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Language and Power: A Critical Discourse Analysis of Egypt's Housing Narratives

A THESIS SUBMITTED BY

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SUPERVISED BY

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in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science in Architecture

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I, Maram Mounir Gamal, declare that this thesis titled, "Language and Power: A Critical Discourse Analysis of Egypt's Housing Narratives" and the work presented in it are my own. I confirm that:

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- Where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution, this has been clearly stated.

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The American University in Cairo
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"Language and Power: A Critical Discourse Analysis of Egypt's Housing Narratives"

A Thesis Submitted by

Maram Mounir Hassan Gamal

To the

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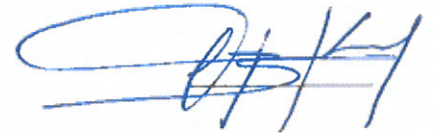### Master of Science in Architecture

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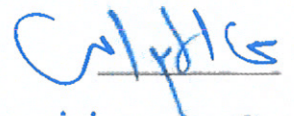**American University in Cairo**

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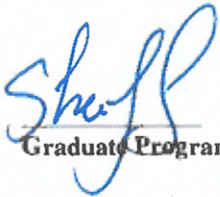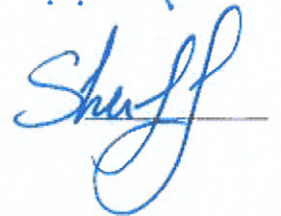**School of Global Affairs and Public Policy**
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Abstract

The issue of housing in Egypt is an evolving historical phenomenon intricately tied to the Egyptian identity, and deeply embedded in the social and political fabric. Common language shapes actual realities and it forms an integral part of the cultural parameters. This research is a critical discourse analysis (CDA) of the housing narrative across four consecutive ruling regimes with distinct political orientations. It deploys a two-stage CDA approach. The first stage involves ideological codification of the narrative to chronologically organize them into their ideological orientations and categories. The second stage historicizes data via a dual approach, namely integrating Norman Fairclough's three-dimensional model and Michel Foucault's power-oriented discourse analysis. Through examining newspaper archives, media outlets, policy statements, legal documents, and public announcements, the study aims to unveil the ideologies embedded in the social, political, and economic fabric and the relationship to the language used in the narrative and the actual situation. CDA deploys linguistic tools to explore the evolution of the narrative by investigating lexical changes, the use of assumptions, and the dialogical orientations in the data collected, elucidating the profound impact of language on shaping, and reinforcing the housing industry in Egypt. It is argued that the discourse surrounding the housing industry in Egypt unfolds as a dynamic narrative, marked by fluctuations in the identification of a 'crisis' and the perceived causes behind it. Hence, the term 'housing crisis' has emerged as a metaphor in the housing narrative across the time frames under study. This research discerns the intricate relationship between the identified categories in the housing narrative and how they evolve over time and the role of power in constructing actual housing situation. Ultimately, through the application of CDA, it becomes clear that the 'crisis' narrative serves as a political construct to establish power and control.

Acknowledgements

Contents

List of Figures

List of Tables

List of Images

List of Abbreviations

CAPMAS	**Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics**
CDA	**Critical Discourse Analysis**
DIY	**Do It Yourself**
GoE	**Government of Egypt**
ISDF	**Informal Settlements Development**
MHUUD	**Ministry of Housing Utilities and Urban Development**
NUCA	**New Urban Communities Authority**
NTP	**New Town Policy**
NHP	**National Housing Project**
SHP	**Social Housing Project**

Chapter 1

The Egyptian Housing Narrative

1.1 The Conditions of Housing in Egypt

Housing has been a persistent posed a significant challenge in Egypt. Despite continuous efforts, the Egyptian government continues to grapple with the enduring crisis since the 1950s until today (Sims, 2018). The narrative regarding housing assumes a huge proportion of the public discourse and in specialized literature. It has been demarcated that the Egyptian housing market has been showing symptoms of a 'crisis': millions suffering from inadequate housing, lack of infrastructure, unaffordability, spatial segregation, and inaccessibility (Shukrallah & Shawkat, 2018). The housing discourse in Egypt captures significant urban injustices, and substantial gaps in adapting to the social and physical identities of the public (Elmouelhi, 2019). Subsidies and incentives covering public housing projects have been perceived as insufficiently attractive for people to move to newly constructed housing communities (Sims, 2018). The current housing policies exhibit a notable feature: an apparent lack of concern or interest in the agency of the people to enhance their living conditions (Shawkat, 2020).

Throughout history, housing policies in Egypt have cumulatively been shaped as preventative tools to avoid the housing crisis rather than instruments for upgrading communities in need (Sims, 2018). The Ministry of Housing and Urban Utilities (MHUUC) offers a "one-size-fits-all" model for housing apartments of different economic classes, which does not resonate with or reflect the diverse cultures and backgrounds of citizens in various governorates. Housing in Egypt has been an urgent and persistent problem for the past 70 years (Abdel-Rahman, Elsayed, & Abouelmagd, 2020). Is housing a crisis in Egypt? If so, then what type of crisis it is and what is its magnitude? Or is it a narrative construct? Crises are defined as instances when a laid bare activity is disrupted, critiqued, challenged, or disclosed; as observations that produce meanings of a given phenomenon (Roitman, 2013). This study attempts to examine the validity of the concept of 'crisis' as the correct diagnosis of the housing condition in Egypt.

A critical approach to the crisis of housing in Egypt should then locate those instances, observations and meanings within their politico-economic contexts (Roitman, 2013). One way to do this is through narrative analysis, where a crisis occurs and is incapsulated as a point of view or an observation which itself is not observed or viewed in 'reality' (Roitman,2013). Both crises and

narratives are socially constructed. A narrative constitutes the happening of the crisis, where critiques, assumptions of a certain truth, deviations from a certain truth, the construction of a particular language, or the portrayal of a certain image are constantly produced and reproduced (Grossberg, 2010). Understanding a crisis through the narratives around it captures its politics and economic values and apprehends it as an "event" in history (Grossberg, 2010). To identify crisis, it's important to note the following according to Janet Roitman (2013):

1) The inaugural root causes of the crisis

2) The political valuation

3) The historical evolution

4) The language used to describe it.

5) The subjectivity involved.

According to the United Nations (UN), the right to adequate housing means that individuals have access to housing that provides them with an appropriate level of privacy, safety, lighting, ventilation, infrastructure, and a suitable location at a reasonable cost. Amid the increasing costs of housing, the rising problems of a lack of adequate housing are becoming more pronounced and concerning. (Marcus &Madden, 2016). Public housing contrary to popular belief, does not necessarily mean small and cheap housing. Rather, it refers to housing that has a low cost-to-benefit ratio, making it affordable for low-income individuals while still providing the necessary amenities for a decent standard of living (Abdelwahed and Hanafy, 2020). Housing is a core need in the Egyptian life, it can disrupt lives, help, or crash the economy, popularize, or end a particular political era (Shawkat, 2020). Despite the government's continuous efforts to tackle the housing crisis among low-income families in Egypt, the situation remains dire. Public housing provision surfaced in the housing market in the 1950s, yet the housing shortage has persisted, leaving many families struggling to find a decent and affordable place to live. Every Egyptian ruler from the beginning of Egypt's modern history has had an impact on the housing industry in Egypt (Shawkat, 2020). However, the problem prevails and might have redeveloped itself into a new variant of housing crisis, which identifies as a crisis with different symptoms.

1.2 Overview of the Housing Discourse in Egypt

1.2.1 Common Sensical Timeline

The historical progression of plans and housing policies in Egypt underscores how political transformations have a direct and evident influence on the approaches taken towards affordable housing initiatives (Shalaby, Ahmed, & Elshanawy, 2022). Four eras will be studied for the purpose of this research (Figure 1):

1) **Socialist Era** - Industrial Cities and Land Reclamation
2) *Open-Door Policy – New Urban Communities*
3) **Neoliberalism** - Land-Oriented Economy
4) **New Republic** - Mega Infrastructure Financed Projects

SOCIALIST ERA:
INDUSTRIAL CITIES/ LAND
RECLEMATION

1956-1970

TRANSITION TO
NEOLIBERALISM/ LAND-
ORIENTED ECONOMY

1982-2011

1971-1981

OPEN DOOR POLICY/
NEW URBAN
COMMUNITIES

2012-PRESENT

NEW REPUBLIC/ MEGA
INFRASTRUCTURE AND
FINANCE PROJECTS
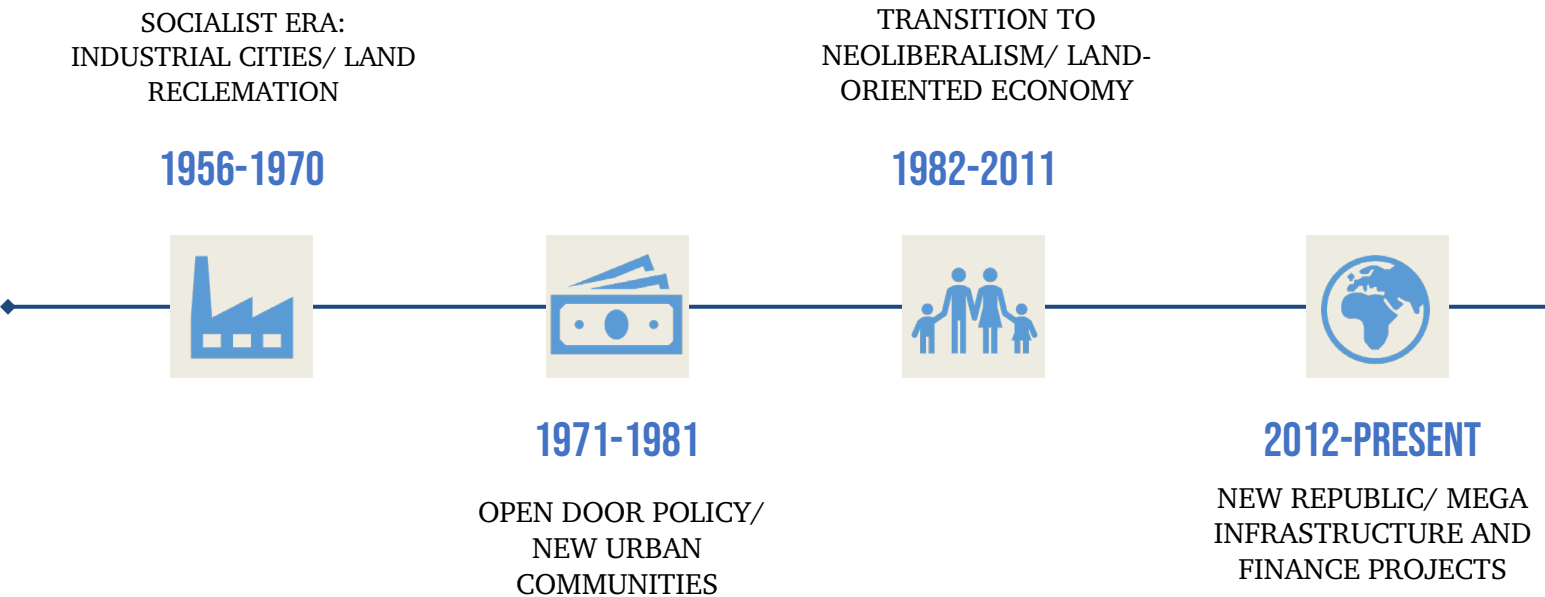
FIGURE 1: Common Sense Timeline.

1.2.2 Housing Policies

Housing policies refer to the actions and decisions that governments pursue to create legislation and program delivery, which have direct or indirect impacts on housing availability, supply, standards, and urban planning (Shalaby, Ahmed, & Elshanawy, 2022). The state, as a significant actor in the Egyptian housing market, has played a pivotal role in shaping its dynamics, and understanding this role requires an examination of the evolving nature of state intervention in housing. The evolution of housing policies in Egypt reflects a historical trajectory marked by successive interventions aimed at regulating housing conditions. In the 1940s, laws were crafted to cater to upper classes and foreign investors dominated by foreign capital. Rent control laws were introduced in 1947, freezing rent rates for units built before 1944 (Fahmi & Sutton, 2008). The 1952 revolution marked a significant turning point, leading to the deployment of a national housing policy, and subsequent regimes have continued to shape housing policies and state agendas (Joya, 2013, p. 131). In spite of the swift advancement in housing policy and institutional development in recent times aimed at tackling this issue, only a limited percentage of Egyptian households can

presently avail themselves of housing opportunities.

Socialist era - Industrial Cities and Lan Reclamation

The socialist period witnessed the initial attempts by the government to provide affordable public housing. However, these early efforts largely failed to involve other organizations in the housing provision. The government aimed to ensure equitable access to adequate housing for all citizens. To promote this social goal, the state has imposed rent control laws to regulate the housing market. (El Kafrawy, 2012). The primary objective of the policy was to increase the availability of public housing projects, primarily through the rental system. This resulted in the production of prototype units without any additional services or facilities to reduce the cost of housing supply (Wakely, 2014). Nasser's socialism, aiming for sufficiency and equity, impacted the mortgage credit system, creating a less favorable environment with government-imposed restrictions to prevent foreclosures by foreign banks (Peck, 2003). Nasser's housing policies, outlined in the Charter of National Action (1964), aimed at achieving social equity through government control of the housing and building materials industries. Rent control laws, as detailed by Soliman (1996), made eviction illegal under strict conditions, allowing the inheritance of rental agreements. However, this led to frozen rents, the private sector's withdrawal from rental housing due to limited profitability, and housing stock deterioration (UNDP, 2004).

Open-Door Policy - New Urban Communities

The open-door policy and urban growth strategies then aimed to direct the housing market toward new communities outside crowded areas like the Nile Delta. Sadat's "Infitah" or open-door policy, implemented in 1974, aimed at revitalizing the private sector, attracting foreign investment, and reversing certain aspects of land reform policies, including steps toward currency devaluation (Campbell and Despard, 1983). Despite receiving praise from the West and the upper middle class, the promised economic prosperity for all Egyptians did not materialize by the late 1970s. Instead, the majority of the population became disillusioned and dissatisfied with the outcomes of these policies (Campbell and Despard, 1983). These approaches enabled partnerships with other stakeholders to provide housing. The government also collaborated with private developers, cooperative housing societies, and self-help techniques to address the housing shortage in Egypt. Furthermore, the formal private housing sector was allowed to operate in a completely free market (Soliman, 2009). The national plan aimed to align with the international self-help policy by focusing on directing public housing to new communities through land planning and evaluation (Hassan, 2017). The plan also involved categorizing land into various types, including urban development, tourism, and agriculture. Over time, this policy led to a surplus of vacant units in low-income housing projects, particularly in new towns, as the lack of essential services and amenities failed to attract households (Abdel-Rahman, Elsayed, & Abouelmagd, 2020).

14

Neoliberalism - Land-Oriented Economy

In line with international goals and policies, the Egyptian government recognized the right to access suitable housing as an integral component of the social contract it has entered with its citizens (Abdel-Rahman et al. 2020). Mubarak's administration continued Sadat's economic agenda, favoring the private sector and foreign direct investments (El Kafrawy, 2013). Policies included eliminating government monopolies, reducing subsidies, abolishing price controls, and cutting corporate taxes, expanding the private sector's role. However, these measures led to economic shocks, including high inflation rates and unaffordable housing prices for many Egyptian households, particularly at the lower- and moderate-income levels. The negative outcomes in the housing market involved the expansion of informal housing in unauthorized settlements and increased space sharing, resulting in overcrowded conditions (El Kafrawy, 2013). These policy orientations motivated partnerships with various entities to expand housing options in the market, and this is the initiation of the merger between the private and the public entities. It offered many policies and programs to guide the housing market. The policies were influenced by businessmen and housing developers, leading to the implementation of various project schemes under self-help, partial provision, and enabling policies (Abdel-Rahman, Elsayed, & Abouelmagd, 2020). Over time, these policies exposed several issues related to the planning, infrastructure, and services of new towns during their initial phases. Consequently, this led to abandoned urban communities with unoccupied units that were sometimes used for investment purposes (Abdel-Rahman, Elsayed, & Abouelmagd, 2020).

The New Republic - Mega Infrastructure Financed Projects

Most recently, after the events of 2011 the newly developed government launched a national social housing program. Following that, President Abdel Fatah El Sisi launched the "Housing for all Egyptians" initiative, aiming to provide suitable housing units for all segments of society as part of the state's economic and social development plan. The initiative was established to fulfill the President's directives of providing reasonably priced housing units for the middle class and ensuring that every citizen has access to a unit (Shalaby, Ahmed, & Elshanawy, 2022). According to Yehia Shawkat (2018), the policy aimed to construct one million housing units, yet there was no clear justification for this target number or how they would be distributed throughout Egypt. Furthermore, there was a lack of demand studies to determine the needs and affordability of low-income households with respect to unit size and design (Abdel-Rahman, Elsayed, & Abouelmagd, 2020). Additionally, there was an imbalance in the available schemes regarding tenure options, unit locations, and sizes.

1.3 Problem Statement

Studies have largely embraced discourse analysis as an approach to carrying out applied research to define and explore substantive issues in housing policy and practice (Jacobs, 2006). Initiatives by authority figures in Egypt to assist marginalized groups often fail to effectively improve their living conditions, as the housing programs do not provide them with access to suitable housing (Abdelwahed & Hanafy, 2020). Initiatives can sometimes infringe upon the basic human rights of these individuals and subject them to economic and social pressures that further exacerbate their living standards. The problem of housing in Egypt has been approached as a crisis, and its origins can be traced back to historical practices that lacked inclusivity in the establishment of housing (Shawkat, 2020).

In Egypt, the housing narrative manifested as the inability of supplying affordability of living, location access to employment, building an economic infrastructure within the community parameters, an available transportation network, and public services, therefore, increasing the living expenses in new social housing. These are all parts of the "adequate housing" criteria formed by Tadamun initiative for spatial justice (2015). Prohibiting the opening of micro-businesses, workshops, and services neglects almost 60% of the urban job market in Egypt, which was eased by the people's former residency in the center near the Valley (Hegazi and Moustafa, 2013). In Addition, the informal business sector includes millions of daily workers or unstable work contracts. Quality of life prescribed by the legislative framework has not been defined in a people-centric manner that accommodates the work nature of these populations. Livability, accessibility, and personalization is lacking in the framework structural language, which results in a gap or mode segregation in these new communities. The continuation of the assumed crisis, and fluctuations faced in the crisis mode, creates mismatching of the symptoms in the housing industry, which impacts the resolutions delivered.

The growing literature discussing the 'crisis' in the Egyptian housing industry, pushes for further examination to understand the constitution of the 'crisis' and opens the way to do that through an "untraditional" research method. Traditional research in the housing and urban industry has yielded conventional conclusions that didn't acknowledge variables aside from the obvious and dominant ones (Marston, 2002). In distinction to traditional research, discourse analysis of housing deploys different tools (Jacobs, 2006). The housing narrative, which is a constituent component of discourse analysis, is innately a socio-cultural construct or product and exploring such narrative from the perspective of language would yield a nuanced interpretation of the problem (Hastings, 2000). In addition, discourse refers to the vocabulary and rhetoric structure used in the housing process; thus, the critical analysis of discourse would uncover the narrative's involvement in producing and constructing actual 'reality' (Belsey, 1980). Moreover, the Egyptian housing problem has been discussed and explored repetitively through different scopes of research; however, the language usage is by far a lens that has not been commonly explored in the Egyptian

housing literature.

Language is a potent instrument that molds cultures and power dynamics, ultimately impacting the physical world (Plumlee: Gebril, 2017). This research utilizes critical discourse analysis (CDA) to investigate the language used in the housing narrative during four periods of political orientation in modern Egyptian history. The primary objective is to establish a correlation between the language used in the housing narrative and the actual events happening on the ground. This CDA aims to examine how language is used in the housing narrative across various discursive practices, including how it is conducted, delivered, described, sold, announced, discussed, and debated; to explore further, the extents of the formulation of language as an 'expressive behavior' and to highlight its role in constructing reality. This research provides a historical overview of how the housing narrative has evolved and its identification of 'housing crisis'. CDA is a tool to explore the relationship between the use of language and the housing practices (Jacobs & Manzi, 1996).

This research will provide a thorough explanation of the 'crises' prescribed in the housing narrative, critical discourse analysis as methodology, and finally how to bring CDA onto the selected discourse. To explore the correlation between language usage in the housing narrative and the type of impact it has on the actual situation of housing.

1.4 Research objectives

The CDA will allow this research to investigate the impact of language on housing narrative and to examine the discursive practices around housing. This research will attempt to answer three questions:

1. What are the transformations in the housing narrative over the course of Egypt's contemporary history?

2. What is the correlation between the language used in the identification of the housing crisis and the actual situation of housing initiatives and programs across the common sense timeline?

3. How does the dominant housing narrative reflect the ideologies and structures of power that shape housing in Egypt?

1.5 Research Hypothesis

The language used in the housing narrative across Egypt's four different politically oriented eras has undergone significant change over time. Historicizing CDA can enable an understanding of the relationship between the impact of language usage and the actual status of the housing crisis. Furthermore, each political era demonstrates a unique character for its power structure and its

distinct political ideology. Language mirrors the hidden conditions of the 'crisis' in the housing narrative. Each distinct political era is responsible for the produced social housing designs, and for the approaches to urban planning, and both are a reflection of the nature of its discursive practices. This analytical approach enables the identification of more constructive implications regarding the perception of 'crisis' within the narrative. These insights are valuable for informing policy adaptations, guiding city planners, real estate developers, and policymakers in the planning process so as to ensure the provision of more adequate, unique, and widely accepted housing solutions. This research adopts the following hypothesis:

- In Egypt, the housing discourse is divisive and exclusionary, reflecting and exacerbating already existing social and spatial inequalities (Elmouelhi, 2019).

- The legal framework has primarily acted as preventative measures rather than as enabling instruments that strengthen social housing (Sims, 2018).

- Media narratives target select audiences to the exclusion of the public in need.

- Policy statements tackle the situation in terms of quantitative achievements rather than community-inclusive narrative. With the pressure applied to "end" the housing problem quickly, decision-makers persist to ignore the diversity of culture and traditions found within the living communities in the policies and laws produced (Moore, 2014).

- Public announcements usually use metaphors, over-enthusiastic, imaginary, and that subjugates to a particular ideology.

Since language offers an interim lens that reflects political, economic, social, and philosophical dimensions, it allows us to explore the field of housing from a more inclusive approach. It thus offers us a route for a deeper understanding of the linguistic factors that have shaped, and may have fueled the persistence of, the housing crisis. The underlying hypothesis of this study is that the housing narrative has played a key role in defining the notion of a crisis irrespective of the actual and quantitative definers of the problem. The identification of the type of crisis constituted in the housing narrative through the application of CDA will offer a new approach that is based on an inclusive understanding of linguistic dimension's impact on the actual situation of the housing production process in Egypt.

1.6 Structure of the Thesis

Chapter two discusses literature on Critical Discourse Analysis and how it will examine the language used. It aims to explore the type of relationship between the language used and the 'reality' of housing in Egypt. This analysis is conducted across four consecutive political orientations in Egypt to understand the evolution of language and social housing thoroughly: the

socialist era, the neoliberalism era, the capitalist era, and finally the 'New Republic'. Chapter three will delve into the methodology employed, elucidating how critical discourse analysis (CDA) will assess the objectives of the study. Subsequently, chapter four will present a comprehensive application of CDA in analyzing the Egyptian housing narrative. Followed by chapter five which explained the outcomes of the analysis and the discussion relating it to the objectives of this research. Finally, the last chapter 6 concludes the findings of this research and discusses the room for future words offered by this work.

Chapter 2

Literature on CDA and CDA of Housing Narratives

2.1 Defining the role of CDA.

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is an investigation tool that critiques and explores the construction of language in reality (Marston, 2002). CDA is an interdisciplinary approach to studying the relationship between **language, power, and social practices**. It is involved in making clear how ideas and practices are connected, and this is implied by the term "critical" (Fairclough, 1995). The use of critical discourse analysis investigates the reasons why language is being deployed in a particular way and identifies the intentions behind it (Fairclough, 1992). According to Van Dijk (1997) definition of discourse is simply "language use" and the investigation of "talk and text in context" serves to highlight the essential characteristic of CDA: a focus on examining the relationship between language use and its interaction with social settings or contexts (Hastings, 2000). To understand how the use of language interacts with the social context, the housing narrative is best analyzed using critical discourse analysis (CDA). Studying the language use in the housing narrative enables a contextualization of policy within social and political environments and reflects on the outcome produced and built (Jacobs and Manzi, 2007).

2.2 CDA Framework

CDA examines how language is used to create, maintain, and disrupt social structures, power dynamics, and inequities, and it is identified as the social theory of language (Marston, 2002). The Norman Fairclough approach aims to uncover the ways in which language uses shapes and reinforces discursive social practices and power relations (1995). It provides insights into how language in form of text or utterance can be used to challenge and subvert dominant discourses and power structures (Fairclough, 1989). Accordingly, CDA offers the opportunity to create explicit links between material and discursive practices (Fig. 2) (Marston, 2002). It discloses the hidden meanings, assumptions, and ideologies implicit in the language used in the narrative, as well as how discourse contributes to affecting social practices and power relations.

Moreover, Michel Foucault's approach examines the discourse through a lens of power that interprets the discourse through its evolution and remarks on the historical conditions and the power relations that motivated its emergence (Foucault, 1980). The approach depends on historizing the discourse and creates space for comparison to see how the evolution of language has occurred over time (Marston, 2002). Fairclough's approach seeks to methodically analyze particular texts and utterance of language use in the discourse (narrative), while Foucault concentrates on overarching historical trends of such narratives (1980). Both approaches used together create an interpretation tool (Fig.2). The purpose of this exploration is to interpret how housing studies engage with the analytical and empirical findings offered by a discourse perspective, and how adopting this method of analysis will impact the nature of this research question about housing processes. Accordingly, to thoroughly explain CDA, it will be divided into three sections: text and rhetorical structure, language variations, and discursive practices. This research will incorporate both methodologies to properly interpret and realize the impact the housing narrative has on social housing.
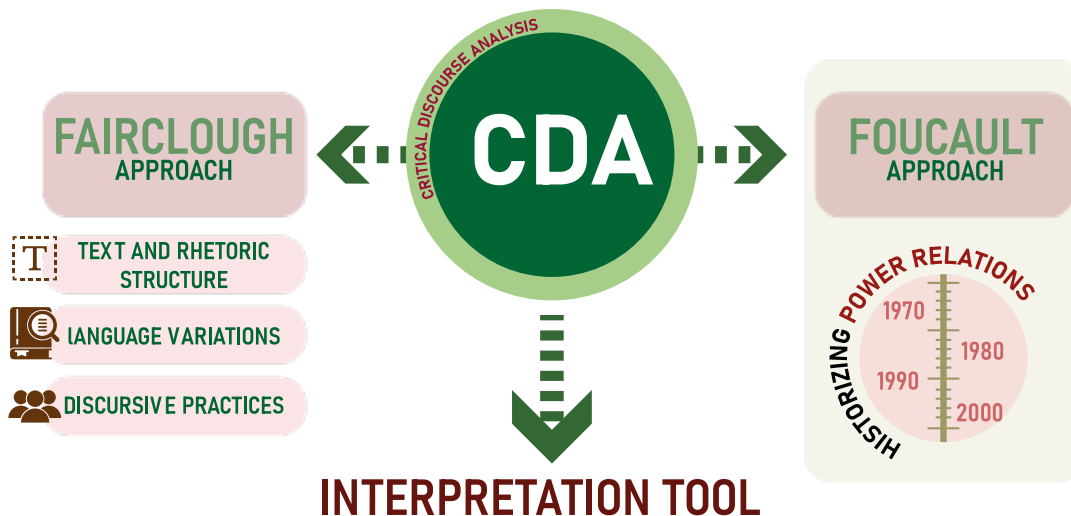
FIGURE 2: CDA between Fairclough and Foucault.[1]

The combination of both approaches is constructed on 1) historicizing power relations and 2) linguistic analysis. The linguistic analysis using CDA measures and connects three aspects according to Fairclough's approach.

1. Text and rhetoric Structures

2. Language variations and metaphors

3. Discursive practices and assumptions

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[1] Source: author

Text and Rhetoric Structures

Text analysis utilizes housing studies, by analyzing policy documents to understand the policy-making process and its impact on the built environment, according to Jacobs and Manzi (1996). The spoken dimension (utterance) and textual data is collected to understand these rich and complex layers of the housing problem. These narrative devices are deployed as part of a persuasive strategy to convince readers of the appropriateness of a policy response towards the actual situation and measurement of crisis in the narrative. For critical discourse analysis utterance and text analysis will be conducted to interpret housing policies according to the work of Norman Fairclough Linguistic theorist CDA framework (1992). The use of language is interactive, and the dialogical nature of linguistic activity is most obvious. This phenomenon, which focuses on language as a tool to measure the success of a physical environment, has been a subject of study for many researchers in the fields of linguistics and urban studies, including John Gastil (1992) identified different categories in general to conduct a critical discourse analysis, however, for housing matters he focused only two categories; Lexicon and rhetorical strategies to analyze housing policies and practice.

To understand further the discourse established in the creation of social housing vis-à-vis its relation to the production of social housing, the language of such housing declarations is considered a resource for individuals of the community to utilize linguistic resources and access to codes within the Egyptian public discourse.). According to Fairclough's critical discourse analysis, housing policies can be adapted to intricately create a certain way of living for specific socio-economic groups. This is achieved through the use of vocabulary or phrases that establish a sense of community and contribute to their language identity.. Such communities can be organized into speech communities as they are a group of individuals who speak the same language or the same variant of the language, in other words, a group of individuals whose speech characteristics are coherently structured, practiced, and understood (Wardhaugh, 2006). Fairclough suggests carrying CDA to analyze lexical change and rhetorical structure in the housing production process is to understand further its implications on the social scene.

Language variations

In this research, some examples of different lexical variations used in the housing narrative will be used to understand the narrative. The commodification of language in the Egyptian context the lexical variations used by power to address the same concept of housing corresponds to the political orientation of the narrative. Throughout modernity, the commodification of the housing discourse a move from hara (alley) to the *'imara* (apartment building), as Samia Mehrez described in Cairo contested (Mehrez: Singerman, 2011). The new social construct of the apartment building is different from the society's participation in the alley 'hara' of the local neighborhood, is different from the elite community fabric of the gated communities and will differently be different in the

elite desert-based skyscraper studios. The vocabulary used in the discourse moves the city and shapes the architecture, according to the housing narrative. Language affects how space is perceived, hence, it affects how space is used (Plumlee: Gebril, 2017). Language used in this discourse to demonstrate how certain words often used in the housing narrative are necessarily linked to wider cultural interpretation that subjugates a certain mode of living (Jacobs & Manzi, 1996). The exact methodology to explore language variations is in the data sampling section.

Variations are an inherent feature of the language, allowing for multiple ways to express the same idea. Speakers may exhibit differences in pronunciation (accent), vocabulary (lexicon), or even in the structure of words and sentences (morphology and syntax) (Wardhaugh, 2006). Variations in language is justified through three reasons 1) to enhance a unified identity, 2) to enhance one social outcome, and 3) and to exclude the unwanted. For the focus of this research only lexical variations will be used to observe and track changes in the narrative. To assist in building an understanding of how language is used in the narrative to construct a particular image, identifying lexical variations in the text is important to comprehend the different tones and variations conducted to deliver a specific image. Lexical variation involves substituting one word for another while maintaining the intended meaning of the message being conveyed.

