapter three, section (3.2.2), the research has revealed that this combination has dramatically affected the outcome of physical plans and urban conservation practice. The research also documents the long discussed gap between formulation and implementation processes on one hand and the conflict between urban planning and urban conservation practice on the other hand in the context of Luxor city.

While the research analyses the three main physical plans prepared for Luxor city in 1984, 1993 and 1998, the study stresses and documents the main factors that had significant implications on the physical planning practice and contributed to the gap between the formulation and implementation phases. First, the empirical evidence in the context of the case study has revealed that there has been great influence of the political backing accompanying the implementation of projects that supports the state's agenda at that time. Although the 1984 development proposal was considered the first attempt to combine urban development and conservation practice into an integrated formula serving the city's people and urban heritage. the research reveals that the state's real intention was to promote the city in order to compete in the international global tourism market.

As the state came to believe that the political stability merely depends on developing the region of Upper Egypt (i.e. socially, economically) and dissolving the severe differences between this region and other developed regions in terms of services, facilities, it had to come up with the 1993 development proposal. The state was merely focusing on resolving the human settlement problem in Luxor's outer region (i.e. constructing New Thebes), while the arena was open for the private sector and tourism sector to direct the physical planning process in the city towards short-term, tourism-led development projects. It has been revealed that as physical development was diverting away from the strategies and objectives of the 1984 and 1993 physical plans, urban conservation was to be eliminated from the development equation in the implementation phase, severely widening the gap between urban development and heritage protection in Luxor city.

Meanwhile, by the late 1990s and under international pressure, integrating urban conservation with urban development and creating 'open-air museums', the state had to position urban conservation within a comprehensive development plan highly on its agenda. As mentioned in section (4.3.1.3), the research documents the high political backup and support the 1997 Comprehensive Development proposal (CDCL) was receiving. The empirical study revealed that the involvement of the First Lady, Mrs. Mubarak, a number of Ministers and high profile international and national figures from the early stages of formulation continued to pressure the local government to start implementing the CDCL's proposed projects.

Moreover, as the research analyses the arrangement of institutions aiming at gaining control over the city of Luxor in chapter four, section (4.2.6) and reveals the shift within its framework at the time of the three physical plans, the research reveals the impact of struggle between the different players on the physical planning process, moreover marks the effect of the shift within its framework on the gap between the formulation and implementation. Ministry of tourism (MOT) was totally in control over the development of the city from the early 1970s; well before it was encouraged to formulate the 1984 MOT physical plan. Despite its strong position as the body responsible for the development of Egypt's tourism regions, MOT was to be faced with the ever-growing strong position also offered to the Ministry of Housing (MOH) and its affiliated agencies to prepare physical plans of existing settlements in addition to new towns and villages. Consequently, the 1984 physical plan exfoliated the already existing struggle between the different ministries, institutions and agencies claiming their own right in the development process presented in section (4.2.6).

By the time the 1993 physical plan was to be formulated, MOH was totally in control of the physical planning process, passing on the government's will to implement new human settlements policy in Upper Egypt (i.e. New Thebes). However, the struggle over management and development was well under way in the city between Ministry of Culture (MOC), MOT and MOH. Moreover, the creation of the Higher Council of Luxor City (HCLC) in 1989 didn't help in easing the conflict, as much as it only added another player aiming for winning over the 'development control game' in Luxor city.

The empirical evidence reveals that although the Presidential decree (no. 153/ 1989) and the enhancement of the amended local governance law (no. 9/1989) literally

strengthened the position of the local government to prepare, approve and enforce land-use plans within the area of its authority, the HCLC was in no position in the centralized context of the Egyptian government to implement the physical plans. Moreover, the research reveals that the unclear authority, weak resources, and the unqualified staff of the HCLC, coupled with the weak Central Government's support justifies the diverted path of physical planning and projects' implementation process the city was to take.

Furthermore, the 1997 CDCL physical plan presents the research in section (4.3.1.3) with an example of a political backup to implement a specific development 'national' plan that had to lead to a shift in the institutional arrangement already existing. Moreover, while the government stresses on that the development of Luxor is to be always a national project, the CDCL plan presents an example that gives emphasis on the government's centralization style in the urban development process as the process totally ignoring the regional and local level. The studies carried out by the consultant (Abtassociates, 1997) prior to the formulation phase of the CDCL had already stressed on the weak capability of the HCLC to undertake the high-scale projects of the CDCL on its own, therefore, suggested a new institutional arrangement. However, as the proposal stresses on the importance of creating an independent agency accountable to both the HCLC and the central government, the central government takes its own action through passing down more authority to the local government. As a result, in July 2004, a high profile governor, major General Dr. Samir Farag was handed over the complete authority, and resources to start the implementation process of the high- scale projects in Luxor-city. Apart from the increasing international pressure to locate urban conservation in the urban development process, the assignment of a new powerful governor reflected the level of the state's support regarding the protection the heritage resources of Luxor and the creation the 'open-air museum' in the heart of the city.

Second, while the research emphasises the importance of the political backup and the associated institutional arrangement, it empirically proved that the allocation of funding has been one of the main constraints that hindered the start of high-scale projects previously proposed in the 1983 and 1994 physical plans. Meanwhile, the research stresses that as the international and national support for the CDCL was accelerating, the implementation phase faced no problem in securing its funding resources.

Third, in understanding the critical shift of urban planning approaches to land development, the research reveals that the Egyptian planning practice is exposed to double standards and suffers from parallel processes. As the political economy dramatically changed at the national leve! specifically after entering the open Door policy (ODEP) around 1974, the government was stuck in halfway. It could not proceed towards a complete free-market Entrepreneurialism approach to land development, nor could it also step back to only adopting the rational comprehensive approach. The research documents in chapter three, section (3.2.2.1) that following the gradual introduction of the private sector to be granted access to the decision-making cycle in all aspects of the Egyptian economy including tourism, construction and industry sector, after the ODEP, consequently, the state could not step back by only adopting the rational comprehensive approach in dealing with land development respecting the un-official power given to the private sector. Analysing the gap between the official 1984 physical plan and the implemented patterns in Luxor, the research stresses on the parallel process the planning process was exposed to. While the formulation of the plan was officially following the usual steps of the Rational Comprehensive planning approach, the physical outcome of the process reflected the powerful influence of the unofficial involvement of the private sector.

On one hand, rational comprehensive planning approach with all its limitations presented in chapter two, section (2.2.2.1) continued to be the official planning approach adopted to prevent any social unrest or political instability. While on the other hand, the entrepreneurial planning approach was adopted in times when powerful individual investors are invited to compete and participate in the urban development planning policy and physical planning practice. Given the above findings, Luxor's 1993 physical plan demonstrates the state's double standard to the physical planning process and the existence of the two processes; rational comprehensive planning was clearly adopted by the state as it was concerned with implementing the basis of the new settlement (i.e. New Thebes), meanwhile the city itself was open to the competition of the private sector to gain from the urban development process in the city.

Furthermore, it was not until the adoption of the ERSAP in the early 1990s presented in chapter three, section (3.2.2.2), that the private sector had a clear official impact on the decision-making process of the urban development process and the physical planning practice both at the national and local levels. Consequently, the Egyptian planning practice was to be exposed to a critical shift to the' dominant liberal

entrepreneurial planning and less-dominant rational comprehensive planning' approaches to land development.

Given the above shift, development plans were expected to reflect the desire of the government to direct the planning system through a state-controlled entrepreneurial approach. Developing Luxor city was no exception, especially with its potential to attract investors to participate in the different fields (i.e., housing and tourism related construction, infrastructure, restoration projects...etc) of a comprehensive development process. As the research documents Luxor's 1997 approved physical plan (CDCL) in chapter four, section (4.3.1.3), it gives a clear indication to what extent the government theoretically accepts to change its role within an entrepreneurial-based planning process that was sketched in chapter two, section (2.2.2.4).

However, the empirical evidence reveals a complete stepping back in the planning approach applied, as the implementation process was to start in mid 2004. Excluding the private sector from the process as the local government secures its funding resources for a three-ministerial-partner fund, depending on positioning a powerful governor instead of establishing an independent unit to manage the implementation of the CDCL; rational comprehensive planning approach was to return taking its clear position in the physical planning process.

