

The Tale of the Unsettled New Cairo City-Egypt:

A Review for the Implications of the Adopted Privatization and Laissez- Fair Policies on Excluding the Poor from its Housing Market

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Abstract

This paper critically analyses the impacts of the recent spontaneous transformation in the Egyptian socio-political context towards the free- market economy and its accompanied adopted policies, particularly the recently adopted privatisation policy followed by laissez- faire ideology on exacerbating the exclusion of the poor from the New Cairo city, one of the Greater Cairo region' (GCR) new towns, despite their anticipated planning objectives to be social balanced accommodating the vast majority of the metropolitan poor and low income overflows. This exclusion in turn has contributed significantly, as one of the key obstacles and constraints, in hindering its voluntary resettlement process, causing its inability to accommodate more than 9% of its anticipated interim population targets at 2008. Therefore, the paper will track its urban development in the last twenty years linking between the resettlement chances for the poor and the adopting socio- political and housing policies. This will pave the way to draw some lessons for the future of the social justice and the social sustainability of the new towns, through highlighting this emergent planning issue which has not been addressed yet or it has been overlooked by the urban planners and policies in the developing countries.

1- introduction:

Almost all of Greater Cairo Region' (GCR) new towns have suffered from a lot of resettlement problems, apparently in both their current unsettled manners, whereas their current population sizes' is far behind their anticipated interim targets, representing less than 15% of their anticipated one at 2006, accompanied with achieving very low occupancy rate representing 40% of their established housing units (CAMPAS, 2006). This is attributed to the implications of many voluntary resettlement obstacles and constraints. From them, as this paper conceives, the emerging social exclusion for the poor and low income classes from these towns' housing markets is considered one of the most affecting factors on hindering their voluntary resettlement processes. Bearing in mind that the changes in the adopted Egyptian socio-political regime from socialisation towards the free-market enterprise at 1975, followed by adaptation of the privatisation scheme and then the laissez-faire ideology in 1992, and 2001, respectively, has worked for the benefits of the rich at the expense of other classes evolving a new discriminated and exclusive housing and real estate markets in GCR new towns (Kuppinger & College, 2004). This, in turn as this paper argues, has exaggerated the social polarization of the rich and the exclusion of the poor in GCR new towns.

Bearing in mind that, recently, some researchers' link between the concept of social cohesion, as the remedy for the social exclusion, and the concept of urban governance such as Marissing, Bolt and Van Kempen (2006), raising the question of whether urban governance could promote further cohesion in the urban areas. Also, although, the transformation from the government towards the emerging urban governance has seen globally as political responses to broader developments in society such as globalization, internationalization and privatization (Marissing, Bolt and Van Kempen, 2006; Andersen and Van Kempen, 2003). In the Egyptian context, only the imposed privatization has necessitated rapidly and

spontaneous engagement between the Egyptian public sector with the private sector, particularly the private business elites, constituting quasi- pro-growth urban governance model. Noticeably, there is not any planned or intended transformation at a moment in the Egyptian context from traditional government towards governance and in the same time there are no intended administrative changes to take place in the next few years, keeping the prospect partnership between the public and private sector in its minimal manner. This explains why, the researcher named the evolving engagement as quasi- governance model, emerging within the absence of any intended and planned regulatory reforms to stimulate this incomplete and imposed shift. This is said that, this paper should investigate how the emerging spontaneous partnership between the Egyptian public and private sectors, the evolving quasi urban governance, has exacerbated the social exclusion process for the metropolitan overflows disadvantaged groups, particularly from the low and middle incomes classes, from the GCR new towns' housing markets.

Therefore, this set this paper main aims to investigate how the emergent unprecedented transformations in the Egyptian socio- political structure has fostered the exclusion of the vast majority of GCR' poor and low income overflows from its new towns' housing markets. The paper will argue for the existence of the two housing exclusion processes, "exclusion from and through housing market" in the case study, New Cairo city one of the GCR new towns which was planned to be socially balance. In so doing, the paper firstly contextualises the existing social and housing exclusion literatures emphasizing on their affecting factors. Then, it will investigate the emerging concepts of urban governance and different forms of the partnership between the private and public sector. Thirdly, it will establish a chronological- comparative framework to assess the impacts of the different adopted Egyptian urban development and housing policies in its new towns in its different socio-political' eras since 1975, on excluding the poor from their housing market. Then it tracks the developments of New Cairo city, the case study, during the last twenty years focusing on how its different designated master plans and housing policies have hindered the resettlement of the urban poor. Finally, it will quantify how the intangible development policies such as the privatization and laissez- faire policies have excluded the poor, followed by proposing some recommendations and reflection for further researches. The paper utilizes a mixed method approach through merging the quantitative approach (based on the results of 200 respondents' questionnaires), and the qualitative approach (based on the results of 15 elite interviews). Both of them had been conducted at 2007 in the New Cairo city. In addition to it utilizes a lot of secondary data and archives. Therefore, by linking social and housing exclusion with broader socio- political framework to explain the inability of the poor to resettle into GCR new towns, this paper is able to contribute significantly to theorizing how the planning decisions taken as a response for socio-political pressures and changes in the developing countries have excluded their poor and low income classes from their planned new settlements.

2- Contextualising the impacts of the Laissez faire and privatization policies on the urban development projects:

Basically, the privatization theory is revolved around the argument contend with its ability to save money because the private sector has the efficiency and the market discipline more than what the public sector has. Therefore the different governments should adopt the laissez faire policy to release the invisible hands of the private enterprises to lead the national development, helping different states to strive in the face of the drastic budget-cutting (Heilman, Johnson & Clark, 1996; Peters, 1991; Heilman & Johnson, 1992). This affirms the obvious connections between the privatization policy and laissez-faire ideology and raising the questions of what this ideology means. In this respect, Holmes (1976) and Waller (2007), define the term laissez-faire as the existence of little or no state intervention and controls upon economic issues, on the form of free markets, minimal taxes, minimal regulations, and assuring the private ownership of property. The oppositions, of the laissez supporters to any governmental interventions and regulations is based on the belief that it takes capital from the most productive sectors of the economy and giving it to the less productive sectors, hindering the economic accumulation process of the active enterprises, which in turn reduces productivity and the incentive to work in the macro economy (Blaug, 2007). Also, the proponents oppose government funding or regulation of schools, hospitals, industry, agriculture, social welfare programs particularly those related to the housing and properties market (Walker, 1996). The doctrine of the laissez faire ideology is based on three concepts. Firstly, is as Henry (2008) argues, many, perhaps most, see regulations as an infringement on their freedom, even when regulations speak to matters such as preserving or at least slowing down the rate of environmental destruction. Secondly, it is wisdom to protect the property and privilege of the wealthy and powerful for the benefits of the whole national economy (Waller, 2006). Finally, it relies on enabling the well-specified property rights and the workings of the free market enterprise to reflect the beneficiaries' real interests (Aune, 2001). Regarding the later principle, The laissez faire policy is rooted in the freedom of secured property, particularly the freedom to sell and buy — free trade to accelerate the accumulation process and eliminate various constraints to self-interested behaviour regardless of the impact such actions may have on larger society (Waller, 2006; AEI's, 2007). In its extreme case, when the laissez faire free market arrangements allow and release the maximum amount of individual freedom leaving the market' success

or failure (on the form of monopolized or speculative market) subject to individuals' actions, could lead to adverse social exclusion for the poor who will held no property (Henry, 2008). Regarding its political economy, Waller (2006) highlights the possible unsuccessfulness of this ideology when it is challenged with terms such as equity and fairness arguing for the inability of freedom to be realized in case of the powerful vested economic and political interests act in a way which systematically frustrate specific groups from pursuing their economic goals (Waller, 2006).