Language is extremely powerful in shaping cultures and communities, and hence it impacts the physical as a way of responding to a larger discourse (Wardhaugh, 2006). According to Keith Jacobs the use of certain words in the language of housing is linked to wider cultural and ideological scope that questions the target user and their socio-economic group (1996). Language choices are part of the socioeconomic identity that an individual or a group claims to represent. (Wardhaugh, 2006). These declarations are often a reflection of an identity of either an individual or a collective one (Bassiouney, 2020). Observing terms in discourse such as '*affordability*', '*enabling*', '*community*', *and* '*social*' in housing are all with little consensus as to their definition and meaning to the production of appropriate social housing.

Discursive practices

The methods in which language is used, created, and consumed (conducted, delivered, described, sold, announced, discussed, and) in distinct social situations are referred to as discursive practices (Jacobs & Manzi, 1996). Discursive practices are involved in social and political practices that consume reality. Text within these practices is identified and understood by interpreting the use of lexicon which includes vocabulary and technical words (Gastil, 1992). Following discursive practice is the application of a layer of hermeneutics to understand the forces of utterance and the cohesiveness of the text (Jacobs & Manzi, 1996). Discursive practices in the social housing narrative include the numerous ways language and discourse are used to develop, depict, and transmit ideas, beliefs, and attitudes towards social housing. According to the three dimensional offered by Fairclough these practices can include (1992).

1. Sentence Structure: The way social housing issues are framed in the narrative can influence public perception and policy decisions.

2. Lexical Changes: The words used to describe social housing can express specific views or biases. For example, phrases such as "affordable housing" or "low-income housing" may have distinct connotations and implications depending on the target audience.

3. Rhetorical strategies: Using rhetorical strategies appeals to emotion, logic, or authority, audiences can be persuaded and their attitudes towards social housing shaped. Highlighting the personal experiences of social housing inhabitants or presenting statistical evidence on the benefits of social housing, can help to alter public opinion.

Power Relations

Power strategies in the creation of power structures are a tool for tactic measurement that is taken to deliver a certain identity to the people of the city (Findley, 2005). Lisa Findley in *Building Change: Architecture, Politics, and Cultural Agency* also divided these strategies into several categories. The following are some of the relevant categories to this research 1) construction of power to understand these social structures and strategies, how it affects the space by either controlling it or possessing it, and its possibility to undo threatening spatial agents, and 2) large spatial transformation by using technology and globalization as a major part of shaping the places where the population lives. Integrating the past and present in political discourse is extremely important to understand the accumulation of layers that creates the society of today. Power relations are introduced after the construction of the power structure and its strategies in the public space (Parsaee, Parva, & Karimi, 2019). These strategies are tools that deliver a certain identity or message to the people of the city, which for the scope of this research will be the linguistic tool. Michel Foucault's work about power and discipline explores the power structure's physical manifestation in the city, as power is not static. Hence, it offers an appropriate lens to scan the political past and present scene to annotate linguistics' codes, which can be present in the cultures that are forged to decode the language accepted by Egyptians.

Critical Discourse takes a turn according to a Foucauldian power analysis approach. According to Michel Foucault "power is exercised through a net-like organization, and not only do individuals circulate between its threads; they are always in the position of simultaneously undergoing and exercising this power." (Foucault, 1980). The importance of the role power play is crucial in understanding the construction of knowledge in linguistic and social practices (Burr, 1995). CDA uses power relations to demonstrate discourse coalition to define the actual situation declared through policy. In the power analysis, the governmentality of the policy is what goes under analysis according to Foucault (1977). Therefore, this can be overlapped with Fairclough's CDA method in which power is expressed within the ideology of the discourse, however, is embedded, interpreted,

and recreated through the actions of discursive practices (1992). Language is a medium to transfer knowledge, Foucault's approach takes a turn in how discourse is tied to how knowledge is produced and handled. Therefore, critical discourse analysis is a methodology to understand urban/housing policy application, in which stakeholders exercise power (Keith, 2006).

2.3 CDA on Housing Narratives

Research in the fields of social and urban and policy studies explored how language usage has an impact on social, political, and economic processes (Hastings, 2000). Language is involved in constructing 'reality', especially in the perception of worldly knowledge and how it is interpreted. Using Van Dijk's definition, discourse analysis offers housing studies important challenges, links the understanding of the world to social and linguistic practices, and it allows housing questions to be explored from a nontraditional perspective (Hastings, 2000). Discourse refers to three aspects, first is language use, second is belief communication, and lastly an interaction in a social context (Van Dijk, 1997). Studying the language usage in the housing narrative enables a contextualization of policy within social and political environments and reflects on the outcome produced and built (Jacobs and Manzi, 2007). The following section discuses several research in the housing paradigm.

Critical Discourse Analysis and Policy-Orientated Housing Research: in Queensland, Australia

Greg Marston (2002) argues that positivism has traditionally dominated housing research, but in the mid to late 1990s, there was a shift towards critical and post structural theories in Europe and Australia. Critical discourse analysis (CDA) was seen as a useful tool for analyzing policy debates related to housing policy reform, urban regeneration, and managerialism. In this research discourse analysis is positioned within the field of housing research and presents an empirical case study of housing policy change in Queensland, Australia to illustrate the limitations and potential of CDA. The analysis in this case reveals that economic language was used to frame the policy problem of public housing in Queensland, Australia, which led to resistance from those who held different values. The government's written policy texts introduced a moral discourse, framing public housing tenants as "bad" and silencing dissent. Marketisation was promoted as the only sensible path to securing a financial future for public housing and providing discipline for "unruly" tenants (Marston, 2002). Therefore, the narrative took the language of addressing morality of the citizens, reframing the housing structure accordingly. The narrative's failure to align with the values of the tenants has consequently impacted the environment in Queensland in which they reside. In this study Marston highlights the limitations and possibilities of critical discourse analysis in housing research and underscores the need for more explicit links between material and discursive practices and a closer integration of CDA with other social research methods (2002).

House Price Inflation in the News: A Critical Discourse Analysis of Newspaper Coverage in the UK.

This study conducted in the University of Glasgow, investigates how the discourse surrounding house price rises in the UK represents competing interests and concerns about affordability using critical discourse analysis (Munaro, 2018). Munaro here used Critical Discourse Analysis to examine newspaper coverage during two periods, one of relatively stable prices and

the other of rising prices (2018). The analysis exposes the powerful influence of industry-insiders in shaping housing market discourse and positioning price rises as both beneficial and natural. The results highlight the dysfunction of the UK housing market, the acute affordability problems in the owner-occupied sector, and the chronic supply failures that create problematic levels of inter-generational inequality. In addition, it reveals how metaphoric representations of the housing market limit the scope for imagining alternative market functions and how these discourses are deeply embedded in the ideology of a "healthy" housing market as one of continuous price rises (Munaro, 2018).

Discourse analysis and the Egyptian housing narrative.

Housing, both in general and especially in the realm of social housing, serves as a multifaceted instrument wielded by ruling regimes. It mirrors and aligns with the ways these regimes exercise power, formulate and implement laws, orchestrate media campaigns, and launch national initiatives (Shawkat & Sims, 2020). The influence of this power dynamic on governmental housing reflects the challenges encountered by the Egyptian economy. As a result, the social housing system has fallen short in effectively addressing the housing requirements of the population (Abdelwahed & Hanafy, 2020). The Housing industry has undergone several changes since the 1950s, and the communities dwelling within these projects have been impacted to varying degrees (Shawkat, 2020). David Sims described these new communities as economically anemic, and constantly needing financial funding to survive, otherwise, they will turn into ghosted developments (2018). The production of housing in Egypt has been mainly driven by government-led initiatives and programs, often in collaboration with the private sector. The International Housing Polices had an impact on Egypt's history through four approaches 1) Direct Provision Policy, 2) Self Help and Partial Provision, 3) the Enabling Approach, 4) Sustainable Integrated Urban (Abdelrahman, et al.) Various governmental agencies, such as the Ministry of Housing, Utilities, and Urban Development, the New Urban Communities Authority (NUCA), and the Social Housing Fund (SHF), are responsible for the planning, financing, and construction of social housing projects.

In conclusion, this research leverages Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to delve into the motivations behind the strategic deployment of language. Recognizing that language actively contributes to the construction of 'reality' and to the production of 'truth'. The integration of Fairclough and Foucault's approaches within Critical Discourse Analysis provides a robust framework for unraveling the intricate dynamics between language and the social and political constructs within housing narratives. This research, segmented into text and rhetorical structure, language variations, and discursive practices, has illuminated the persuasive strategies employed in framing housing policies and practices. By examining the evolution of language over time and its connection to historical power relations, this approach offers nuanced insights into how 'crisis' shapes the actual situation of housing. Through the lenses of Fairclough and Foucault, this analysis transcends linguistic scrutiny, providing a holistic understanding of housing processes and their

profound implications on the actual situation behind the structure. As the narrative unfolds through shifts in vocabulary, rhetorical strategies, and discursive practices, it becomes evident that language is a dynamic force, both shaping and shaped by the socio-political contexts in which it operates. Ultimately, this integrative methodology enhances our comprehension of the multifaceted interplay between language, power, and societal dynamics within the realm of housing studies.

Chapter 3

Methodology: CDA and Egypt's Housing Narratives

In this research, language is considered the core variable, as it is the primary factor being manipulated and analyzed through Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). There is no one method of applying CDA, it is versatile in application according to the subject of study. The objective is to determine the ties between the narrative and the discursive practices. Discursive 'reality' includes the production of housing, the laws and policies, and the politico-economic strategies. **Language** in this context, encompasses the linguistic choices and discursive techniques found in in the housing narrative (Jacobs & Manzi, 1996). **Discursive practices** are the outcomes resulting from the housing narrative that constitutes 'reality' regarding the production or the consequences of crisis. Which makes it influenced by the housing policies and the discourse surrounding them, which in turn are shaped by the language employed (Martson, 2002). The discourse of crisis in Egypt started as "*Mushkilat Al-Masakin*" (Homes problem) in the 1940s and with time and change of power it became "*Azmat Al- Masakin*" (housing Crisis) in 1970s and now it shifted to become "*Mushkilat Al-Iskan* (housing problem) today.

Political power in the governing and authoritative bodies acts as the intervening variable in this research, as it mediates the relationship between language and 'reality'. Political power is reflected in the ideologies and power structures that influence housing policies. By comparing current language and power relations to their predecessors, we can analyze the ways in which language has been used to construct and reinforce the ideologies within the housing complexes, as well as identify opportunities for resistance and change in the housing narrative (Martson, 2002). Ergo, CDA offers the opportunity to investigate and critique contemporary narratives, particularly around the evolution of social housing (Martson, 2002).

The housing narrative is a mode of discourse that includes different kinds of written and verbal communication in the housing process (Hastings, 2000). The housing narrative has evolved

throughout Egypt's modern history, and it encompasses various aspects that reflect language, power, and behavior (outcomes) in the construction of crisis. The narrative includes policies, laws, public speeches, media and advertisements, and public discourse. A significant aspect of the narrative revolves around the involvement of housing policies in shaping the discourse(Shalaby, Ahmed, Elshenawy, 2022). The narrative accordingly covers a set of specifications and procedures that encompasses the social and economic aspects of society and results in the production of a built outcome accordingly (2022).

3.1 Data Gathering and Analysis

The analysis process comprises both quantitative and qualitative stages. Stage one involves the codification of data to sort and organize it chronologically. In stage two, a qualitative application of CDA is conducted over the sorted data to understand the outcomes in the narrative and their correlation to actual situation (Fig. 3). To ensure objectivity of the process stage one ensures equal opportunities in gathering data. Collecting historical data poses challenges due to information asymmetry, given that older data is often more challenging to locate and gather.
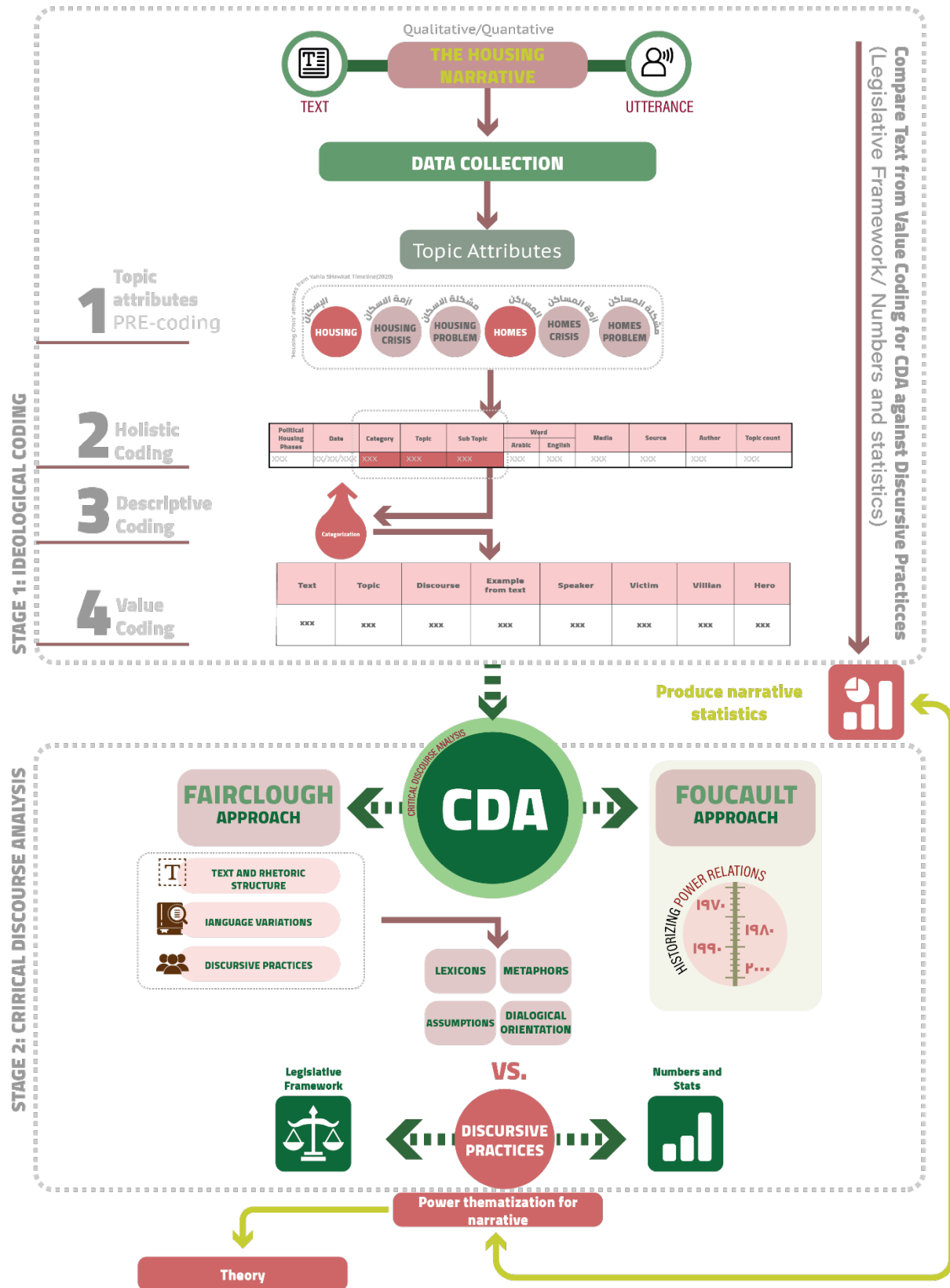
FIGURE 3: The thesis CDA diagram. Source: author

3.1.1 Stage One: Ideological Coding

Ideological coding is a common approach in qualitative journalism research (Reynolds, 2019). To examine the underlying factors contributing to the housing crisis in the narrative, discourse is analyzed on various levels, encompassing headlines, text, speech, graphic elements, and conversations. Figure 3 illustrates the steps of the analysis, with Stage one relying on Johanny Saldana's coding approach (2015) that is constituted into four steps of coding and each step constitutes to the objectivity of the process. The outcome of this stage will present categories and topics in which data will be organized accordingly. . This gives an opportunity to collect data and to sort it quantitatively. Illustrating how categories and topics will acquire the narrative collectively. The four steps are as follows:

1) **Pre-coding (Topic Attributes):** pre-coding depends on selection of data according to their attributes. Such descriptive attributes help selection of data and organizing them systematically. Data was collected according to specific housing and crisis related attributes. Both digital and manual archives were used to search using the following keywords to describe the housing crisis attributes as stated by Yahia Shawkat's book *Egypt's Housing Crisis* (2020):

    a. Housing

    b. Housing Crisis

    c. Housing problem

    d. Homes

    e. Homes Crisis and Homes problem

The Initial required data for the narrative to conduct this study is be collected following both Foucault and Fairclough approaches. Data sampling is grouped between text and utterance involved in the production of the following social housing projects through the timeline indicated:

- **1956-1970**: Socialist era under President Gamal Abdel Nasser

- **1971-1981**: Open-Door Policy under President Anwar El Sadat

- **1982-2011:** Neoliberalism era under President Hosni Mubarak

- **2012-2023:** New Republic era under President Abdel Fattah el-Sisi

The data collection for the analysis involves sourcing information from various outlets, contingent on the availability of data for each category. The selection of data is dependent on the

accessibility of relevant sources. Newspaper archives, encompassing both state-owned and opposition newspapers, constitute a significant portion of the collected data. State-owned newspapers include Al-Ahram, Al-Ahram Al-Massaie, and Al-Ahram Al-Aqari were accessed through Al-Ahram Digital Archive. Private owned Newspaper were collected using from the Library of Alexandria Digital Archive including outlets such as Al-Gomhuria, and Al-Akhbar, as well as opposition newspapers consist of Al-Wafid, Al-Want, Al-Masry Al-Youm, and Al-Tahrir. Additionally, excerpts from magazines, were collected from the AUC Rare Books Collection such as Akher Sa'a and Al-'mara. The holdings of each library differed from one another. Digital media outlets for movies, advertisements, and recorded public speeches were gathered using Youtube. And finally, for laws and policies, Manshurat Digital Database was used to collect the needed data. The following are the data selection specifications used in collection process:

1) <u>Governance & influencing bodies.</u>
   - Presidential input (Speeches archive)
   - Ministry of housing structure (ministerial correspondence)
   - Supporting Institutions and authorities
   - Press Releases and announcements (archive)
2) <u>Governing legislative framework</u> (Housing law and housing policy)
   - Housing law/Policy documents
   - Manshurat online Database
3) <u>Newspaper and Magazines</u>
   - Private and public new outlet
   - Advertisement
   - Social media (when applicable)

Selection of relevant articles for the analysis based on descriptive information, demographics, data format, time frames, and other variables of interest to the housing narrative (Saldana, 2015). This offers the first step into organizing the data for Stage two of the analysis.

2) **Holistic Coding:** holistic coding assists in creating themes and categories through applying a single code to a large group of data to capture the essence of the holistic image and the possible conclusions (Saldana, 2015). After pre-coding, the data needs to be categorized into themes to prepare a code sheet. This exercise allows the extraction of themes and categories to narrow down the findings.

3) **Descriptive Coding:** descriptive coding portrays how the categories developed in the previous stage is described. This includes "what is being talked" and "what is being written". After displaying holistic data, data is organized into categories as a family for topics and subtopics. Figure 3 illustrates the code sheet, where the data will be categorized based on its general attributes, laying the groundwork for the subsequent step of descriptive

coding. This preparation is crucial for the counting of data within each category. To initiate the organization of data acquisition within each category and enable quantitative comparisons across categories, statistics on data acquisition are generated. After categorization, data is prepared for the final step of stage one, which involves value coding.

4) **Value Coding:** value coding is the final step of stage one to prepare data for stage two of the analysis. It accounts for "perspectives" and characters present in the narrative (Saldana, 2015). Questions such "whose perspective is being validated?", "who is speaking?", or "who is the victim?". This is based on reading the text or utterance carefully and reflecting on it. This allows to point out biases and perspectives. This allows to provide more nuanced insights to construct the ideology embedded in the narrative through different media outlets (Reynolds, 2019). This prepares the Data for constructive review to conduct CDA chronologically across the finding.

Historicizing the discourse is an important dimension as part of Foucault's approach, as it allows to understand the changes that occurred over time, and what type of relation it has formulated (1980). After employing the purposive sampling technique to select the most relevant and representative texts for each era, it will be utilized to compare the events occurring in actual situation with the opinions expressed in the literature. Purposive sampling is a deliberate and non-random method of selecting data that possess specific characteristics relevant to the research study. This technique is employed to ensure that the chosen sample aligns with the research objectives, providing meaningful insights and depth in addressing the research questions.

3.1.2 Stage two: CDA of Data

CDA unveils the complexity within power relations maneuvering the housing narrative. This conception of the exercise of power is multi-dimensional and complex, in which it is employed through different agents in a network like organization (Foucault, 1980). The analytical framework for this study is based on Fairclough's three-dimensional model of CDA (1992), which encompasses the following dimensions:

1) **Textual or utterance:** Examining the linguistic features of the texts, including vocabulary, lexicons, and rhetorical structure in the set categories and topics created from stage one. John Gastil (1992) outlined various categories for conducting critical discourse analysis. However, when examining housing matters, he specifically emphasized the analysis of lexicons and rhetorical strategies, aiming to understand how language usage contributed to shaping housing policies and practices. (1992). By highlighting the dominant text and the impact of its appearance in the different narrative outlets. Text analysis could show how alternative wordings have entered the housing narrative and the impact of language variations present in the narrative. Text Analysis can take place for terms like "affordability", "enabling,"

"community" (as in care), "social" (as in housing), and "slums" (*'Ishwa²yat*). All of these are terms that have little agreement on their definition and meaning, and the limits of their impact on the physical outcome. Text/utterance (Language) analysis is the focus of this research, as which it will follow the analysis procedure of description, interpretation and explanation, which will link to correlation with actual situation. **Discursive practice:** Analyzing the production, distribution, and consumption of the texts, as well as the social practices associated with them. An examination of discursive practice would look at the immediate impact that surrounds housing policy or law appearance in the context of the narrative in which they were made, and how policy is linked to other physical outcome produced and its impact on the social language (Jacobs & Manzi, 1996). This is a supporting layer of analysis however it is not the main framework that will be used in this research. Exploring the broader social, political, and historical context in which the texts are produced is crucial. While this research may not extensively delve into this dimension, it will acknowledge its significance in shaping the built outcome.

The analysis of the language in the narrative will proceed in several tools according to Norman Fairclough's CDA approach (1980):

1. **Lexical Choices:** formal properties of using Lexicons and rhetorical structure within text. Fairclough (2003) contends that discourses function to linguistically construct and represent the world through the process of "lexicalization". The intentional choice of a specific lexical item over alternatives often signifies a particular ideological stance. Fairclough (2003) emphasizes that analyzing the notable omissions, or what is absent within the discourse, is integral to understanding the ideological implications embedded in lexical choices.

2. **Assumptions**: A hermeneutic layer that explores the relationship between meaning of the text/utterance and the actual situation in the discourse. Analyzing the rhetorical composition, sentence structure, and local coherence provides meaning to the constituent parts of the narrative. Fairclough's assertion that "What is 'said' in a text always rests upon 'unsaid' assumptions" highlights the importance of identifying these underlying assumptions in text analysis(2003). Fairclough (2003) contends that presuppositions and assumptions, encompassing existential, propositional, and value assumptions, can be viewed as discourse relative. These assumptions are intricately linked to particular discourses and exhibit variability between them. Fairclough (2003) underscores the pervasive nature of assumptions within societies, social domains, or organizations, emphasizing their potential ties to specific discourses. Establishing a shared ground is essential for effective human communication. However, he also highlights the involvement of power and ideology in the process of creating this common ground. The discourse wielded by those in power shapes what is perceived and accepted

as the natural course of events, contributing to the establishment of hegemony. By scrutinizing assumptions and presumptions, one gains insights into the ideologies that dominate and contribute to the creation of this shared understanding. Understanding the nuances of these assumptions helps reveal the ideologies that shape and perpetuate what is considered the norm, illuminating the role of power and discourse in constructing a common ground.

According to Fairclough these are the main types of assumptions used:

- Existential assumptions: assumptions about what already exists close to 'reality'.

- Propositional assumptions: assumptions about what is or can be or will be the case.

- Value assumptions: assumptions about what is good or preferred.

3.   **Metaphors**: Fairclough (2003) posits that metaphors often serve as reflections of specific discourses, warranting careful analysis. Fairclough (2003) contends that metaphors are deeply ingrained in cultures and, as such, are indicative of particular discourses. While Fairclough (2003) identifies two categories of metaphors—lexical metaphors and grammatical metaphors—the focus here is solely on lexical metaphors, characterized by words extending from one domain to another.

4.   **Dialogical orientation:** this stage explains the actual relationship given the context and the actual situation. To offer an analysis to how text interact with the social context and the real environment, in this research it will be the physical built outcome and what it encompasses. The fourth facet of the analysis involves evaluating the text's orientation toward difference and the degree of dialogicality, utilizing tools provided by Fairclough (2003). This examination aims to delve deeper into the representation of voices in the narrative and understand how these voices, if present, are portrayed. Fairclough (2003) delineates five levels of orientation to difference, ranging from embracing and exploring difference to entirely disregarding it. The scheme for dialogicality spans from the most to the least dialogical:

1. Openness and Exploration: This level involves an openness to acceptance of, and recognition of difference. It encompasses an exploration of difference akin to a rich "dialogue," inclusive of various voices.

2. Accentuation of Difference: This level accentuates difference, emphasizing conflict, polemic, and a struggle over meaning, norms, and power. It involves summarizing the diverse voices present.

3. Resolution or Overcoming Difference: At this level, there is an attempt to resolve or

overcome differences present in the discourse.

4. Bracketing of Difference: This level involves a bracketing of difference, focusing on commonality and solidarity while temporarily setting aside the acknowledgment of differences.

5. Consensus and Normalization: The final level entails achieving consensus, normalizing and accepting differences in power while potentially bracketing or suppressing other distinctions.

By applying these tools, the analysis aims to discern the text's stance on difference and the extent to which dialogicality is employed. Understanding whether the text embraces diversity or tends to marginalize certain voices is pivotal for unraveling the nuanced dynamics of representation within textbooks.

3.2 Limitations

While this research provides valuable insights into identifying the housing narrative and the mode of crisis, it is essential to acknowledge several limitations that may impact the generalizability and interpretation of the findings.

1. **Sample Size and Diversity:** The study's sample size may limit the generalizability of findings to a broader sample. There is information asymmetry, as some older data is unavailable, especially as sources used might differ depending on the publication date. It is put into consideration that some data categories had more excerpts than others. Number of excerpts across political era was not used to compare results. Data is only used quantitatively within the same political era.

2. **Data Collection:** a wide range of specified keywords was used in several search engines to ensure the identification of large collection of narrative possibilities.

3. **Self-Reporting Bias:** The study relies on self-reported data, which introduces the potential for respondent bias in the second stage of the analysis. Subjectivity in the second stage of analysis may provide socially desirable responses or may not accurately recall certain aspects, affecting the reliability of the data. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) operates within the framework of critical social sciences, driven by the objective of scrutinizing social life through moral and political lenses. Inherent in this approach is the acknowledgment that discourse analysis is inseparable from the analyst, who serves as a tool for the analysis. Analysts' questions arise from subjective interests, as Fairclough (2003) contends that true objectivity in text analysis is unattainable.

4. **Limitations in resources**: Although this study had time and funding restrictions, diligent effort was expended to include all possible variables. All online databases enabled the researcher to use keywords in both Arabic and in English expanding the data collected. Data collection Through AUC Archive and Collection of Rare Books was done manually.

A note on Transliteration and Translation

The system used for transliteration is the International Journal of Middle East Studies (IJMES). Translation from Arabic to English was undertaken by the author in a systematic and consistent manner.

Chapter 4

Analysis of the Housing Narratives

This chapter covers the process of data collection and the reading of the housing narrative in Egypt. The application of critical discourse analysis is divided into two stages. Stage one involves the data collection process and its chronological organization. It refers to section 5.1, the pre CDA process of ideological coding of data according to categories and topics found in the narrative. The importance of this stage is to understand the shifts and changes of the narrative along the timeline. The outcomes of stage one prepares the data for stage two, which investigates the data in every category across the timeline linguistically versus the discursive practices. This allows the reading of the intentions embedded and hidden in the housing narrative, and to explain the relationship of the narrative with the actual situation of housing in Egypt (section 5.2).

Stage one is concluded by comparing the percentage of the extracted categories in the narrative within each political era and tracks the shifts across the historical timeline. In stage two, the analysis of every narrative category from excerpts is compared to data from CAPMAS and from published literature. Figures and data from David Sims and Yehia Shawkat were particularly scrutinized against CAPMAS data[2]. The process leads to the investigation of the correlation between the language used in the narrative and the type of impact it has on actual situation. This analysis gives a critical reading of the mode of crisis found in the housing industry in Egypt, to develop insights for the 'un-obvious' propositions towards directing research in the housing industry and the public housing provision. As data analyzed from the excerpts will be compared with numbers and statistics that represent actual situation, this facilitates the process of correlation and discovering the relation beyond the obvious. This investigation establishes a platform for discussing the role of language in shaping the narrative surrounding the housing crisis and emphasizes the impact of language on the housing industry.

4.1 Stage 1: Ideological Coding: (Pre CDA)

This section illustrates the pre-coding stage which identifies the presence of categories and the frequency of their appearance in the housing narrative. It traces the changes of popularity and frequency of such categories in the narrative. The codification process in data collection identifies

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[2] Referencing Shawkat, 2020 and Sims, 2018 extensively in this chapter, because these two sources covered the housing crisis in reference to the social aspect. In addition, they showed some degree of narrative analysis in their work.

the topics that float within the housing narrative to be further dissected linguistically in stage two. The following section will show the categories revolving around housing in the narrative and the changes it has undergone since the beginning of Egypt's modern history in the 1950s till the date of conducting this thesis. Holistically this section investigates changes in four main categories throughout the timeline of Egypt's modern history. Each of these categories face variant actions:

1) addition or elimination to the narrative.

2) renaming or change in used language.

3) change of discourse.