It was also revealed that in the rush to launch the "Open Museum Slogan" as a result of the political and economic pressures discussed in chapter four, several crucial studies were completely neglected (e.g. sub-surface investigations, land detection such as electro-magnetic detection). Consequently, this proved to have a devastating impact on the excavation processes related to proposed projects such as this of the Avenue of the Sphinxes where only parts of broken bases of the statues were found after six months of hard work, as analysed and documented in chapter four.

As the research traces the history of struggle of the local government to evacuate and relocate Luxor's local communities in favour of protecting Heritage sites, such as the case of the West Bank presented in chapter four, section (4.2.5.3), the research regards the notion of 'public participation' as the final factor that had significant implications on the physical planning practice and contributed to the gap between the formulation and implementation phases. As the research reaches to a conclusion that the notion of 'public participation of individuals in the whole planning process' throughout the history of planning process didn't not trigger any concern of the local communities

unless the development plans negatively affect their existence in their own localities the research had to focus on a specific project that involves carrying out evacuation, relocation strategies (i.e. Avenue of the Sphinxes restoration project). Through this focus presented in chapter four, section (4.3.2.), the research aims at analysing the perception of the local communities directly affected by project and the shift within the level of participation as the project enters the implementation phase.

Realizing that the absence of the local communities involvement had already contributed to the halt of most the urban conservation projects proposed under the precious 1984 and 1993 in the city and West Bank, the government was obliged by its international funding partners (i.e. UNDP, UN-HABITAT) to locate the public participation mechanism at the heart of the planning process of the 1997 CDCL plan. However, the research documents in section (4.3.1.3.) the level of participation of different parties at its highest level (i.e. state-controlled participation, elected local representatives) in the formulation phase dramatically emphasizes the reality of the exclusion of the local communities. Consequently, the physical plans come out not to reflect any of the concerns or needs of the local communities other than translating the desires of the international concerned bodies, Cultural and Tourism sector and the local government; a constant mistake heavily contributing to the gap in the planning process as it reaches the implementation phase.

Commissioning the execution of projects, the local government was to be faced with the reality of the absence of the public participation dimension indicating the neglect of such dimension at the central government level as well as the policy formulation process. The research confirms and documents the effect the latter findings through the analysis of the Avenue of the Sphinxes Project in chapter four. Nevertheless, recognising the seriousness as well as the negative impact such dimension has on the planning process, the prime consultant started to take preventive measure (e.g. negotiations in the West Bank zone and small-scale community based consultation in Karnak area) thought the implementation process of other as analysed and documented in chapter four.

Throughout the following section, the research argues for the formulation of a new institutional framework that solves as well as recognises the above-presented shortcoming of planning and urban conservation practice and political economy context.

5.4 RECOMMENDATIONS

In projects targeting regional/local urban development and are associated with a high level of national support, the negative impact of centralization of Egypt's political, institutional/administrative and fiscal context has merely being taken into consideration and/or recognised. Numerous non-quantitative indicators of centralization indicate that the Central government have always controlled the roles of planning, budgeting, financing, resource allocation, regulation, project implementation and service delivery, monitoring and evaluation destroying all hopes and efforts for adopting a comprehensive popular urban democracy. In other words, the current political system that governs the decision making process of urban development at the central, regional and local levels hinders every move towards the foundation of any active public participation mechanism.

This centralised nature of current urban politics has three major dimensions: political, administrative and fiscal. First, politically, on the one hand, elected Popular Councils' right to interpolate that has been abolished by law 145/1988 shifted to only the entitlement to raise questions to the governor on limited questions or notify him of urgent matters. On the other hand, on the village level, the previously elected *Omda* or mayor is now appointed.

Second, administratively, heads of Egypt's governorates, appointed by the President, are not empowered to practice any authority that is in principle defined by law. Monthly meetings with the Prime minister reveal that their activities are centrally directed. Moreover the functions of the 'higher Council for Local Administration' that theoretically consists of all governors and defined by law are not at all implemented. The current practice of the General Organization of Physical planning (GOPP) with regards to physical urban planning practice gives a clear example of how far the administrative dimension has reached in Egypt's centralization context. While law 3/1982 assigns GOPP to prepare master plans as well as assigns local government units to the prepare detailed plans and implementation of local urban development plans, in reality, GOPP undertakes the whole task with the help of commissioned consultants.

Finally, fiscally, the inflexibility in relocation of resources and spending of funds add another dimension to the centralization context (i.e. fiscal dimension); while Minister of Local government can transfer budget resources from one governorate to another without referring to the governor; governors has lost the authority to even

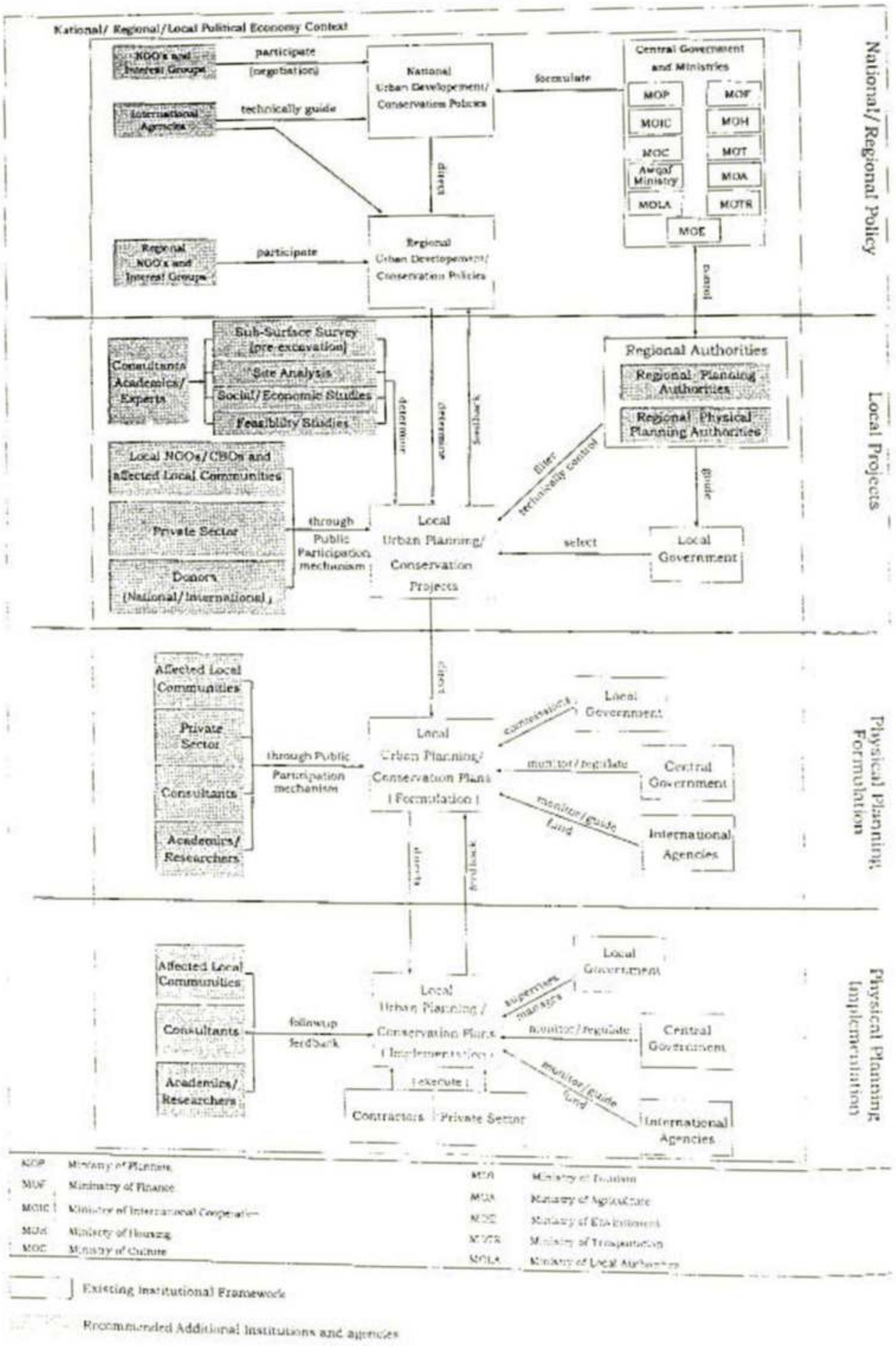
transfer budget allocations or shift funds allocated from one investment project to another of a different nature (i.e. under different ministries, for example from a hospital to a school), whereas in some cases transfer of budget allocations requires as much as parliamentary approval.