3- Theorising and materializing housing and social exclusion concept from new towns' housing markets:

3-1-Materializing the social exclusion and its connections with housing exclusion:

Originally, in the developed countries the term social and housing exclusion is frequently associated with the most problematic housing areas within their cities, mainly the public and social housing estates which are currently characterised by the concentration of residents experiencing poverty, low income incomes, high unemployment rates and high criminal rates. Therefore, it highlights like these issues to combat with the concentration of the disadvantaged groups within such stigmatic areas and to stimulate the appropriate policies to enhance the housing conditions in these estates assuring their social integration with other neighbourhoods (Arthurson & Jacobs, 2004; Randolph & Judd, 2000). In this respect, Marsh (2004) defines the social exclusion as a shorthand term of what can happen when people or areas suffer from a combination of linked problems such as unemployment, poor skills, low incomes, poor housing, high crime environments, bad health and family breakdown. Also, many like Lee and Murie (1997) proves the existence of social exclusion in private rental and owner-occupied markets rather than the public and social housing market. In this respect, Hulse and Burke (2000), argue for that, the resident in the social housing are less socially excluded than those reside in the private –rental market tenants. Whereby, the social housing tenants mainly receive a number of benefits that are not available for the low income private market tenants, particularly access to affordable subsidized housing, support to maintain a tenancy and security of tenure. Like these housing support package is essential to protect these disadvantage groups from being excluding from housing but it have no effect in protecting them from being excluding through housing based on their galvanization towards like these stigmatic districts (Hulse & Burke (2000).

Concerning with the connection between the social and housing exclusion processes, different studies acknowledge the role of housing system in terms of production, tenure, and distribution and allocation policies, in stimulating or mitigating the social exclusion and inequality (Arthurson & Jacobs, 2004 ;Marsh, 2004). Also, Anderson (2002) illustrates the strong relationship between the excluded residential areas and the highly possibility of their residents to be social excluded. Similarly, Somerville (1998), affirms that the group which are commonly socially excluded *through housing process*, as the author will explain later, are those who are more socially excluded namely unwaged, unskilled, not within a “traditional family household”, and seen as undeserving. However, Anderson (2000) emphasizes on like this connection should be linked with the dominant socio-political regime.

3-2- Theorizing the Housing exclusion process:

The paper utilizes two key concepts to clarify the process of housing exclusion and to distinguish between its two subordinate processes namely; the process of “exclusion form housing” and the process of “exclusion through housing”, and exploring the different impacts of both the structure and agency.

Distinguishing between the process of exclusion through housing and that of exclusion from housing is a key concept in understanding the process of housing exclusion since the elaboration of Cameron and Field (2000) significant model. The former, “exclusion through housing”, is more concerned with the process of concentrating the disadvantaged or the poor in specific districts, even well- housed and escaped, followed by segregating and disintegrating them with the rest of the city (Cameron & Field, 2000). In this respect, Somerville (1998), identifies the occurrence of “social exclusion through housing” when the impact of being living in specific housing locations mainly the poor neighbourhoods, is to deny the control of certain social groups over their daily lives, or to impair their enjoyments with wider citizenship rights. Also, he suggests that the core meaning of social exclusion is mainly bounded up with social isolation and social segregation, which are considering the key two phenomena of the process of exclusion through housing. Both Kennett (1999), and Cameron and Field (2000), classified this impairments of living in such poor neighbourhoods encompassing; access for poor quality local schools, inadequate or poor health care services, barrier to social and political participation, and most importantly lack of integration with labour and strong social networks which is enough to portraying these areas as heavily stigmatised having poor reputation and image. Thus, they are excluded by their residential location.

Reversely, the latter, “exclusion from housing”, is focusing on the reasons behind the absent or the lack of adequate affordable housing units for the disadvantaged groups and their inability to access to specific housing markets. Therefore it highlights the issue of the unmet housing needs of specific households who

failed to secure adequate and affordable accommodations such as their exclusion from the curtailed social and public housing opportunities for different reasons (Cameron & Field, 2000). Spatially, while, the process of exclusion from housing is occurring mainly on the macro level, at the metropolitan housing market level or more hindering the residential mobility of specific classes raising the question of affordability and accessibility, the process of exclusion through housing taken places on the micro local level within the new city raising the question of segregation and integration between the districts of poor and rich (Saunders & Tsumori, 2002).

The usefulness of the term housing exclusion is its ability to bridge the discrepancy between the structure (representing the dominant socio-political regime and the existing housing policy) and the agency (which represents the individual decisions to combat with the imposed constraints by the structure in shaping social outcomes). Therefore it extends our understanding for the way by which the individual actions shape and in turn is shaped by other socio-political processes (Arthurson & Jacobs, 2004; Vobruba, 2000; Arthurson (2002). However, the structure and agency, which is playing a central role in the broader debates on social exclusion determining choices and constraint for different social groups within the existing socio-political framework, has not received the attention that deserves in the housing exclusion literatures yet (Levitas, 1998; Marsh, 2004). The existing literatures affirmed that the structure factor takes the lead preceding the impacts of the individual agency (Somerville & Steel, 2002; Marsh, 2004). Reversely, Saunders and Tsumori (2002) emphasize on the importance of understanding the role of agency actions and attitudes in reinforcing or mitigating the exclusionary process, refusing their depiction as victims for the actions taken by the structure.

3-3-Causes of social and housing exclusion process:

There are many factors and causes responsible for causing the housing exclusion process as follows; The first cause is related to the economical factor, mainly the exclusion from the labour markets, due to the impacts of economic restructuring process on consigning and transferring substantial proportion of employment to long-term unemployment or early- retiree status (Levitas, 1996). In this respect, Morris (1995) emphasizes on the importance of classifying those who insecurely employed in the same group of the long-term unemployment as excluded from labour markets, particularly for its consequence on destabilizing the male bread-winner role.

The second factor is the societal factor encompasses; the income and the societal inequalities factors. The former, has a significant role in determining the economic consumption and power of different classes in the society. Additionally, it contributes significantly to the process of excluding from housing, due to the income filtering specific classes to access to specific housing market, particularly the poor who can not access to the unaffordable housing without the state assistance on the form of housing supported packages (Byrne, 1999). For the latter, Urry (2000) classifies its facets and aspects to comprise the lack of adequate housing, basic services such as the educational and health care services, and the overt existence of disability, homeless, unemployment and non-participation in the regular activities.

The housing and planning policies are considered one of the most leading factors to housing and social exclusion as Levitas (1998) and Watt and Jacobs (2000) argue. They count the implications of myriad housing policies on excluding the poor comprising; the impacts of the state moratorium in establishing further public or social housing, the absent of private rental assistance/ benefit schemes, the general governmental strategies to invest in and provide the supported housing on the form of social or subsidized housing, and recognising critically the inadequacy and inability of the private housing market to deliver sufficient affordable housing units for the low income tenants. At the same time, the housing production process and its different stakeholders and providers have significant role in promoting further social and housing exclusion. They can be organised in specific socio-political framework in such a way which is able to keep an adverse housing shortages or maintain the housing' prices beyond the reach of certain types of household or social groups causing their exclusion from the housing market (Wilcox, 1997; Somerville, 1998).

Moreover the housing and land parcels allocation policies in many countries have double effects in stimulating the two housing exclusionary processes; "*excluding from and through housing*" based on their ability to link different individual collectively. For example, in UK, allocation policies play great role in fostering the social exclusion through housing, by segregating and concentrating the most disadvantaged groups in the poorest stigmatic areas accompanied with the escalating governmental delaying or perhaps denial to provide them with their basic services needs disseminating further impoverishment for their residents. At the same time, the allocation policies contribute to exclusion from housing by denying the access of some groups to the social housing considering them undeserving (Pawson & Kintera, 2002).