These actions vary from one category to another throughout the historical timeframe and have an impact on the topics found under each category. Data analyzed is found in appendix B, showing the codification process in chronological order. This section is organized historically according to the 'common sensical' timeframe. However, it was observed that there is a deviation in the timeline historical phases, which pushed to the structuring of the data to follow the narrative as shown in this section. This deviation away from the four distinctive political (presidential) eras, leads to a construction of six phases found in the housing narrative that will be investigated within this section (Fig. 4). All data collected is found in Arabic and in English in table 1 in the Appendix B.
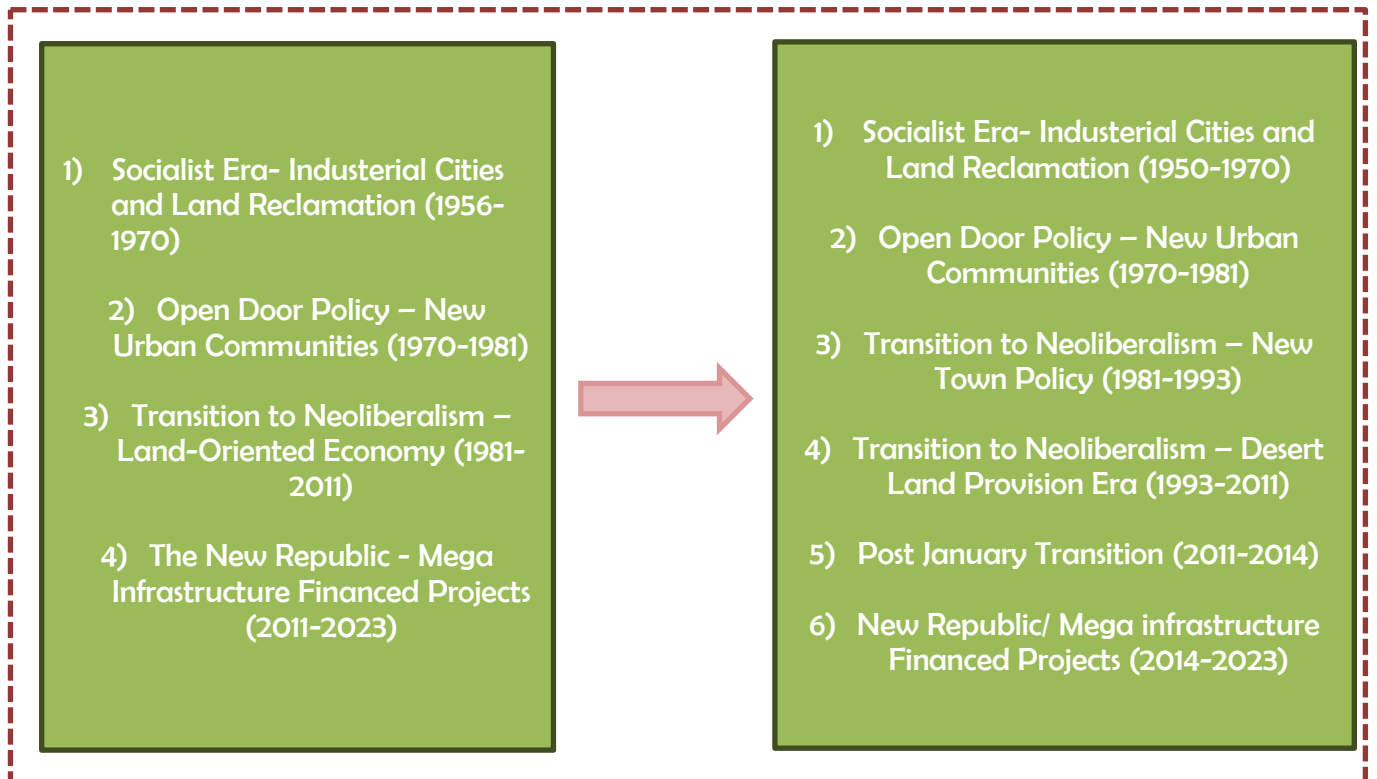
FIGURE 4: A nuance housing timeline. Source: author

4.1.1 Socialist Era- Industerial Cities and Land Reclamation

The 1950s witnessed the take-off of government's provision of housing as the socialist replaced the colonial monarchy in 1952. The sample collected of 22 excerpts from different media outlets could be summarized into three main categories in the narrative:

1. **Population Growth**

2. **The role of the government**

3. **The issue of housing**

1) The percentage of acquisition for each category within the housing narrative is depicted in Figure 5. Each category represents the internal sub-categories covered within the collected excerpts in the narrative. **Population growth and internal immigration** sparks the narrative with an increasing acquistion of 32% of the housing narrative according to the excerpts collected. This category includes two topics the first is the urban congestion and the second is the internal immigration (Fig. 5). Many

FIGURE 5:. Distribution of the narrative categories in (1950-1971). Source: author

events within this time frame have led to the population increasing in Cairo in particular. The Tripartite Aggression in 1956 caused the displacement of 25,000 Egyptians in Port Said (Shawkat, 2020). The emergence of Technocrat culture in the capital, as highlighted by Wahdan (2007), acted as a magnet for migration, prompting hundreds of thousands to relocate from rural areas of Egypt, primarily to Cairo.. Between the years 1963 and 1964, about 50,000 Nubians were displaced due to the construction of the High Dam (Shawkat, 2020). Amid the *Naksa* (The Crisis) in 1967 800,000 were forcefully evicted fleeing Sinai after the occupation of Israel to Sinai (Shawkat, 2020). This resulted in the production of urban congestion in main cities resulting into a spread of a 'crisis' in the narrative. Such incidents led to a rise in internal immigration in Egypt and adding pressure on cities and in particular on the housing industry.

2) According to extracted data from the narrative tackling the discourse about **the issue in housing** was a main highlight that surfaced the housing narrative revolved around the rejection of the unified provided housing, and the problems arising due to the unified farmer's housing in rural eras. The frequency of discussing "homes problem" at the time was at a low of 23% of the entire

narrative at the time. The changes in policy regarding housing were split into three main branches: land reforms, provision of housing and the rent control policies (Joya, 2013). The impacts of these changes surfaced the narrative later in time as it will be relayed to the next political era. Unified Housing blocks such as the *al-iskan al-sha'bi* (Popular housing) were heavily rejcted by farmers in rural areas, and mega projects offered by the state at the time were for the upper tiers and technocrats in the country (Omar, 2018). Together with Nasser's popularity the narrative seemed to discuss the issues found in the housing industry without a trace of 'housing crisis' found yet in the narrative.

3) **The Role of the government** presents 45% frequency within the sample with two popular topics, 1) the government as a housing provider and 2) a call for a national Housing Development Plan. During 1955, President Gamal Abd Al-Nasser initiated the construction of Al-Masakin Al-Sha'bia (The Popular Homes) with the aim of "relieving the homes crisis" known as "Azmit Al-Masakin" (the homes crisis) (Shawkat, 2020). The provision mode was highly promoted by the national narrative to regain trust and poularity amid the fall of the monarchy and the british colony. The take off of the socialist state brought upon a restructuring of the social power (Tarek, Redeker, & Gladys, 2019), which eliminated the practice of the private sector in the housing industry (Shawkat, 2020). Nasser's invisioned Egypt's economy to depend on indigenous resources, and established a strong centralized national planning industry (Wahdan, 2007). The dominant voice in the narrative during that time was undoubtedly the Nationalist spirit, marked by the rejection of Western influences and the popularity of Nasser (Omar, 2018). Nasser's approach to change and independence was evident in the rise of Technocrats, leading to a growing appreciation of professionals by the state (Wahdan, 2007).

4.1.2 Open-Door Policy – New Urban Communities

The Neoliberalism Era extends the list of topics referred to in the narrative. With the Open-Door Policy (economic openness) surfacing the housing narrative a new discourse category is added which commences **investment and financial discourse**. The *Infitah* 'open-door' policy followed the success of the 1973 and restoring relations with the west (Shawkat, 2020). The liberalization of the economy caused a shift towards a free market and the economic rebirth of foreign investments (Tarek, Redeker, & Gladys, 2019). Sadat's policies did not receive the same positive reception as Nasser's, leading to the bread riots in 1977. This was a consequence of the Open-Door policy, which failed to address the housing problem effectively. (Fig. 6).

FIGURE 6: Distribution of the narrative categories in (1970-1981). Source: author

The number of excerpts collected regarding the housing narrative during President Anwar Al Sadat era is 44 from different mediums:

1) The Role of the Government

2) Population Growth

3) The Issues Found in Housing

4) Investments

1) The **role of the government** contributed 36% of the discourse, however it contributes heavily to other topics in discussion. During Sadat's regime the state took a turn in being the only provider of housing and it was 'delegated' to the private sector. President Sadat would mention the words "Housing crisis" up until 1977 when he settled the first desert city cornerstone (Shawkat, 2020). Housing Minister of Housing and Reconstruction, Osman Ahmed Osman, established a housing fund as "a step towards solving the housing crisis" in Egypt(Shawkat, 2020).This time, the housing problem was emphasized by government officials, and it became more of a national strategy with the initiation of the New Urban

Communities Authority under Minister of Housing Hasballah Al Kafrawy.. Aim was to shelter economically and geographically independent cities in Egypt's desert. (Hendawy, 2015). This was all part of the adaptation of the spatial distribution policy -New Towns Policy- (Omar, 2018). The housing problem took a larger contribution by the state than the 1960s as the housing problem started experiencing the snowball effect.

2) **The Issues found in housing** represented 53% as the outcomes of policies offered during Nasser's era started surfacing the political sphere during Sadat's era. Especially with the rent control laws and the increase of migration to a city like Cairo caused a lack of available affordable homes. In addition, this resulted into problem between owners and tenants which took big turn with the increase of the *Khalu Rijil* (key money) phenomenon (Shawkat, 2020). Rent control policies and the deregulation caused the land market to skyrocket the issues found in housing during Sadat's era (Tarek, Redeker, & Gladys, 2019). The deregulation of Land squatting in the late 1970s. Which led to New Towns plan to surface and to act around 1979. However, these problems have caused many self-builders to take matters into their own hands, which later on led to informal expansion in agricultural land (Sims, 2014). The laws behind land reform and rent control has led to the housing phenomenon, that resulted into the government initiating the production of new generation of desert land codependent on Cairo. To avoid the tenant and owners' problems, the government initiated *tamlik* (ownership) of homes. Which were only available through cooperative associations, targeting only a particular group of professionals.

3) **Population Growth** contributed 7% of the total narrative, however, it was framed to be the main if not the major cause of the housing 'crisis' in the narrative. Cairo was the hub of immigration from all tover the republic, which added pressure on the infrastructure of the city.. Even though the percentage contribution of this category to the narrative does not equate to rising concerns regarding the increase of the population growth and internal immigration, it played a major role in contributing to the crisis 'housing crises.

4) Finally, the open-door policy motivated internal and external **investment** language that was prominent in the narrative. Which resulted into a new policy to sell homes rather than to rent them out, creating golden calls for the private sector to hop on the housing 'provision' industry (Shawkat, 2020). The Open-Door policy has slightly slackened the restrictions caused by the rent control laws, motivated the housing boom led by the private sector (Shawkat, 2020). The inflow of private cash from Egyptians in the Gulf has called for investments opportunities in Egypt and housing was a main form of assets at the time (Shawkat, 2020).

4.1.3 Transition to Neoliberalism – Land-Oriented Economy

Neoliberalism was triggered by the deteriorating economic conditions in the 1980s impacted by

the IMD and the USAID that pressured the Egyptian state into an economic liberation (Tarek, Redeker, & Gladys, 2019). The impact of the public sector was limited by the IMF free market policy, which led to delegate major role onto the private sector (Joya, 2013). The narrative took a turn with more focus on the private sector that ranges between participation and provision. However, the narrative is split into two eras, the first one is a continuation of Minister Hasballah Al Kafrawy and the New town policy from 1977 to 1993, and the second is Desert Land provision under minister Mohamed Gamal Soliman from 1993 to 2005.

The New Town Policy Era

The Open Market significantly shaped laws and policies across various sectors, including housing, exerting a lasting impact on the housing narrative. This influence-imposed constraints on the public sector while fostering increased involvement from the private sector, leading to a shift in expenditure dynamics. (Joya, 2013). A total number of 52 excerpts is the sample of this era resulting with the following topics:

1) The Role of the Government

2) Urbanization of the Desert

3) Housing Crisis

4) Investments

The subjects have experienced minimal changes compared to the Sadat era, representing a continuation of the regime's agenda. Nevertheless,

FIGURE 7: Distribution of the narrative categories in (1981-1993). Source: author

within these topics, the narrative has pivoted, setting the stage for the introduction of capitalism and a land-oriented economy and the percentage acquisition of every category (Fig. 7).

1) **The Role of the government** maintained the delegation of housing provision to the private sector. President Hosni Mubarak demanded "a radical and urgent solution for the housing problem" by a call for an urban development plan was announced in 1984 titled "Egypt in the year 2000" which was pushed hoping to "radically" confront the problem (Shawkat, 2020). The frequency of emphasizing the importance dropped to 25% as the role was officially delegated to the private sector. Despite the introduction of new rent policies, rental

issues persisted and continued to be part of the narrative. Challenges with legislation generated stigma and speculation regarding the government's involvement in addressing these issues.

2) **Population growth** remained a significant contributor to the narrative, contextualized by increased pressure on the infrastructure of many cities especially Cairo. Urban congestion emerged as a major aspect of the "Housing problem" in Egypt, shifting the narrative to emphasize housing infrastructure. The magnitude of the issue related to population growth occupied a substantial portion of the narrative, accounting for 29% of its focus.

3) The **housing crisis** constituted 38% of the entire housing narrative, introducing new topics to the discourse. The term "housing crisis" becomes a more prevalent descriptor for housing issues. The call to end rent control took center stage, linked to a modest increase in the number of renters, alongside the persistence of *khallu rejul* (key money) practices. Conversely, homeownership witnessed a surge, potentially contributing to rising prices and a shortage of affordable housing units. The private sector's role in housing provision was emphasized, leading to an abundance of empty homes. Additionally, the continuation of the NTP (New Town Policy) witnessed delayed development, hindering the plan to redistribute the urban population (Feiler, 1992). Particularly noteworthy was the prevalence of *tamlik* (ownership) as the means to acquire any governmental housing (Shawkat, 2020). Therefore, the narrative is confident in the conversion away from 'the issue found in housing' to 'housing crisis' as a category of discussion regarding housing.

4) **Investments,** particularly from the private sector, played a significant role in the Egyptian economy, notably following the Open-Door policy (Tarek, Redeker, & Gladys, 2019). External investments, both in the government and private sector, relied heavily on Arab Gulf petrodollars, often remitted by Egyptian expatriates (Shawkat, 2020). Real estate emerged as a secure and low-risk investment for many Egyptians, driven by speculations surrounding construction material prices.

Desert Land Provision Era

A fundamental shift took place in the concept of new towns from attracting blue collar employees to attract white collar employees (Omar, 2018). This promoted the laws of supply and demand as part of the neoliberal structure led by the International Monetary Fund in an effort to resolve the housing problem (Shawkat, 2020).On the journey to market liberalization, the government became a provider of land whereby real estate developers would build and the government would regulate (Shawkat, 2020). The tectonic shift in the market has caused a shift in the narrative.

1) The role of the government

2) The urbanization of the desert

3) Housing Crisis

4) Investment

FIGURE 8: Distribution of the narrative categories in (1993-2011). Source: author

The four categories have not changed since earlier with the Mubarak era however it was faced with an enlargement of the magnitude in the "Housing Crisis" discourse. The sample size from the narrative consists of 53 excerpts and their acquisition of the narrative (Fig. 8), almost similar in size to the previous era.

1) The **role of the government** was provided to housing and land for ownership for the population, with availability of financing systems, as this would "help solve the housing problem" (Shawkat, 2020). It is important to own as the government owns 96% of all land, enabling it to provide under the umbrella of reducing construction costs to provide available housing (Feiler, 1992). A new phenomenon surfaced the narrative, with unacceptance to the aesthetics offered by the government in housing projects, President Mubarak motivated a plan to uplift the quality of the architecture of youth housing projects. This took a large initiative by President Mubarak to "uplift" the housing protype. The liberation of the rent law, and the motivation of the private sector, has led to production of many laws and policies to regulate the market which led to serious legislative complications according to the narrative. The role contributed by the government decreased even further to 17% of the total narrative sample.

2) Following the strain population growth placed on city infrastructure, the government introduced a National Spatial Policy designed to redefine the population distribution (Omar, 2018) and to **Urbanize the Desert.** The decline in infrastructure in cities like Cairo has prompted investments in the development of new towns in the desert to alleviate the pressure on large cities. The narrative extensively focused on the ongoing theme of desert land and towns, comprising 25% of the total narrative. However, a significant portion of the narrative delved into the issues arising from inadequate infrastructure in the new desert cities. This contributes to the escalating stakes in the narrative, amplifying the magnitude of the housing crisis.

3) **The housing crisis** sky rocketed within this era in history by covering 51% of the narrative splitting into four topics, 1) the delusion behind the housing crisis and its triangulation as a social crisis, 2) the problem with lack of affordable housing and the rise of housing for the elites, 3) self-builders and the production of 'informal/ unsafe housing', and finally 4) complications arising due to the youth housing projects. The informal sector was born out of previous laws related to land squatting, and decades of the lack availability of affordable housing post the rent control laws. Housing commodification resulted in boosting of the real estate development market (Shawkat, 2020). Hence, the housing crisis was effectively depicted in the narrative, reflecting the outcomes of preceding decades and the cumulative impact of decisions made by various stakeholders.

4) The capitalist path under Mubarak boosted the door for **investment**. Real estate finance and mortgage became the State's narrative of provision for individuals seeking housing. However, the commodification of housing has led real estate to be dealt with as a form of financial security and assets, rather than just shelter or a place of living management (Tarek, Redeker, & Gladys, 2019). The Egyptian parliament passed down the policy of enabling the mortgage law and ensure the "right to loan" for [newly formed families] through long term loan to resolve the issue of unaffordable housing (Shawkat, 2020). Moreover, with the escalating costs of living and surging real estate prices, the notion of individuals purchasing houses either for investment purposes or as an early provision for their children became a prevailing tradition. (Tarek, Redeker, & Gladys, 2019). Investments category contributed a similar percentage to the previous era of Hasballah Al Kafrawy of 8%, even though the economic conditions have changed.

4.1.4 New Republic Era

This era encompasses two distinct political periods: 1) the post-January transitional era and 2) President Al Sisi's New Republic era. The events that unfolded after the uprising brought about significant changes, particularly stringent assessments of the housing outcomes of previous governments. The events of 2011 resulted in a slowdown of major national projects, especially in the construction of desert cities (Heckel, 2017). Nevertheless, the New Towns Policy (NTP) has persisted, giving rise to additional generations of desert cities (Sims, 2018).

Post January Transition

The Uprisings in 2011 caused a shift in the narrative, to blame the previous regime for the cumulative crisis spreading in the housing industry. The transitional phase didn't contribute much to resolving the housing crisis. However, it marked a "hopeful" beginning in the narrative, signifying a fundamental shift in the future of housing in Egypt with the launch of the 1 million units housing initiative. Discourse regarding the category of population growth was found to disappear during this phase in history. The revolution introduced a sense of hope into the narrative, giving rise to a new topic within the discourse. Notably, there was an observable shift in the discussion of investment and the private sector, emphasizing economic security and well-being. During this transitional phase, the narrative turned its focus towards the goals of the revolution, encapsulated in the principles of "Bread,

FIGURE 9: Distribution of the narrative categories in (2011-2014). Source: author

Freedom, and Social Justice," briefly addressed by Minister Tareq Wafiq during the presidency of Mohamed Mursi from 2012-2013 (Shawkat, 2020). This change in narrative shows a change direction is evident in a collected sample size of 11 excerpts, which highlighted the following topics (Fig. 9):

1) Revolution and liberation

2) The role of the government

49

3) Housing crisis

4) Economy wellbeing

1) Post 2011 the **revolution and liberation**[3] narrative were popular in the common media outlets. Mentioning slogans and emphasizing concepts of equality and social justice, particularly in the context of housing, became a prevalent theme. In the period between 2011 and the election of Mohamed Mursi, the military council played a significant role, filling the void and entrusting the Engineering Authority to provide housing units, as delegated by Major General Kamel Al Wazir (Shawkat, 2020).

2) The **role of the government** becomes codependent on the military establishment, especially in the provision of housing units'; it scored 18% of the housing narrative. The Engineering Authority commenced building housing units to address the housing problem, and the Social Housing Program was initiated to fill the gap that was neglected by previous regime (Shawkat, 2020). The program was planned to end the housing problem in 5 years. This phase did not witness any change in actual situation, although the narrative showed a change in the language in comparison to the previous eras.

3) The **housing crisis** as acategory was split into three sub-categories; the existence of the prior housing crisis, the outspread of informal housing, and the rental liberation. All of which were planned to be resolved through the Social Housing Program (SHP), which is the rebranding of the National Housing Program (NHP) in the early 2000s (Shawkat, 2020). The housing crisis constituted 55% of the narrative mostly by pointing fingers at the previous regime.

4) The Revolution significantly impacted Egypt's economic stability, prompting the state to prioritize the narrative's emphasis on economic well-being. Since the 'revolution', the Egyptian economy faced considerable challenges and uncertainty, necessitating a concerted effort to declare and portray stability in the narrative (Heckel, 2017).

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[3] Liberation is an umbrella term term to cover keywords used such as adalah ijtima'iyah (social justice), hurriyah (freedom), and al-taharrur min nizam al-hukm al-qadeem (liberation from the previous ruling regime).

'The New Republic' – Mega Infrastructure Financed Projects

The narrative shifted its tone to highlight ongoing accomplishments and adherence to strict timelines. Mega-infrastructure projects became a defining aspect of the state's plan in Egypt, with the construction of administrative, logistical, and industrial cities not merely being goals but actively in progress, as publicly announced. The language used in political discourse emphasized the elimination of problems, signaling a proactive and results-oriented approach. Flagship projects were utilized to garner public support and sympathy, often aligned with the interests of the president and the upper echelons of the government(Omar, 2018). Actions were not aligning with the language used (Hendawy, 2015) and this will be discovered in the second cycle of analysis. The four categories found in this phase within the timeline (Fig. 10).:

FIGURE 10: Distribution of the narrative categories in (2014-2023). Source: author

1) Doubling of the total urban area

2) The role of the government

3) The Issue with Housing

4) Private Public cooperation

The narrative was extremely unified, even the diversity of opinions dropped, often being guided by the same group of authors. The narrative loses the criticizing edge in comparison to the other eras and becomes more of an announcement feed. The sample collected was of 45 excerpts that were distributed into the following topics.

1) For decades, population growth has been a genuine crisis in the narrative; however, the response in the New Republic era is the doubling of the total urban area. This housing discourse, particularly focused on mega-infrastructure projects, constitutes 13% of the narrative. The announcement of fourth-generation cities and the commitment to construct more to "redistribute the population" in Egypt underscored the ideology of doubling the total urban area in the country (Sims, 2018).

51

2) 'The role of the government' took a shift as the military became a direct provider of housing and many other projects side by side with the government. Major General Kamel Al Wazir described how "the armed forces" will become a large contributor to solving the housing problem in Egypt (Shawkat, 2020). In addition, the military of defense has showed a large intervention in the urban policies (Omar, 2018). Housing policies under El Sisi's presidency have not only continued the liberalization of the housing market but have also emphasized financialization and deregulation. (Omar, 2019). The New Urban Communities Authority is the largest governmental landowner (Tarek, Redeker, & Gladys, 2019) and faced a shift in operation as became a property developer (Shawkat, 2015). This led to a regulated real estate market as it started booming increasing profit maximization from New Towns land resources (Omar, 2018). In addition, the call for the private is no longer an option, however, it became a norm that the government regulates and delegates roles onto the private sector both local and international. Yet, there is an obvious return of the "national voice" and the call for participation and support of the people especially with the rebranding of much of the large infrastructure projects in the name of the people. Therefore, there is an evident shift of the role of the government, and it was obvious as it constitutes 38% of the narrative, however it does have an impact on the rest of the categories in the collected sample.

3) The framing of the housing 'crisis' slowly disappeared from the narrative and was replaced by 'accomplishments' and some 'issues found in the housing sector'. Its presence in the narrative dropped to 27% of the total housing narrative, and replaced by large number of units, projects and infrastructure projects finished in small amount of time. However, the problem of empty homes started surfacing the narrative, especially with the state offering thousands of units yearly (Shawkat, 2015). However, the state is offering more inclusive (housing for all) housing units, by means offering housing for both middle- and high-income households, obviously as part of the state becoming a real estate developer. Enveloped and packed as "housing for all Egyptians", this led to escalating the problem of affordability, informality, and poverty (Omar, 2018).

4) Previously in the neoliberal era it was a mere invitation for the private sector to join the social housing provision, also to motivate investment and market activity. In the New Republic era it changed to become a 'private public co-operation'. One example was NUCA which entered the market of luxury housing under the name of "City Edge Developments" (Tarek, Redeker, & Gladys, 2019). The cooperation with UN Habitat to establish the New Housing strategy to legitimize its plans for 2013 and vision 2052 under the slogan of "sustainability" surfaced along. In comparison with previous decades this topic constituted a larger portion of 23% the total housing narrative.

4.2 Conclusion of Stage One

The exploratory aspect of the initial cycle of critical discourse analysis examines the variations that arise as a result of the hegemony present in the narrative. The changes in ideologies within each politically oriented government are evident. The coding system facilitated the collection and summarization of the frequency observed in each decade and its reference in the narrative. The political orientation of each government had a strong hegemonic control over the shape and role in the narrative in discussing the problems found in housing and the crisis involved. Table no. 1 illustrates the frequency and the changes in every topic across the political eras of modern Egypt.

A narrative map has been created that shows the alterations in the categories found in the narrative, as it traces the changes that occurred within the timeline. The map concludes stage one of the analysis, preparing for stage two. In the next stage, the categories will be rhetorically dissected further to examine the magnitude and presence of the "housing crisis" in the narrative. This comparison will be made with on-ground statistics to measure the nature of the "housing crisis" in Egypt. The codification of the process enabled the categorization of the data collection and treating it quantitively to prepare for the second stage of CDA. The three levels (Attribute, holistic, and descriptive coding) of coding were conducted together to enable the categorization of the lexical choices and the excerpts found in the narrative. The narrative map is shown in figure 1 in the Appendix A.

Narrative Categories		Frequency Distribution across eras					
Categories	Sub Categories	(1950-1970)	(1970-1981)	(1981-1993)	(1993-2011)	(2011-2014)	(2014-2023
Population and Urbanization	Population Growth	32%	7%	29%	25%		13%
	Urbanization of the Dessert						
	Doubling the Total Urban Area						
The Role of the Government	The Role of the Government	45%	36%	25%	17%	18%	38%
Housing Crisis	The Issue of housing	23%	52%	38%	51%	55%	27%
	The Housing Crisis						
Investment (Private Sector)	Investment (Private Sector)		5%	8%	8%	18%	23%
	Economy Wellbeing						
	Private-Public Cooperation						
Revolution and Liberation	Revolution and Liberation					9%	

The findings of stage one after the chronological order placed on the data gathered, developing categories of discourse in the narrative, and tracing the changes found are as follows:

1) Ideological changes in the political framework leads to shift in the phrasing and framing of the categories found in the housing narrative which led to the production of a divergence of the housing timeline.

2) Internal and external affairs had a direct influence on the coding used on the narrative and how it is being presented by the government to the public.

3) Data acquisition reflects changes in political ideologies from one political framework to the

other.

4) Categories being relayed between one phase in the timeline to the other does not guarantee to include the same topics.

The interconnection and significant role of categories play a crucial role in their occurrence in the narrative. After the codification process conducted in stage one, data is ready for the investigation in stage two. This process enables the organization of data to allow a smoother application of CDA on the housing narrative.

Caveat on Stage One

The First Cycle of CDA has undergone several limitations. First, there is information asymmetry as accessing the archive for more historic data was difficult and limited the number of excerpts found. Sample size between each political era was impossible to be equal in size, that why it was statistically summarized to enable comparison. The size of the sample does not affect the analysis as the second layer of analysis will explore rhetorically and qualitatively each topic family. The codification of the first stage of CDA is just to quantify the frequency and to gather and group the topics together to prepare for the second layer of analysis.

4.3 Second Stage: Critical Discourse Analysis

In the second stage of critical discourse analysis, the categories are rhetorically collapsed into topics and subtopics to provide context for the outcomes of the initial ideological coding stage (Reynolds, 2019). This stage will analyze each category extracted from the narrative linguistically while tying it to discursive practices reflecting actual situation. This includes examining the ideological outcomes from stage one of the analysis. The pattern conducted from the codification stage reflects the linguistic guidelines for the analysis of stage two to follow. The CDA approach proposed in this is a merge of power analysis (social practices) simultaneously with a linguistic exploration of the narrative. Each category extracted from stage one is to be examined under Fairclough's CDA approach of rhetorical analysis. This section offers a thorough rhetorical analysis with a power lens, to extract the overarching themes in every category found in the narrative. This section offers the bridge between text and utterance found in the housing narrative, and the real housing situation, to study the correlation between the narrative and actual situation of the "housing crisis". It offers an understanding to what lies within the phenomenon of "housing crisis" in Egypt and the correlation found between the language used in the narrative and actual situation. Stage one enabled to trace the changes in the narrative and to summarize the shifts and turns found in the categorization of the data.

This section applies the narrative individually across the four main categories extracted from the narrative. Each category will be analyzed through running CDA on the excerpts collected and tying it to the events happening in a chronological order. Within every category there are six historical phases that responds to the timeline concluded in stage one of the analysis. This allows to measure and investigate the correlation found between the narrative and its impact on the actual situation. Moreover, it will allow the identification of power ideologies embedded in the identification of crisis in the housing industry. All excerpts are translated and transliterated by the author. Transliteration is done using the IJMES (International Journal of Middle East Studies) transliteration guidelines. Arabic excerpts in the translated English text box in this section are found in Appendix C in the same order as in the analysis.

4.3.1 Population Growth

The increase in the population has been an ongoing challenge for Egypt for decades. As Cairo's population grows it impacts many aspects in the lives of Egyptians. Ergo, it becomes a large contributor to the housing issue due to allegations of the "high population growth rates" (Shalaby et al., 2022). The state has not succeeded in "controlling" the population growth according to speakers in the narrative, however, it was the state's role and responsibility to provide for its citizens and the future generation (UNCHS, 1990). It was viewed that due to increase in the population led to a "scarcity of resources" which led to the inability of people to afford purchasing

a house (Abdelwahed & Hanafy, 2020). Population growth and internal immigration remained a persistent 'crisis' in the housing narrative. Hence, this section will analyze the data within the category in conjunction with the information gathered from the literature and real-world statistics spanning various historical periods.

1950-1970

Population Growth category in the housing narrative in socialist Egypt is split into two sub-categories; internal immigration and urban congestion.