This context of centralization has obviously offered no chance for any adequate participation of non-governmental organizations NGO's or bodies representing civil societies from the private sector (e.g. chambers of commerce, investor's associations) or labour unions and consumer associations or even local public in the process of policy-making and implementing. Local motivation to participate in decision-making has always been negatively affected by the perception of their regional and local administration as a clear representative of the central government and its demands, rather than a channel for expressing their needs and requirements. Consequently, the lack of public participation in decision-making together with the weak authority assigned to regional institutions and local governments have severely been contributing to the gap between the demands of the local communities and what is supplied to them by the central government from services and facilities.

As the research analyses the main factors that contributes to the widening gap between the formulation and implementation of urban development and conservation policies and plans, the recommended arrangement chart, as seen in figure (5.1), adds new dimensions to the urban development planning process and recognizes the shortcoming of planning and urban conservation practice. The recommended framework stresses on the following points:

First, the concept of decentralization in the planning process as a tool to enhance urban development lies in its association with a greater degree of democracy at the local levels, the independence of decision-making and its shift of its authority to lower levels in the administrative hierarchy, in addition to providing flexibility in the use of resources and spending of funds. The recommended framework presents an institutional arrangement that adopts the decentralization mechanism in the urban development planning process. On one hand, the recommended framework recognizes new responsibilities assigned to the regional authorities (i.e. regional planning and physical planning authorities) with regards to the selection and filtration and technically taking control of urban planning and conservation projects on terms of being suitable to the local urban development. On the other hand, the recommended framework offers the

Fig (5.1) Recommended Arrangement Chart for the Process of urban conservation and physical planning



local government more capability to participate in commissioning of the formulation stage of urban projects, promoting flexible resource mobilization and finally conducting and supervising the implementation process of such projects.

Second, recognizing the individuality of each region and the locality of its cities, the recommended framework aims at strengthening the public participation dimension in the development planning process that adds to the whole process some flexibility and specificity in dealing with cases that differ from one place to another. Moreover, the aim of empowering local communities, involving different stakeholders (i.e. a network of NGOs-national, regional and local, interest groups, private sector, CBOs and most important affected local communities) in the different stages of the urban planning and conservation processes from the initial stage of National /Regional policymaking, assures that the entire development planning and conservation processes are responding to the needs of citizens at the grassroots.

Third, based on the two points discussed above, as power is transferred from central to local, the central government is left with the responsibility of setting national and regional policy guidelines and regulations, monitoring and evaluating the planning process as the regional authorities and local government take the account of ensuring higher returns on urban development and conservation projects within its own boundaries. Moreover, the central government will have to accept the formulation as well as active participation of national NGOs according to a clear and well defined criteria that will act as representatives of regional and local NGOs with a main task to advocate for particular policies and actions on their behalf during the first stage of the planning process (i.e. National/regional policymaking stage).

Fourth, the field of urban conservation and heritage management has always been within the circles of the intellectual elite, and has never been considered to be a basis for discussion between local communities living around heritage sites, NGOs, or any different interest groups, or even an issue for the local government to deal with solely. However the strong belief that any heritage site confined within its local boundaries is a 'national property', it has been revealed that the Ministry of Culture (MOC) and its affiliated institutions take the entire responsibility of controlling the development within urban areas neighbouring heritage sites.

Consequently, the framework recommends a shift towards a decentralized urban conservation process that is mainly guided by the guidelines and regulations of the

central government. It also emphasises the integration of urban conservation practice within a decentralized process of urban planning development. Furthermore, the framework encourages the introduction of a proposed public participation mechanism aiming at empowering local communities. This is support localities to be actively involved in issues related to 'national heritage that affect the existence of local communities' while selecting and filtering projects that secure local ownership and guarantee a balanced urban development process.

Finally, the analysis of the shortcoming of planning and urban conservation with specific reference to the 'Restoration of the Sphinxes avenues project- Luxor' provides a strong basis to add another crucial dimension in the planning process. Given the ongoing frustration and feelings of pessimism from the results of excavations (i.e. parts of broken bases of the statues) related to a national project that will require a chain of evacuation of local residents, demolishing of buildings in order to continue excavation, the framework proposes a series of studies before commissioning the formulation stages of any urban conservation projects. The framework recommends that in cases of projects that will involve evacuation of local communities and demolition of their properties in favour of future archaeological excavations shall be based on detailed studies ranging from site analysis, social/economic studies, feasibility studies to sub-surface surveys, land detection, remote-sensing...etc. This dimension helps in determining whether or not projects suitable to enter the following stages of formulation and implementation.

5.5 ISSUES FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

As the research presents, examines and analyses the main critical problems within the field of urban development planning and conservation practice, the findings of the research arose several issues central to this study that justifies the need for further in-depth understanding. The following points present several issues for further research as follows:

1. Given the limitations of the case study approach in not offering a generalization of the findings, the recommended framework in section (5.3) will be in need for further assessment. Applying this framework in a different case study context, new factors will arise that are expected to influence the processes of urban planning and conservation that hasn't appeared in the context of the case study

presented in this research. Consequently, this will lead to the refinement of the recommended framework in order to address any new dimensions.

2. Furthermore, the recommended framework can offer a basis for a 'research collective' strategy that will guide a number of researches adopting every possible case study with similar contexts on the entire national level. Through this collective research strategy, a 'code of practice' or a collective-framework integrating urban planning and conservation can be founded that will give the basic steps to be followed in any project with similar circumstances.

3. The fact that the fieldwork had to end in May 2006, while urban development projects in Luxor were still being executed, is considered another limitation in the case study context that has to be further addressed. Further research is needed to analyse the continuing implementation process in the light of the factors pointed out in this research, moreover future research will be needed at the end of the implementation process to measure and analyse the extent within the gap expected between the original physical plans and implemented land-use.

4. While the research claims that representative community participation in the process of urban planning and conservation achieves a much better desirable outcome of physical planning practice, moreover assuring to lessen the gap between formulated physical plans and implemented land use, further research is needed to measure and compare to what extent has this dimension influenced the path of physical planning and conservation practice. Empirical comparative research is required to either endorse or reject this claim.

5. The research leads the way for further research on the impact of centralization on the urban development process and physical planning practice. Furthermore, given the global and national pressures to shift to decentralized frameworks as a tool for reform, further research is also required to assess and examine the outcome of this shift on the planning process as a whole.

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Research title:
PHYSICAL PLANNING AND URBAN CONSERVATION PRACTICE: THE CASE OF LUXOR CITY, EGYPT.

I. INTERVIEWS WITH CENTRAL GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS (URBAN CONSERVATION/URBAN PLANNING/TOURISM DEVELOPMENT):

A. DECISION-MAKING PROCESS

1. What institutions are involved within the decision-making process regarding the Urban Development in Luxor city? What are their main responsibilities? And what their authorities? And who is the most influential?
2. In case of joint projects between the different institutions and levels (or departments of planning, tourism, antiquities, infrastructure...etc) how is the co-ordination achieved and who is the most influential institution/department?
3. To what extent has the international influence (UNESCO, WTO.... etc) affected the decision-making process regarding urban conservation and tourism development within Egypt generally and Luxor city specifically?
4. To what extent is the HCLC involved in the decision-making process? What level of authority and localization is it allowed?
5. Are there any organized local communities within the city? If yes, Who are considered these local communities? How do you view the 'participation of these local communities' in the decision-making process? Do they take part in any discussions? Are their voices taken in to consideration by any means?