4- The urban and regional governance debates and the different partnership between the private and private sectors:

As Uzun (2007) notices that, there is no consensus about what is meant by urban governance, it generally refers to a shift in the role of the formal governments and massive redistributions of the former governmental duties among public, private, voluntary and household groups. The aim of this shift is to overcome the existing fragmentation in the economic, administrative and spatial planning and outcomes (Uzun, 2007). Pierre, (1999) defined urban governance as a process blending and coordinating public and private interests, particularly within the national context. The significance of embedding the urban governance within the national context is that, the national politics and state traditions remain the most powerful factors in explaining various aspects of urban politics' conflicts and strategies of local resources mobilization (Pierre, 1999). Rhodes (1997) recognized that urban governance refers to processes of regulation, coordination and controlling the conflicted interests between the public and private sectors and different governmental bodies. In its connection with the concept of government, Vranken et al (2003, p.23) states: "governance is broader than government, covering non-state agents". Therefore one of the most important changes which mark the shift from government towards governance is to empower the residents particularly in specific areas and neighbourhoods. Thus it is expected not only the local government to be involved in the decision- making process, but also housing associations, local residents, private developers, market parties and non-governmental organizations (Marissing, Bolt and Van Kempen, 2006).

Jouve (2005) recorded the transformation from the managerial logic towards the entrepreneurial logic, which has been taken places first in the British cities since the 1980s, then in other European cities later during the 1990s, to fit with the globalization requirements. This transformation has brought many drawbacks in the relation between the local and international elites on one hand and other socio-economic classes on the other particularly the disadvantaged groups. Whereas, the national institutional system continue to powerfully constrain the real capacity of local actors to define for them the appropriate framework from which they can interact (Jouve, 2005). Ideally it reinforces the power of certain local actors, essentially the private actors, in designing the different urban policies to suit with their interests.

However this transformation is characterized and criticised as incomplete transformation having many problems and drawbacks (Pickvance, 1995). Jouve (2005) emphasized on that the participation of the private sector is not political value-free and it is more than symbolic. They have direct impacts and contribute massively on shaping the political agendas and the employed public institutions' strategies by filtering issues, by orienting public programs towards their own interests and by limiting all public procedures that could pose constrains to their activities. Like these impacts and influences of the private sector upon the public urban policies have been occurred in the selected studied case studies as shown later. Many scholars, like Paugam (2002) and Jouve (2005), criticize the current approaches of the urban governance which are focusing on singular sort of mechanisms to only coordinate the different stakeholders and different tiers of local and central governments, characterizing them as myopic. They ignore the existing rigorous developed mechanisms of segregation, exclusion, and polarization which are currently occurring either in the developed or the developing countries.

This has raised the question of what are the different possible partnership between the private and public sectors to sharpen the resultant urban and regional governance model. In this respect, Pierre's (1999) identified that, the structure and orientation of the emerging urban governance model in any given national or local context is reflecting overarching norms, values, ideas, and practices. Therefore, the given role of the local and central governments identify the possible urban governance model in this society (Pierre, 1999). In this respect, he introduces four possible urban governance models encompassing; managerial, corporatist, pro-growth, and welfare governance. This paper argues for pro-growth is the emerging and predominate urban governance in the GCR new towns since 1994.

Concerning with the pro-growth governance model, this model is an example of the designated political arrangements to facilitate the accommodation of both political and economic power or between the state and market power to achieve the growth objectives (Pierre, 1999). Therefore, this model governance concept is conceived as making political choices and decisions that are not policy choices but nevertheless have significant political consequences, such as whether the city and local or regional government or governance should or should not intervene in the market economy to rectify any flaws like those lead to social exclusion in the Egyptian context. The pro-growth governance model is the least participatory governance model seeking to structure only the public-private actions regardless other stakeholders or the residents to boost the local or national economy based on shared interests of the economic growth between the local or central government and the business elite (Pierre, 1999). Therefore, it is pragmatic policy style, interactive public-private exchange, excluding the local settlers from

participate in the decision making process or to engage with the local government, considering the economic growth as its overarching objectives and evaluative criterion, and based on the political consensus to exchange with its partner of the private sector and utilize the partnership with it as its key instrument (Pierre, 1999). Thus, it is a market confirming form of urban governance, excluding different actors except the private business elite revealing the political values beyond the chosen governance structure.

5- Tracing the Egyptian and Greater Cairo region' different political economy eras:

Stewart (1999) highlighted that, although many of the developed countries cities have been influenced by the economic restructuring, the privatization and laissez faire policies since 1970, their impacts are more adverse in the developing countries ones based on their political ideologies have been transformed rapidly from socialisation towards capitalisation accompanied with the impacts of privatisation and globalisation simultaneously. Noticeably, the developing countries cities have engaged with the global capitalist system in spontaneously and dissimilar manners of the developed countries ones (Springborg, 1989). In this investigation, Greater Cairo's recent urban political economy has been divided to into four distinct periods comprising; Arab-socialist era (1952- 1974), transition towards free-market economy, or open door policy era (1975- 1987), dissolving public sector and the initiation of privatization (1987- 2000), and the privatization and globalization era (from 2001 and onwards). However the researcher will focus on the later three periods in which the Egyptian new towns program has been commenced and developed, focusing on the impacts of these transformations on excluding the poor from their housing market.

5-1- Greater Cairo region under the transition towards capitalism (1975-1987):

The previous president of Egypt, Sadat, adopted the open door policy, El-Enfitah since 1975 as the main tool to transfer the Egyptian political economy towards capitalism and free- market enterprise. The main objective of this new socio-political framework were to facilitate the decentralization of decision making of state-owned enterprises; allowing more scope for the private sector; the provision of incentives to stimulate and encourage the foreign investment; and expanded economic co-operation with Arab countries (Feiler,1992). However, it was not a complete transition to a free market- enterprises because not only the national economy which dominated by the public sector remained, but also it maintained the provision of different subsidised and financial support for the poor and low income classes in its annual national budgetary planning especially to fulfil their housing and basic commodities' needs, the welfare state duties (Stewart, 1999). However, it seems only a small dominated circle benefited from the open door policy constituting the new strata of bourgeoisie in an outright socialist state leaving the vast majority of the society struggle for every day needs. This, in turn has not only constituted the very negative image and the arising fear of capitalism, but also has limited the ability of the state to expand the transformation towards free market economy under Sadat and the early beginning of Mubarak. In such socio-political regime, open door and capitalisation, the Egyptian new towns have been emerged; particularly based on El- Sadat October's paper 1974 principles. In which he tried to draw a new Egyptian population distribution and settlements map including the establishment of many self- sufficient newly new towns in the desert (Sadat, 1974) to provide the homelessness with decent shelters, and to accommodate the vast majority of metropolitan overflows and overpopulations from the poor and low income instead of their settlement in the evolving slums (Springborg, 1989). This new town program was designated to be carried out and financed by the public governmental funds. The state will carry out their vast majority of public and social subsidy housing districts, almost all the infrastructure and most of the public services and transportation facilities. Contrarily, the private sector was anticipated to the industrial estates and some of the private residential neighbourhoods and their local service (Feiler, 1992; Sutton & Fahmi 2001).

However, this new town program had siphoned almost all the public funds devoted for the urban development projects, either those devoted for establishing the new towns or upgrading the existing cities, without achieving their planning targets especially the population ones, achieving less than 4% of their targets at 1986, unable to relieve the metropolitan adverse urbanization problems, unable to combat with the rigorous slums to accommodate the overflows (Sutton & Fahmi 2001). Therefore, many opponents called to moratorium and wind up this program accompanied with diverting its funds for enhancing the living conditions in the successful slums and the existing cities instead (Denis 1997).