The following excerpts from the narrative uncovers how population growth was used to define the "housing crisis" in socialist Egypt.":

a. *"Cairo a huge body without lungs! 2 million people approximately in Cairo suffocating slowly. The number is getting bigger and larger, and its awaited to reach3,300,000 by year 1977."* -Al Mussawer, 1946

b. *"Parasitic urbanization areas, which are modern areas... The destructive improvisational theory unfortunately still controls the city and its new neighborhoods... It was necessary to plan plans to develop the landmarks of New Cairo."*- Majallah al-'Imarah, 1952

c. *"Which requires the government to think about solutions to bear the huge rate of housing increase, and to anticipate a housing problem"* - Al Akhbar, 1966

d. *"The nature of improvisation dominates urban development and planning. There is money spent and efforts depleted every year, taxes imposed, and projects announced every day. However, what is seen is that the city, its roads, neighborhoods, and facilities are from bad to worse. The basic work in this is improvisation. It is that we are always in a hurry to prescribe treatment before the tool diagnoses itself and determines the location of the problem. The cause of the problem is known to be that Cairo did not have what is called a comprehensive urban program: a comprehensive training structure that was controlled."* - Majallah al-'Imarah, 1952

e. *"Cairo is going through a crossroads stage. A weapon that is exploited will save Cairo from the abyss into which it has fallen... It is also misused and will accelerate its collapse and turn it into ruins (slums) that are difficult to overcome and stop its advance."* -Maglet Al Emara, 1952

Text Box 1. Arabic excerpts are found in Appendix C, Table 1

Internal immigration naturally results in urban congestion. Before the monarchy's downfall, experts such as Sayed Karim cautioned against the *ta'meer* (urbanization) of cities like Cairo. In Al Mussawr magazine in 1946 Sayed Koryem metaphorically referred to Cairo as a human body, and he warned that "any" increase in population will result into the *Iḥtinaq fī al-Madīnah* (suffocation in the city) (a). In his role as an architect and field expert, he addressed the impact of immigration to Cairo, highlighting the potential consequences of urbanization and the reduction of open spaces. He emphasized that this trend could result in approximately" million people in Cairo experiencing a gradual decline in living conditions". The metaphors used and the lexical choices are for exaggeration that leads to propositional assumptions displaying a bracketing difference. Yet, a plea

for help was used to abstain from internal immigrations early in 1966, to *awaqfu al-hijrah ila al-qahira* (stop internal immigration to Cairo!). This plead was presented in the highlights of governmental newspaper Alakhbar in 1966, with a propositional assumption that internal immigration will lead to a housing problem (c). Metaphors for urban congestion led to many propositional assumptions in the socialist era. Metaphors such as illa (illness), tafeeli (parasitical), and kharaa'ib (slums) were used in 1952 as an assumption to Cairo being directed into one of two options, either enabling the population under regulations or motivating the spread of what will end up being slums (b) (d) (e). The frowning upon decolonization, which occurred between the 1950s and the 1960s, led to mass migration and consequently reshaped housing in Egypt (Shawkat, 2020). The language of crisis started appearing in the narrative after the Tripartite Aggression in 1956, and the fleeing of almost 800,000 *muhajireen* (forcefully displaced) out of Sinai post the loss of 1967 war (Shawkat, 2020). The concerns focused on what will happen due to internal immigration and its impact on housing. Both during the monarchy and the Socialist era it remained to be the same language with extreme usage of metaphors, and resentment from internal immigration and urban congestion. The political instability called for the narrative of urgency and the drive to fulfill the wish of solving the problem anticipated before happening.

1970-1981
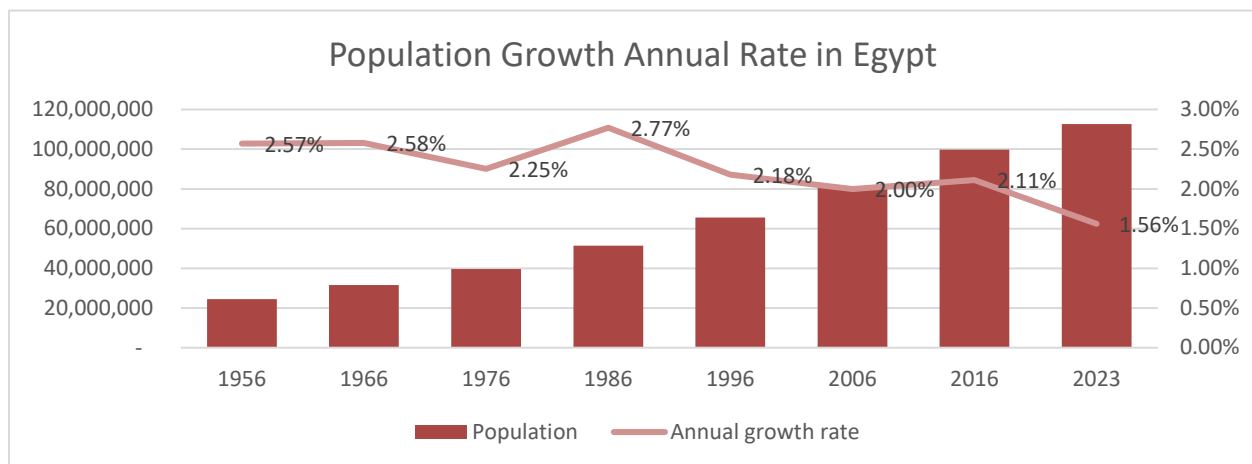
FIGURE 11: UN World Urbanization Prospects - the annual growth rate in Egypt.

By 1976 the annual population growth in Egypt faced dropped (Fig. 11). There was a drop in the narrative regarding urbanization and problems arising from internal immigration. The category is split into two sub-categories: internal immigration and urban congestion as shown in the following excerpts.

Text Box 2. Arabic excerpts are found in Appendix C, Table 2

Milad Hanna (engineer, professor, and parliamentarian) expressed how Cairo being stuck *al-Tawasu' wal-ankamash (*expansion and contraction) in Akhbar Alyom (1980) newspaper in excerpt (a). He used existential assumptions to declare current impact of the internal immigration and how it will disrupt the population in Cairo. He criticized how *alhezam alakhdar* (the green belt) will not be able to keep the population even if it was an "iron belt" metaphorically. He addressed the problem back to the roots with the immigrations of the *fallahin* (farmers) to urban side. Using *tadakhom* (swelled) as metaphor to describe the phenomenon in Cairo. His text had on orientation to accentuate difference to try to resolve the "issue" before it enlarges.

Urban Congestion in socialist Egypt took a turn to become calls for urban expansion in the narrative. Law no.43 of 1974 issued the October Paper by President Sadat to "redistribute" the population in the crowded urban areas to the desert (Shalaby, Ahmed, & El Shanwany, 2022). To ease the roughness of the desert rhetorically the new cities were romanticized referring to it *fi qalb alsahara'* (in the heart of the desert), referring to thousands of people *esteslah* (cultivating) the desert (b). The orientation of the text shows acceptance becoming a value assumption of the positive assumptions of the New Towns initiatives. Law 59/1979 becomes a formal protocol to ease the production of new communities.

> *"Every integrated human settlement aims to create new urban centers, achieving social stability and economic prosperity, with the aim of*

redistributing the population through the preparation of new enclave areas outside the existing cities and villages."

The optimistic orientation of the law naturally follows to become a value assumption. The lexical choices are very particular as these communities will create "economic prosperity" and "social stability" all to prepare for "new urban enclaves" particularly "outside existing cities and villages." The text is highly meticulous and brimming with promises. However, its conditional nature, where waiting is a key factor, positions the orientation of the text to underscore a difference in power dynamics. Linguistically law 59/1979 perpetuates that in order to achieve these "new communities" it must exist outside the existing. Which builds up to the state's plan to "redistribute the population".
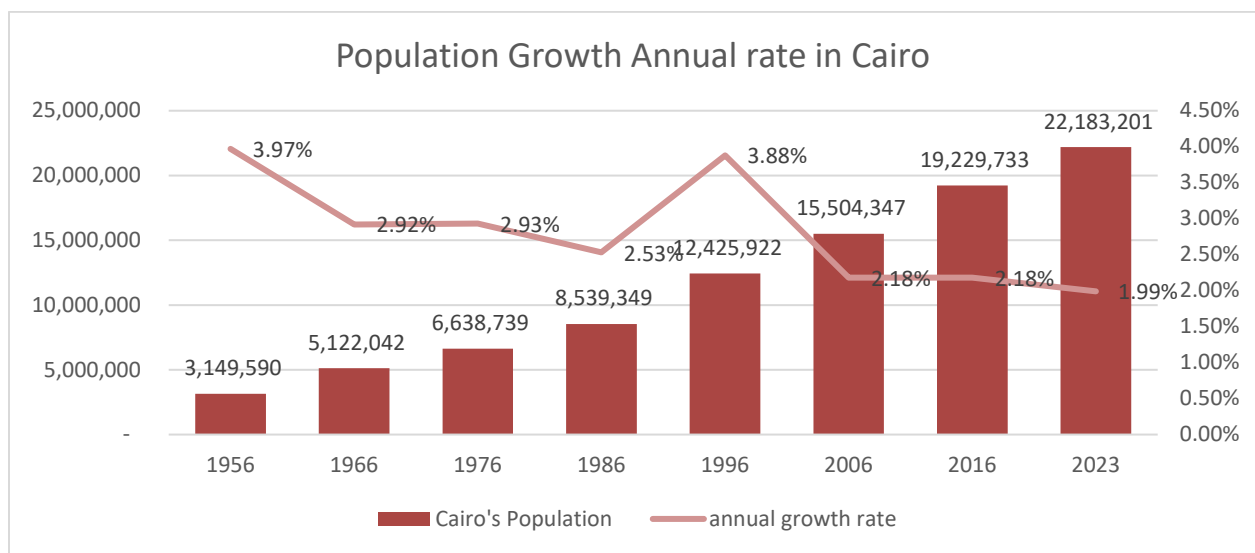
FIGURE 12: UN World Urbanization Prospects - population annual growth rate in Cairo.

According to fig 13 Cairo has doubled in its population between mid-1950s and mid-1970s which did call for the establishment of several satellite cities around the city of Cairo to reduce the population increase (Shalaby, Ahmed, & El Shanwany, 2022). However, it seems after 1976 that both the rate of internal immigration (Fig. 13) to Cairo and the annual growth rate both started to drop according to the data found in the CAPMAS. The narrative is not totally aligning with the actual situation of housing in the narrative, especially with the identification of 'crisis'. In matter it seems directed in a particular direction of the plans dropped through October Paper in 1974.
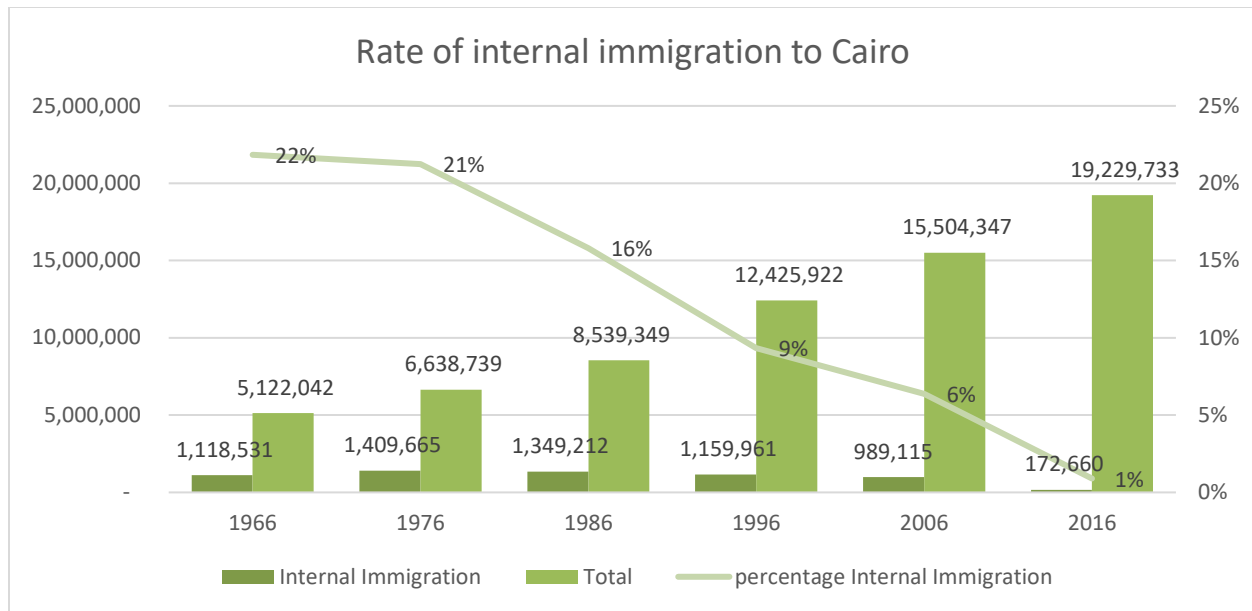
FIGURE 13: CAPMAS - Rate of internal immigration to Cairo.

1981-2011

Transitioning to neoliberalism from the previous decade, caused large cities like Cairo to become an employment magnet. However, even though the rate of internal immigration to a city like Cairo has dropped significantly, the rate of annual growth has seen a rise (Fig. 12). To understand the case of population within this era it will be split onto two distinguishable eras. The first one is a continuation of the New Town Policy, and the second is directed on the Desert Land Provision as shown in prior sections.

1. **New Town Policy**

Under President Mubarak's leadership in the early 80s, there was a continuation of the new towns phenomenon that had been initiated by his predecessor. This involved the sustained efforts of the Minister of Housing and Reconstruction. (Al Kafrawy, 2013). The population growth category was split into two sub-categories:

1) internal immigration
    a. Internal immigration to new cities led by the State.
    b. Organic internal immigration
2) urban congestion
    a. Infrastructure problems

Internal immigration was split into two categories, internal immigration to new cities led by the state, and organic internal immigration. And urban congestion became a sub-category in the narrative. Urban congestion led to other problems related to the existing cities' infrastructure, as shown in the following excerpts.

a) *"A serious experiment to remove Cairo's worries from crowding, services, traffic, and everything that raises blood pressure, a city of 12 million people." -Al Ahram*

b) *"Engineer Hasaballah Al-Kafrawi: We will start with ourselves and we will be the first ministry to move with its complete equipment and workers to the new city." – Al Ahram, 1982*

c) *"A new apartment for every employee who moves with his ministries to their new headquarters" ¬-Al Ahram, 1982*

d) *"A new map of population distribution... Will the problem of internal migration be solved? Cairo now includes most of Egypt's population and is 4 times its population density" – Al Wafd, 1983*

e) *"Cairo is still suffering from crushing factors today, with increasing problems and bottlenecks" ¬-Al Wafd, 1983*

f) *"If Cairo's facilities announce their complete rejection of any new burden, their cries will rise. If immigration rates continue to increase steadily, which could blow up (collapse) all the facilities, they will become imminent from one moment to the next." -Al Wafd, 1983*

g) *"The main goal of complex is to relieve the pressure of congestion on Cairo" – Al Akhbar, 1984*

h) *"Twelve million people, which is equivalent to a quarter of the population of Egypt.. And here is the disaster.. The result was successive explosions in the facilities. These people came to Cairo and it did not need them.. Any family.. can be without work in their homeland. and function smoothly of business" – Al Gomherya, 1987*

i) *"To plan and implement reconstruction projects and new urban communities to redraw a new map for Egypt by establishing many new cities in the desert extension of the valley and delta and developing new existing communities so that these projects allow for an increase in the inhabited area... in order to reduce residential density... and create opportunities. Work for its residents, especially young people" – Al Ahram, 1988*

j) *"The government is a major factor in increasing congestion in the capital" – Al Seyasy Al Masry, 1993*

Text Box 3. Arabic excerpts are found in Appendix C, Table 3

By the early 1980s the invitation to Al-Sadat city was highly prominent, especially accompanied with the "move of the ministries". This government-led internal immigration was branded to lure the population to move out of the city, especially for the workers in the public sector. The orientation of the narrative is rather open and inviting to the 'move-out' to the new administrative city. The language used in the newspaper was extremely inviting, phrasing *'ezal alwezarat* (Ministries move-out) to the new capital as the spark of birth to a new realm in Egypt. In addition, minister Al Kafrawy stated that he will start with himself to move to Sadat city (c)(d). "Ministries move out" is another lexical variation like individuals "Moving out" to new homes this emotional festive tone was used to motivate people to move to the new city (b) (c). The invitation was also expressed quantitatively, exemplified by the provision of a "new apartment for every [government] employee." (c). In 1984, two years later, the narrative persisted in enticing the masses to relocate to Sadat City. It claimed that the "big move" of ministries would "alleviate concerns" for the city of Cairo (a). Over time, the narrative began portraying Cairo as an ailing city, emphasizing that the shift to the desert would alleviate all concerns. The human body metaphors were used again to describe life in Cairo to *tarfa' al-da'at,* (raise blood pressure) and the new city will resolve this issue for the masses (a). Repetition using metaphors is an extremely strong linguistic tool that is usually used with a large population (Wardhaugh, 2006).

Aside from the government-led internal immigration, the narrative was aiming to stop internal immigration to big cities like Cairo. *Al-qahirah al-madina al-mughlaqa* (Cairo the closed city) embodies Cairo as a store or an opportunity lexicalizing it to emphasize that it is closed for "immigration" (e). This is aligned with the peak in increase of population in the late 80s (Fig. 12). The crisis narrative is emerging, suggesting an existential assumption that Cairo is in the midst of a crisis and must be dispersed to the new towns surrounding it; otherwise, it is at risk of *al-inhiyar* (collapse)(f). The narrative appears to encourage population dispersion from crisis through the construction of new towns, coinciding with the highest annual population growth rate both nationally and in Cairo. This aligns seamlessly with the preceding Sadat plan to redistribute the population away from the delta (Shalaby et al., 2022).

Naturally the narrative will refocus on city attributes such as the infrastructure and its performance in a city like Cairo. Even though numbers on the ground show a decline in the number of houses without infrastructure (Electricity, water, and sanitation) in comparison with previous eras (Fig.14). In 1983 through *Al-Ahram* newspaper it's stated that Cairo's infrastructure "rejects" any "extra load" on it if internal immigration continued, which is identified as an existential assumption (h). Transforming Cairo to *matrad* (place of exile) which will *tanfajr* (explode) any moment (h). The New Urban Communities Authority (NUCA) is making considerable efforts to facilitate the "enormous" expansion in the desert, promoting economic prosperity. This is identical to the language used in Law 59/1979 of the NUCA formation. The use of metaphors in the text states an existential assumption tied with conditioning in the narrative.

Housing units with lack of infrastructure

		Electricity		Water		Sanitation		Gas	
		Cairo	Egypt	Cairo	Egypt	Cairo	Egypt	Cairo	Egypt
No of Buildings 2016		19,392	499,653	21,837	1,296,362	35,503	8,024,555	288,670	13,445,375
No of Buildings 2006		14,161	524,432	18,401	820,365	16,585	747,645	299,786	11,637,250
No of Buildings 1996		11,505	885,544	15,198	1,906,723	-	6,456,891	354,004	8,594,644
No of Buildings 1986		26,198	196,219	70,220	474,487	92,120	1,091,393	-	-
No of Buildings 1976		52,122	513,002	84,501	681,856	84,171	188,240	-	-

FIGURE 14: CAPMAS - The number of housing units lacking infrastructure in Egypt and Cairo.

2. **Desert Land Provision**

Entering the second part of Mubarak's era, marked by the conclusion of Minister Al Kafrawy's tenure in 1993 and the commencement of Minister Mohamed Ibrahim Soliman. This starts the land-oriented economy era with a narrative shift to three main sub-categories:

1) Urbanization of the desert
   a. deterioration of infrastructure and paper towns
2) Urban expansion
   a. New towns
3) Reduction of internal immigration

a) *"Badr is a city on paper, facilities are under construction and services are offered at a high price…The purpose of establishing these cities is to attract a broad residential base to absorb the population overcrowding in the capital. How can this be achieved in the absence of planning and factors that attract people?"- Al Ahram Al Masaay, 1994*

b) *"There are large gaps between the countryside and the city in the development process as one of the main reasons for the phenomenon of internal migration. It creates multiple problems, whether in the city to which the displaced move or the countryside whose original inhabitants leave behind. The urban chaos and randomness caused by migration in cities. Economic crises, population crowding, rural enclaves, and cemetery dwellers are phenomenas that occur automatically due to migration to cities." – Al Ahly, 1995*

c) *The city is futuristic, but it is suffering from premature aging…The city's services and facilities are random ('ashwaa'y) and not planned."-Al Masry, 1994*

d) *"There is no recession in urban inventory, it is just a market cycle that does not balance prices… The population increase is catching up with buildings and the urban renaissance in the last twenty years is three times what was built in the previous 30 years and included 17 new cities. An integrated project for low-income people that provides housing and a workplace for rent" – Al Ahram, 2000*

e) *"If your life's dream came true and you owned an apartment... in the middle of the desert. What if this apartment was in a city located in the middle of the desert... without water, without electricity, without paved roads, without an ambulance point, hospital, school, bakery, transportation lines, or security point?" - No date found*

f) *"Starting to deliver utilities "infrastructure" to slum areas "informal areas" in Cairo today. Develop a comprehensive plan to extend facilities and services and change the networks of some facilities that do not conform to specifications in slum areas without burdening citizens." – Al Ahram, 1997*

Text Box 4. Arabic excerpts are found in Appendix C, Table 3

Internal immigration had been steeply dropping for two decades, yet the narrative packaged the infrastructure as already "damaged". *Madan bidoon binayat tahdiyah* (cities without infrastructure) are the new circulating headlines in the newspapers in the start of the twenty first century. The narrative surrounding infrastructure experienced a boom in the early 1990s, encompassing both existing cities and "new towns." The narrative consistently linked the issue of infrastructure with internal immigration phenomenon. Despite a significant decrease in the rate of internal immigration (Fig.13), the narrative continued to heavily emphasize this issue. However, the *illa* (illness) that has infected the infrastructure in Egypt and spread to new cities. This lacks alignment with the speculations that internal immigration has caused the occurring problems in the infrastructure (c). Much of the text in the collected sample presumed an existential assumption with an accentuated focus on the problem, indicating a distinct difference in orientation. Cities like Badr and Katmeya were listed as "paper towns" due to lack of infrastructure (a). The problem with infrastructure was seen to destroy *helm* (the dream) of owning a new house in the *fi qalb al-sahara* (middle of the desert) (e).

Future cities with lacking infrastructure were described *sheikhookhah* (aging) (c). Such criticism was witnessed in particular in privately owned newspaper outlets such as Almasry, Alahly, and

Al-Wafid. The metaphor usage in criticism shows that even those new cities have suffered as much as the old city is suffering. This shifts the focus of blame towards the state's lack of planning, opening additional topics for discussion in the narrative. The government initiated to provide "informal" settlements with lacking infrastructure, according to the Presidential Decree 164/1996. This initiated the "supervision" of an infrastructure program by the Ministry of Housing and Utilities accordingly. This was strengthened by Law 138/2006, asserting that the state is not only tasked with supervising but also actively "supplying" infrastructure. However, this contradicts the ideological shift towards "Delivering utilities to informal settlements," evident in the notable surge of houses without infrastructure in the 1996 census (Fig. 14).

The narratives are not aligning together regarding the problems with infrastructure in Cairo and the problems with infrastructure in new cities. The "lag in development" in cities was highly framed on internal immigration in the narrative, with disregard to its dropping rates. Law 138/2006 formalized connecting infrastructure to any building built before the initiation of the law including "informal buildings", which led to the drop of houses without infrastructure (f). For the first time, the narrative began to acknowledge the decline in immigration, aligning with the actual demographic trends on the ground. This shift in the narrative appears to lean slightly in favor of the state's efforts to develop new cities while also aligning somewhat with the real numbers and the changing situation.

Urban congestion as a topic started to fade away from the narrative. By the year 2000 an article written in Al-Ahram that there *"la yujad kasad umrani,"* (there isn't an urban "recession"), as the problem of prices is just according to "economic cycle" in the housing prices. In addition, it framed how that housing "availability" is present and soon the population will align with the number of available buildings (d).

New cities or old cities, the problem infrastructure crawled into a prominent space in the narrative. In Figure 14, it shows how 1996 shows very high numbers of no presence of infrastructure in houses in comparison with the two decades before. Nevertheless, the narrative appeared inconsistent, as the numbers of internal immigration in Cairo decreased, yet there remained a deterioration in infrastructure, affecting both old and new cities in the Greater Cairo periphery. Even though many "satellite cities" were roaming around Cairo to relieve it from urban congestion that appeared from previous decades due to internal immigration, most these cities were referred to in the narrative as "paper cities" (a). The yoyo-ing in the narrative creates challenges in establishing a consistent orientation throughout the available text.

1) **New Republic (2014-2023)**

Post the uprises in 2011 the narrative seemed to quite the town and it lacked to speak on either problem of infrastructure and the urban congestion. However, with the New Republic era the narrative was highlighting celebrating new achievements. The categories found in the new republic era is doubling the total urban area expanded into a sub-category of large (Mega-projects) Infrastructure projects.

The following excerpts were picked to investigate the change in narrative between Mubarak's neoliberal era and Al Sisi's New Republic era:

a) " Increasing the residential density and residing citizens in their units will oblige state agencies to provide services... As for services and their provision in social housing and low-income groups, Engineer Salah Hassan explained that the Ministry of Housing takes responsibility for the provision of all services, and in the event that public transportation does not arrive in one of the cities, Internal transportation means are being built at the expense of the New Urban Communities Authority until the residential density is completed, which enables the operation of public transportation lines in the new cities." – Al Ahram, 2015

b) "Establishing one million housing units in governorates and cities at a cost of 150 billion pounds within five years... The most important major projects implemented by the Ministry contribute to achieving social justice by providing suitable housing for all segments of society. Housing Law 23/2014 to ensure the continuation of the project and the access of housing units to their beneficiaries, which is the first law... in agreement with the Social Housing Fund in relieving the general budget.". – Al Ahram, 2017

c) "Upgrading the infrastructure... Assem Al-Gazzar: Continuing to improve the infrastructure. Providing ongoing maintenance for it, whether with regard to sanitation projects, roads and various facilities, and developing unsafe areas. This ensures the development of the level of services provided to citizens and the provision of a decent life for the people of the country" – Al Ahram, 2019

d) "700 thousand units of social housing... The vision of sustainable development does not exceed 6-7% of the total area of the state, and that percentage is unable to support us economically... This population must be doubled to reach 12-14% of the total area of Egypt. This is to achieve strategic goals, and this is the state's first national goal." – Al Ahram, 2019

e) "We aim to create economic entities that accommodate the population increase by implementing 18 axes. It needs 600 thousand housing units annually, and the real estate sector needs stimulation. Dialogue: The housing policy aims to improve and raise the efficiency of the real estate sector in general and at its various levels, empower and improve the citizen's income, and make available and provide plots of land of different sizes for individuals and investors." - Al Ahram Aleqary, 2019

f) "President El Sisi: Population growth is a detriment to (feed on) Egypt...and no one will be able to do more than what we are doing...the size of the buildings on the Ring Road is larger than the size of what is in the market...a false value." – Al Ahram, 2023

Text Box 5 Arabic excerpts are found in Appendix C, Table 4

The government's plan to "double the urban area" to accommodate the increasing population was manifested through various large-scale "mega projects"(a)(b). This assumption does not align in process to the actual population increase as the annual growth rate has dropped to an all-time low between 2016 and 2023 from 2.11% to 1.56% (Fig.12). The rate of internal immigration to a city like Cairo has dropped from 6% to 1% between 2016 and 2023 (Fig. 13). The narrative in excerpts (a), (b), (c), (d), and (e) reveals an optimistic exaggeration, portraying a "heroic" role of the government. However, these statements do not align with the actual population growth. The narrative in excerpt (d) is characterized by language resembling advertising, with an empathetic touch and a hint of "revolution." Here, empathy is employed as a means to promote success. Excerpt (b) shows value assumption as its assumes the positivity of the action taken. It is framed with a positive orientation still reflecting some of the 2011 uprisings slogans such as "social justice". The achievement tone here is proven by numbers and budgets in the narrative to ensure the elimination of discrepancies from earlier decades.

The narrative relies on "big numbers" and "significant achievements" to make them visible to the masses and gain the empathy of Egyptians. Lexical variations, ranging from "enormous development" to "grand projects," lay the foundation for a language of accomplishment in the narrative. It adopts an empathetic and heroic tone, downplaying the existence of problems and emphasizing the implementation of solutions, as evident in (d). The use of empathetic terms like "decent life" and "country's children" wields the power of empathy on readers, as seen in (c), ensuring that those deemed "deserving" are positioned as beneficiaries.
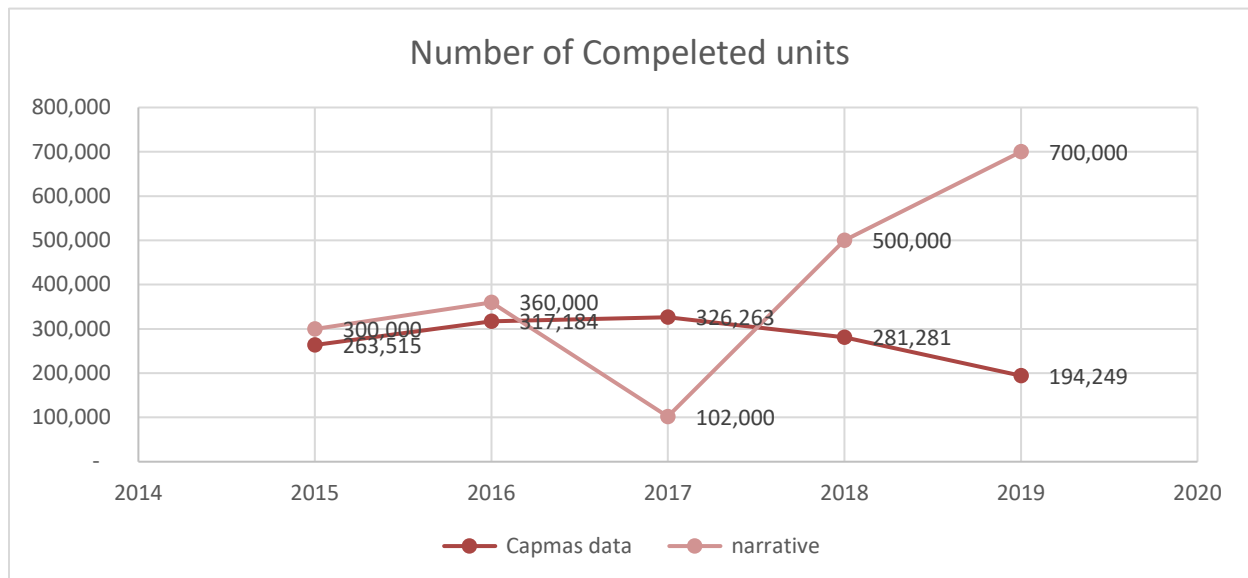
FIGURE 15: Comparison of the number of units between CAPMAS and narrative analysis.

The large infrastructure projects involved the proposed *irtiqa* "upgrade" of it is a response to the "deterioration" that took place in the previous neoliberal era (e). The Newspaper is speaking directly on behalf of the state, with unjustified assumptions that ties between "economic entities" and "eighteen axes". Regardless, this is categorized as a value assumption where the text is building up to different "great accomplishments" that creates a holistic picture that solutions are happening on ground.

Large development projects taking place such as the 1 million apartment housing projects, and the fourth-generation cities such as the New Administrative Capital along with previous new towns built starting the 80s to fill in the housing gap, yet it seems that the "population growth" will *hayakol* (feed)- in Egyptian colloquial language - on Egypt according to president El Sisi's speech in excerpt (f). Figure 12 clearly shows that the population growth rate dropped significantly for the first time since the 1950s yet "population growth" is still seen as the illness it was in the 1960s. Al Sisi is declaring that the number of buildings scattered on the ring road gives a "fake value", and the state's efforts cannot be outdone by anybody else. This shows a proposition assumption with a conflictive orientation. The metaphor used to describe the population growth is "feeding on" Egypt is a far exaggeration to 'reality' (Fig. 15). However, his speech shows justification to the construction of such "Mega Projects". However, there is mismatch between the narrative of 1 million housing units project in the narrative and the numbers offered by the CAPMAS (Fig. 15). The narrative seemed to overestimate the numbers of units delivered between 2015 and 2019, except in 2017 were it showed undervalue, however years 2018, 2019 had an enormous gap in values between the narrative in excerpt (e) (d) and the numbers offered by the CAPMAS regarding the 1 million housing units projects (Fig. 15). The narrative shows a value assumption as it highly assumes the impacts of its declared presumption regarding the housing, however, the narrative seems to lure away the readers from the actual situation.