B. FORMULATION PHASE OF THE DEVELOPMENT PLANS

1. What institutions were/are involved during the formulation phase (i.e. identifying problems, defining and agreeing on policies, plans and projects)? And what was the

structure of coordination between the different players involved? Who is the most influentia!

2. Upon what criteria were the six Investment Package Concepts selected? (On what basis were six packages selected from a total of forty proposed packages?) Who was responsible for this selection?
3. Who are/were responsible for coming up with the TORs (Terms Of Reference)?
4. Who was/were responsible for selecting the consultants? And on what basis were they selected?
5. Since the private sector will be given a high share of responsibility to carry out the projects of the CDCL, how was this sector represented in the formulation phase, if not? How were their representatives chosen, and on what basis? How often were meetings held with them?
6. What level of 'local participation' from the local communities within the city was achieved within the formulation process? Were any of their representatives involved by any means in meetings and discussions?

C. IMPLEMENTATION PHASE OF THE DEVELOPMENT PLANS

1. From your point of view, what were the main obstacles (administrative and operational) that faced the implementation of any of the past successive development plans for the city (i.e. 1984 and 1993 master plans)?
2. And, what obstacles do you think will face the implementation of the CDCL in the coming future? And who do you think will oppose the implementation? Why?
3. Do you think that depending heavily on the private sector to carry out the different investment packages of the CDCL will achieve the required goals of the CDCL? Will it achieve any "public interest", or do you expect it to turn to an 'arena of competition within the private sector' to achieve their own interests?
4. What level of support and participation are you expecting to see from the local government (HCLC) and local communities during the implementation process?

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II. INTERVIEWS WITH LOCAL GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS (HCLC) RESPONSIBLE FOR URBAN DEVELOPMENT

A. DECISION-MAKING PROCESS

6. What do you think were the main reasons behind the establishment of the HCLC in 1989 (Presidential Decree no. 153)? And do you think this has positively affected the urban development within the city?
7. What level of responsibility and authority does the HCLC have? Can the HCLC refuse or oppose the central government's decision regarding the development within the city? (e.g. central government offering land for tourism development, new infrastructures)
8. What institutes are involved within the decision-making process regarding the Urban Development in Luxor city? What are their main responsibilities? And what their authorities? And who is the most influential?
9. In case of joint projects between the different institutes (or departments within the HCLC-planning, tourism, antiquities, infrastructure…etc) how is the co-ordination achieved and who is the most influential institute/department?
10. Who are considered the local communities of the city? How do you view the 'participation of these local communities' in the decision-making process? Do they take part in any discussions? Are their voices taken in to consideration by any means?

B. PHYSICAL PLANNING PRACTICE

1. Does the HCLC have the power to enforce land use plans, protect and manage the urban and historic environment, coordinate with other Government and private sector entities?
2. From your point of view, what do you think were the main obstacles that faced the implementation of any of the successive development plans for the city (i.e. 1984 and 1993 master plans)?
3. What trend of urban development did the city apply following the major projects within the city (Luxor bridge south of the city, expansion of the airport, etc)?
4. What were the special regulations declared for the significant sections (i.e. protected areas) of Luxor city? How is development guided within these areas?

Based on the claim that the current staff of the HCLC cannot undertake any project of the CDCL (e.g. 'the creation of a Luxor Open Museum and Heritage District' project) due to the lacking the resources, staff, authority and fund to carry out major projects. The CDCL recommends the creation of a Project Management Unit (PMU) and a new Preservation and Development Authority (PDA).

5. On what level was the HCLC involved within the formulation process of the Comprehensive Development Plans for the city?
6. How do you view the shift within the role of the HCLC under the administrative framework proposed within the CDCL? Will the PMU and its PDA take over the major activities of the HCLC?
7. What is your opinion regarding the involvement of the private sector in carrying out major projects under the CDCL packages? And on what level will the private sector be engaged within the implementation processes of these project packages?
8. What is your opinion regarding the 'participation of the local communities' during the implementation process? What level of support do you expect to receive during this phase from the locals?

C. QUESTIONS REGARDING THE TWO PROJECT PACKAGES PROPOSED BY THE CDCL THAT WILL DIRECTLY AFFECT THE CITY OF LUXOR

PROJECT 1: RESTORATION OF THE AVENUE OF THE SPHINXES

1. What's your personal opinion of this project? Who supports this project?
2. Do you know of any person (s) or institute that has opposed to this project? And why?
3. From your point of view, what type of obstacles will face the implementation of this project?
4. Who will be directly affected by this project? Who will be told to evacuate their properties and relocate?
5. Have the residents mostly affected by these actions been consulted, notified or informed prior to the decisions taken regarding the following actions of the restoration project: *purchase of land of a width of 76 m, relocation housing for over 100 units; phase demolition of buildings*? If yes, then how and when were they informed?
6. Where the people affected given any number of choices for relocation? Have the people affected approved of the new area(s) of relocation?
7. What level of cooperation do you expect to see from the directly affected residents and activities when they are told to evacuate their properties and to relocate in other areas?

PROJECT 6: DEVELOPMENT OF THE OPEN MUSEUM AND HERITAGE

1. Who were involved in setting the project's objectives and components?
2. Within the Monument Protection Area, to what extend do you think you can maintain the area in the face of continuous pressure for undesirable future developments? What type of obstacles will you face?
3. Knowing the urban conditions surrounding Luxor Temple (i.e. *busy streets, high density residential/commercial activities)* that leaves no opportunity to create a larger buffer zone, in your opinion what is the best action to be taken to continue conserving the antiquities and character of the area?
4. Offering new housing with utility services in the '*North Karnak Planned Development Neighbourhoods*' to relocate and empty the Karnak's buffer zone from informal activities, who or what institution was involved in choosing this location

and upon what criteria? Were the residents affected by this decision informed and how? What is the expected percentage of residents that will relocate?

5. With an aim to conserve and improve the old section of the city (i.e. market/Souq area) that represents different and significant architectural styles (e.g. Islamic and Coptic), what guidelines/limitations will be introduced during the improvement and development of this specific area?
6. Knowing that the riverfront (Central and Northern Corniche) is regarded as undeveloped areas (scattered commercial development, buildings of no historic significance), but offering a prime location, what type of urban development do you think will be appropriate for this area?
7. What obstacles and problems do think will face the implementation of this project?
8. Who do you think will support this project? And why? Who will oppose and why?

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III. INTERVIEWS WITH LOCAL GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS (HCLC) RESPONSIBLE FOR URBAN CONSERVATION

A. DECISION-MAKING PROCESS

1. What do you think were the main reasons behind the establishment of the HCLC in 1989 (Presidential Decree no. 153)? And do you think this has positively affected the preservation and conservation of the city's heritage?
2. What level of responsibility and authority does the HCLC have? Can the HCLC refuse or oppose the central government's decision regarding urban conservation within the city?
3. What institutions are involved within the decision-making process regarding the Urban Conservation in Luxor city? What are their main responsibilities? And what their authorities? And who is the most influential?
4. In case of joint projects between the different institutions (or departments within the HCLC-planning, tourism, antiquities, infrastructure…etc) how is the co-ordination achieved and who is the most influential institute/department?
5. From your point of view, how do you view the level of peoples' awareness regarding the preservation and conservation of their city's historic zones? Do you think this issue is hindering your tasks or supporting it?
6. Who are the local communities of the city? How do you view the 'participation of these local communities' in the decision-making process? Do they take part in any discussions? Are their voices taken in to consideration by any means? And is the issue of 'conservation of their city's heritage' is by any means on their agenda?

B. URBAN CONSERVATION PRACTICE:

1. From your point of view what are the main problems that are facing the city's heritage? Any why?
2. Does the HCLC have the power to protect and manage the urban and historic environment, enforce land use plans, coordinate with other Government and private sector entities?
3. From your point of view, what do you think were the main obstacles that faced the implementation of any of the successive urban and conservation development plans for the city (i.e. 1984 and 1993 master plans)?
4. How do you view the effect of tourism and its development on urban conservation practice within the city? And what trend of urban and conservation development did the city apply following the major projects within the city (Luxor bridge south of the city, expansion of the airport, etc)? And how did this affect the heritage and its management?
5. What were the special regulations declared by the Government for the significant sections (i.e. protected areas) of Luxor city? How is development guided within these areas?