5-2- GCR new towns' development under the remit of dissolving public sector and the emerging privatization (1987-2000):

Since 1987, Egypt has pushed, if reluctantly, to transform outright to free-market economy because of the huge pressure from outside forces, especially the World Bank and other Egyptian creditors, who insisted on transforming the Egyptian economy to combat with its massive debt-ridden and low productivity and to assure its ability to be granted further debits and financial resources in the future (Springborg, 1989; Stewart, 1999). Consequently, in 1987, the Egyptian government unwillingly announced its Economic

Reform and Structure Adjustment Program (ERSAP) in order to meet the criteria of IMF loan, gain access to credits and permit renegotiation of its \$ 40 billion foreign debts. Moreover, it has compulsorily embraced the World Bank's main economic strategies particularly the capitalism, free market enterprises and most importantly the privatisation scheme (Springborg, 1989). Therefore, these adopted economic ideologies have created four extensive changes in the Egyptian political economy since 1992 encompassing; eradication many of poor and low income consumers' subsidies (Holt & Roe, 1993), currency devaluation, privatization of most of the state assets especially its industrial firms, and adverse reduction in the public spending (Sullivan, 1990) accompanied with sweeping moratorium or abortion for most of the running national program (elite interview, 2007).

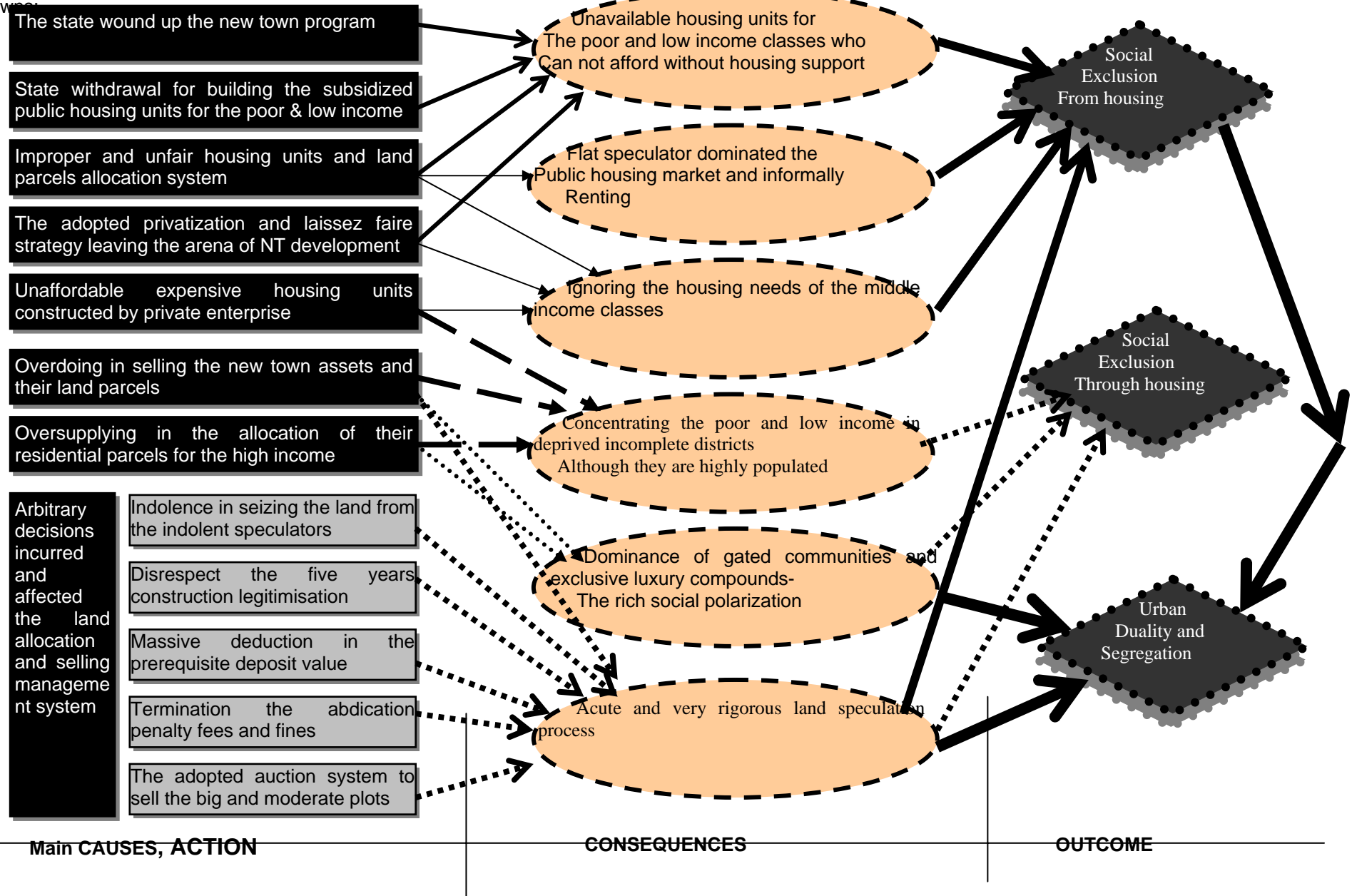
As a result, these economic circumstances have implicated massively on the implementation and development processes of the GCR new towns. As shown in fig (1), while curtailing the available subsidies for the poor and low income especially the housing one has affected the affordability of these groups who cannot afford for their housing units outside the subsidized ones (Stewart, 1996), the reduction in the public spending has deterred the state willingness to invest in such consuming projects like those of constructing the subsidized public housing estates (Denis 1997). Furthermore, the decision to devalue the Egyptian currency has not only exacerbate the inflation rate raising both the prices of most of the building material and the cost of constructing the subsidized units (Sutton & Fahmi 2001), but also it has combined with IMF recommendation to reduce the public spending to stimulate the state decision to wind up the new town program reluctantly to invest any more in developing its new towns (Wahba, 2002). Finally the decision to privatize the new towns by selling most of GCR new towns assets and land plots for the private enterprises and leaving the arena of developing these towns in the hand of the private enterprises, who geared to cease the potential profits and contribute only in the profitable projects ignoring the needs of the needy disadvantages groups from the low and middle income classes, has jeopardised the voluntary resettlement of these groups (Stewart, 1996, 2001). Unfortunately, however, this great emphasis on involving the private enterprises on developing the GCR new towns has brought mainly the speculative private contractors and developers seeking for the huge speculative revenues. Therefore they either concentrate on establishing the exclusive gated communities for the most profit luxury housing market ignoring the needs of the vast majority of the metropolitan overflows from the poor and low income, or speculatively holding their allocated parcels out of development for a long period to gain the future high speculative increases in their prices, benefiting from the recently adopted indolent and non-strictly development regulation to lure like those private investors (Yousery & Abou Atta, 1997; Fahmi 2001; and elite interview with academic 2007).

Therefore, radical changes in the GCR new towns policy taken places since 1992, apparent in the massive unrealistic and very ambitious increases in the targeted ultimate population sizes of these new towns, reaching in some cases like the New Cairo City to target 4 millions to be accommodated in it by 2027, accompanied with huge extending for their designated built up areas targeting at least threefold of their previous anticipated ones in their original master plans. Moreover, their recent updated master plans have allocated almost all of their recent extension for the high income luxury residential land uses and their local services to build the exclusive golf course, luxury residential compounds and gated communities or villa and single family houses at the expense of those devoted for the poor. Surprisingly, in spite of the poor and unsatisfactory resettlement performance of these new towns, the state called to extend the new town program adding new towns to be developed until 2027 by the private enterprises mainly, raising the number of the anticipated new towns to be 23 new towns instead of 14 (Stewart, 1996, 2004; Fahmi 2001; field survey, 2007).