The data manipulation seems to direct the readers away from actual situation and directs towards the announced achievements by the state. Excerpt (c) (d) (e) are all written by the same author, Badawy Elsayed Negeela, which might be behind unification of the text and the lexical choices. Hence, the collective orientation of the current narrative suggests a tone of resolution and progress, evident in the choice of lexicons like "achievements," particularly in emphasizing the commitment to doubling the urban area. Such mega projects were referred to "flagship projects" to win people's supports as Sims mentioned, which aligns with technique used in the narrative (2014). The removal of discussions about infrastructure decline, the negative impacts of population growth, or urban congestion in Cairo has created a narrative emphasizing novelty and success, irrespective of the current situation, based on values indicated by CAPMAS.

4.3.2 Role of the Government

The role played by the government is extremely important in defining the "crisis" in the housing industry and in the investigations of the decisions taken by the state. Especially, that the management role of the state lies in both the delivery and the enforcement (Hendawy, 2015). This also involves the implementation of law and policy and how it has an impact on discursive practices done by both the state and the people. The Egyptian government began offering housing options like apartments or land starting from the early 1950s. Each president had their specific policies, but housing provision remained a consistent priority throughout (Hendawy, 2015). Moreover, while the state establishes laws and policies, there appears to be a lack of effective implementation and adherence to these guidelines. (Abdel Kawi, 2015). Therefore, the analysis will offer an overview of the role of the government as it tectonically shifts between its role and the role of the private sector as a housing provider. Housing does not take place solo, it's a part of a complex socioeconomic and political institution (Soliman, 2009).

1950-1970

President Nasser introduced 'Arab socialism' which is set out to develop modernity, industrialization projects, welfare provision, housing, and education (Abu Lughod, 1971). The state's goal in its role is to gain the society's political support and popularity (Abdelrahman, Elsayed, & Abouelmaged, 2020). The narrative here displays the role of the nationalist state in the "issue" with housing which is split into two sub-categories:

1. The role of the government

    a. Nationalist Discourse: Government provision

    b. A call for an urban development plan

After the independence President Gamal Abdel Nasser was determined to set the country to economic independence, through substituting imported resources, and supporting indigenous talent to build a strong powerful industrial nation that "refutes" any colonial projection (Wahdan, 2007). Large "national" flagship projects were focused on encapsulating the "national spirits" in Egypt (Hendawy, 2015). The following excerpts were extracted from the narrative regarding the role of the government regarding the problem with "homes":

a) *"The nature of improvisation dominates urban development and planning. There is money spent and efforts depleted every year, taxes imposed and projects announced every day. However, what is seen is that the city, its roads, neighborhoods, and facilities are from bad to worse...The basis of this is known as improvisation, which is that we are always in a hurry to prescribe a treatment before diagnoses or determining the location of the problem." – Sayed Koryem (Maglet Al Emara, 1952)*

b) *"Each one of us wants to do everything in a year, but can we do everything in a year? Each one of us wants to solve the housing crisis, but can we really solve this in one year, or three, or four, or five? Did England, which is an advanced and developed country, solve the housing crisis? … can anyone here in parliament stand up and ask the housing minister why this so? I want to build popular housing and affordable housing and so on … but can we in a short time change this situation that is a result of exploitation and colonialism of hundreds of years?!" – Gamal Abdel Nasser, 1965 (Shawkat, 2020)*

c) *"Why don't you let the government build? Let the government get tired a little... and we will rest!" - Al Mussawer, 1964*

d) *"Rather, the new land relates to the future of national independence and socialist democracy in our country and to the future of agricultural reform" – Al Mussawer, 1968*

e) *"collaborative spirit" – Al Ahram, 1961*

f) *"development plan" – Maglet Elemara, 1952*

g) *"Comprehensive urban programme" – Maglet Elemara, 1952*

h) *"Local luxury tiles" – Al Mussawer, 1964*

Text Box 6 . Arabic excerpts are found in Appendix C, Table 1

Under the monarchy, the "homes problem" barely appeared in the narrative. There was no official entity responsible for providing housing; homes provision was carried out by private individuals (Hendawy, 2015). By 1950 only two years before the revolution the office of Popular Homes was created within the Ministry of Social Affairs. By 1955, and after the establishment of the Republic of Egypt, President Nasser announced that the *mushkila al masakin* (the homes problem) by state provision of 'popular housing' (Shawkat, 2020). Till that time there was no ministry of housing at the time beside the office that is part of the Ministry of social affairs. By year 1958 a department of housing was created in the Ministry of Municipal and Village Affairs. It's

quite interesting how during the same year the construction of Nasr City commenced, with an abundance of housing prototypes for the technocrats of Egypt (Wahdan, 2007). The decision-making narrative appears to be rife with value assumptions, particularly due to the absence of specialized entities. The surge in internal immigration to Cairo, driven by various political factors, aimed to alleviate the housing problem, subsequently leading to the enactment of rent control law 168/1961. It wasn't until 1962, with the announcement of PD 69/1962, that the Ministry of Housing and Utilities was established. Since then, there has been an expansion of government housing provision through a rental process within the realm of "popular housing." (Abdelrahman et al., 2020). Problems that emerged under the rent control laws, initiated by Nasser to "relieve the homes problem" caused problems. It was followed by law 52/1969 to regulate the relationship between landlord and tenants. After 1963, nationalization expanded and private companies such Heliopolis and Al Maadi companies were declared part of the public sector (Abu-Lughod, 1971; Rageh, 1985; Al-Sayyad, 2011).

As observed in the 'population growth' category, immigration in the 50s and 60s exerted significant pressure on housing. The shift in political events, including the independence of Egypt and the transition from monarchy to republic, led to a reconfiguration of political dynamics. Nasser believed that the role of the government was to be committed in a systematic "long term" action planning and quit ad hoc trial and error (Wahdan, 2007). However, in the narrative it was described *tabea'at irtejaa l(* the nature of improvisation) is what dominated the planning sphere (a). There was a particular focus on *fallahin* (farmers) by the government provision of new villages to help immigrate thousands of *fallahin* to cultivate large cities and the desert (Shawkat, 2020). Architect Sayed Koryem expected that improvisation was pushing large national projects in the name of the *ummah* (nation) to gain support, without an actual need (a). The sponsored immigration of *fallahin* to big cities was simultaneous to provision of villages. This was part of the state's objective to gain societal political support and maintain its control (Soliman, 2009). This was not properly welcomed as seen in excerpt (c) from caricature in Al Mussawer magazine in 1964. it shows a group of *fallahin* destroying a newly self-built house, as the state had started building houses for them (Image 1). The text of the caricature stresses, that the government "should get tired a little and we rest".

In 1964 architect Hassan Fathy opposed President Nasser's decision of building prefabricated houses for farmer. Fathy expressed concerns about the decision, suggesting that direct provision might lead to more problems. Instead, he proposed enabling methods more sensitive to the demographic of the target group. Some scholars (Sims, 2014; Hendawy, 2015) believed that the state's control over the market and its policies of social equity, taking full responsibly of housing provision were primarily driven by a desire for empathy and popularity (El Kafrawy, 2012). Objection towards Nasser's vision was rising in 1961in excerpt (i), Abdel Baky Ibrahim expressed that the "move of the ministries" to Nasr City will create another problem of "urban congestion"

in the city. Many of the concerns carried by Fathy, Koryem, and Ibrahim showed negative value assumption, with an attempt to reflect differences in ideology. Especially that it was seen that total governmental provision and control over the housing market led to centrality of decision making (Soliman, 2009).

The lexical choice of the word "improvision" in excerpt (a) is extremely accurate to how experts at the time opposed the state's "national" propaganda. Excerpt (b) Nasser in 1965 showed frustrations towards any of those who oppose him, and he officially declared the transition from "homes problem" to a "housing crisis". The shift in terminology from "homes" to "housing" marked the beginning of housing provision by various entities, a transition highlighted in Nasser's speech. Despite Nasser's nationalistic approach aimed at severing ties with the West, he drew a comparison between the situation in Egypt and the housing crisis in England. This lexical evolution suggests a shift in housing policies and an acknowledgment of international housing challenges, even within the context of anti-western sentiments. Yet Nasser used the opposition of the west as an example to justify his national attempt and the role that the government has played already. Fathy described Nasser's ideology of "barracks-construction" as influenced by the construction of block houses European countries after WWII. He described them as unsuitable for the use by Egyptians. Yet it seems that Nasser neglected the narrative of experts. His words informed the nationalization of anything that was western and praising anything local from simple house tiles as seen in excerpt (h), to "luxurious local" products seen as better than "imported" ones, up until the nationalizing of the Suez Canal. This was common in many commercials under Nasser. All discursive practices reflected Nasser's ideology, the "nationalist" language and the "collaborative spirit" as in excerpt (e). All were dedicated to gain popularity and empathy. The flagship mega projects in the desert (new lands) were seen as the future of national independence and "democracy".

IMAGE 1: Alam Albena Caricature (1964)

73

1970-1981

This era marked a complete reversal in political, economic, and linguistic events. Following Nasser, President Anwar Al-Sadat introduced a liberalization policy, embracing a capitalist ideology (Shawkat, 2020). This transformation shifted the role of governmental provision to "enable" the participation of the private sector. This appeared into the following narrative categories and sub-categories:

     a. Government Private Sector Delegation (Open-Door Policy)

- The Role of the Private Sector

     b. A call for an Urban Development Plan

- New Towns (New Urban Communities Authority)

- New Strategies

Amid "Naksa" in 1967 which caused a huge economic pressure on Egypt, housing production dropped to supply the military with expenditures for the war (Abdelrahman et al., 2020). this was followed by the 1973 war against Israel, which brought President Al-Sadat to warm up his relations with the west, and initiated October Working Paper (Shawkat, 2020). This reflected in the following narrative excerpts:

a) *"Bold solutions to try to alleviate it and put it on the path to solution... The laws that the government (established) over the past years in order to address the problem gradually without addressing its solution in an island way... The entry of the state as a strong competitor to the private sector in housing construction... Urbanization has increased intensively, which has resulted in It should increase migration from the countryside to the cities" – Al Ahram,1978*

b) *"The Ministry of Construction...a necessity! Ready housing first…Private sector capacity…Immediately cancel the restrictions." -Al Ahram, 1979*

c) *"However, it is possible for a beneficiary with limited income to participate in self-efforts... core houses... the beneficiary owns a plot of land allocated to him, to give himself life in it and does not accept interference from the authorities even if this is stipulated in the contract... and ensures a healthy residential environment and advances the construction process. To save time and effort, and to retire with the possibility of those with limited income, their executive abilities, and their habits, and imitate it. What is different here is that the presidential structural structure of the building and its facilities is provided, and the units are left empty for the beneficiary in providing priorities and financial capacity... and here the beneficiary is trained." – Alam Al Benaa, 1980*

d) *"The required annual coverage with material accumulations and facing the future increase after 20 years... Developing housing using modular and standard design to reduce the cost" – Alam Al Benaa, 1980*

e) *"The government since 1974 is the one that created a sharp jump in rents as a result of the openness that we began. The new apartments already exist. The price of selling them if there is a down payment or the amount paid to disappear into the owner's pocket. It must not exceed 20-25% of the individual's income. Therefore, the proposed law is a strange, incompatible mixture of ideas. There is no connection to this law. Is it bias towards the landlord class? Is it an attempt to be the true price of the housing commodity? The current law has almost failed. The goal of the law. The current situation is to provide new housing to the low-income popular classes with rents that are appropriate to their incomes, and for this I do not find acceptance of the principle of subsidy in housing rents, because housing is no less important to a person than a loaf of bread." – Al Shaab, 1980*

f) *"The Parliament are calling for conscription as the state's ability to solve the housing crisis. They are proposing to support building materials and sell land at nominal prices" – 1980.*

g) *"Exempting popular and middle-class housing from housing bonds, regardless of their value, and giving priority in housing to workers in factories. Cairo will be declared a closed industrial zone, and immigration will be restricted." – Al Ahram, 1981*

h) *"A new village every two weeks... a whole village that is only missing people" – Al Ahram,*

i) *"Our primary goal is to achieve prosperity for a broad base of people, so that every farmer and worker has a home and land." – Akher Sa'a, 1978*

j) *"How can the resident complete his residence by himself? The technical and organizational efforts must be made, and if the private sector contributes the largest part to providing housing units, it is no longer able to provide the appropriate numbers that exceed the needs of the limited-income people...but the limited-income beneficiary can be involved in self-efforts." – Al Ahram, 1976*

k) *"The housing crisis cannot be solved by the government alone, and the solution is in the hands of the private sector" – Al Ahram, 1976*

l) *"The phenomenon of the housing crisis was inherited by the government. The private and cooperative sectors must implement 70% of this plan, and the rest must be implemented by the state." – Al Ahram, 1978*

m) *"Bold solutions to try to alleviate it and put it on the path to solution... The laws that the government (established) over the past years in order to address the problem gradually without addressing its solution in an island way... The entry of the state as a strong competitor to the private sector in housing construction... Urbanization has increased intensively, which has resulted in It should increase migration from the countryside to the cities" – Al Ahram,1978*

n) *"The Ministry of Construction...a necessity! Ready housing first…Private sector capacity…Immediately cancel the restrictions." -Al Ahram, 1979*

o) *"However, it is possible for a beneficiary with limited income to participate in self-efforts... core houses... the beneficiary owns a plot of land allocated to him, to give himself life in it and does not accept interference from the authorities even if this is stipulated in the contract... and ensures a healthy residential environment and advances the construction process. To save time and effort, and to retire with the possibility of those with limited income, their executive abilities, and their habits, and imitate it. What is different here is that the presidential structural structure of the building and its facilities is provided, and the units are left empty for the beneficiary in providing priorities and financial capacity... and here the beneficiary is trained." – Alam Al Benaa, 1980*

p) *"The required annual coverage with material accumulations and facing the future increase after 20 years... Developing housing using modular and standard design to reduce the cost" – Alam Al Benaa, 1980*

q) *"The government since 1974 is the one that created a sharp jump in rents as a result of the openness that we began. The new apartments already exist. The price of selling them if there is a down payment or the amount paid to disappear into the owner's pocket. It must not exceed 20-25% of the individual's income. Therefore, the proposed law is a strange, incompatible mixture of ideas. There is no connection to this law. Is it bias towards the landlord class? Is it an attempt to be the true price of the housing commodity? The current law has almost failed. The goal of the law. The current situation is to provide new housing to the low-income popular classes with rents that are appropriate to their incomes, and for this I do not find acceptance of the principle of subsidy in housing rents, because housing is no less important to a person than a loaf of bread." – Al Shaab, 1980*

Text Box 7. Arabic excerpts are found in Appendix C, Table 2

Al-Sadat's liberal policies encouraged the private sector into intervene in the public housing sector and regional planning (World Bank, 2007). In a comparable manner, these policies eliminated restrictions on the procurement of construction materials by foreign-owned companies (Abdelrahman et al., 2020). By 1973, the Ministry of Housing and Utilities changed into the Ministry of Housing and Reconstruction. Al-Sadat did not mention "housing Crisis" till 1977 when the cornerstone of the first new town was placed. He proclaimed that this will "eliminate the housing crisis" and his speech showed a value assumption with a positive orientation as he mentioned that this will "relieve it (crisis) from the widest of doors" (Shawkat, 2020). In response to the escalating housing issue, Law 107/1976 was introduced to establish the Social Housing Fund. President Sadat, in his 1977 speech, emphasized the significance of the "housing crisis," equating it to the importance

of food. This sentiment was reiterated in the Al-Sha'b newspaper in 1980, stating that "housing is no less important to a person than a loaf of bread," particularly during the bread riots in 1977. Comparing housing to bread in the narrative amid a crisis is an attempt to garner public support and empathy. Chants during the bread riot included "*howa beyilbis akher moda, wehna neusken 'ashara fy owda*!" (he [Al-Sadat] wears the latest fashion, while we live ten in a room!)(transliteration as in Shawakt 2020 (pg. 15) '*crisis*' narrative.

By 1977 Ahmed Hassan (then Minister of Housing) argued for change as the problem started snowballing and stated that "the current laws showed that they were unable to confront some aspects of the housing problem" (Shawkat, 2020, pg,16). This assumption had negatively packaged the problem. Abas Safi El-Deen (then head of Housing Committee in the Ministry) called for a "renewed need for a complete and comprehensive law" to exit the rising 'housing crisis' (Shawkat, 2020, pg. 16). This constitutes a negative value assumption that a change in law will help the "country to exit pertinent housing crisis that burns the Egyptian citizen" crisis' (Shawkat, 2020, pg. 16). The call for change amidst bread riots was on a rise, which explains use of lexicons such as *yahreq* (burn) the Egyptian citizen and *selat wastheeqa* (pertinent relation) with the housing crisis. There was a buildup in the narrative to make *huloul jari'ah* (bold solutions) and to *takhfeef* (alleviate) the pressure caused by the housing crisis in excerpt (f). This form of linguistic exaggeration creates blocks of options in particular direction, in that case it was the commencement of new plans.

Since 1976, the narrative called for the participation of the private sector, since "the housing crisis cannot be solved by the government alone" is a conditional value assumption that the resolution will be accomplished through the private sector "as the solution is in their (private sector) hands" as shown excerpt (f). The definition of the private sector lacks specificity, as it does not identify a particular entity, investors, or developers. In the narrative, it is broadly characterized as encompassing any individual or group. The question of "how can the resident complete his residence by himself?" indicates that there is a need for institutions in the private sector to provide housing for the people (c). The narrative of "housing crisis" started steadily gaining grounds in this historical phase (Shawkat, 2020).

By 1979 a plan was cast to draft "a national policy that aimed to solve the housing problem" (Shawkat, 2020, pg. 16) amid the many calls found in the narrative for a change. The lack of change in the role of government was seen as *wirth* (inherited) excerpt (e), there was a call for *holool garee'a* (bold solutions) excerpt (f), and "reduce of cost" in excerpt (i), which resulted into the initiation of the NTP. The new towns notion was devoted to demoting the "housing crisis" to a "housing problem" once again, which reflects that there is sensitivity in the lexical variation and the terms of exaggeration (Shawkat, 2020). Very quickly announcements for home ownerships flooded the housing narrative, examples such as *qaryah Jadidah kull usbu* (a new village every week) (a) or *kull 'amil yajib an yamlik manzilan wa ardhan* (every worker should have a home and a land) (b). The narrative strongly emphasized private ownership of private property. However, the increased

demand was met with a corresponding rise in prices, reflecting the market dynamics within that ideological framework. Similarly, New Urban Communities Authority was passed under law 59/1979, encouraging and promoting the public to avoid rent related problems through home ownership (Shawkat, 2020). Ironically a year later the Ministry of Housing and Reconstruction changed in 1980 to become the Ministry of Reconstruction, State Housing, and Land Reclamation. The renaming responded to the change in the role of the ministry, to adapt to the construction of new towns. Also, the narrative seemed to prepare for the renaming of the ministry with an urgent plea for it "The Ministry of Construction is a necessity" as shown excerpt (g). The narrative puzzles align with legislative changes in the state's ideology. The implementation of the Open-Door policy and the capitalist ideology resulted in a "sharp jump" in prices (j), indicating a departure from the state's control observed during the socialist era. The government's motivation behind the establishment of new towns appeared to target a higher social class, diverting from the original focus on the marginalized poor, who were initially the intended beneficiaries. (Shawkat, 2020).

A segment of the private sector, specifically the self-builders, was highlighted in excerpt (c), calling for their assistance, particularly for individuals with "limited income" who couldn't afford ownership. Formal construction was notably more expensive than the informal sector, leading to a surge in informal sector construction as it became the only viable option for housing, given the private sector's emphasis on "profit-driven production" (Hassan, 2017). There was a call in the narrative to exempt and support construction material for low income citizens seeking housing, as this assumed to be a solution for the "housing crisis" (k) (l).

The boost of the new towns provided by the government and the participation of the private sector in the housing industry was a response to the plea in the narrative. The narrative established numerous value assumptions regarding the alleviation of the housing crisis, highlighting the involvement of the private sector while underscoring the government's inability to address the housing crisis in isolation. The text's orientation strongly favored the private sector as a solution to escape the challenges of rent control. This coincided with the call to eliminate market restrictions(g). This is a pure reflection of the narrative of "freedom" and "liberalization" of the economy, which led to a strong narrative of privatization (Harvey, 2007). The shift in the role of the government entails lack of control over the market initiating the road for neoliberal ideologies (Harvey, 2007). In Figure 17, between 1976 and 1986 it shows the growth in the percentage of housing provided by the private formal sector, which increased from 22% in 1966-1967, to almost double to 44% in 1976-1986. However, this aligns with the percentage offered by the informal private sector, showing minimal growth in the government's housing provision. This pattern reflects a narrative of delegation rather than direct government provision.
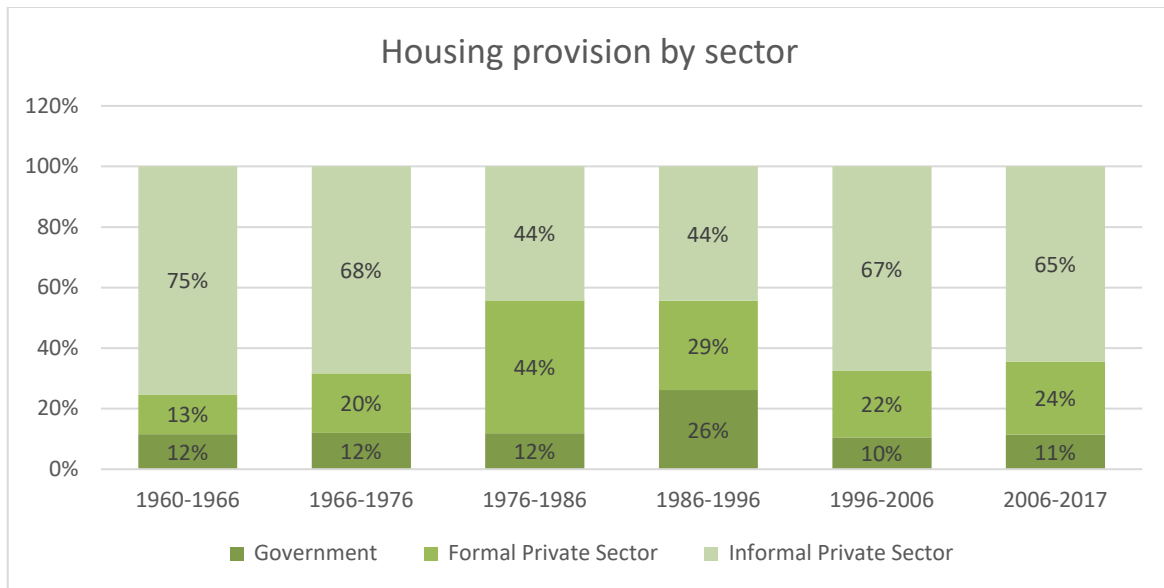
FIGURE 16: CAPMAS vs. Shawkat (2020) Housing Provision by Sector.

1981-2011

Mubarak's era is split to two parts, a 1) tansition to New Town Policies and the other part 2) Land Provision Era. The IMF's free market policy has resulted in significant constraints on the public sector. This is precisely why there has been a push to expand the private sector (Joya, 2013). A policy was devised to augment the housing stock for low-income groups through the construction of low-cost housing, primarily undertaken by the formal private sector. Due to financial constraints, the government couldn't supply essential needs, shifting the responsibility to the private sector. This dynamic contributed to the exacerbation of the housing problem across all sectors (El Kafrawy, 2012).

1) **Transition to New Town Policies (1981, 1993)**

At the End of 1981, President Mubarak called for *hulul jidhria* (radical solutions) for the housing problem during his inaugural session in the parliament (Shawkat, 2020). He demanded Minister Hasballah El Kafrawy again to search for "radical solutions" to end this problem (Shawkat, 2020). This manifests in two main narratives categories namely, "the role of the government", and "a call for a comprehensive urban development plan", with the first category split into two sub-categories as follows:

1. The role of the government

   a. Establishment of new towns

   b. Complicated legislative framework

> c. Delegation to the private sector

2. A call for a comprehensive urban development plan

Th continuation of the impact of the open market policies, and the rise of the new towns plan is highly dispersed within the narrative between years 1981-1993. The following excerpts display the role of the government played regarding the housing issue:

a)   *"Establishing 3 new cities every year that will accommodate 100,000 citizens in desert areas and will serve as urban and industrial communities. The necessity of providing adequate housing for the working classes and emerging families" – Al Ahram, 1983*

b)   *"New communities and cities have been established to solve the crisis... And here the minister confirmed that the inaccurate understanding of some that new communities and cities have been established to solve the housing problem is incorrect. Rather, what is true is that these new cities are being established for the livelihood of those who work in them, whether they are agricultural communities, or industrial, and it may contribute in the long term to alleviating the severity of the crisis, but it is not established in the first place to solve the crisis." – Al Ahram, 1985*

c)   *"Milad Hanna: It is a problem of proper distribution. The goal seems to be to ease the crisis. The housing problem will not be solved except with support, as housing is no less important than a loaf of bread... The issue of expiring rent and the emergence of ownership is a serious phenomenon... Housing laws are the housing problem" – Al Ahram, 1983*

d)   *"The goal of the new law is to achieve justice between the landlord and the tenant. Finding an urban method to treat the disaster of housing collapse. (The law aims to achieve social solidarity)" – Al Akhbar, 1991*

e)   *"Reducing the interest rate on private sector loans for housing construction - for low-income people, in installments over 25 years and without a down payment...Increasing the production of building materials in current factories, expanding their establishment, and covering the deficit in current production through imports, while exempting imported materials from customs duties and freeing the private sector to import them." -Al Ahram, 1983*

f)   *"The state's position and estimate are based on the fact that the private sector contributes 94% to resolving the crisis, while the state contributes only 6%. However, it has not provided this sector with anything that would entice it to invest its money." – Al Ahram, 1985*

g)   *"According to Hasballah Al-Kafrawi, the state encourages the private sector... an invitation to the private sector to invest its money in the field of housing. The state has allocated 225 million pounds to cover the loans needed for housing at a small interest rate, and this amount is sufficient for 50 thousand housing units annually." – Al Ahram, 1987*

Text Box 8. Arabic excerpts are found in Appendix C, Table 3

The liberalization of the market and government interventions in housing provision indirectly resulted in a surge in land prices, making it unaffordable for the economically disadvantaged (Soliman, 2009). Mubarak's administration favored foreign and private investment and pursued to continue the economic agenda offered by Sadat. Figure 17 illustrates that the government's contribution to housing provision has remained relatively stagnant at approximately 12% since the 1960s.

In response to the economic crisis and escalating land prices in the late 1970s, two new rules were introduced in 1981. Law 14/1981, known as the cooperative housing law, empowered housing cooperatives to "provide" housing for their members and furnish all necessary facilities for their "members". This delegates part of the responsibility from the government, but it has no contribution to the main target users which are those with limited incomes. The second law highlights a contradiction between the government's intentions concerning adequate living conditions and the informality associated with self-built housing. Law 135/1981 addresses the regulation of informal housing, prohibiting the removal or demolition of any building violating law 52/1940 for a five-year period from the enactment of the law. The government's stance on informal housing becomes a prominent theme in the second phase of Mubarak's era. Interestingly, the convenience of these laws appears to alleviate the housing crisis to some extent.

It had been only three years between the commencement of NUCA and the start of the presidency for Hosni Mubarak. The narrative emphasized showcasing the increasing number of cities, placing particular emphasis on highlighting the *injazat* (establishment) of these cities. Both excerpts from Al-Ahram newspaper (a) and (b) indicate that the new towns serve a purpose beyond housing; they are intended to establish "urban and industrial communities". This is considered a propositional assumption. By asserting that new cities are proposed as a potential solution, particularly in *al-manaatig al-sahrawiyyah* (desert areas), with the aim of being adequate for establishing families and catering to the working class (a). By 1985 the narrative showed a sudden shift as Minister El Kafrawy cleared out that new cities are not meant to *lahal azmet aleskan* (solve the housing crisis), yet it's a habitable new place for new industrial and agricultural communities

(g). This reflects pure contradiction in narrative in comparison to the main purpose that new cities were created for during the era of President Al-Sadat.

Within this capitalist framework, the private sector encountered increased legislative facilitation. Law 143/1981 permitted the sale of state land to local private investors for "new cities", while law 96/1992 eased land transfer to the private sector at low prices. The legal narrative appears to extensively facilitate housing development by the private sector, yet the focus doesn't distinctly address the needs of low-income individuals. Pushing experts like Milad Hanna to object to the current reform as it shows that the private sector is investing in luxury housing rather than providing which will call for plan to redistribute power (c). Hanna clearly stated that it is not a *mushkalet iskan* (housing problem), rather a *mushkilat 'i'adat al-tawzee' al-mulaima* (proper redistribution problem), and he blamed the housing laws that led to the problem of housing (c). Policies adopted increased the "dependence" of the private sector while "minimizing" the role of the government in provision and control of housing (Tarek, Redeker, & Gladys, 2019). This results in a decline in housing conditions due to the absence of sufficient public housing and the rapid expansion of informal housing, as depicted in Figure 17, which shows informal housing increasing from 44% to 67% between 1986 and 1996. The narrative and the political events seems to play a role in the naming of the ministry that in 1988 was named Ministry of Reconstruction and New Communities. "New communities" reflects the notions's project through the NTP plan, while "reconstruction" refers to *ta'meer* in Arabic which means urbanization, lexicalization the larger vision of urban expansion in the desert.

The narrative didn't simply endorse support for the private sector; it advocated for a "reduction in the interest rate" for this sector. It was noted that the government had not offered any incentives to encourage private sector investment, creating an implication that the private sector is commendable for supplying 94% of the necessary housing, in stark contrast to the government's modest 6% (e)(f). The shift of power between the private sector and the government, was in favor of the private sector gaining more strength in the narrative. In 1986 PM Ali Lutfi ought that the solution of the "housing crisis" would be through the provision of *mawad elbana'* (construction materials) (Shawkat, 2020) which is not much of a *holool gazrya* (radical solution) as President Mubarak called for. By 1987 El Kafrawy initiated an open invitation to the private sector to "invest" in housing, with a support of 225 million EGP to cover the loans needed at a low interest rate (g). A call for investment means its expected to make profit out of this, but the lexical choice of "invest" does not align with means "provide" housing for low-income individuals to "resolve the housing crisis". The narrative clearly shifts towards the private sector controlling the outcomes of it, as being the provider and also *sa'eed el haz* (the lucky one). The policies were drawn by businessmen and housing developers, governing with a "corporatist" and "managerial" mindset (Abdelrahman et al., 2020). Highlighting the transformation into a "proper distribution problem," the state's intentions diverged from those of the private sector. Furthermore, the state fully delegated the

housing domain to the private sector.

The tipping of power towards the private sector, and the waiving of control of the market from the government has impacted even the user trying to receive their units, excerpts (h)(i) show the crisis didn't pause at provision, but it seemed to have hit an error in delivery. There is an empathetic narrative towards how the "evil" private sector has impacted the "youth of Egypt" to receive their units. It is a very empathetic narrative towards the "youth tragedies".

The problems of the urban poor were enveloped in as the *shabab* (youth) and the narrative started plugging in lexicons such as "hopes and dreams", "future", or "young people". Excerpt (h) explains the *la tantahy* (endless) pains of the youth, from graduation to debt, the tragedies of the youth are once again "endless. This shows negative value assumption that proposes the negative outcomes out of the lack of housing for the youth. With the government still unable to provide housing, suggestion was to "enable" individuals to build their own. But linguistically there is a fine line between *tamkeen* (enabling) and do it yourself (DIY) strategy, which will be discussed in the next section.