Based on the claim that the current staff of the HCLC cannot undertake any project of the CDCL (e.g. 'the creation of a Luxor Open Museum and Heritage District' project) due to the lacking the resources, staff, authority and fund to carry out major projects. The CDCL recommends the creation of a Project Management Unit (PMU) and a new Preservation and Development Authority (PDA).

6. On what level was the HCLC involved within the formulation process of the Comprehensive Development Plans for the city, specifically the decisions regarding the conservation of the city's heritage?
7. Was your department involved by any means in the formulation process of the CDCL? (e.g. data collection, field trips, meetings…etc)
8. How do you view the shift within the role of the HCLC under the administrative framework proposed within the CDCL? Will the PMU and its PDA actually take over the major activities of the HCLC? And how do you view 'urban conservation' under this new proposed structure?

9. What is your opinion regarding the involvement of the private sector in carrying out major projects under the CDCL packages? How will this affect the management and conservation of the historic zones? And on what level will the private sector be engaged within the implementation processes of these project packages? Will this sector be involved in any preservation or restoration projects?
10. What is your opinion regarding the 'participation of the local communities' during the implementation process? What level of support do you expect to receive during this phase from the locals?

C. QUESTIONS REGARDING THE TWO PROJECT PACKAGES PROPOSED BY THE CDCL THAT WILL DIRECTLY AFFECT THE URBAN CONSERVATION OF LUXOR'S HERITAGE

PROJECT 1: RESTORATION OF THE AVENUE OF THE SPHINXES

1. What's your personal opinion of this project? How will this project affect the urban conservation, protection and maintenance of the city's heritage?
2. Who supports this project? Do you know of any person (s) or institutions that has opposed to this project? And why?
3. From your point of view, what obstacles will face the implementation of this project? Why?
4. What level of cooperation do you accept to see from the directly affected residents and activities when they are told to evacuate their properties and to relocate in other areas?

PROJECT 6: DEVELOPMENT OF THE OPEN MUSEUM AND HERITAGE

1. Who were involved in setting the project's objectives and components?
2. Within the Monument Protection Area, to what extend do you think you can maintain the area in the face of continuous pressure for undesirable future developments? What type of obstacles will you face?
3. Knowing the urbanized surroundings of Luxor Temple (i.e. *busy streets, high density residential/commercial activities)* that leaves no opportunity to create a larger buffer zone, in your opinion what is the best action to be taken to continue conserving the antiquities and character of the area?

4. With an aim to conserve and improve the old section of the city (i.e. market/Souq area) that represents different and significant architectural periods (e.g. Islamic and Coptic), what guidelines/limitations will be introduced during the improvement and development of this specific area?
5. What obstacles and problems do think will face the implementation of this project?
6. Who do you think will support this project? And why? Who will oppose and why?

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IV. INTERVIEWS WITH LOCAL GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS (HCLC) RESPONSIBLE FOR TOURISM DEVELOPMENT

A. DECISION-MAKING PROCESS

1. What do you think were the main reasons behind the establishment of the HCLC in 1989 (Presidential Decree no. 153)? And do you think this has positively affected the tourism development within the city?
2. From your point of view, do you prefer decisions regarding tourism to formulate from the central governmental level or on the local level? And how does this affect your main tasks?
3. What level of responsibility and authority does the HCLC have? Can the HCLC refuse or oppose the central government's decision regarding any tourism development within the city? (Percentage of tourism targeting the city, number of tourists, number of tourist night, taxes…etc)
4. What institutions are involved within the decision-making process regarding the Tourism Development in Luxor city? What are their main responsibilities? And what their authorities? And who is the most influential?
5. In case of joint projects between the different institutions (or departments within the HCLC-planning, tourism, antiquities, infrastructure…etc) how is the co-ordination achieved and who is the most influential institute/department?
6. From your point of view, how do you view the level of peoples' awareness regarding the importance of the city's location on Egypt's tourism map? Do you think this issue is hindering your tasks or supporting it?

7. What are the local communities of the city? How do you view the 'participation of these local communities' in the decision-making process? Do they take part in any discussions? Are their voices taken in to consideration by any means? And do you see the local communities as supporting or opposing the decisions regarding tourism development within the city? Why?

B. TOURISM DEVELOPMENT:

1. From your point of view what are the main problems that are facing tourism in Luxor city? Any why?
2. What trends of tourism do you think will positively affect the city's tourism development? And what actions will negatively affect it?
3. Does the HCLC have the power to protect and manage the urban and historic environment, enforce land use plans, coordinate with other Government and private sector entities?
4. From your point of view, what do you think were the main obstacles that faced the implementation of any of the successive urban and conservation and tourism development plans for the city (i.e. 1984 and 1993 master plans)?
5. What trend of urban and tourism and conservation development did the city apply following the major projects within the city (Luxor bridge south of the city, expansion of the airport, etc)? And how did this affect tourism in the city?
6. What were the special regulations declared by the Government for the significant sections (i.e. protected areas) of Luxor city? How is tourism development guided within these areas?

Based on the claim that the current staff of the HCLC cannot undertake any project of the CDCL (e.g. 'the creation of a Luxor Open Museum and Heritage District' project) due to the lacking the resources, staff, authority and fund to carry out major projects. The CDCL recommends the creation of a Project Management Unit (PMU) and a new Preservation and Development Authority (PDA).

7. On what level was the HCLC involved within the formulation process of the Comprehensive Development Plans for the city, specifically the decisions regarding tourism?
8. Was your department involved by any means in the formulation process of the CDCL? (e.g. statistics, data collection, field trips, meetings...etc)

9. How do you view the shift within the role of the HCLC under the administrative framework proposed within the CDCL? Will the PMU and its PDA actually take over the major activities of the HCLC? And how do you view 'tourism' under this new proposed structure?
10. What is your opinion regarding the involvement of the private sector in carrying out major projects under the CDCL packages? And on what level will the private sector be engaged within the implementation processes of these project packages? And how will this affect the development of tourism?
11. What is your opinion regarding the 'participation of the local communities' during the implementation process? What level of support do you expect to receive during this phase from the locals?

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III. INTERVIEWS WITH PLANNING CONSULTANTS:

A. DECISION-MAKING PROCESS /FORMULATION PHASE OF DEVELOPMENT PLANS

1. Who were/are involved in the decision-making process during the formulation phase (i.e. identifying problems, defining and agreeing on policies, plans and projects)? And what was the structure of coordination between the different players involved?
2. Who are/ were responsible for coming up with the TOR's (Terms of Reference)?
3. How often were meetings with you as a consultant achieved? Who usually attended these meetings?
4. What's your opinion of the level of communication achieved between yourself and the different players in the decision –making process? And to what extend were your point (s) of view were taken into consideration?
5. Upon what criteria were the six Investment Package Concepts selected? (On what basis were six packages selected from a total of forty proposed packages?) Who was responsible for this selection?
6. What are the local communities of the city? How do you view the 'participation of these local communities' in the decision-making process? Do they take part in any discussions? Are their voices taken in to consideration by any means? And do you see the local communities as supporting or opposing the decisions \regarding the tourism development within the city? Why?

B. IMPLEMENTATION PHASE OF DEVELOPMENT PLANS

1. From your point of view, what do you think were the main obstacles (administrative and operational) that faced the implementation of any of the past successive development plans for the city (i.e. 1984 and 1993 master plans)?
2. And, what obstacles do you think will face the implementation of the CDCL in the coming future? And who do you think will oppose the implementation? Why?
3. Do you think that depending heavily on the private sector to carry out the different investment packages of the CDCL will achieve the required goals of the CDCL? Will it achieve any "public interest", or do you expect it to turn to an 'arena of competition within the private sector'?
4. What level of support and participation are you expecting to see from the local government (HCLC) and local communities during the implementation process?

- ❑ Lack of job opportunities for local community
- ❑ Lack of diversity within the economy of the city
- ❑ I don't know
- ❑ I don't care

2.2 What type of development projects do you think will most probably benefit the city, its people and its economy?

- ❑ Community based projects
- ❑ Touristic projects (e.g. hotels, restaurants…etc)
- ❑ Tougher Protection/conservation measures of historic buildings & sites
- ❑ Agricultural projects
- ❑ Industrial projects
- ❑ I don't know
- ❑ I don't care
- ❑ Other projects,

- Please specify.....