5-3- Integrating into the global economy since 1999/2000 and so far:

Noticeably, the Egyptian socio-political and political economy transition and progression from socialisation towards the capitalisation and privatisation have been occurred some rapidly, spontaneously undoing many of socialist policies of the last 40 years (Stewart, 1999, 2004), which in turn aggressively has excluded the poor and low income classes outside most of the emerging private sector projects (Wahba, 2002). Given the situation of the shrinking public funds, the state found it-self has been obliged aggressively to integrate into the global economy by signing many agreements with the overseas and trans-national companies which have asked to be allocated further land parcels in the notable focal points, particularly those located in newly development areas within the GCR new towns (Kuppinger & College, 2004). Of course, Greater Cairo region as the main hub of the economic and cultural affairs of the Egyptian and Arab countries is the first choice of these overseas companies. This global penetration for the Egyptian political economy has begun to make its permanent marks and impacts on the urban landscape on the form of the evolving international language schools, international universities, social sportive luxury clubs, international hotels, entertainment touristic compounds, luxury and golf course gated communities and exclusive residential compounds (field work survey 2007; Kuppinger & College, 2004).

Fig (1) the implications of the changes in the adopted socio-political and its different factors on exclusion for the poor from and through the housing market in GCR new towns



Their fare, of course, can only be afforded by the well-off entrepreneurial class which has been able to make money during the economic transition eras (Stewart, 1999).

Given the proliferations of these sprouting land uses and urban activities, their investors have asked for further land parcels to be allocated for their projects and their prospected extension, which in turn has led to three updates of New Cairo city' master plan in 1999, 2005 and 2007 accompanied with overdoing in allocating almost all of its extended areas for the high income classes based projects and land uses at the expense of those devoted for the low and middle income classes, as discussed later(notice the escalating in the designated built up areas to be 1800, 11270, 21350, 25870, 33620 hectares in the master plans of 1985, 1995, 1999, 2001, 2007, respectively), as shown in fig (2). Eventually, this has affirmed the social and housing exclusion of these disadvantaged groups from and through its housing market leaving very some pocket and enclaves for settling them in the future on the form of public housing projects and self-built land tracks. Conspicuously, the pace of these upsurges of the private –enterprises compounds and land uses is likely to overrun government control and aggressively eased by the adopted laissez faire-laissez- pass policy insofar as these compounds owners pay their instalment in their due date (Wahba 2002). One of the academic identified the anomaly impacts of this adopted policy on the inability of GCR new towns development corporations to intervene in like these projects to rectify any resettlement divergences and problems in the absent of no kind of building regulations or developmental controls designated to specify the way by which this NTDC could be able to intervene in the pace of like these projects (elite interview, 2007). Moreover the owners of these emerging residential compounds has deeply pressured upon the government to complete the eastern and western arches of the ring road around Cairo, which since its inauguration at 1998, have flared and animated the development of New Cairo city' gated communities, suburbs and outskirts. Consequently, while The Economist at 1996 observed that for only \$ 250,000 a homeowner can purchase a modest villa in the golf course gated communities and live among 500 hectares of artificial lakes and golf links, at 2007 he need at least to pay one million dollars to obtain the same villa and paying at least \$ 60,000 to purchase a middle income modest flat from the private sector which is the vast majority of the metropolitan overflows can not afford (field work survey, 2007).

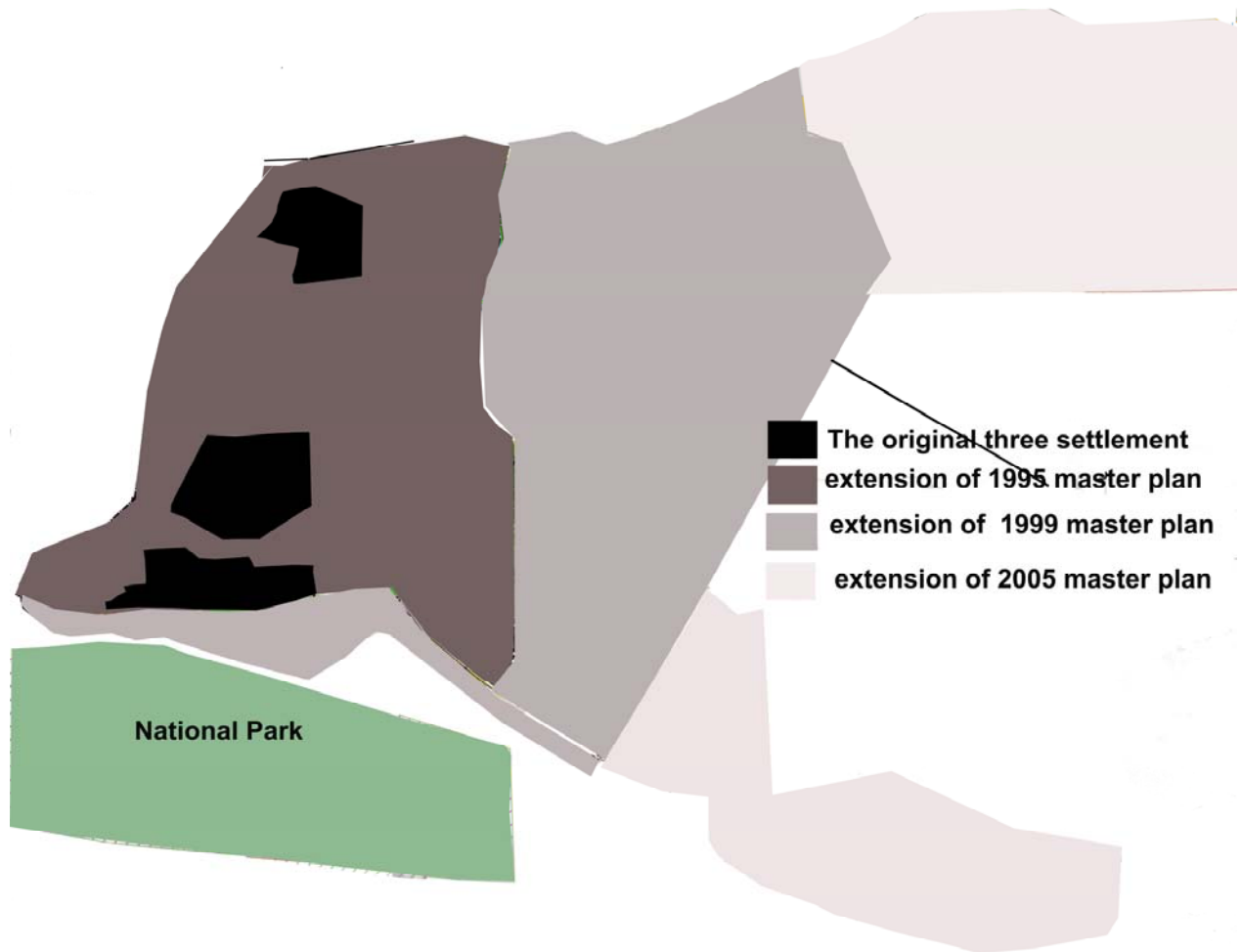
6- Tracing the different developmental policies and plans of New Cairo city and impacts of excluding the poor:

New Cairo city is dependent dormitory new town lacking of its own economic base and making full reliance on the metropolis to provide its settlers with jobs and services. Consequently, to consolidate its residential function, it is situated just outside the eastern arch of the metropolitan ring road and located adjacent to the metropolitan' eastern high income districts. Moreover, it has evolved and developed accumulatively on inconsistency manner, because it has witnessed five different sequential master plans at 1985, 1995, 1999, 2001 and 2007, respectively, where have undermined its development, due to, each of its five different sequential master plans has caused radical changes in the objectives, policies, population targets, and jurisdictional areas of the prior. This has resulted in a lot of conflicts, inconsistency and discontinuities in its developments policies. Noticeably, these five plans have been influenced with the four Egyptian government's transformation stages towards the privatization leaving the arena of development for the private, see table (1) which links the chronological order of its different urban development and housing policies cited in its five master plans with both the different stages of the state transformation towards privatization and the main planning and political objectives and justifications behind its development and extension since its inception at 1985 and so far. Noticeably, it has extended and expanded from targeting only 750,000 inhabitants to accommodate in it and developing only 1800 hectares by year 2010 in its original master plan at 1985, to targeting 4 million inhabitants to settle into it and developing 33620 hectares by year 2027 in its recent master plan at 2005 (NUCA, 1986, 1995, 1999 & 2005). Therefore the massive allocation of its ultimate built up areas for the private sector to develop them (25000 hectares), who geared for building the most profit projects mainly for the upper middle and high income classes ignoring the other, versus the very limited areas developed by the state (1800 hectares), has outright excluded the poor leaving very small pockets for them on the form of public housing districts, as shown in fig (3).