2) <u>Land Provision Era (1993-2011)</u>

The private sector continued to provide housing for low income on behalf of the state, to "increase the stock" of housing. The narrative took shift of power from the total control of the private sector, to be partially "regained" by the government. Private investments in New Cities resulted in the creation of middle income, luxury housing, and gated communities (Joya, 2013). This led to the emergence of a new "housing crisis" based on the premise that new cities remained inaccessible to low-income individuals due to the exorbitant construction costs, resulting in a deficiency in services and infrastructure (Fahmi & Sutton, 2008). The role of the government category is collapsed into the following sub-categories:

1. The role of the government
   a. Elevating the Quality of the housing's architecture
2. Coordination crisis
   a. Delegation of housing provision to the private sector
   b. Problem with the law

Governance under neoliberalism is embodied in the following excerpts:

a) *"President Hosni Mubarak's decision: He referred to raising the architectural level and the collective form of the units so that they are not just concrete blocks, but rather equal and proportional to small villas" – Al Ahram Al Masa'y, 1995*

b) *"Regarding the government's feelings towards low-income people, President Hosni Mubarak himself took charge of the Youth Project and Mrs. Suzanne Mubarak took charge of the Future Project, and both of them chose a model for the Middle East region by providing modern housing that meets public taste." – Al Ahram, 2000*

c) *After 6 years of construction, the city's problem has no solution. Telephones are another problem. Health care has become a problem that threatens the city. Education within the city is a major problem. Water outages are another problem. Lack of street lighting at night exposes citizens to dangers and crimes" – Al Wafd, 1995*

d) *"These new cities are not self-reliant due to the inefficiency of their services, which distorts the volume of various activities" – Al Sha'ab, 1997*

e) *"Housing is distributed unfairly and involves "corruption." The companies that build these housing are wasting the state's rights due to violations in contracting work and thefts that occur during the construction stages... The state has been building housing for citizens for 30 years, and the housing crisis has not been solved. It is better for the state to remove its hand from building housing and let them build on their own after allocating land to them in the desert. The citizen, with the help of his relatives and children, will build the house in a better way than what the government builds." – Al Omah, 1997*

f) *"Engineer Alfi Anwar Atallah: We will not build for low-income people because in the struggle for money there is no morality and the investor is not a charity and seeks primarily for profit." – Al Omah, 1997*

Text Box 9 Arabic excerpts are found in Appendix C, Table 3
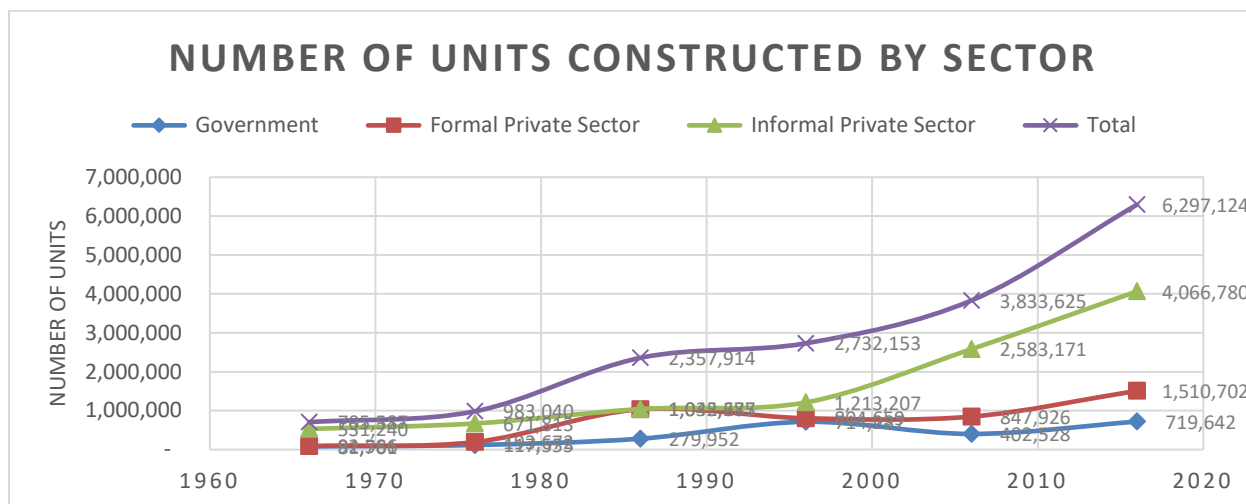
FIGURE 17: CAPMAS vs. Shawkat (2020) The Number of Units Constructed by Sector

Between 1986 and 1966 the Egyptian housing market revealed unprecedented boom in the housing production during that time (Figure 18). Also the government production increased to 26% in comparison to previous decades and formal private sector dropped from 44% in 1986 to 29% in 1996. This is reflected after two major events took place in 1992, first was 1992 earthquake that led thousands to lose their homes, and the creation of unsafe informal housing amid the violent clashes between radical Islamists and the policy (Wahdan, 2021). Such events led to a slight shift in the narrative to slip away from the private sector to be regained by the government within the issue of housing (Wahdan, 2021). The political situation after 1992 led 50,000 people into homelessness, which called for the government to return to the scene. The PD 164/1996 called for a reformation of the Ministry of Reconstruction and New Communities to become what is now known to be the Ministry of Housing, Utilities, and Urban Communities. The new wording is precisely fitting to the current situation in the housing industry and the role of the government that is needed to be played accordingly. Even though there seemed to be a certain campaign against informal settlements with their description as *ghair amen* (unsafe) or *khater* (dangerous). Leading to the creation of the Informal Settlement Development Fund (ISDF) according to PD 305/2008. Which pushed for a creation for "the National Map of Unsafe Areas" in 2009. The declaration of "national plan" for "unsafe areas" formalizes the presence of informal settlements. Which led "unsafe areas" to face state-led gentrification rather than upgrade (Shawkat, 2020). The "unsafe" narrative sparked especially after *Al Duweiqa Rock* that fell in Al Muqatam which killed 115 people and displaced many others. With the enlargement of the informal areas and the negative connotation that were stroked by the Duweiqa disaster, The Unified Building Law 119/2008 was utilized to issue demolition orders for areas classified as "unsafe" on the National Map of Unsafe Areas, with the aim of highlighting any implemented solutions during that period (Shawkat, 2014).

Law 4/1996 led to the liberalization of the private urban market and to deregulate landlord-tenants relation to become short-term contracts, which led to increase on demand on ownership of homes, and the lack of affordability for what is available (Joya, 2013). The narrative became attuned to legislative changes, leading to a trend of discussing issues arising from the evolving laws. Already from phase one of Mubarak's era some raised eyebrows started making appearance in the narrative regarding the way the law regulates the housing situation. What sparked the speculations is the rise of the problems with infrastructure in new cities. The irony lies in the fact that new cities were initially intended to alleviate the infrastructure pressure on Cairo, but it contradicts the reality that these new cities now face an infrastructure crisis, as evidenced by the proliferation of areas lacking basic infrastructure (Figure 14). The delegation to the private sector and the deregulation by the law of the market, led for investors to find ways to save money. The private sector was condemned with *fasad* (corruption), a strong lexical choice to precisely state the problem, with existential assumption (e). New cities do not align with the concept of *al-ijtihad al-dhati* (self-dependence). The use of the term "self-dependence" implies that residents can achieve self-

sufficiency and prosper on their own. However, it is subsequently clarified that this cannot occur in the presence of inadequate services and basic living necessities (d). New cities like Katmeya suffers from lack of infrastructure with a negative values assumption that the city's problem has "no solution". The numbers of houses without infrastructure (water, gas, sanitation, and electricity) begin to skyrocket starting 1996. The rise in numbers is also related to the rise of informal buildings (Figure 15). The description of the "unfairness" of the housing distribution and the involvement of nepotism in the process, is a reflection of the past decades liberalization in favor private sector and control over the housing market. Bribe or *rashwa* in Arabic is a very common practice that surfaced the industry. Lexically, nepotism is associated with corruption, and this perception was primarily directed towards businesspeople and investors in the private sector. Excerpt (e) alters this narrative by portraying the private sector as being tainted by nepotism, indicating its failure to address the housing crisis. At that time, Prime Minister Kamal El Ganzoury suggested that "it's better for the state to withdraw its involvement in housing construction and allow individuals to build on their own after allocating land in the desert." This initiated a DIY strategy for housing. It's challenging to determine from the text whether this approach is empowering or if the government is merely evading responsibility.

Ironically, years later in 2008, the government launched the Ibni baytak (build your house) housing initiative in collaboration with the private sector, aiming to "enable" people to construct their own homes, as mentioned in excerpt (e), which assumed that this approach would result in better housing than what the government provides. *Ibni baytak* capitalized on the infrastructure crisis that had developed over the years, leading property owners to rent out their apartments or leave their houses vacant (Shawkat, 2014).

The emphasis on " *hulm binaa manzil* " (the dream of building a home) was strongly highlighted, as demonstrated in a 2009 advertisement by Ezz Steel, a major contributor to the initiative, as shown in image 19. This ad portrayed "building a house" as the most significant dream for young people, suggesting that it had transitioned from being an existential aspiration to a fundamental need. The private sector's support was portrayed as the hero in this endeavor.

The private sector explicitly outlined its intentions, as evidenced in excerpt (f) where Engineer Alfi Awni Atalla (contractor in Arab Contractors) referred to the private sector as "not charity" and emphasized the lack of morality, underscoring the priority placed on profit. Linguistically he was direct and straight forward picking very clear lexicons with an exaggeration when he used metaphors to describe the irony of what the government thought the private sector will do. This narrative builds up public housing during neoliberalism and clientelism. After the crisis snowballed due to the actions of the private sector, the state still aimed to ease more ways for the private sector through Law 67/2010, to regulate partnerships between the private and public sector to supply infrastructure. This aligns with conflict of interest as much of these policies were manipulated by businessmen, which led to ease and facilitations of these policies in favor of the

private sector. The use of youth for empathy in the narrative didn't stop at this scale, sometime around the early 2000s comdeian Mohamed Heneidy was seen in a presidential convention thanking President Mubarak for his efforts:

"Mr. President, in the last few months, I have completed half of my religion and got married. Thank God, I got engaged. My friends and I sat together and wondered where do I live and I chose to live in Toshka and im going to build and farm there, and a friend of mine is going to go East of Al-Tafrea, and we sat thinking and were confused and disagreed a lot about where to go or where to live... so I came today and I say to you that in the past, young people, you used to be confused about finding a place to live. Today, we are confused by the many achievements that you have achieved. Thank you."– Mohamed Heneidy

Looking at Heneidy's speech conflicts as these were the words of a comedian to the president, the speculation here that this was a political event were words of a comedian were seen to be important to praise the work of Mubarak. This is existential assumption as the rhetoric structure shows the reality of "all the achievement Mubarak has done for the youth". The empathy for the youth narrative was highly played during the phase of Mubarak's presidency.

IMAGE 2: Ibni baytak advertisement (Youtube, 2008). Accessed in November 2023

After decades of the narrative calling for a comprehensive national plan, President Mubarak, pushes for two projects, *Iskan Mubarak Lil-Shabab* (Mubarak's Youth Housing) and *Iskan Mubarak Al Qawmy* also known as the National Housing Project. Both were dominated by one goal which is the production of new housing units outmost for low-income families (Shalaby, Ahmed, Elshenwany,

2022). By 2006, the total number of housing units had significantly increased, contrasting with a decrease to only 10% provided by the government (Fig. 18). Which followed that the NHP changed the target goal of units from 500,000 units to 800,000, however with an achievement of only 140,000 units (Shawkat, 2014). Accessibility and affordability were two of the challenges that prospective beneficiaries encountered while trying to secure a unit in the NHP (National Housing Program). However, the government's narrative had a different emphasis. Excerpts (a) and (b) underscore President Mubarak's direct involvement and keen interest in housing-related issues. The "clientelism" of housing best describes President Mubarak's intentions to *raf' kifayah* (uplift) the architecture style of new housing projects. Instead of merely being constructed as concrete blocks, he envisioned them as small villas, even though this occurred a decade prior to the NHP. Nevertheless, this vision still had an impact on the program. Again, in year 2000, excerpt (b) shows the interest of the President and the first Lady in the elevating the "style" of the housing *Litilbiya dhawq al'am* (to meet the public's taste). Amid the crisis, using language tailored to a specific clientele may seem ironic. While the enhancement of these housing projects improved their aesthetics, it did not align with the challenges posed by the "housing crisis."

In conclusion the state role swayed between provision of housing, regulations of law, enforcing zoning restrictions, beautification of housing, and regulation of the private sector in the provision of low- and middle-income housing. Which led to a long and complicated procedure for obtaining a house with the existence of many stakeholders, and the obstacles found in the legislative system (El Kafrawy, 2012). Conquest of the desert (ghazw alsahra') was Mubarak's slogan that displays the intentions direction towards a capitalist and neoliberalism direction (Singermen, 2011).

2011-2023

After the uprisings in 2011, the ministry displayed efforts to present a new plan to be executed between 2012 and 2017. Amid the "security" situation in Egypt the Army forces stepped to "support" the government as the transitional period post January 2011. This phase is split into two eras, the first would be 1) post 2011 transition phase and 2) The New Republic phase.

1) **Post January Transition**

The intervention of the Military Army Forces played a significant role during Egypt's transitional phase, particularly in addressing housing concerns. This effort was spearheaded by the Engineering Authority under the leadership of Major Kamel Al Wazir. By Mid-2012, Egypt had a new democratic elected president, and a new regime which led to a short but abrupt change in the narrative. The following topics were covered:

2) The role of the government

a. Complications caused by previous regime.

This period, although brief, marked a pivotal political and linguistic shift. The subsequent excerpt precisely delineates the trajectory of the narrative:

a) *"The housing laws that were acted over the second half of the twentieth century… produced side effects such as social, economic, and urban distortion, which led to exacerbated housing problem, and the urban disfigurement of Egyptian cities."*

Text Box 10. Arabic excerpts are found in Appendix C, Table 4

Housing Minister Tarek Wafiq, during Morsi's cabinet, addressed the housing problem directly. He attributed the issue to the complexity of existing laws and explained how this complexity had various adverse effects, ultimately leading to the "disfigurement" of Egyptian cities. The language he used reflected an underlying assumption that there were solutions to be found and had a positive orientation.

However, excerpt (a) reveals that the impact of housing laws extended beyond just housing and had implications for social, economic, and urban aspects as well. This narrative had not been previously articulated by any state officials and was consistent with the perspectives of many experts in the field, such as Milad Hanna and Sayed Koreym.matches the narrative produced by many experts in the field like Milad Hanna, and Sayed Koreym. The language of newness started surfacing the narrative Samir Sobhi wrote in Al Ahram in 2011:

" A new Egypt is beckoning us, and somewhere in its horizon a new opportunity
has presented itself… Now we can create almost a new country in the desert…
everything will change: society, the aspirations of young people, even the rhetoric
of politics" – Al Ahram, 2011

The newness narrative follows the events of 2011, with new amal (hope), and criticism of the old. What Sobhi described as a "new country" in the desert, is rhetorical replication of Mubarak's "conquest of the desert". Not showing much of change as he proclaimed in his writing. Yet changed was called upon and the words and naming used was a trial to reflect such change. Mudn Almilyunuyadh (Cities of millions) was a proposal by the leading party during Morsi' presidency, the Freedom and Justic Party (FJP), the naming is a reflection of the revolution rhetoric especially the description of Millions of Egyptians gathered in Tahrir square, or *maseerat Almilyunuyadh* (millions of people march). The rhetoric behind *Mudn Almilyunuyadh* is not indicative that it means millions of people moving to the desert, or just an imprint of the 2011 revolutionary speech. Very shortly the government announced a new social housing project delivering "one million units", with 200,000 annually. Which later became known as the Social Housing Project (SHP), a successor

of the NHP at the time of Mubarak.

3) <u>The New Republic phase.</u>

A New country was hoped to appear in the desert instead the newly elected president Abdel Fattah El Sisi, announced a new republic that will beckon on Egypt. As announced in 2021, President El Sisi "the birth of the new republic which accommodates to everyone without discrimination" in the framework of his very famous campaign *Hayah Kareema* (dignified life). The narrative takes a large change and maybe a recall to the nationalist language used by Nasser as seen in the categories and sub-categories below:

1) Government military cooperation

    a. Largest projects and accomplishment

    b. Deadline urgency

2) Public Private cooperation

3) Nationwide plan

    a. National Narrative

Despite all the efforts made by both the government and the private sector in housing construction, the informal sector ultimately outpaced them. Despite all the initiatives implemented for the NHP, which fell far short of the targeted 800,000 units, there was a subsequent decline in housing production, as shown in Figure 18. It might look as a reaction to the insufficiency caused by the NHP, however its successor SHP came to life and played a major role in the narrative as seen in the excerpts below:

a) *"Madbouly dismissed the authority's officials and presented the position of implementing the social housing units and the "Dar Misr" project, and it was confirmed during the meeting that the delivery of social housing units would start successively from June 30 of this year, until the end of "next" December, and the minister stressed that these dates will be adhered to... Especially since there are instructions from the president to quickly complete them, as the authority is responsible for implementing the promises in cities with large numbers of checkpoints." - Al Ahram, 2014*

b) *"The largest social housing project in the Middle East, delivering 1,500 units in Badr...The social housing project is the largest in the Middle East and one of the largest projects in the world, and it is one of the mechanisms for achieving social justice. He pointed out that social housing units have become a tangible reality in all Egyptian cities, with about 234,000 units being implemented and delivered nationwide. The Prime Minister also directed attention to maintenance and electricity work..." – Al Ahram, 2015*

c) *"The journey of ascension begins from here...decisive and bold decisions to move towards the future. And housing them in a way that suits their economic conditions and the best environmental requirements. Paying attention to youth, integrating them into society, and opening all doors for them to accommodate and provide them with decent job opportunities." – Al Ahram, 2016*

d) *"Urban and social development activities for residents of unsafe and unplanned areas Urban and social development activities for residents of unsafe and unplanned areas within new urban communities with integrated services.. provided decent housing for 250 thousand citizens of slum areas and poorer villages?" – Al Masry Al youm, 2018*

e) *"Implementing giant development projects in accordance with the best international standards and completing them on the scheduled dates... President Abdel Fattah El-Sisi charged the government to continue making efforts to implement giant projects in accordance with the best international standards, and to complete them on the scheduled dates, especially the new cities, the administrative capital, and social housing projects..."- Al Ahram, 2019*

f) *"Planning and implementing strategic development programs... Planning and implementing various strategic development programs... Strategies for growth and transformation from large-scale development in the field of partnership between the public and private sectors." – Al Ahram, 2020*

g) *" The urban transformation that the people of Asmarat experienced, who were rescued by the state from the depths of the mountain and took them out of the cities of the dead to the cities of the rising sun, like birds chirping happily in the light... The Asmarat project occupied a top priority on the state's agenda... and the Asmarat neighborhood today is the closest thing to an integrated residential compound... Converted to eliminate slums and advance Egypt's development and civilizational behaviour." – Al Masry Al youm, 2023*

h) *"Implementing 360 thousand housing units until the end of 2018...a package of good news that the government has adopted for the benefit of the citizen and is working to implement it as quickly as possible in an attempt to provide new services that the citizen will feel. Providing economic activities and job opportunities in addition to housing and services (Hossam El-Din, Chairman of the Cooperatives Authority)" – Al Ahram, 2015*

i) *"The Ministry of Housing witnessed the achievement of many achievements for 3 years... 500 thousand social housing units to house 2.5 million citizens at a cost of 72 billion pounds. 17,000 units of villas will be offered in the New Administrative Capital before next August. Including water and drainage projects, the Dar Misr Medium Housing Project between the Ministry of Housing and the Engineering Authority. Beit Al Watan projects for Egyptians abroad. And the road network"* – Al Ahram, 2017

j) *"The housing crisis will be resolved within 4 years... Madbouly refinery indicated that the next four years will witness a relief for the housing problem in Egypt. Explaining that there is no housing crisis, but rather a settlement problem in the delta areas, which do not have desert backlands and lands on which housing units can be built. With the current implementation rates in housing projects, we will overcome this problem during this period. A balance will be achieved between supply and demand, which reaches 600 thousand units annually, through housing projects implemented by the Ministry of Housing alongside the private sector."* – Al Ahram, 2017

k) *"Focusing on the role of the private sector in providing housing for low- and middle-income people... The Minister of Housing praises the private sector at the exhibition. Dr. Madbouly, Minister of Population, Utilities and Urban Communities, praised the large participation of the private sector in the "Cityscape" exhibition, and that it is a strong message that confirms the private sector's insistence on working within the Egyptian market, regardless of the political circumstances that the country is currently going through."* – Al Ahram, 2014

l) *"The partnership between the private sector and the state is a "dream" realized on the ground... Darwish Hassanein: The idea of the partnership is very successful, but it requires fair contracts to guarantee the rights of both parties."* – Al Ahram, 2017

m) *"Madbouly, the housing issue is a high priority on the state's agenda, and Sisi directs quickly the implementation of social housing units"* – Al Ahram, 2023

Text Box 11 Arabic excerpts are found in Appendix C, Table 4

Prior to the elections, El Sisi produced an "initiative to build one million housing units", ironically it was already announced in 2012, which started delivering units by 2013 (Fig. 19). He proclaimed that "it is a serious step to start solving the housing problem" (Shawkat, 2020) ,without indicating any difference between the NHP except the end goal is 200,000 units extra. The narrative focused on large number production as *alhal alwaheed* (the only solution). The Social housing Law 33/2014 was proclaimed as a "serious step" to resolve the "housing problem", which was followed by the establishment of the Social Housing Fund (SHF) (The World Bank, 2015). Many initiatives starting appearing in the narrative, *aleskan lelgamee'* (housing for all), *million wehda* (one million unit) and a construction boom in 4th generation cities and mega-infrastructure projects all at once. Followed by the establishment Egypt's Vision 2030 amid the launch of the Sustainable Development Strategy. Four years later in 2020 the government has launched Egypt's Housing strategy as a collaborative work with the UN-habitat (UN-habitat, 2020). The goal is shown below amid Minister Assem Al Gazzar description of the strategy.

"The strategy is consistent with global and regional requirements, including the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG 2030), the New Urban Agenda, the Arab Strategy for Housing and Urban Development, the Sustainable

Development Strategy (Egypt Vision 2030), and Egypt's National Strategic Plan for Urban Development 2052. The strategy is also characterized by a great degree of implementation flexibility." – Assem Al Gazzar (Minister of MHUUC), 2020

Over a nine-year span, numerous projects and initiatives have permeated the Egyptian housing landscape. The critical inquiry lies in understanding their role in shaping the narrative and influencing the government's role. The abundance of projects and initiatives exerts a noticeable pressure on the narrative, seemingly crafting a comprehensive image meticulously designed to "resolve" the housing crisis or problem. The excerpts sway backwards and forwards between if housing is a crisis or a problem. With the cooperating with the Engineering Authority, the narrative emphasized highly on times of delivery, as seen in excerpt (a)(e)(h)(i)(j) and (m). in excerpt (a) a very set timeline was announced by Minister Madbouly at the time "successively from June 30 of this year, until the end of next December", brings the date "June 30th" a major important delivery date that accentuates the events of the uprising during June 30th in 2013. The rhetoric of emphasizing the date amid the socio-political events attached to it ignites a "national" narrative similar to Nasser's. Other lexicons such as "stressed" and "instructions" imitate a stricter military language, which was not found in the narrative in previous eras (a). Not just the time frame was important but the urgency to finish *sor'et altanfeez* (quickly complete them), *istikmal aalmashree' fl gadwl alzamn y* (complete projects within a timeframe), *fi asar' waqt mmkn* (implement as quickly as possible) regarding housing products was also emphasized in such excerpts (a) (e) (h). The narrative does not imply an assumptions but the repetitiveness in the narrative of how quickly those projects needs to completed adds a pressure that there is an urgent need for housing which compliments the crisis in housing. In this context, the government plays a role in publicizing its achievements, creating an environment that exerts pressure and portrays these accomplishments as heroic in order to garner popularity and empathy, as noted by Hendawy (2015) and Sims (2014).

NUMBER OF 1 MILLION UNITS BY CAPMAS VS. THE NARRATIVE
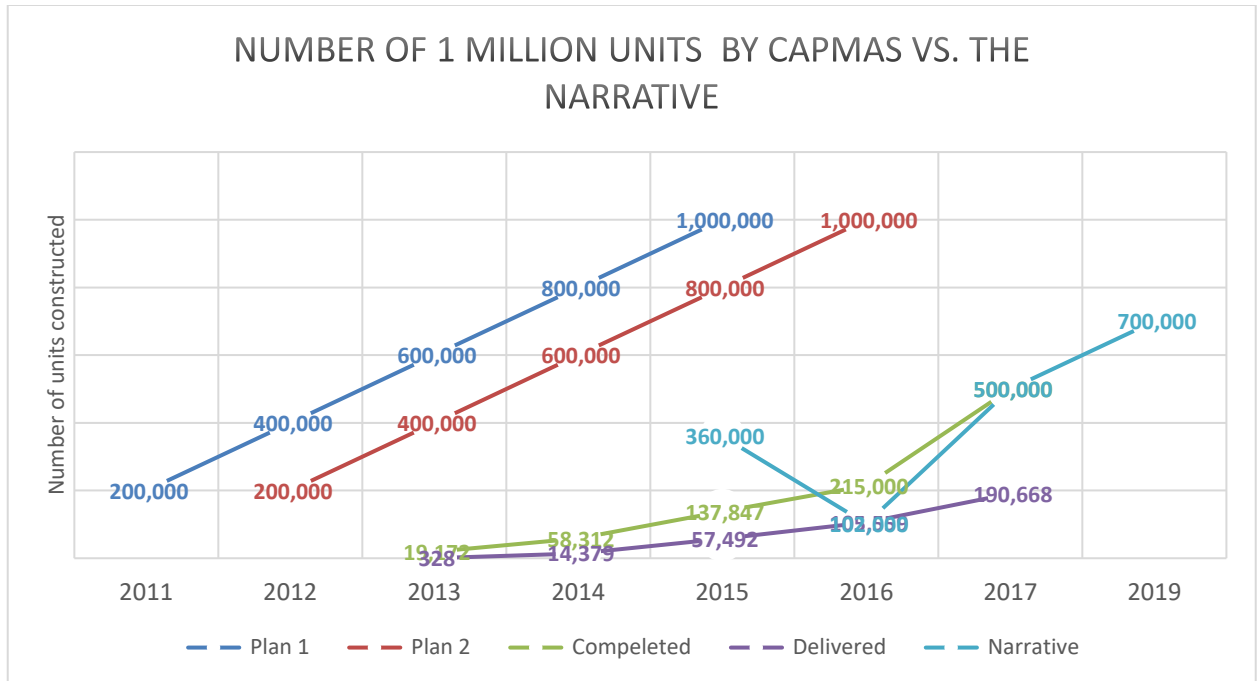
FIGURE 18: Number of 1 Million Units by Capmas vs. the Narrative.

Even though the "One Million Units" initiative was announced in 2012 after being postponed from 2011, that it didn't see the light till 2013, and officially announced by president El Sisi till 2014. Nevertheless, the officially announced completion figures consistently deviate from those reported by CAPMAS, with only the year 2017 displaying congruence at 500,000 completed units (Fig. 19). The annual proclamation of 200,000 completed units from 2012 to 2017 contrasts with the initiation of the "One Million Units" project in 2014, revealing a significant misalignment between the narrative and the actual figures (Fig. 19).

A major shift in the narrative towards the private sector as it shifted from delegating some of the work in the housing sector to a private public cooperation as seen in excerpt (k), with the interest of the government in the real estate participation and sector. The state proudly supports the real estate market and gives incentive to attract foreign and private investors to create a business friendly environment (Sims &Abdel Fattah, 2016). In 2017 it was announced the private public cooperation is "the dream" that has been awaited for long time (l). This is met with a shift in role of the NUCA to operate as a property developer as currently the largest governmental developer (Shawkat, 2015). As it has taken a role in several projects like Dar Misr and Sakan Misr as profit oriented projects, and created City Edge Developments as the NUCA's foot in the luxury market and development of fourth generation new cities, New Administrative Capital, and New Alamein City (Shukrallah, and Shawkat, 2017). The narrative shifted and so did the role of the Government, right it is seen to participate in many housing projects and diversify its portfolio as private sector entity. The private sector became a crucial part of the housing provision as mentioned by Madbouly in excerpt (j), as housing projects "implemented by the Ministry of Housing alongside the private

sector". The narrative sways due to the cooperation of the Engineering Authority, and the privatization of parts of the government and the private sector, caused by the cooperation of different parties together which caused some dichotomy in the narrative. During Nasser's era, it was essential to construct a national image to secure popularity and empathy. In Sisi's time, the narrative emphasizes and amplifies the pressures, thus crafting a heroic portrayal of the government's role.

4.3.3 The Issue of Housing

The housing in Egypt faced a lot of challenges throughout the decades. From addressing the initial "homes crisis" in the 1950s to the subsequent transition to a more generalized "housing crisis", the narrative intersects with pivotal legislative changes and economic shifts. The discourse navigates through themes of urban congestion, rent control laws, and internal migration, reflecting the state's evolving role. Over time, the narrative expands to encompass issues of affordability, infrastructure, and distribution, highlighting the complex interplay of power dynamics. The examination of housing crises from 1965 to 2023 unveils a nuanced socio-political construct, where the narrative becomes a tool for control and authority.