2 3 what is your personal opinion regarding the recent projects executed around the city?

.....
.....
.....
.....

2.4 Is there any type of community organization in your area?

- ❑ No
- ❑ I don't know of any
- ❑ I don't care
- ❑ Yes,

- Please specify.....

2.5 In your opinion as a member of the community is your voice taken into consideration and heard?

- ❑ Never
- ❑ Sometimes
- ❑ Always
- ❑ I don't care

-If your voice is heard, then by whom? .....

2.6 In your opinion, who is controlling and leading the decision-making process regarding the development of the city?

- ❑ The Central Government
- ❑ The HCLC
- ❑ The private sector/businessmen
- ❑ The local residents
- ❑ The local traders

- ❑ I do not know
- ❑ I don't care
- ❑ Others, specify.....

- **Can you please re-arrange them from the most influent to the least**

.....

2.7 What is your opinion about the involvement of the private sector and businessmen and their participation in the development and conservation of the city?

- ❑ This will benefit the tourism sector only
- ❑ This will help protect monuments and historic areas
- ❑ This will benefit the local community
- ❑ This will lead to instability within the city
- ❑ I do not know
- ❑ I don't care
- ❑ Other opinion

- Please specify.....

SECTION (3): BUILDING/UNIT PROFILE:

3.1 What is the status your unit?

- ❑ Owning this flat/unit
- ❑ Renting (old law)
- ❑ Renting (new law)

3.2 From your point of view, what is the condition of building you are occupying? *

- ❑ In an Excellent condition
- ❑ Satisfying condition
- ❑ Needs few improvements
- ❑ Needs lots of improvements
- ❑ In a very bad condition

**This question will also depend on direct observation to confirm results.*

SECTION (4): PERCEPTION OF FUTURE PLANS:

4.1 Have you heard of the Development proposals for Luxor city and its outer region?

- ❑ Yes
- ❑ No (go directly to question 4.4)
- ❑ I don't care

4.2 If yes, how were you informed?

- ❑ Through a HCLC personnel

- ☐ Through an official letter
- ☐ Through a community meeting
- ☐ Through the media
- ☐ Other source, specify.....

4.3 Were you involved by any means during the formulation process of these proposals?

- ☐ No
- ☐ Yes,
  Please specify.....

4.4 If you haven't been informed about the future Development proposals, then why do you think you haven't been informed what so ever?

.....

.....

4.5 Do you realise that your building is built above a precious unexcavated heritage site (Avenue of the Sphinxes)?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No
- ☐ I don't care

4.6 Are you aware that you will have to evacuate your property and relocate in the coming future?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

4.7 If yes, how were you informed?

- ☐ Through a HCLC personnel
- ☐ Through the planners
- ☐ Through an official letter
- ☐ Through a community meeting
- ☐ Through the media
- ☐ Through the private sector/businessmen
- ☐ Other source,
  specify.....

4.8 Were you given any number of specific locations to choose from to relocate to?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

- If yes, where?.....

4.9 Which action would you have preferred to be taken?

- ☐ Relocate to the area proposed
- ☐ Relocate to an area of your own choice

- ❑ To be compensated with a reasonable price for your property
- ❑ I don't care
- ❑ Others, specify.....

4.10 If you had the choice to choose the area you are to relocate to, which area would you prefer?

- ❑ City Centre (Souq area)
- ❑ South of the city
- ❑ North of the city
- ❑ New Luxor city
- ❑ New proposed touristic areas
- ❑ Other areas within Luxor
- ❑ Outside Luxor

- Why?.....

4.11 How did you wish to have been informed regarding the evacuation form your unit and the relocation?.....

.....

- General comments:.....

.....

.....

Thanks for your help and time dedicated to complete this questionnaire.

Appendix III: Local Governance of Egypt

The historic development of Egypt's government institution points out consistent centralization of powers and authority. The bureaucracy was shaped during Nasser's era of centralized planning and state-led development policies. Despite remaining a highly centralized political system, considerable efforts have been made to stream line and localize public administration.

I. Local Governance laws

Since 1960, eight laws of local system have been issued, one replacing the other. The main laws are: law 57 of 1971, law 52 of 1975, and the (current) law 43 of 1979. However, the last law has been amended several times by law 50 of 1981, law 186 of 1981, law 26 0f 1982, law 106 0f 1987, law 145 of 1988, and law 9 of 1989.

Despite later amendments, the law 43/1979 is the current legal basis of the local administration system in Egypt. All local councils were exclusively elected; while appointed members formed "executive committees" (later known as executive councils). This was the beginning of what is labelled as the 'double chambered system' in local administration. This law has also changed the names of local councils and executive committees into local popular councils and local executive councils respectively.

According to the law 43/1979, local communities are enrolled in a five-tier system of local administration as follows:

1. The 26 Governorates are either fully urban (i.e. Cairo, Suez and Port Said) or combined from urban and rural communities. This distinction is reflected in the lower levels. fully urban governorates have no Markaz, since the Markaz is a sort of conglomeration of villages. Moreover, Governorates may be composed of one city, like the cases of Cairo and Alexandria. Therefore, one-city Governorates are divided into Districts (Urban neighbourhoods)/ Cairo consists of 23 districts; Alexandria consists of 6 districts.
2. The Markaz includes a capital city of the Markaz, other existing cites and a group of villages. Before 1975, the Markaz was essentially an area of division for functionally proper management of state activities (e.g. security purposes and registration for military services). Now, each of 166 Markazes has an autonomous legal status as a local unit, supervising the lower villages.
3. The city exists in all Governorates; as a one-city Governorate, as the capital of a Governorate, the capital of a Markaz, and constituent city in a Markaz. Moreover a City may be recognized with a special status enacted by a special law, **i.e. The City of Luxour, by the law No. 9/1989.** Cities are divided into Districts if functionally necessary. There are over 200 cities.
4. The District is the smallest local unit in urban communities. However, Districts differ from one Governorate to another in terms of size, population and political and economic circumstances. Districts in Cairo and Alexandria come on the higher-ranking districts in Egypt, (i.e. the two are the political and economic capitals respectively).

Appendix IV: The National Plan for the Development of the South of Egypt, 2017[1]

I. Background

The South of Egypt encompasses two planning regions:

1. South Upper Egypt Region: including Luxor city, Governorates of Sohag, Qena, Aswan, and the southern part of the Red Sea Governorate, and
2. Middle Upper Egypt Region (Assiyut Region), in addition to the remainder of the Red Sea Governorate.

The overall area of the South of Egypt is slightly more than half the total area of Egypt. However, the population of the area is no more than 10 million inhabitants, or 17% of Egypt's population. Most of the population is concentrated in the Nile Valley whereas only less than 0.25 million reside the Red Sea and El- Wadi El Gedid Governorates.

The region encompasses one of the two major areas for out migration; that is, Assiyut, Sohag and Qena where population density is very high. The Red Sea is the only Governorate positively impacted by migration. With proposed developments, it is expected that the total population of the South of Egypt would reach approximately 16.2 million inhabitants.

The Government of Egypt's general strategy for the Development of Egypt over the coming two decades calls for a "Comprehensive Development" approach; not only at the sector level but also at the regional level. This strategy has received specific focus in those regions that have received equitable development resources. This strategy attempts to transform these regions into "population attracting" ones and also to achieve a better and balanced population distribution outside the inhabited Nile Valley.

Within the framework of this general strategy, several national projects have been planned and are currently underway. At the forefront of these is the National Project of the Development of Sinai, the National Project for the Development of the South of Egypt, the National Plan for Rural Development and others.

II. Objectives

These National Projects share a number of objectives:

- To boost the private sector's role in development and to create a favourable environment for private sector participation;
- Mobilizing Governorates' resources for effective utilization at both the local and national levels;
- To achieve balanced development for various Governorates and resolve problems resulting from population and activities centralization;
- To offer the chance for regional institutions for effective participation in development activities.