Table (1): the connection between the changes in the Egyptian socio-political context and the New Cairo city' different development strategic plans

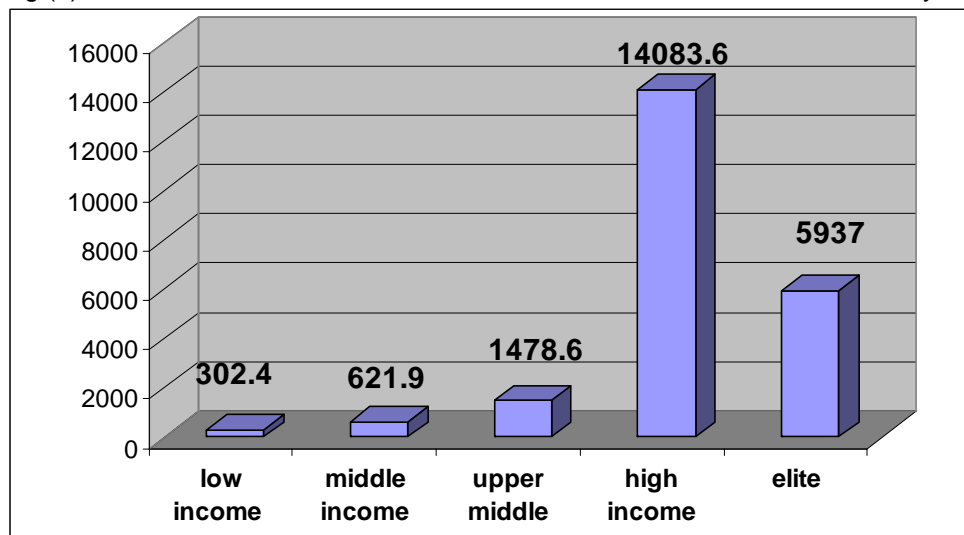
Time scale	Main planning and political objective behind its commencing and extension	New Cairo city developmental policies and master plans leading to excluding the poor from their housing market	Stages of state transition towards free market enterprise
1985-1995	New settlements policy to accommodate the metropolitan overflows instead of the emerging slums and to stimulate the self-built household construction sector to build its own premises upon planned desert lands	Originally New Cairo city was comprised three separate planned settlements called settlement number 1, 3, and 5 targeting to accommodate the poor overspill populations. Each settlement was planned to accommodate quarter million inhabitants, have an area of 600 hectares, far by at least 3 km away from its nearest neighbour settlement and surrounded by buffer area, and connect with other settlements and metropolis with metro links or speed trams. Additionally each one was planned to allocate 70% of its housing units for the low/middle incomes classes on the form of self-built on small parcels' neighbourhoods and 30% for the middle/ upper middle classes on the form of medium size plots, and to offer jobs for at least 40% of its local labour- force in planned industrial area 2 km away from the settlement (NUCA, 1986)	The three separate settlement stage lasted from 1985 till 1995, revealing the first stage of the state's transformation towards the free market enterprise
1995-1999	Establishing a symbolic exclusive new towns to capture and respond to the escalating local and foreign pressure to settle in exclusive residential compounds, to tame the emerging suburbanization process and the dispersal mobility of the rich towards the evolving suburbs, and to achieve some economic revenues to compensate the accumulated losses before winding up the public N.T program	The government merged the three settlements each other and accompanied with further eastern extension to formulate what called New Cairo City at 1995 which was allocated 11550 hectares and anticipated to accommodate 1.2 millions inhabitants by 2012. Its planning concepts were confirmed its notion as residential dormitory new town by applying three main concepts, as shown in fig (2); firstly is extending the metropolis sub-centre (Naser city's centre) dividing the city to two parts, secondly is situating most of the rich allocated land uses such as the golf, game park gated communities alongside the ring road to approximate them to their prospect settlers' existing residential areas within the metropolis particularly its eastern high income districts. Finally is changing its housing policy to provide only two types of land parcels; Small land parcels, each one has an area of 600 m ² devoted mainly for the individual from the upper middle and high income classes to establish their either villa or single family houses. In addition to the big land parcels mainly large tracts of land, each one has an area from 10 to 500 hectares to establish gated communities or residential compounds for the elite and high income classes. This anticipated real estate changes accompanied with the curtailing and limited numbers of the public housing flats for the middle and low income has stimulated the process of excluding the poor from its housing market (NUCA, 1995)	The evolving New Cairo city era accompanied with overdoing in allocating a lot of its residential areas for the rich at the expense of the poor, revealing the impacts of privatization and the state decision to wind up its new town program.
1999 and onwards	Unjustified planning objectives rather than gaining the maximum profits from selling the new town assets and responding to the escalating speculative demands for different land parcels types	Massive extension for the evolved New Cairo city towards its eastern parts have been occurred in its 1999 master plan as a response for the internal and foreign investors and power groups' pressures, constituting huge conurbation having an area of 22670 hectares, approximately duplicated its previous master plan built up area and about two third of the metropolitan built-up area. It was anticipated to accommodate 4 million by 2027 (NUCA, 1999), despite its achieved population size is far behind its interim anticipated one representing only 3% of the target ones at 1998. Almost all of the recent eastern extensions (9600 hectare) have been devoted only for luxury and high income residential areas and its local services developing mainly by the private sector for the rich. Very few units have been devoted for upper middle classes. On contrary no flats have been allocated for the low and middle income classes contenting with the very limited numbers of flats for them in the already developed public housing districts within the original areas of the three settlements. It was expected each residential sector would be developed by one main-investor who was expected to constitute joint-stock-company with other partners. Moreover it preserved immense lands (13480 hectares) for the future urban development purposes (NUCA, 1999). However, this development concept was changed in the 2001 updated master plan due to the insufficient and limited financial resources for the Egyptian investors to finance like these huge areas. Consequently the updated master plan merging the four residential sectors together dividing them to big parcels having an area from 40 to 150 hectares then selling these big parcels or the other small parcels for their final beneficiaries in auction to gain the maximum available revenues from selling these parcels (elite interview with New Cairo Managers, 2007). Later, the auction selling and allocation system has been the dominant allocation and selling system even for the moderate and small size parcels less than 1000m ² combined with radical changes in the allocation system for other parcels devoted for the middle and upper middle classes since, which in turn have stimulated very rigorous speculation process excluding the poor from its housing market. (elite interview with New Cairo Managers, 2007)	The final Egyptian privatization era: The state considering the new towns as one of the national income resources, selling 80% of their new towns assets by using the auction selling system to gain the maximum available profits from selling their assets companied with allowing entrepreneurs to share in their planning

Fig (2): the incremental increases and extensions in the designated built up areas of New Cairo city in its four different master plans



Source: Ministry of H.U.UD, 1999 AND NUCA, 1986, 1995, 1999, 2005

Fig (3): the ultimate allocated residential area for each socio-economic class by hectares by 2027



Source: Adopted from New Cairo city housing policy, NUCA 2005.