1950-1970

Urbanizing rural Egypt, was a major part of the "ten-year national plan" announced by President Nasser (Wahdan, 2007). As he stressed on urban-based rural development after the abolition of the *izbas* (farm lands owned by the rich) which led to the sequestration of land from the "wealthy" (Shawkat, 2020). And the state led domination over the housing industry in Egypt during Socialist era. The issues resulting in Nasser's era in the housing industry or collapsed in the following topics:

1. Modular and prefabricated housing

    a. Housing and *fellahin* (farmers)

    b. Unified housing

2. Lack of available housing

    a. Lack of affordable homes for rent

Decolonization was a movement run by the Free Officers, which have led to the removal of the monarchy and the initiation of the republic. The regime led by President Nasser initiates new policies as part of *al-ishtirakiyya al-arabiyya* (Arab socialism), government interventions such as rent control that were to almost in favor of the low-income individuals and diverting scarce resources to the technocrats of Egypt (Feiler, 1992). The following excerpts illustrate the issue with housing in the narrative:

a) *"This reassurance suddenly turned into great anxiety... with talk about the Ministry of Housing's policy of "reconstructing the countryside" through prefabricated housing... reconstructing the countryside without the rural people." – Hassan Fathy, 1963*

b) *"We also hope that you will show us what will be beneficial to our native culture, our way of life, and our Arab entity from the impact of the intrusion of towns with unified architecture throughout the countryside...the necessity of improving housing in the countryside. Many planners and engineers consider the process of building and constructing cities and villages as something that must be disposed of as quickly as possible. We give people ready-made villages and cities overnight, but that is the worst thing we can offer them." – 1963.*

c) *"We discovered that this planning is suitable for the city and not for the village, especially typical urban planning." – Al Mussawer, 1968*

d) *"The problem of housing... One of the most important things facing these housing is that they are all one typical model" – Al Mussawer, 1968*

e) *"each one of you wants to solve the housing crisis, but can we really solve the housing crisis in one year, or three, or four, or five...I want to build popular housing and affordable housing and so on.. But can we in a short time change the situation that is a result of exploitation of hundreds of years of colonialism"- Gamal Abdel Nasser, 1965*

Text Box 12 Arabic excerpts are found in Appendix C, Table 1

The popularity gained by Nasser following the 1952 revolution solidified his standing and appeal among Egyptians. Technocrats played a pivotal role in Nasser's bureaucratic authoritarian regime, as they were preferred over monarchs due to various advantages, particularly in the realm of housing (Wahdan, 2007).Land reform laws by Nasser were perceived to be in favor of the *fellahin* to redistribute land "equally", however this led many *fellahin* (farmers) to become landless which led for a rural-urban immigration (El Kafrawy, 2012). Rural urbanization was a large hurrah for the regime, and it was conceived with pride which showed in Nasser's speech in 1964 as he referred to the new villages as "buildings that are contemporary are buildings that are good for the *fellahin*" (Shawkat, 2020). Also, it was expected of the fellahin to "resign themselves" to the better life "planned, organized, and continually supervised for them" within these *kora namoozegya* (model villages) (Shawkat, 2020). The lexicalization of the speech is extremely dominant in creating the perfect *Fallah* (farmer), first the propositional assumptions carried with the following lexicons contemporary buildings are good therefore good for *fellahin*, second thing that *fellahin* need to resign themselves to the new means of tailored living¸ and third "modal villages" are planned organized and supervised by the state. This reflects a monologue in the narrative of obedience reflected by the state as symbol of power. This was opposed by Hassan Fathy in his letter to Nasser in 1963 the rejection of the *fellahin* to these *aleskan alnamaty* (modular housing), excerpt (a) shows

that these *almosna'a* (prefabricated) homes are designed without the input of the *fellahin* themselves. Excerpt (b) displays "modularity" as intruders upon our civilization, and al-kora al-gaheza (the ready-made villages) are the worst thing that can be done for the rural people of Egypt. The ready-made villages and prefabricated homes are a western idea, which seems very contradicting to the "Arab socialist" approach Nasser aims to achieve. The escape of the fellahin was led by the housing narrative, objecting to modular housing as shown in the excerpt (c) and (e). an existential assumption exists between the relation of modular homes and the homes problem created by state-led initiatives.

Rent control laws led to reduction in rents for a 10 year period twice, one through law 199/1952 by 15%, and once again through law 168/1961 also for a 10 year period. These laws were in favor of the tenants to achieve social equity (El Kafrawy, 2012). However, these laws led the withdrawal of the private sector from the rental market due to its low profitability, and it led to booming of the phenomenon of *khallu rejul* (keymoney), which is an upfront amount paid by tenants to landlords to be able to rent the unit within the rent control limitations. The Arabic translation of *khallu rejul* is foot exile, which pushed the exit of landlords to allow for space. It showed appearance in movies such Al Yasmin in 1968, where Anwar Wagdi pays *khallu rejul* to the pigeons to live in their *usha* (shack).

The homes crisis didn't reach its zenith during Nasser's era, but it appears that the roots of the issue trace back to laws and policies implemented during the Arab socialist era. As previously established, when the state assumed the sole responsibility for housing provision, the initial homes problem escalated into a full-fledged housing crisis. The shift in governance and the centralization of housing initiatives marked a turning point, contributing to the evolution of the narrative from a localized crisis to a broader and more systemic challenge.

1970-1981

President Al-Sadat refrained from acknowledging the existence of a "housing crisis" until the inauguration of his first new city in 1977 (Shawkat, 2020). The consequences of socialist housing policies began to manifest directly in the 1970s. The implementation of the Infitah (Open-door Policy) brought about a resurgence of the private sector, westernization, and the revision of certain land reform policies. This shift in policies garnered praise from the Western world, particularly the upper middle class in Egypt (El Kafrawy, 2012). However, Sadat was unable to completely abolish all socialist policies, resulting in a coexistence of both socialist and capitalist frameworks (El Kafrawy, 2012). The issue of housing category collapses into the following categories and sub-categories:

1. Rental Problems
    a. End of rent control
    b. Housing problem
    c. Self-builders
    d. Youth housing
2. Lack of available homes
    a. Home ownership

a. *"Exempting building materials from customs to reduce housing rents...initiating the private sector into above-average and luxury construction to eliminate khallu rejul "- Al Ahram, 1976*

b. *"Understanding relationships... We (engineers and designers) try to help the head of the family organize a home with local capabilities and values... We try to help the owner and tenant understand the relationships between them" -Dr. Abdul Baqi Ibrahim, Alam Abenaa', 1980*

c. *"A dangerous and misleading phenomenon that resists all means, including the force of the law... due to the huge increase in demand over supply... especially with the current price differences in rents for old housing that have been frozen or reduced by laws."- Al Ahram, 1978*

d. *"The fire of my mother-in-law is more merciful than the fire of khalu rajul(key money)" – Akher Sa'a, 1978*

e. *"The housing problem in Egypt is a social problem... obligating those who invest their money in housing... to invest in building popular housing units instead of limiting it to luxury or medium-sized housing." – Al Ahram, 1977*

f. *"Tens of thousands of citizens have the right to be concerned... about a new principle in the draft housing law that could lead to a new "housing massacre" between owners and residents... It gives every owner the right to evict the residents and vacate the home if a situation of necessity arises that makes it, he needs this home for himself or for one of his children" – Al Ahram, 1977*

g. *"Helping those who have land but do not have the ability to build. The new law encourages investment in the field of housing. The amendments to low loan interest rates come in continuation of the objectives of the law to encourage citizens to invest in the field of housing." – Alam Albenaa, 1980*

h. *"70% of old homes are destined to collapse at any moment! A fine for the owner's negligence in maintaining the house" – Akher Sa'a, 1978*

i. *"How can a resident complete his residence on his own? The technical and organizational efforts that must be made, and if the private sector contributes the largest part to providing housing units, it is no longer able to provide the appropriate numbers that exceed the needs of the limited-income people...but the limited-income beneficiary can be involved in self-efforts." – Alam Albenaa, 1980*

j. *"The government must direct its attention to building housing for young people who have been waiting in marriage queues for years" – Akher sa'a, 1978*

k. *"Ownership of public housing for tenants" – Al Ahram, 1970*

l. *"Owning popular housing units for those who pay their rent for 15 years" – Al Ahram, 1976*

m. *"New public housing is owned at the construction price only... economic housing is owned by people with limited income. A discount of 10% of the price for those who pay in one payment" – Al Ahram, 1977*

n. *"165 thousand families benefit from the new rules for ownership of public housing"- Al Ahram, 1977*

o. *"There is a project that we have already started implementing to own modern apartments in Nasr City... In addition to this, we have also decided to further reduce the cost of the building materials used for economic and medium-sized housing by exempting them from customs duties, and the new units for economic housing will be 70% of the plan." – Akher Sa'a, 1978*

p. *"After the marriage took place, the problem became clear: getting an apartment was almost impossible!! The newly formed families has no choice but to live in the home of the husband's family...and the wife's family"- Akher Sa'a, 1978*

Text Box 13. Arabic excerpts are found in Appendix C, Table 2

The government proactively launched an urban development initiative aimed at creating new communities in desert areas. This strategic initiative seeks to address the issue of overcrowding in existing cities, create new economic opportunities for the nation, and simultaneously protect the country's valuable agricultural lands (El Kafrawy, 2012). Nevertheless, the surge in the "housing crisis" was propelled by various factors during Sadat's era. Firstly, rent control laws contributed to a scarcity of available rental homes. Secondly, a notable influx of immigration to Cairo, particularly after the 1973 war, exacerbated the housing demand. Thirdly, a spike in the cost of construction materials added to the challenges. The ensuing excerpt vividly portrays the magnitude of the housing "crisis" during Sadat's era, shedding light on the multifaceted nature of the challenges faced in this period.

Population growth was prominent, and the immigration rates were of value, however numbers started to grow approaching the 1976 census (Fig. 12 & 13). However, so of the "housing problems" were carried over the previous decade. Particularly, issues associated with rent control persisted, despite the introduction of law 49/1977, which aimed to regulate relationships between landlords and tenants, allowing for rent increases in favor of the landlords. Problems that gained stamina due to the rent control contributed a lot to the homes problem, as the relations between tenants and landlords escalated, which pushed for law 49/1977 that organizes the rental of places and regulating the relationship between the landlord and the tenant. The rent control Law led to problems between tenants and landlord to escalate which led to a "crisis" in the housing. "Rent freezing" led landlords to abstain from offering their homes for rent unless in some cases *khalu rajul* (key money) was played, which is usually a large amount that was considered a bribe. Which led thousands of houses to be unavailable for rent. The second problem after Law 49/1977 rents have increased which led to other portion of houses to be unaffordable. The narrative stressed significantly on the problems affiliated with rent from different approaches. Two issues the narrative focuses on 1) eliminating *khalu rajul* (Key money) and 2) elimination of Rent control. Excerpt (a) is a call to *e'faa'* (exempt) construction materials of customs, as per what *tahreer* (liberalization) of the market should carry, to reduce rent and to "eliminate" key money. The lexicalization behind "elimination" calls for termination of the matter and stresses on the consequence of its continuation. Dr. Abdul Baqi Ibrahim (professor) called for experts and professionals to help explain the relationships between the tenants and landlords as seen in excerpt (b), the urgent need to regulate the issue especially with 59.7% of household tenure in Egypt is Old Rent. The law was described as to have a misleading and dangerous phenomenon, lexically both terms hold a negative value assumption with a conflicting orientation towards the topic in excerpt (c). Even on the social scale, there was humor in the troubles attached with the problem of Key money, in excerpt (d) *"nar Hamaa arham min nar khalu rajul"* (The fire of my mother-in-law is more merciful than the fire of key money). The metaphor used to compare the negative cultural connotations that held with in-laws as *nar* (fire) is more tolerable than *nar* caused by paying *khallu rejul* . The lexical choice of "fire" is an exaggeration to explain the heat caused by the problem

associated with *khalu rajul.* Excerpt (f) described it as *mazbahet al-iskan* (housing massacre) as per the *tanzeem al'elaqat* (regulation of the relationships) between tenants and landlords suggested by law 49/1977, as the law allows the landlord to evict the tenants there is a form of urgency of need to the house. The use of "massacre" creates an existential assumption that already exists and according to the law it will expand.

The change in Law 49/1977 was in favor of landlords, which was perceived to give the rich more power, the law also offered low interest loans to investors in the housing industry, and removed the rent control laws on middle and luxury housing, which led to a boom in the housing prices leading to a lack of affordability (Joya, 2013). The rent control laws have transformed Egypt to be 'ownership oriented', as people started to invest in housing as a form asset as shown in excerpt (e), describing it as a *moshkala egtme'ya* (social problem) rather than a "housing problem". This connected to the fact that liberalization of the market spread out the idea of investment, with the assistance of law 49/1955 it motivated the economic activity of investment in housing as asset as per the assumption carried by excerpt. Which in the late 80s investment in real estate will boom in the market after the catastrophe caused by *sharikat tawzif al-amwal al-islamiya* "Islamic Money Management Companies" (Ponzi Scheme) known as El Rayan and El Sherif which led to many Egyptians lose their saving and money in fake investments (Shawkat, 2020). A novel feature in the narrative was the decline in interest rates for loans, enabling individuals, particularly those who owned land but couldn't afford construction, to purchase and own homes, as elucidated in excerpt (g). The pushing of the narrative to the *tamlik* (ownership) strategy dominated as per the capitalist ideology and became the official government banner (Shawkat, 2020), as seen in both excerpt (k) and (l), which calls for ownership of the public housing. Emulating the "right to buy" propaganda policy of Margaret Thatcher, this occurred two years prior to its implementation in the United Kingdom (Shawkat, 2020). In excerpt (m) it is advertised boldly to own at the "price of construction", and offering discounts for those who pay all at once. In excerpt (n), it illustrates that the campaign is working, and 165,000 families already "benefited" from the new law and now they own a home. Excerpt (o) illustrates new and "modern" units for ownership at a discounted rate due reducing the costs as a benefit of the liberalized market that led to exempting such homes of customs. The narrative of advertisement starts creating a dominant image between tying ownership of home with marriage and started creating many connections between it to "encourage the youth for getting married". Excerpt (p) shows that the problem is finding a house for "ownership", and lexically complicating it by referring it to an "impossible" thing, adding another layer of catastrophe that before newly wedded have one choice but live with their families. But, now with all the facilitation offered by the government the dream can now be a 'reality'.
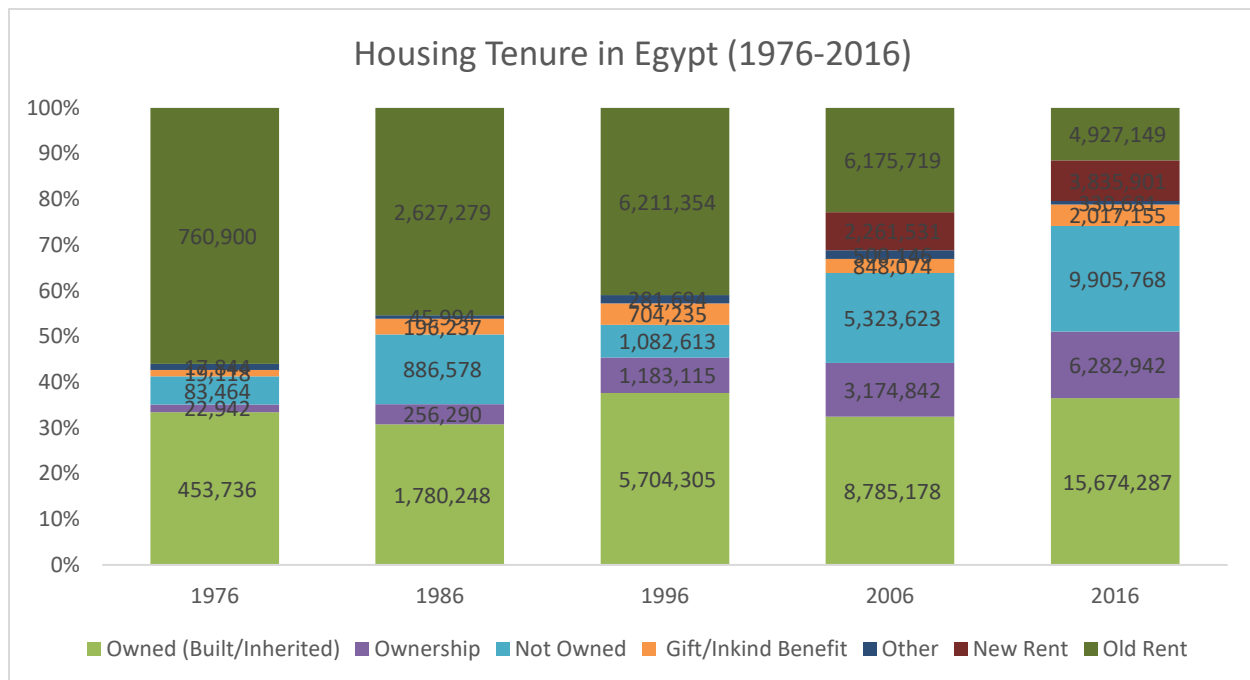
FIGURE 19: Housing tenure in Egypt (1976-2016). Source: Shawkat (2020), CAPMAS Census (1976-2016)

Those who cannot own end up joining the category of "self-builders" which are often negatively labeled as "informal", due to the lack of affordability (Joya, 2013). The direction of the private sector didn't align with the State's expectations, unintentionally the 'do it yourself' policy responded to the housing needs of people. The narrative showed that this consequence was not favored as shown in excerpt (h) where it presents informal housing as "unsafe" and 70% of such construction is un stable and *ayla lyl sekoot* (destined to collapse), building to the possible lack of knowledge attained by the owner of such construction as also shown in excerpt (i). With no clear solutions available, the prevalence of informal housing continued to grow during Mubarak's era. The primary strategy during this period was the New Town policy, introduced in 1976, which was influenced by the international self-help policy. This policy aimed to transform public housing into new communities, with construction being financially supported by the private sector (Joya, 2013) (Hassan, 2017). The NTP program was formulated based on three principles: 1) alleviating overcrowding in the Nile Valley and the Delta, where infrastructure and services were already strained and mostly depleted; 2) establishing new, self-sufficient urban centers in arid regions with integrated infrastructure to ease the burden on existing urban areas and mitigate encroachment on limited agricultural land, and 3) enhancing the national economy by generating job opportunities in these new urban centers. The program started with establishing approximately seventeen new communities, some of which later evolved into key national economic and industrial zones, including 10th of Ramadan, El Sadat, and 6th of October (El Kafrawy, 2012). This was under Minister Hasballah El Kafrawy who continues his efforts in Mubarak's era and pushed these cities to come to life.

Capitalism sets the stage for the subsequent phase, ushering in neoliberalism driven by escalating economic downturn. This shift is propelled by external influences, notably the IMF and USAID, restricting the public sector's role and intensifying market liberalization to allure private investments (Joya, 2013). As a continuation of the previous decade the NTP that was later called the "Law of New Communities" (Abdelrahman et al,. 2020), now initiates the NUCA as per law 79/1979 that states following:

> *"Creating new marakez hadrya (civilized centers) for achieving community stability and economic prosperity. Developing new attraction areas beyond the existing cities and villages."*

The law expands beyond just the provision of housing it states the creation of "civilized centers" to achieve both community stability and economic prosperity. Mubarak's era will be split into two phases, first will be under the supervision of Minister Hasballah El Kafrawy which marks the continuation of liberalism initiating capitalism and the movement of new cities and the second would be under the supervision of Minister Ibrahim Soliman with capitalist ideology initiating neoliberalism and the housing problem between informality and infrastructure.

1) The New Town Policy (1981-1993)

The early years of Mubarak's presidency saw the establishment of several new cities, including Al Sadat City, an administrative project initiated by President Al-Sadat. The narrative regarding the outcomes of these new cities and their impact on the "housing issue" is as follows:

1) Rental Problems

    a. Liberalization of Rent Control

    b. Home Ownership

2) Housing Crisis

3) Lack of availability (supply vs. demand)

    a. The Empty Homes phenomenon

    b. Self-builders

    c. Unsafe/informal housing

This era in particular focuses primarily on the new cities and the issues that were faced and how it impacted the housing "crisis". With Sadat's era come to an end the purchasing of homes doubled to 4% between 1976-1986 and doubled again to 8% by 1996. The sales cap that were presented in Law 49.1977 were barely effective (Shawkat, 2020). The numbers of homes owned increased exponentially from 450,000 by the end of the 1976 census, to 1,780,248 by the end of the 1986 census (Fig. 20). The losses contributed to the Ponzi schemes, and Arab Gulf petrodollars generated by Egyptians living abroad were all used as investments in housing (Shawkat, 2020). Which justifies the further increase in ownership tenure by the end of 1996 to 5,700,000 (Fig. 20). The following excerpts will help discover the matter further:

a)	"The problem of liberating housing from the restrictions imposed on it has stifled the resident, the owner, and the investor for many years. The relationship between landlord and tenant is governed by civil law in light of the abundance of homes. Its purpose was to legislate… a guarantee that the owner would receive the rent for his property…Unjust laws." – Al Akhbar, 1984
b)	"Government and public sector employees… are unable to own an apartment, and we as a government must build apartments for them to live in... realistic rents must be reached" – Moheb Estino, Al Ahram, 1983
c)	"The housing problem is primarily an economic problem" ¬– Al Ahram, 1983
d)	"The problem is social, economic and political. It is not possible to hold one end of the thread or the other" – Al Gomherya, 1984
e)	"The large number of laws and amendments behind the complexity of the problem… the large number of laws that were issued after the sixties and the large number of their amendments. Therefore, the laws were a fundamental reason for the complexity of the crisis because of the "unpeaceful" and "non-independent" atmosphere that the laws created between the landlord and the tenant.." – Al Ahram, 1985
f)	"This is the result of an imbalance between supply and demand, as the supply for ownership is greater than the supply for rent. As a result, there are a huge number of residential units for sale and no one can buy them. As a result of the multiplicity of housing laws and the disparity of their provisions, which makes it difficult to implement them" – Al Ahram, 1988
g)	"We don't have a housing problem! But there is a problem with planning… and organizing the existing human resources in Egypt" – Al Sha'ab, 1989
h)	"A social tragedy in Egypt called public housing… Before they are displaced to a new area and a new life... they must ask the people first and they must know their opinion about it… Do you agree with them? Are you meeting their needs? Will it be built in that area or another area proposed by people? They may even discover while asking them that they want another, completely different project, and it must have the reasons for this project presented by the planners. They must even ask them about the image or form in which it should emerge the project"- Al Ahram. 1990
i)	"Despite the huge housing numbers, they do not cover more than 40% of our needs... We are only planning... We provide land and building materials... We offer 470 million pounds to those who want soft loans at an interest rate of 4%... The credits, even with the five-year plan, do not work." – Akhbar Al yom, 1983
j)	"Who can imagine 200,000 empty apartments inhabited by ghosts? There are 100,000 apartments that their owners built and then closed and kept the keys in their pockets. There are another 100,000 multiple apartments, meaning that their owners do not need them because they own more than one apartment, amounting in some cases to 20 apartments per person. Milad Hanna demands one dwelling for each family, a necessary measure to eliminate the phenomenon of closed apartments." – Al Wafd, 1984

> k) "100 thousand apartments are closed or intentionally not finished. To reduce the greed of owners of under-finished buildings. Finishing is at the owner's expense. What is the legal position on the owner who exploits the building permit on building materials at subsidized prices? Then he is reluctant to finish the building or hand it over to the residents!" – Al Ahram, 1988
>
> l) "60,000 slum dwellings in Cairo every year...slum housing, which occupies 60% of Cairo's surface area and constitutes 80% of its urban area, believes that this type of housing is the biggest cause of problems. The spread of slum housing led to Law 29 of 1977, which gave legitimacy to slum areas that were established in Egypt before 1966." – Al Seyasy Al Masry, 1993

Text Box 14 Arabic excerpts are found in Appendix C, Table 3

Liberalization of the market as many other things are a continuation of Sadat's economic agenda that plays in favor of the private sector and foreign investments (El Kafrawy, 2012). The carryover of liberalization and the economic baggage still has a negative impact on the housing industry by increasing the prices of housing, and expansion of informal settlements. Nearly two decades after the inception of rent control and associated laws, there persisted a call for the liberalization of rent control measures. Excerpt (a) pleads for the liberation of the rent control as it led to the stifling of resident, the lexical word choice is a synonym for suffocating which was earlier used in 1950s to describe the impact of urban congestion. However, what seems to be a shift in the narrative as the problem became a matter related to the civil law to resolve the relationship between owners and tenants and it no longer became a problem of housing. It was defined with "unjust laws" however, it was transferred in weight away from housing which was assumed as propositional assumption due to availability of homes at the time. Rents were described as *ghayr waqieia* (unrealistic) in excerpt (b) by Moheb Estino which started adding difficulty on employees of the public sector. With the privatization wave, the elimination of the government monopoly that was conducted as part of the liberalization of the market has impacted the government employee (El Kafrawy, 2012), amid the crisis of rent affordability. In excerpt (c) housing was viewed as an economic problem rather than a housing problem and this can be tied by the limits and restriction applied by the IMF as it led to a reduced subsidy (Joya, 2013). The government has adopted an economic reform policy aimed at addressing the existing "imbalances" that have emerged in the housing sector due to market liberalization (Shalaby, Ahmed, El Shenawy, 2022). However, the narrative has shifted its focus towards housing as a crisis, attributing its complexity and multifaceted nature to social, economic, and political factors, suggesting an inherent complexity in the issue (as seen in excerpt d). In the historical narrative, the problem is once again attributed to the complexity and errors within the legal framework, described lexically as "*mu'aqqad*" (complex), and an assumption is made regarding its connection to the growing problems in the rental environment (as shown in excerpt e), linking these issues to the legal system.

Minister Hasballah Elkafrawy promised that following the "liberalization "of rent control, two million vacant homes will surface the market (Shawkat, 2020). Regardless, of his inability to comply

to his promise, but around one million units were vacant ant not owned by the end of the 1996 census (Fig. 20). There is a current mismatch in the supply and demand which is expressed in excerpt (f) as an *'adam tawazon* (imbalance), caused by the tipping over of units available for sale over the units available for rent. Leading to an existential assumption to a "multiplicity" of homes that no one can afford. Again, describing the problem as a legislative problem and lexically describing it with "disparity" in their provision and "difficulty" in their application. The repetition in the narrative links the emerging issues in the housing crisis back to the intricate legislative framework. Authorities seem to be sidestepping the actual problems, proclaiming it as a housing issue, while the narrative clearly indicates otherwise. In excerpt (g), another facet of the problem is revealed, suggesting once more that it is not solely a housing issue but rather a planning problem closely tied to human resources organization. This assumption carries an existential element with a conflicting orientation.

However, it seems that the state has been in a monologue for a long period of time, ignoring experts in 60s and 70s, but the narrative indicated for the first-time elimination of the target user they are building for. This is concerned with the new desert cities circling cities like Cairo, particularly as law 79/1979 indicates the accomplishments of complete communities. Except (h) describes it as a *ma'asah* (tragedy), and the weight of the word resonates in the text as it questions the state and victimizes the user. The first assumption challenges the characterization of the issue as a 'social problem,' particularly focusing on public housing. The second consideration raises questions about whether individuals to be relocated to a "new area" and "new life" were consulted regarding their needs. The third aspect delves into the text's attempt to identify any self-criticism by the government regarding the alignment of their plans with the people's interests. The text addresses the government's approach to whether there has been an "open dialogue" with prospective residents in the new cities. This is because it assumes that the increasing vacancy rates in housing result from a misalignment between the state's goals and the needs and desires of the residents.

Excerpt (i) is in the tongue of the state, stating their roles and responsibilities towards housing as the following:

1. Only planning

2. Provide land and materials

3. Provide loans at a low interest rate

Despite the increase in housing numbers, the plan has not achieved its intended success. Figure 18 indicates that between 1986 and 1996, the government's share in housing provision rose to 26%, encompassing almost 700,000 units. This marks the highest government share in several decades. The text here shows frustration and disappointment, which extenuates the lack of supply, yet does

not express a crisis. However, the narrative began to grapple with the issue of rising vacancy, transforming it into the "housing problem". In excerpt (j) numbers were used to display the accuracy of the assumptions, "200,000 empty apartments" inhabited by *ashbah* (ghosts) as they have not been owned by anyone. In addition to 100,000 frozen ones, here Milad Hanna demands an action against multiple homeowners to put a limit to the problem before it enlarges. The narrative here shows propositional assumptions, after lexically amplifying the text, and strong assumption is built to put an end to the problem. In excerpt (k), four years later, there are still the same number of 100,000 unoccupied apartments. The assumption here links the cause of this vacancy to the *tama'* (greed) of the owners. This text conveys a distinct shift in orientation, directing frustration towards the government for not taking any action.

From vacancy to informality, as the narrative regarding informal housing creeps its way to the narrative, already the narrative tried to create a negative image to repel individuals away from it. In excerpt (l) the emphasize of the 60,000 houses appearing annually accentuates the phenomenon that threatens 60% of the total urban area in Egypt, using these numbers to build an existential assumption to lead to "biggest" housing problem. The problem here is that the narrative covered a loophole in the law which legalizes the presence of informal housing spreading under law 29/1977 which allowed the existence of "slums" that were built before 1966. Even though the narrative every now and then seemed to criticize the matter related to informal housing, but it seems that was left to grow. According to Figure 18 by 1996 the informal private sector becomes the largest provider of housing in Egypt. The problem was permitted by the law and exacerbated by the severe economic crisis, marked by the escalating costs of construction materials. The environment provided fertile ground for informality, especially given that the problem didn't significantly feature in the narrative until the late 1990s. Law 135/1981 is another legal provision stemming from Law 29/1977, which stipulates that no orders for demolition, removal, reallocation, or correction of any structures violating Law 52/2940 can be issued five years after the law's proposal.

The contradiction evident in the narrative stems from the clash between capitalism and the growing awareness of the public. Notably, for the first time in the narrative, many experts discussed the misdiagnosis of the problem. The government's discourse consistently emphasizes its role in "planning only" and "providing only," yet the issue persists. However, it is frequently reiterated that this is primarily a legislative problem marked by a complex attitude that appears to hinder effective communication between the government's intentions and the intricate realities on the ground.