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[1] Source from Ministry of planning, Summary National Plan for the Development of the South of Egypt to the Year 2017, February, 1996 (in Arabic)

III. Strategic Directions

The major strategic directions for Comprehensive Development are:

1.To raise the real growth rate of GDP to an average of 8% annually;

2.To create more than 12 million jobs;

3.To construct about 4 million housing units;

4.To provide potable water to each settlement, no matter how small it is and to provide sewerage facilities and treatment in all cities, districts and villages;

5.To achieve complete absorption (full enrolment) in primary education, to eradicate illiteracy and lower classroom density in all education levels to about 30 students per class;

6.To develop and upgrade universities, emphasis on scientific research and linkages to community and development needs;

7.To improve health indicators, emphasis on preventive health;

8.To disperse population outside the inhabited Valley to achieve balance and emphasizing rural development as one of the bases for national development;

9. To reclaim and cultivate around 2 million feddans;

10. To develop industries at a real growth rate between 10% and 14%

11. To increase attention given to tourism and tourism infrastructure to reach an overall tourism flow of 15 million in 2012 and around 129 million touristic nights

12. To increase generated electricity

13. To upgrade and improve road networks, railroads and telecommunications

14. To gradually increase rural citizens' participation in the development process.

III. Principles and Directions

The principals and objectives of the National Project for the Development of the South of Egypt are summarized as:

- Improvement locals' living standards and minimizing economic and social gaps between them and the rest of Egypt's population
- Transforming promising zones of this region into attracting areas for activities and population
- Exploring new horizons for agriculture, industry and tourism to participate in national development
- Attracting the private sector to participate and support the development of the region
- Contribution to the resolution of security problems within the framework of economic and social development
- Improvement of comprehensive development management and local administration and supporting local administration.

SUMMARY

In historic cities, a persistent conflict has always been vivid between calls to preserve cultural heritage, and the need for urban development and change in response to the ever-changing values and demands of societies. Such conflict has two pressing dimensions. The first dimension has been echoed throughout the academic literature via the well-documented exploration and analysis of the ever-growing conflict between urban conservation and tourism development. The second dimension has been reflected in the ongoing perception shift of urban conservation within the physical planning field (i.e. planning approaches and processes).

This study focuses on, on the one hand, theoretically exploring, analysing and documenting the paradigm shift of urban conservation with specific reference to physical planning practice. On the other hand, it applies the above theoretical outcome to the case of Luxor City in search for explanation and future ideologies.

To achieve such goals, this thesis is divided into five chapters as follows:

The First Chapter:

This chapter aims at setting the boundaries of the research through presenting the core problem, the hypothesis and key research questions that are addressed in the following chapters, and the theoretical and analytical contexts of the research work. This chapter, also, includes the research theoretical and analytical scope, justification for the case study choice, and the methodology for conducting the case study and data analysis.

The Second Chapter:

This chapter places the study within a wider context of the theoretical debates on both fields of urban planning and conservation practice upon which the research constructed an analytical framework to analyse the empirical evidence collected from the field. To explain the interlocking dimensions and gap within the literature related to the disciplines of urban planning and urban conservation the chapter had to be divided into three main sections. The first section debates and examines the urban development planning theory and practice. Clarifying the different planning traditions and planning methodologies and critically focusing on the shift of the approaches adopted in dealing with land development is presented in this section, moreover emphasising on the role of state, role of planner, attitude to market processes, scope and purpose and planning process of each new emerging planning approach.

The second section examines the development of the urban conservation discipline through debating the different levels, styles and approaches of urban conservation. The third section aims at interlinking the two areas of knowledge in order to locate the practice of urban conservation within every planning theory (i.e. scope of urban conservation in each planning approach). Furthermore, the construction of an analytical framework at this point will make use of the interlinking areas and gaps between the urban development planning theory and urban conservation practice. Consequently, the analytical framework points out the main factors or entry points for the analysis of the urban development planning and conservation process in the context of the case study.

The Third Chapter:

This chapter provides a brief introduction to the shift in the political economy context of Egypt, examining the main national development challenges and economic and urban policies

adopted after the nation's independence in 1952. The aim is to relate the process of urban development planning and urban conservation with the general national context, highlighting the main factors that affected these processes. The chapter discusses the major national policies from the early 1970's till recent and identifies the general national and regional objectives regarding urban development and conservation.

The Fourth Chapter:

This chapter analyzes the data collected from the field. The chapter starts with providing a brief background regarding the context of the case study. Furthermore, the chapter presents the formulation processes of successive physical development plans for Luxor city (i.e. 1984,1993 and 1998 approved physical plans) in the light of the shifting national urban development planning objectives. Consequently, the chapter continues to analyse the gap between the original physical plans and the existing land use patterns based on the entry points of the analytical framework (i.e. community participation, funding and political support).

The Fifth Chapter:

The final chapter sums up the findings of the research. Furthermore, the chapter presents an institutional framework as a recommendation to overcome the shortcoming of planning and urban conservation practice and the political economy context, in addition to identifying some issue for further research.

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ABSTRACT

In historic cities, a persistent conflict has always been vivid between calls to preserve cultural heritage, and the need for urban development and change in response to the ever-changing values and demands of societies. Such conflict has two pressing dimensions. The first dimension has been echoed throughout the academic literature via the well-documented exploration and analysis of the ever-growing conflict between urban conservation and tourism development. The second dimension has been reflected in the ongoing perception shift of urban conservation within the physical planning field (i.e. planning approaches and processes).

Theoretically, since the late 1940s, there has been a dynamic shift in the planning paradigm resulting in the emergence of various planning approaches to land development. Each of which is affected by, and/or based on, distinct planning ideologies, uses different planning tools and follows unique planning processes. Consequently, the scope, approaches, styles and levels of urban conservation have to be altered and shifted dramatically depending on the planning approach adopted within the context of historic cities.

Empirically, on the scale of urban projects, there has been a widely reported and documented gap between what is planned and what is actually implemented. Although the endless explanations, the common explanation relates such gap to the adoption of different, and sometimes conflicting, planning approaches to land development within the context of the very same project. As a result, objectives, allocation of funding, institutional arrangements and methodology of urban conservation at the planning stage has to be completely altered, and at most of times, hindered and terminated at the gates of implementation. This case has been vivid throughout the physical planning and urban conservation process (i.e. planning and implementation processes) of Luxor City, Egypt since the late 1970s till this very moment.

This study focuses on, on the one hand, theoretically exploring, analysing and documenting the paradigm shift of urban conservation with specific reference to physical planning practice. On the other hand, it applies the above theoretical outcome to the case of Luxor City in search for explanation and future ideologies.

Keywords:
Urban Conservation, Physical Planning practice, Institutional Arrangement, Governance, Heritage Management, Urban Management, Luxor city

ملخص الرسالة

اسم الباحثة : دينا معروف احمد محمد ضيف الله
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يتواجد في بيئة المدن التاريخية والمناطق الاثرية صراع دائم و مستمر بين الحاجة الملحة للحفاظ علي الموروثات الأثرية والتنمية العمرانية المستمرة لتلبية التغير الديناميكي في احتياجات و قيم المجتمعات.

يتمثل هذا الصراع في بعدين هامين وأساسيين: يتمثل البعد الاول في الاختلاف بين اولويات الحفاظ علي الاثار والموروثات الثقافية و التاريخية و التنمية السياحية – ذلك الاختلاف الذي تكرر توثيقه و تحليله في المدن والمناطق التاريخية في بلدان عديدة علي مستوي العالم. أما البعد الثاني فيتمثل في التغير الديناميكي الدائم لمنظور التخطيط العمراني لاعتبارات واحتياجات عمليات المحافظة علي الاثار.

يهدف الجزء الاول من البحث الي دراسة الجانب النظري من حيث التحليل و التوثيق للتغيرات في مجال الحفاظ علي الاثار (المستويات–التعريف– المداخل– المنهجيات المختلفة) فيما يتعلق بالتخطيط العمراني للوصول الي بناء مدخل نظري تحليلي لدراسة دمج اعتبارات واحتياجات المحافظة علي الاثار في عمليات التخطيط العمراني.