7- Quantifying the poor housing exclusion from and through the New Cairo city's housing market:

The socio-political implications have been apparent in the emerging exclusion of the low and middle income classes' from and through the New Cairo city's housing market. The former exclusion process, the exclusion from its housing markets, which occurring on the metropolitan region level, has been affirmed by

the unavailability of affordable housing units especially the subsidized public housing ones, the adopted recent changes in the housing units and land parcels allocation system which stimulated severe land speculation process accelerating the exclusion of the poor, and the imbalance in and oversupplying of allocating the vast majority of these towns' built up areas for the rich at the expense of other classes, as the researcher quantifies in table (2) using many quantitative indicators and measures to prove the existence of social exclusion in this town.

The later exclusion process exclusion through housing, occurring spatially on the local new town level, has apparent in the concentration of the poor in specific inconvenient uncompleted districts lacking most of its needs of different social capitals and facilities, isolated from those devoted for the rich. Due to their few numbers within the numerous ones located for the rich, the poor and low income districts seem to be stigmatic poor enclaves or pockets within these towns housing markets, as one of the New Cairo city key manager mentioned (see fig 4). This confirms the existence of adverse social spatial segregation between the dominant high income districts mainly on the form of gated communities and closed luxury residential compounds, and the poor, low and middle income districts which are mainly public housing subsidized housing projects, accompanied with the inability of the low income settlers to access to like these gated communities. Furthermore, the disadvantages groups have been allocated very few land parcels and plots to establish their self- built or self-help residential premises outside the curtailing public housing projects, even these parcels are dispersal confirming the evolving pattern of the poor pockets and enclaves within this discriminated new town for the rich. Political- economically, the Egyptian government decision to wind up its new towns program since 1992 has boosted and disseminated further impoverishment for the low and middle income classes' districts due to its consequences on postponing and delaying the provisions of myriad basic and social services in these districts. This in turn, has incurred the liveability and sustainability of these districts although, they are the most populated ones accommodating more than 78% of the total settled population in this town at 2006 (CAMPUS, 2006). The situation has been worsened based on the poor and severe shortages in providing these districts with their needs of convenient transportation facilities to link them with the metropolitan jobs and services' centres to compensate the shortages of these aspects locally (New Cairo NTDC, 2007).

Table (2): the exclusion from and through housing processes' indicators in New Cairo city

process	Social realm	(indicators) How social exclusion is manifested in the GCR new towns	Measures
Exclusion from housing The inaccessibility of the poor to the new towns' housing markets	Socio- Politically and political- economically	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The state decision to wind up the new town program 	80% of the investment paid before 1999 (Ministry of H.U.UD, 2007)
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Public moratorium in establishing further public subsidized housing estates 	100% and 92% of the available subsidized public flats for the poor and middle income classes have been built before 2001 (New Cairo NTDC, 2007)
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> leaving the arena of new town development to private enterprise 	anticipated to allocate 96% of its ultimate residential built up area for the private sector (NUCA, 2005) has allocated 86% of its existing residential areas for the private sector (New Cairo NTDC, 2007)
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> privatisation and selling most of the GCR new towns' assets 	has sold out 72% of its ultimate land parcels' numbers for their private final beneficiaries (New Cairo NTDC, 2007)
	real estate and housing market	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Expensive unaffordable housing units established by private enterprises 	79% of the respondent affirm the unavailability of affordable housing units accompanied with significant difference between the daily commuter and settlers who mainly have already allocated a flat in the public subsidized housing projects (Questionnaire, 2007)
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Unavailability of the subsidized public housing units to fit with the affordability of the vast majority of the metropolitan overflows 	83% of the respondents confirm the outright absent or the unavailability of the affordable subsidized public housing units from 10 years ago except for the upper middle class expensive flats (Questionnaire, 2007)
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Improper housing and land parcels' allocation system and criteria. 	77% of the elite interviewees emphasize on the role of the adopted auction system in selling its land parcels and the massive deduction in the required deposit and terminating the abdication penalty fees on stimulating rigorous speculation process and excluding the non-wealthy from low and middle income classes (elite interview, 2007)
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The emergent rigorous land speculation process and the race for purchasing different plots 	Only 23% of the already sold out land parcels have been built till 2007, although 63% of them have exceeded the maximum 5 years legalization period to build their premises, holding out the reset for speculation purposes (New Cairo NTDC, 2007)
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Imbalanced real estate and housing market due to the oversupplying the luxury housing units and land parcels devoted for the rich at the expense of other classes 	Has allocated 84% of its residential parcels for the rich from upper middle and high income classes, 76% from them have been allocated for the villa and single family houses types on the form of gated communities, luxury compounds of detached land plots, although 92% of the metropolitan dwellers live in typical apartment or flat houses (New Cairo NTDC, 2007)

Exclusion through housing The concentration of the poor in isolated and segregated districts	Socio- economically	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lack of diverse and stable job opportunities 	=Achieving very high unemployment rates 14.2% at 2006 similar to the achieved ones in the existing cities (CAMPAS, 2006) =87% of its job opportunities have been taken by the daily commuter who can not settle in, versus 79% of its settled workers commuting daily to the metropolitan (field survey, 2007) =81% and 92% of the respondents confirm the insecurity of the existing jobs provided mainly by the private employers and the absent of suitable jobs for wives and part timers job seekers, respectively (Questionnaire, 2007)
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Adverse shortages in the public funds and different ministries' budgets to provide different facilities as the main reason for the existing acute shortage in the public basic services 	Only 41%, 21%, 15% of the anticipated public schools, health care or clinic, and youth centres have been built to date accompanied with their mal-distribution depriving the most populated districts from the low and middle income classes from them (New Cairo NTDC, 2007) 74% of the respondents are dissatisfied with the existing services especially the health care and the entertainment ones which provoke their feeling with this city as very boring monotonous city having dire social life (Questionnaire, 2007) The main two public hospitals which have been built already are still out of services due to the reluctance of the ministry of health to run like these expensive services in like less priority depopulated settlement preserving their scarcity resources to serve other crowded areas (elite interview, 2007)
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Acute lack of accessibility and poor transportation facilities to link the new towns with the metropolitan services and jobs' centres 	=84% of the respondents, particularly from the low and middle income classes affirm that the existing poor and inconvenient public transportation and the irregular expensive private sector transportation services, is the main obstacles to settle in like these isolated city, accompanied with significant difference between the different socio-economic classes = 87% of the respondents emphasize on the significant role of the employer coach to ease their decision to commute rather than to settle (Questionnaire, 2007)
	Spatially	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Concentrating the poor in uncompleted deprived districts mainly in the public sector estates akin to be pockets or enclaves of the poor 	as shown in fig (4) 96% of the available flats fore the low and middle income classes have been concentrated in only 19 neighbourhoods from its 189 ones mainly in the original three settlements accommodating 87% of the achieved population size for this new town at 2006
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Social polarisation and dominance of the rich districts on the form of exclusive symbolic gated communities and luxury residential compounds 	As shown in fig (4) approximately 34% of its ultimate residential areas will be allocated for the exclusive gated communities and luxury residential compounds in addition to 15 existing ones
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Very tight resettlement opportunities for the low and middle income in the future 	Looking ahead only 9867 land parcels of the ultimate 31785 plots devoted to the low and middle income classes are remaining to be allocated from now till 2027, versus 61345 parcels remaining for the high income groups, however most of them will allocated for the household self-help small contractor to build for themselves and other low and middle income or owner occupiers raising the question of the affordability for the non-owners to hire or purchase a flat from the owners of these parcels (New Cairo NTDC, 2007)

Source: by researcher and adopted from questionnaire, elite interview and secondary data

8- Conclusions:

GCR new towns like many other cities all over the world have been transformed from the managerial cities to the entrepreneurial cities due to the implications of the adopted privatization which lead to the dominance of the private elite businessmen upon their development policies and decisions. However, the functions and the organizations of the traditional government have maintained without making any necessarily shifts or transformations. Whereas, the Egyptian government opted to make direct negotiation with the emerging entrepreneurial elites and allocate most of the available land parcels in the GCR new towns directly for them, particularly the big parcels. Therefore the political choice is to enter into new partnership with large investors, developers, and consortium of private firms rather than larger public – private partnership or involving other stakeholders. In the same time, the restructuring attempts and decision to engage with the private sectors through the privatization of all the available state assets particularly those located in the new towns are still incomplete. This is attributed to two reasons; firstly these decisions have been taken at the top level and have not been diffused to local systems which are always excluded from the decision- making process. Secondly, the system that would connect different actors and different institutions is absent. This represents a copy of what happen in the Turkish large cities during the 1980s and 1990s (Uzan, 2007). Therefore, the current emerging partnership between the central government and the elite businessmen in the GCR new towns should not be considered urban governance model or concept. Although, it could signal for emerging incomplete and developed slowly tendency without drawing complete picture, apparent in the recent enacted legislation to ease the privatization and the growing of the Egyptian entrepreneurial in its new towns.

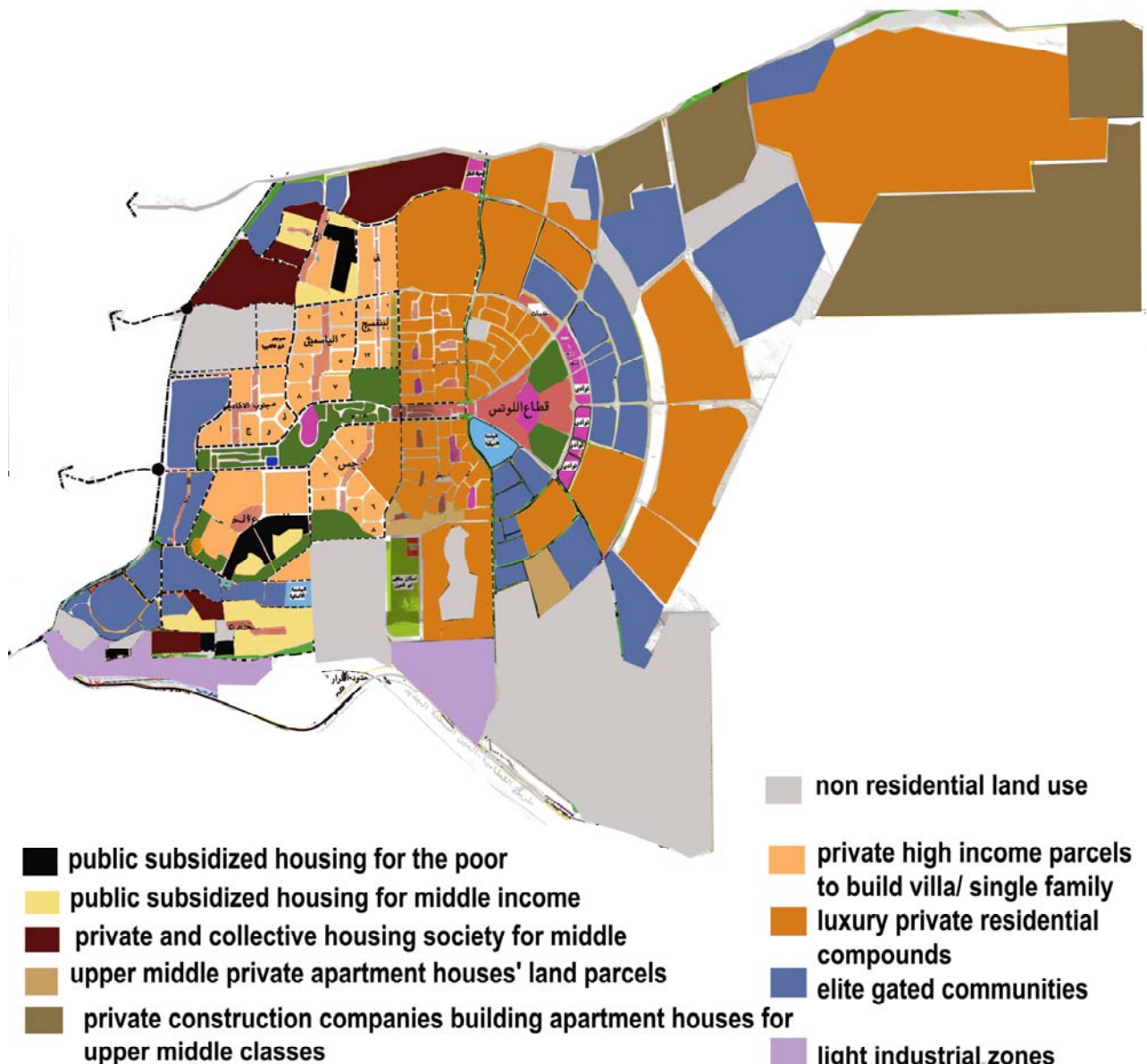
This paper successfully extends the existing body of knowledge about the two processes of the housing exclusion namely; the exclusion through and from housing by adopting them in further context outside the developed capitalised countries, mainly in the developing new settlements which were anticipated to be socially balance and equitable for their inceptions or outset. Moreover, it deeply develops these two processes of housing and social exclusion through envisaging and applying many quantitative indicators to release these two processes from their qualitative descriptive manners. Therefore it proves that, while the socio-politically and political economy in addition to the real estate and housing market factors are the key reasons behind the exclusion from housing particularly for the poor and low income classes in the GCR new towns, the spatial and socio-economic factors are responsible for boosting very rigorous process of exclusion through housing segregating the poor and low income in few deprived and incomplete districts in terms of services and transportation provisions from those devoted for the rich. Also, this paper achieves further development for the model of housing exclusion from and through housing by linking it with the tired spatial dimension, whereas it proves that, while the process of exclusion from housing has been taken places on the higher tier, macro level mainly the metropolitan housing and real estate market explaining the immobility of the disadvantaged in the GCR towards its new towns, the process of exclusion through housing has been reinforced on the lower tier, micro level within the new town itself by segregating between the districts of rich and those devoted for the poor which is looked like a pockets of the poor deprived residential areas within a surge of well-escaped astonished gated communities and luxury compounds.

The paper concluded by the existence of the housing exclusion process either from or through housing tightening and hindering the voluntary resettlement opportunities for the vast majority of the GCR overflows from the poor and low income classes to settle into New Cairo city. In the same time, it finds that the structure implications, the state and the existing socio-political regime decisions and policies, have stimulated the two process of housing exclusion for the poor more than those of the agency, the prospect setters' actions and attitudes to mitigate the pressure imposed upon them from the structure.

9- Recommendations:

As this paper noted, housing exclusion from the new towns housing markets is a double-track process necessitates new form of city- region planning and governance and necessitate the creation of the greater Cairo Metropolitan regional governance as the future arena for partnership, capacity building and intervention on planning matters and issues like the social exclusion. Therefore, further researches are needed to investigate whether a capacity for such governance can be created and sustained in the administratively fragmented metropolitan like the GCR, similar to the raised question by Mcneill and Tewdwr (2000) who argued for the ability of the British cities to do so. Also, they should investigate and validate Pierre, (1999), hypothesis of the importance of the social cohesion on easing the task of urban governance and vice versa, whereas in any city displaying exceedingly deep political, social and organisation fragmentation, governance will be faced with numerous challenges.

Fig (4): the allocation of New Cairo city's residential areas for different housing types established by different developers:



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