كما يركز البحث في الجزء الثاني منه علي التطبيق العملي لهذا المدخل النظري التحليلي لدراسة حالة مدينة الاقصرلما لها من ثراء واضح وموثق في مجالي المحافظة علي الاثار وكذلك التخطيط العمراني، وذلك للمساعدة في الوصول الي أيديولوجيات وفكر مستقبلي فعال لتلافي الصراع الدائم السابق ذكره عاليا.

ولتحقيق تلك الاهداف تم تقسيم الرسالة الي خمسة أبواب، و فيما يلي وصف موجز لمحتوياتها:

الباب الاول:

يتم هذا الباب بالتعريف بالمشكلة البحثية وأهداف البحث، وكذلك التركيز على الاسئلة المحورية والفرضية البحثية، مع عرض تفصيلي لمنهجية وأدوات البحث و كذلك اختبار الفرضية البحثية. كما يعرض الباب المحددات النظرية والعملية للبحث، وكذلك المعايير والاسس العلمية التي تم على اساسها اختيار حالة الدراسة (مدينة الاقصر).

الباب الثاني:

يركز هذا الباب علي دراسة وتحليل المشكلة والمحددات النظرية للمشكلة البحثية من خلال مراجعة وتحليل تعريفات ومداخل ومستويات و منهجيات الحفاظ علي الاثار. كذلك من خلال مراجعة وتحليل نظريات ومداخل ومنهجيات التخطيط العمراني. يخلص هذا الباب لبناء اطار نظري تحليلي لعمليات التخطيط العمراني في بيئة المدن التاريخية الاثرية مثل حالة الدراسة. ينقسم الباب الي ثلاثة أجزاء رئيسية. يهدف الجزء الاول لدراسة نظريات التخطيط العمراني لتوضيح المفاهيم والمداخل المختلفة للتعامل مع تنمية واستعمالات الاراضي، كذلك توضيح وتحليل دور الدولة والمخطط العمراني و المجتمع المحلي وتاثير مجريات السوق و الجوانب السياسية علي أهداف وأولويات التخطيط العمراني لكل مدخل من مداخل التخطيط العمراني.

كما يهدف الجزء الثاني من ذات الباب الي دراسة وتحليل التغير الدائم والمستمر لتعريفات ومداخل وأولويات الحفاظ على الاثار فيما يتعلق بالتخطيط العمراني. كما يركز هذا الجزء علي دراسة تأثير التوجهات الاقتصادية والسياسية العامة للدولة وكذلك احتياجات التنمية السياحية والعمرانية علي سياسات الحفاظ علي الاثار بالمدن التاريخية. ينتهي الباب الثاني بالجزء الثالث الذي يركز على بناء الاطار التحليلي للبحث لدراسة عمليات المحافظة علي الاثار في اطار عمليات التخطيط العمراني بمدينة الاقصر.

<u>الباب الثالث:</u>

يهتم الباب الثالث بدراسة وتحليل تأثير التغيرات السياسية والاقتصادية في مصر منذ ثورة يوليو ١٩٥٢، وكذلك دراسة وتحليل التحديات الاقتصادية والعمرانية التي تواجهها الدولة منذ ذلك الوقت وتأثيرها على سياسات وأولويات المحافظة على الآثار المصرية. يهدف الباب الي تحديد وتحليل ايجابيات وسلبيات الوضع الحالي لعمليات التخطيط العمراني فيما يخص عمليات المحافظة على الآثار في مصر.

<u>الباب الرابع:</u>

يهدف الباب لتحليل ودراسة البيانات والمعلومات التي تم جمعها من حالة الدراسة (مدينة الاقصر) حيث يبدأ الباب بعرض مبسط للدراسات الاجتماعية والاقتصادية والديموجرافية والعمرانية للوضع الحالي والسابق لمدينة الاقصر. كذلك يعرض الباب لتحليل وتوثيق مخططات التنمية العمرانية المتعاقبة (مخططات عام ١٩٨٤، ١٩٩٣، ١٩٩٨) في ضوء المتغيرات الاقتصادية والسياسية التي تم تحليلها في الباب الثالث. كما يهدف الباب الي توثيق وتحليل الاسباب والتواقع وراء الفجوة الواضحة بين ما تم تنفيذه علي أرض الواقع والمخططات المعتمدة لمدينة الاقصر فيما يخص المناطق الاثرية المتداخلة مع الكتلة العمرانية. يتم ذلك من خلال تحليل لدور المجتمع المحلي والدولة والمخطط العمراني وكذلك تأثير التمويل المالي والدعم السياسي علي عمليات التخطيط العمراني و الحفاظ علي الاثار.

<u>الباب الخامس:</u>

يركز هذا الباب علي سرد مفصل للنتائج النظرية والعملية للبحث. كما يتعرض هذا الباب لبعض التوصيات العملية لدمج احتياجات واولويات المحافظة علي الاثار في عمليات التخطيط العمراني لضمان تلافي سلبيات الوضع الحالي. و ينتهي الباب بوضع مجموعة من الاقتراحات البحثية المستقبلية.

مستخلص الرسالة

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من الناحية النظرية, بات تطور واضح للنظريات و المداخل المختلفة للتخطيط العمراني فيما يتعلق بتنمية الاراضي منذ نشأة علم التخطيط العمراني في نهاية الاربيعينيات. بنيت تلك النظريات والمداخل علي ايديولوجيات وأفكار مختلفة عن المجتمع المدني واساليب التنمية الاقتصادية, و بالتالي كان لكل مدخل ونظرية اسلوب ومنهجية وادوات تخطيطية مميزة عن الاخري. بناء علي ذلك, اختلفت توجهات كل مدخل ونظرية لاحتياجات واولويات المحافظة علي الآثار بالمدن و المناطق الاثرية.

أما من الناحية العملية, فان هناك توثيق مستمر للفجوة بين المخططات العمرانية المعتمدة وما يتم تنفيذه علي أرض الواقع. بالرغم من التغيرات المختلفة لاسباب تواجد تلك الفجوة فان التفسير الغالب هو تطبيق مداخل تخطيطية مختلفة ذات ايديولوجيات سياسية واقتصادية مميزة بدءا بالتخطيط وانتهاءا بالتنفيذ علي مستوي المشروع الواحد. نتيجة لذلك, فان اهداف التخطيط و جهات وحجم التمويل المالي و البناء المؤسسي و منهجية التخطيط العمراني وما يتبعه من تأثير أولويات و احتياجات و سياسات الحفاظ علي الاثار في تغير مستمر مما يساعد علي خلق تلك الفجوة بين التخطيط والتنفيذ. ذلك التحليل أصبح واضحا وموثقا عند دراسة حالة مدينة الاقصر منذ نهاية السبعينيات حتي الآن.

يهدف البحث الي دراسة الجانب النظري من حيث البحث و التحليل و التوثيق للتغير الحادث في مجال الحفاظ علي الاثار (المستويات,التعريف, المداخل, المنهجيات المختلفة) فيما يتعلق بالتخطيط العمراني للوصول الي بناء مدخل نظري تحليلي لدراسة دمج اعتبارات واحتياجات المحافظة علي الاثار في عمليات التخطيط العمراني. كما يركز البحث علي التطبيق العملي لهذا المدخل النظري التحليلي لدراسة حالة مدينة الاقصرلما لها من ثراء واضح وموثق في مجالي المحافظة علي الاثار وكذلك التخطيط العمراني, وذلك للمساعدة في الوصول الي أيديوليجيات وفكر مستقبلي فعال لتلافي الصراع الدائم السابق ذكره عاليا.

الكلمات المفتاحية:
الحفاظ علي الاثار, التخطيط العمراني, البناء المؤسسي, ادارة التراث, الادارة البيئة العمرانية, مدينة الاقصر.

جامعة عين شمس
كلية الهندسة
قسم التخطيط العمراني

رسالة مقدمة للحصول علي درجة الدكتوراه في التخطيط العمراني

بعنوان:

سياسات الحفاظ علي المدن والمناطق التاريخية بجمهورية مصر العربية

مقدمة من:

م/ دينا معروف أحمد ضيف الله

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٢٠٠٦