Land Provision Era (1993-2011)

By 1993 it was the end of Minister El Kafrawy supervision and the beginning Minister Ibrahim Soliman era. Strong neoliberal adjustment was led by the World Bank and IMF, two decades after Mubarak initiated that he solve the issue in the housing sector (Shawkat, 2020). The impact caused

by the NTP seemed to find its place in the narrative almost 13 years after the commencement of the project. The categories are split into 4 parts, each expanding into further sub-categories:

1. No Housing Crisis, It's a social crisis.

2. New Housing Projects

   a. Youth Housing

3. Self-Builders

   a. Unsafe/Informal

4. Lack of Affordable (supply vs. Demand)

   a. Empty Homes

   b. Housing For the Elites

The environment led by neoliberalism became a business incubator for the private sectors and foreign investments (Shawkat, 2020). Mubarak in his speech in 1998 he described that the "housing problem" at the time will be solved if built by the private sector and regulated by the government

(Shawkat, 2020). The following excerpts shed light on the actual impact of the private sector's involvement in addressing housing issues:

a) ""I filed a complaint with Mr. so-and-so...and Mr. so-and-so discussed it...and it was submitted to Mr. Allan...and it is now under investigation...but solving this problem requires money." The complaint is that these problems are not in their correct place...the solution it is a reordering of priorities." - Al Ahram, 1995

b) "It is represented by the significant reduction in land prices in new cities, which opens the door for businessmen and investors to participate in the implementation of economic housing projects... Reducing land prices will serve as direct support for economic housing because it will expand the base of businessmen's participation in these new areas." – Al Ahram, 2000

c) "After it has grown...experts are calling for its abolition: The Ministry of Housing spends billions...and does not solve the problems of housing, water, and sanitation!...by abolishing the Ministry of Housing, and returning the Ministry of Municipal and Rural Affairs, which provided real service to low-income people until the early sixties. . The administrative structure of the Ministry has expanded to an unprecedented extent... and a number of huge bodies and agencies have emerged." – Al Ahli, 2000

d) "It aims to seek to attract "customers" to the matchbox housing project... due to the limited space of residential units... which is a housing style that is completely inconsistent with the Egyptian taste... suitable for application in Europe, not in Egypt." – Al Ahrar, 2005

e) "Those who are tormented in the National Housing Project... the impossible conditions... obliging young people to finish the apartment within 3 months and live in it, and the penalty is termination of the contract! Blockers of the second phase are required to pay double the value under the pretext of high construction prices" – Al Ahram , 2010

f) "100 dreams and mirages in the youth housing project... thousands young people applied to get an apartment and only 20 thousand... they are in good luck!... brokers and apartment dealers crowd in front of the housing banks to entice young people to sell their apartment... for 8 thousand pounds per apartment" - Al Wafd, 1997

g) "To rid Cairo of the danger of slums, the fund's budget amounts to 500 million pounds, amid official indicators indicating that 70% of Cairo's population lives in slums, while consulting engineer Mahmoud Hamza warned that 8 million families need alternative housing." – Al Ahram, 2009

h) "Unfortunately, the government is the one that starts with slums in all areas...bad planning in establishing Helwan and October governorates." – Al Ahram, 2010

i) "Sadat City is deserted... due to the high prices of apartments... The high prices of apartments in Sadat City led to the flight of citizens because they were not interested in residing there. The total number of housing units that have been implemented so far has reached 13 thousand and 77 housing units of various types, although only 10% have been inhabited. Increase the prices of these units up to 100%." – Al Wafd, 1996

j) "Urban communities: illusion or reality? We only see endless hills of sand, and there are supposed to be entire neighborhoods built and populated with their residents." – Al Akhbar, 1998

k) "Youth housing is an urgent necessity to achieve the dreams of thousands searching for marital life... Donations from investors will not solve the problem and we need a radical solution! New city lands are not licensed... New communities are for the rich only creating "risk x risk"... One million apartments are needed, in addition to 600 thousand marriages annually." – Al Gomherya, 1999

l) "The housing crisis is artificial and we are considering reducing the prices of housing units to make it easier for the poor... Cairo Governor: The problem is in the thousands of units that were built for the benefit of the Cooperative Authority and the Housing Bank, where the simple young man cannot pay the down payment or the installments... They contain apartments that no one can live in, and this was due to bad... planning and marketing" – Al Midan, 2000

m) *"Why did the new cities fail to solve the housing crisis... The Ministry of Housing "assigned the management of the new cities to private sector companies. This idea came in an attempt by the Ministry to protect the new cities from collisions and neglect of facilities due to the failure of the New Urban Communities Authority to manage and maintain these cities." Because their primary role stops only at extending utility networks and completing the infrastructure, these cities have become a blatant joke of neglect and lack of attention." – Al Wafid, 2000*

n) *"One of these cities has turned into a "ruin" inhabited by ghosts, without facilities, without services. The residents there face the disaster of "isolation" away from urban life. Can anyone imagine living in a place that has no means of transportation or telephone lines?!" - Al Wafid*

o) *"There are thousands of apartments that have been closed for 30 years and are still looking for residents to live in them... Why doesn't the government pay attention to them and try to benefit from them and exploit them to solve the housing crisis that has cast a shadow over every home in Egypt?" – Al Wafid, 2007*

p) *" Unfortunately, they have turned into cities for ghosts, while for humans, they have turned into cities full of problems... and inhuman life." – Al Ahram, 2008*

q) *"10 thousand pounds to support all housing and accommodate all classes in the new cities...that the new cities should include individuals representing the various fabrics of society, meaning that all classes should have society so that the fabric of this city is integrated." – Al Ahram, 1995*

r) *"Housing for the rich...the ministry's slogan that ignores the social dimension...the high prices of land and apartments...weak services...behind the crisis in new urban communities...the construction of villas for the wealthy, the high prices of low-cost units...the lack of services. This indicates a defect in the situation of these cities, which have failed in the urban aspect in a satisfactory manner.." – Al Shaab, 1997*

s) *"A new civilized style of design and implementation that keeps pace with global development and raises housing to the level of privacy and luxury... away from the noise, disturbance, pollution, and crowds of the capital near the work sites in New Cairo. Providing green spaces.." – Al Ahram, 1999*

t) *"The "frenzy" of luxury housing threatens to cause disaster... What is happening in the real estate investment market... The image of Egypt at a time when it turned into resorts and 7-star residences... due to the lack of a special housing policy in Egypt that defines Egypt's needs for housing of its various types... It has not been implemented it did not see the light, and there are various reasons for not denying it, including the difference in the political outlook of the housing ministers... now the focus is on the rich classes... and the balance between supply and demand in medium and low-end housing has disappeared... investors are the reason for the spread of luxury housing projects." - Al Akhbar, 2000*

Text Box 15 Arabic excerpts are found in Appendix C, Table 3

As government production declines and the informal sector flourishes to meet the demand for housing due to the lack of affordable options in both old and new cities (Fig. 17), the outcomes of over two decades of planning for new cities did not align with the initial intentions. It was during Hasballah El Kafrawy's era that it became evident that the housing issue in the narrative is a combination of both a social and legislative crisis. In excerpt (a), it easily demonstrates the process of obtaining a new house in one of these new cities as a highly *amaliat muˈqada* (complicated process), with humor it shows the intertwined governmental process and the people that are needed to finish the steps, whether signing from *folan* (someone in Egypt dialect) or *ʿelan* (another

110

person in Egyptian dialect). It doesn't stop here as to issue the signatures a bribe needs to be paid, which is an existential assumption to it being more expensive, which embodies the problem as a communication problem. Except (b) shows existential assumption as it's the neoliberal platform encourages the resolving of the problem, by showing how land reduction in new cities are opportunity for the private sector to build and provide housing. The narrative started leaning towards the private sector as the key to resolving the housing problem for the youth. The narrative of crisis was spread out slowly building up to "catastrophe", like "Housing without suffering" in 1999 Al Ahram issue, or *masakn 'elb elkabreet* (Matchbox housing) in Al Ahrar issue in 2005. The growth of the problem led to experts calling for *algha' alwazara* (the abolition of the ministry) in excerpt (c), due to it spending billions is an existential assumption of not being able to resolve the problems of both housing and infrastructure. The text advocates for the reinstatement of the Ministry of Municipal and Rural Affairs, which played a crucial role in the housing sector during the 1950s. The narrative here implies that the expansion of the Ministry of Housing has reached *ila had ghayr masbouk* (an unprecedented extent). Naturally, the narrative shifts away from government provision and leans towards favoring the private sector, particularly due to the growing demand in the private sector. This surge in private sector demand resulted in a 48% increase in land prices in new cities and a 44% increase within Cairo between 2007-2011 (Mokhtar, 2017).

The introduction of the NHP (National Housing Program) in 2005, aimed at assisting low-income families and newly married couples (youth housing), faced challenges due to the rising land and housing prices (Shawkat, 2014). However, these housing units were notable for their small, compact areas, as described in excerpt (d) as *'elab kabreet* (matchbox). The metaphor used here illustrates how compact and uncomfortable these houses are. For the first time in a long time to critique these housing project as *tataearad* (inconsistent) and not suitable with the *alzoq almasry* (Egyptian taste). In excerpt (k) it called for a plea for the dreams of the youth embedded in housing, this recalls to the Mohamed Heneidy speech, but it alarms from the creation of creating only rich neighborhood, with an over-wording of *khatr fy khatr* (risk x risk), as an exaggeration. The NHP was not perceived as the holy grail of housing, in excerpt (e) residents in the NHP were perceived as *moazeb* (tormented), the exaggeration was to emphasize on the size of the problem. The problem here falls under the complicated legislative framework that obliges "low-income" individuals to furnish their apartment within three months and if not their contract is terminated. In excerpt (e), the narrative raises doubts about the expectations placed on the youth to achieve the required goals. In excerpt (f), it becomes evident that only a fortunate few manage to secure an apartment out of the thousands who apply, largely due to brokers buying properties from the youth at inflated rates. The text makes a propositional assumption as it connects incidents to demonstrate their correlation.

Make-shift versus Regular Buildings

Make-Shift Buildings عشة, عوامة, كبينة,كشك ■ regular homes (villa, house, apartment building)

Year	Make-Shift	Regular homes
1976	47,909	1,358,002
1986	121,071	1,882,926
1996	138,531	4,058,798
2006	153,963	8,603,566
2016	205,970	13,467,333
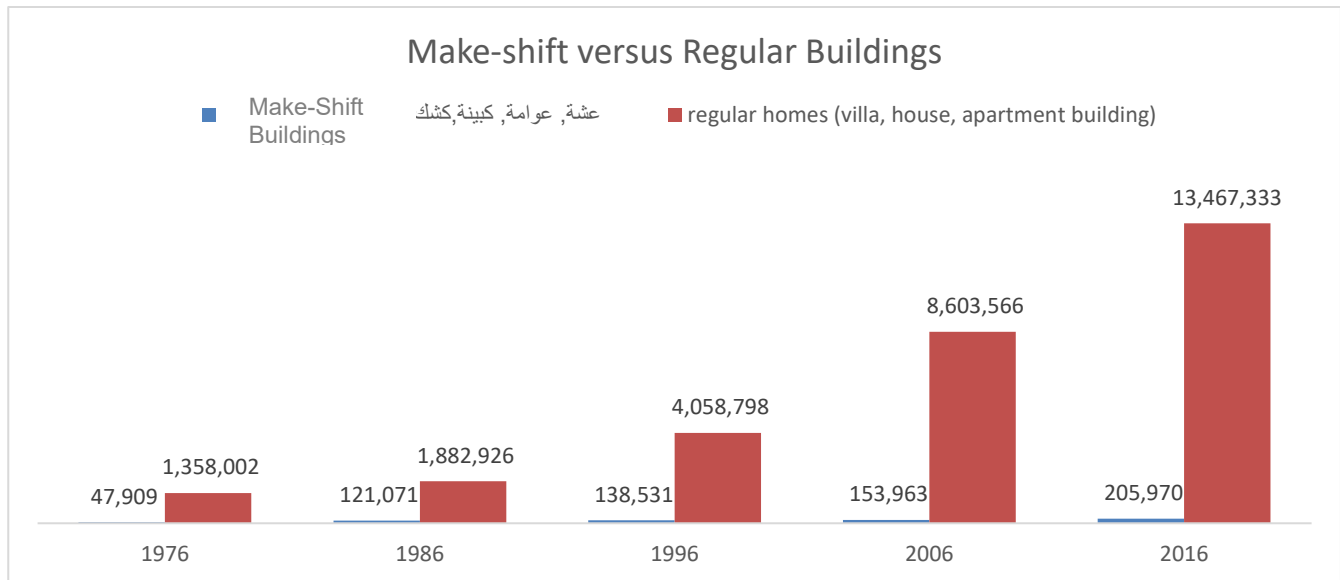
FIGURE 20: CAPMAS – Make-Shift vs. Regular Buildings.

With the dropping of housing provision by the government and formal private sector, the informal private sector finds it way to respond to the demand with skyrocketing numbers between 1996-2006 (Fig. 18). In the CAPMAS documents informal housing didn't have any coverage in the census posted from 1976-2017, the only category found was *mabany jawazeya* which defined as "makeshift homes" visually identified as a nest, a tent, a burial ground , or a fixed cart (CAPMAS, 2017). Official documents such as CAPMAS census, lacked both the identification of informal housing in Egypt, and the intention to show any statistics related to it. The census showed detailed data regarding all forms of housing types including 'makeshift homes' and self-built housing. Self-built housing is defined as housing that consists of concrete and brick structures. Majority of Egyptians could not afford anything other than build a shack or rent a s room in these brick-and-mortar structures (Shawkat, 2020). In excerpt (g) and (h) the narrative adds the responsibility of the "slums" phenemenon on the government. In excerpt (g) slums were described as *khatr* (dangerous) which capitalizes on the idea behind the Movie Heena Maysara (when it gets easy), that describes the difficulties face by people living in informal areas. The movie was directed by Khaled Youssef in 2007 uncovering the lives of residents in unplanned and informal areas. A dialogue between an old man a young man, where the old man was asked "*where did you come from*?", he answered "*we came to attend Abdel Nasser's funeral, and there was nothing needed here, and I built my life and no one knew who I was*". The dialogue here showed that the problem started appearing early on in the 70s, without the attention of the public at the time. The second scene is when one of the residents returned from Iraq after years he couldn't recognize the areas as it expanded and sprawled, his friend replied "*Our place has grown so much that it was 20 years old. May God increase and bless any earthquake, some people attacked*". The dialogue pointed out many events that led to people moving to the slums as their only option. The movie also portrayed and attacked residents of these "unsafe"

areas as people with no moral, drug dealers, terrorists, and prostitutes, building a propositional assumption to the atrocities caused by informal housing. In 2008 the Informal Settlements Development Fund was created according to PD 305/2008 which mandates a study and design development plans for those settlements (Wahdan, 2021). In excerpt (h) the government was held responsible for the spreading of informal housing and lack of planning. The government's expectations for the urban poor to realize their dreams of owning desert land were heavily criticized. This was particularly true given the initial requirement of purchasing land, while informal construction, which is significantly more affordable and devoid of legislative 'complications' as indicated in the narrative, was available as an alternative.
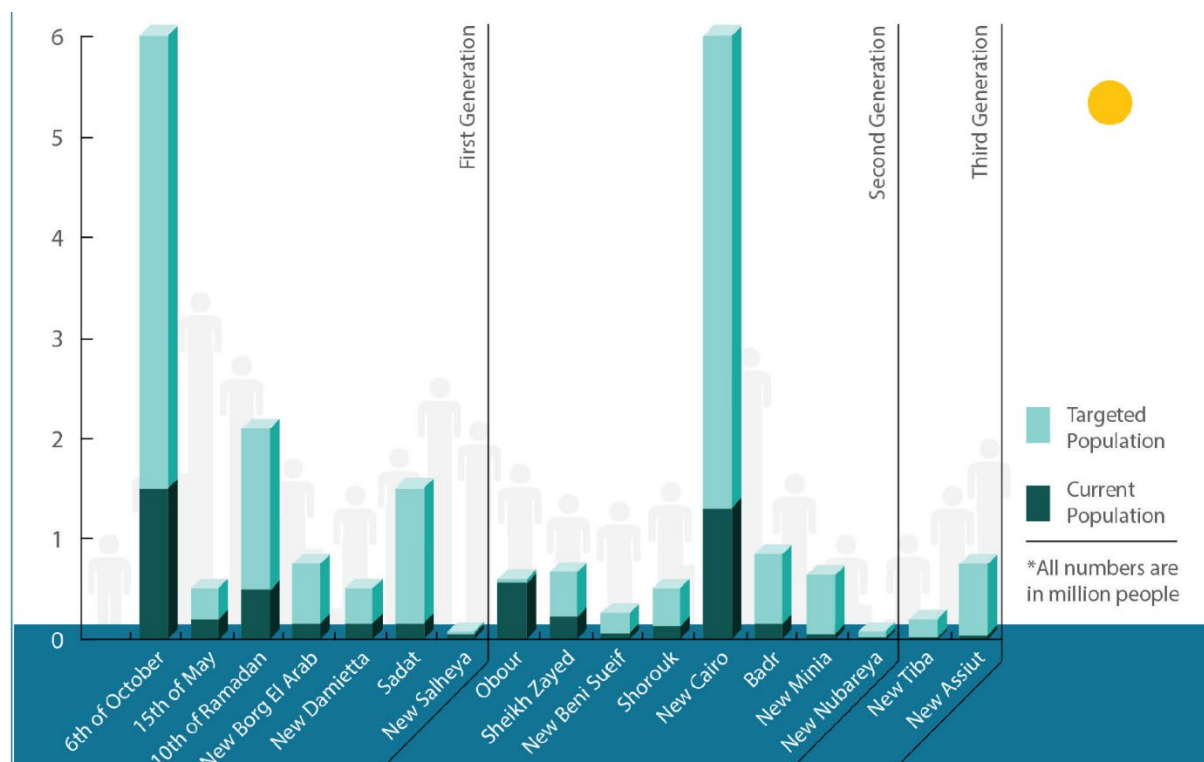
FIGURE 21: Current and Target Population in New Cities. Source: (Tadamun,2015)

The issue of vacancy especially in new desert cities is extremely significant across all three generations of desert cities, as none of the cities planned since the seventies has achieved its targeted population (Fig. 22). The problem of vacancy has expanded over the past decade, with not only an alarming number of unoccupied units but also an upgrade to what are referred to as *mudun ashbah* (ghost cities). The harsh metaphor used of "ghost" declares an alarming circumstance of injured these "new" cities. The surge in prices resulted in a lack of affordability, subsequently contributing to the issue of vacant housing. By 2006 5,300,000 units were left vacant due to high prices, or as a real estate investment. The neoliberal economic policies and the "entrepreneurial

urban governance" contributed a lot to the private sector contributing to the luxury market in the GCM area (Kuppinger, 2004). Hence, much of the new construction on government-subsidized desert land, allocated to developers for housing projects, did not necessarily result in public housing; instead, it predominantly evolved into middle and luxury housing (Fahmi & Sutton, 2008). In excerpt (i), Al-Sadat City was described as "*sahrawiya*" (desert-related), with citizens "*horoob*" (fleeing) from it and showing no interest in living there. This observation carries an existential assumption, particularly as the city is only 10% occupied from its total capacity. In excerpt (j) these new communities were asked if they were an *wahm* (illusion), as what is visible is endless hills of sand where communities were supposed to be. In excerpt (l), the housing crisis is once again characterized as "artificial." Minister Soliman's rhetoric appears aimed at comforting readers and assuring them that the situation is under control. As a bonus, the government pledges to reduce the costs of housing units. The rest of the text is where Cairo's Governor blames the private sector including the Cooperative Authority and the Housing Bank on the poor planning and "bad marketing" is the propositional assumption to why those houses didn't reach the target user. Excerpt (o) focuses on closed units (vacant), highlighting their existence amid a shortage crisis. The text suggests the government find a way to leverage these closed units (vacant) to alleviate the problem.

The empty homes phenomenon is a consequence resulting from the high housing costs and the lack of infrastructure in new cities. This is also evident in excerpt (m), which highlights the "*fashal*" (failure) of these new cities in addressing the housing problem. This failure is rooted in the role of NUCA itself, which typically ends its involvement as soon as infrastructure is connected, and land is sold. Despite the continuous production of new cities over time, as depicted in image 24, none have managed to reach their target population. The assumption here serves to justify why the Minister entrusted the private sector with managing facilities, out of concern for the potential collapse of these cities.10 years later this is legalized by the government under law 67/2010, which regulates a partnership between the private and public sector to supply infrastructure. In excerpt (n) one of the new cities was described as *damar* (ruins) and inhabited by *ashbah* (ghosts), the lexical use of metaphors lead to existential assumption where the 'reality' of the situation creates an inhabitable place, with no infrastructure and no basic needs of living existing. The correlation found in all the excerpts, including excerpt (p), links "ghost" cities to cities facing problems, ultimately characterizing them as places that foster inhumane living conditions. The mismatch between the scarcity of available housing and the high vacancy rates contributes to a crisis, previously referred to as a "distribution crisis," rather than a "housing crisis." Singerman argues that Egypt does not suffer from a "housing crisis" but rather a problem of vacancy (1995).

A new initiative started showing in the narrative, which is the inclusive housing initiative, which tends to boom later in the 2010s. In the early 2000s amid the investment friendly environment initiated by the neoliberal policies, 320 real estate companies planned the construction of 600,000

luxury housing in new cities (Fahmy & Sutton, 2008). Excerpt (q) shows financial support for cities including all classes, and invitation to create a more inclusive "fabric of the society", this might sound insensitive amid a crisis of affordability as the private sector was the main provider at the time, showing that provision should be exclusive for the low-income individuals as seen in excerpt (r) where the narrative started attacking *sakan lil-aqniya* (housing for the elites). Housing for the elites in excerpt (r) and (t) was defined according to lack of affordability and increase in prices with an existential assumption that these prices are only affordable for the rich which sparks the narrative of neglect. In excerpt (t), luxury housing was described as the beginning of a "*karitha*" (disaster), highlighting the government's bias to supply luxury housing. There is now a law aimed at regulating the diversification of housing types, but a significant issue has emerged in the availability of affordable housing. This illustrates an existential assumption with an effort to underline the disparity.

Mubarak's era under the administration of Minister Ibrahim Soliman had faced major consequences, and exponential enlargement of the problem with housing. The narrative swayed between defending the private sector, and blaming the informal sector, and through other times it blamed the government and it application of legal framework. The surprise here is that the new cities seemed to not participate heavily in the housing narrative, only in the lack of infrastructure it had and inhabitability of it. Little was accomplished to take action to resolve the problem of lack of affordability and restrain the spread of the informal housing (sims, 2014).

2011-2023

This era has faced many changes amid the 2011 uprisings. In the role of the government section, it showed the transition phase between 2011 and 2014, and the second phase of the new republic. Post January 25th the changes that happened regarding housing were lacking however the narrative seemed to expel some of its concerns carried over from previous years.

    1) **Post January Transition (2011-2014)**

The issue with housing collapses into three categories; rental liberation, housing crisis, self-builders:

1. Rental Liberation

    a. Rental to ownership

2. Housing crisis

3. Self Builders

    a. Informal/Unsafe

The narrative follows a criticism approach to the previous regime and the outcomes of housing accordingly. The following excerpts are deduced from the narrative:

> a) *"Does the application of old rental laws with human rights prevent the landlord from benefiting from his right? ...Engineer Salah Hassaballah Minister: The relationship between the landlord and the tenant must be liberalized to solve the housing crisis. An association for those affected by the old rent law presents a project to lift the injustice against them... Milad Hanna: The solution is to raise the frozen rents for residential units used for housing"* – Al Ahram, 2011
>
> b) *"Among these owners of old properties whose voices have been voiced over the past years in a request to change the old rent law, which contributed to their impoverishment, even humiliation, and prevented them from disposing of their properties... Engineer Salah Hasaballah, the former Minister of Housing, does not acknowledge the existence of our housing crisis, but undervalues the problem. In laws that corrupted the natural relationship between landlord and tenant."* – Al Ahram, 2011
>
> c) *"A thousand apartments per month for residents of dangerous slums... delivering a thousand housing units per month to the governorate to transfer slum residents, such as the residents of Al-Duwayqa and dangerous slums, to eliminate them within a year."* – Al Ahram, 2011
>
> d) *"Units for residents of unsafe slums within 6 months...and 175 million pounds to develop 383 areas...housing units for residents of dangerous slum areas within a maximum period of six months, which are areas exposed to "rock slides," "floods," and "railroad slipway." He explained that all the measures implemented will aim to solve the problem of slum areas and encroachment on agricultural lands... as well as reducing internal migration. And about the new urban development that was approved according to aerial photography and a plan for villages and cities. The Minister confirmed that the plans have been approved and are being implemented through the governors"¬* – Al Ahram, 2012

Text Box 16. Arabic excerpts are found in Appendix C, Table 4

After the events little change surface the housing in Egypt, only a draft document on Housing Policies and Strategies for Egypt was prepared by the MHUUC in 2012 which serves as basic grounds covering the following points 1) citizen support strategies, 2) plan strategy centrally and implement locally, 3) a strategy to support safe rent and increase its share in the housing sector, 4) regulating the state and its housing capability, 5) a strategy to stimulate the introduction of vacant and closed units in the housing industry, 6) the strategy of preserving real estate wealth, 7) a strategy to stimulate the provision of attached lands to all social groups and link them to economic opportunities, and finally 8) policies for economic and social advancement of the resident of informal areas (Shalaby, Ahmed, Elshanwany, 2022). So little of this strategy has surfaced the narrative, and none of it made it to future strategies, however the narrative shared many of these thoughts within.

The persistent issue of Old Rent continued to be a focal point in the narrative, with approximately five million units entangled in Rent Control. Excerpt (a) portrays landlords as victims, lamenting the decades during which they were allegedly deprived of their "human rights"

to their properties. The link between the problems arising from Old Rent and the prevention of human rights is an exaggeration of the consequences. This plea aims to liberalize Rent Control, operating under the assumption that it results in "injustice". In excerpt (b), there is another call for the abolition of the Old Rent Law, and Minister Salah Hasballah frames the issue not as a "housing problem" but rather as a problem within the legislative framework that enables these grievances against landlords.After 2011 the narrative witnessed some liberation of expression and criticism of the situation related to housing. Voicing the issues in informal areas contributes to addressing the slogans of "social injustice", marking the narrative's initial efforts to discuss the concerns of those labeled as "neglected". In excerpt (c) is a promise to shelter those who live in "unsafe" areas such as the Duweiqa, the choice of reference here precisely chose to point out a disaster that happened years ago according to what type of unsafe conditions and not just labeling what is informal as unsafe. In excerpt (d), the unsafe conditions were precisely listed as "rock slides," "railroad slides," and "floods," all extracted from real incidents that took place in Egypt's history. Even though plans might have not seen the light of day amid the transitioning phase that Egypt was under and the state of instability, but the narrative displayed the detailed process and plan of action needed to achieve this which was not present before.

President El Sisi, after being elected, promised to continue implementing neoliberal policies, and this commitment gained an unusually high level of popularity or support (Tarek, Redeker, & Gladys, 2019). The government housing production saw its biggest decade on decade increase accumulatively by almost growing by 80% (Shawkat, 2020). Minister Madbouli stated in 2017 a promise as he pledged out:

> *"within four years there will be a major breakthrough for the housing problem*
> *in Egypt, as he states that we (government) will have been able to achieve a*
> *balance between demand and supply through the different housing projects,*
> *and also by finding alternative sites for the places that suffer from land*
> *shortages"* – Al Ahram, 2017

2) New Republic Era (2014-2023)

Prime Minister Madbouli's promise encompasses crucial topics that will be presented in the subsequent narrative. There is no crisis in the housing narrative during this historical phase; rather, it is framed as a "housing problem." The proportional assumption is that this is a "supply and demand problem" to be addressed through "different housing projects" within a specified timeframe. The ensuing categories and sub-categories to be explored during the New Republic era include:

1. New cities (4th generation)

    a. Administrative/industrial/ logistical hubs

117

     b.   Empty homes

     c.   Rentals

     d.   Housing for all Egyptians

2.   Self-builders

     a.   Informal/unsafe

Within this phase in Egypt's history the narrative took the monologue orientation more than the previous decades, where the discussion is from one side embodied in the following excerpts:

a) *"Distinctive units of social housing in the New Administrative Capital... President Abdel Fattah El-Sisi stressed the need for the New Administrative Capital to become a smart city that relies on modern and advanced systems in city management. The latest technology in this field will be used. Creating distinct social housing units... in order to meet the needs of state employees who will be transferred to work in various ministries there"* - Al Ahram, 2017

b) *"The Egyptian Ministry of Housing announces an incredible number of uninhabited apartments in Egypt... Abdel Khaleq Ibrahim, Assistant Minister of Housing for Technical Affairs, revealed that there are 13 million closed housing units in Egypt, distributed between urban and rural areas. The total investments in new cities amounted to 1.3 trillion pounds, during the period from 2014 to 2023. The cost of establishing fourth-generation cities accounted for 75% of that cost, with a value of 975 billion pounds, and 325 billion for developing and raising the efficiency of cities of previous generations, at a rate of 25% of the total cost."* – Fintech Gate, 2023

c) *"The tenant has the right to express his desire to own the rented unit during the contract period or one month before its expiration... Finally, residential units were provided for rent, put up for reservation for the least within the allowed timeframe."* – Al Ahram, 2016

d) *"The new social housing "Door of Hope" ...for limited-income and poor people, President Abdel Fattah El-Sisi pays great attention, and his main concern since he assumed office has been improving their living conditions within a framework of social justice and equality. New projects that the state is undertaking to establish in order to guarantee the necessary housing for citizens. Providing basic facilities and services, and the new social housing project was a door of hope for low-income people. Therefore, the various utility projects were the first measures that the state worked on, and the President emphasized the importance of achieving them within the time frame set for him, with the lowest costs and the highest standards."* - Al Ahram, 2015

e) *"He reviewed with us the three rooms in the apartment and the finishing in it, the bathroom, the kitchen and the hall... The apartment is beautiful, simple and comfortable for the soul, its colors are calm and the finishing is of a good standard and is suitable for immediate residence. While new cities are characterized by the good organization of their streets and squares and the availability of services. As for the quality of the housing units, it is proportional to the price of the apartment, which is linked to its cost prices only, which has also been subsidized so that the subsidy for an apartment ranges between 5 thousand pounds and up to 25 thousand pounds according to the citizen's income."* – Al Ahram, 2015

f) *"The new editorial comes at the beginning of a new year that inspires hope and a spirit of challenge to build Egypt's future"* – Al Ahram, 2017

g) *"Targeting and the meaning of implementing units that reach those who deserve it. Sometimes, if strategies do not include good targeting, the final product does not reach the targeted person. In order for empowerment to occur to the deserving groups, we begin support...to target the segments that we want to work on."* – Al Ahram Aleqary, 2019

h) *"Madbouly: Housing for all Egyptians is a solution to the problem of housing and slums"* ¬– Al Watn, 2023

i) *"Negligence on the part of the state led to the flight of young people to slums, and data from the Ministry of Housing indicates that housing for low-income people varies from residential housing, cemetery housing, cemetery housing, and approximately 900 slum areas inhabited by more than 15 million citizens. Millions of random units were built without a license after the revolution"* – Al Ahram, 2014

j) *"Urban and social development activities for residents of unsafe and unplanned areas within new urban communities with integrated services.. provided decent housing for 250 thousand citizens of slum areas and poorer villages?"* – Al Masry Al Youm

k) *"The tumor of slums had grown during the absence of the state for a period of time... People inhabited the areas of their lives, to the point of inhabiting cemeteries, and it was shameful for them to be located at the back of city of the dead, inhabited by the living from the rule of the dead on the verge of life. The people of Asmarat, like all other similar models across the country, rejoice at the extent of the urban transformation they have undergone."* – Al Masry Al youm, 2023

l) *"Transformations of the Egyptian personality... "The Egyptian personality between the negative and the positive" ... The people who moved to the Asmarat housing that the state prepared as a humanitarian alternative to a slum area gathered and demonstrated. And how they demanded to be returned to their collapsed, inhuman places, under the pretext that in their previous area they knew how to "earn a living," and how some of them stole electricity and water for their homes. Some tried to turn the ground floor apartments into shops, and spoil the residential character of the area. And slums. Thinking and behavior, and then reality is characterized by a cycle of randomness, ugliness, and chaos. The tendency of the national personality to superficiality and superstition."* – Al Masry Al Youm, 2023

Text Box 17. Arabic excerpts are found in Appendix C, Table 4

The "housing crisis" seemed to disappear from the narrative in the *Al Gomherya Al Gadeeda* (New Republic). The newness in "new republic" carries a proportional assumption of a new start over regarding the country.

> *"The new republic is a state in which the citizen enjoys his dignity, including a decent life, suitable housing, and good health. Therefore, the president launched many initiatives that affect the lives of our people in Upper Egypt, villages, and hamlets, most notably the Dignified Life Initiative, which placed the forgotten Upper Egypt at the center of the Egyptian state's attention, providing his children have modern, healthy housing that suits them, with basic facilities such as water, sanitation, and electricity."* – Mostafa Hamza, 2021

The new republic is a package that carries all the initiatives and projects that President El Sisi has and will initiate, it proposes a new life beyond the brick and mortar as seen described by parliament member Mostafa Hamza's speech. The absence of "housing crisis" from the narrative is appropriate when new smart cities are being developed in the desert (a). In the 2015 Economic Conference in Sharm Elsheikh El Sisi announced a new megacity under the name of the "New Administrative Capital", and it was described in excerpt (a) as having the latest *'ahdath altiqniaat* (technology) and "smart infrastructure". The language of "newness" is spread out in the text, it advertises to a "new" and "distinct" social housing prototypes led with smart management. The "smart" lexicon is a product of the Egypt 2030 Vision and the New Urban Agenda that was announced in Quito. Responding to Goal number 11 out of the UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDG), Egypt's Vision for Sustainable Development 2030 comes to surface bringing with it lexicons such "smart" "technology" and "sustainable" to the narrative, and led to the termination of the use of "crisis" (UN-Habitat, 2020).

The "newness" in the narrative invites residents to *aldaewah 'iilaa haqihim* (call for their right) to express their voices regarding the oppression that is being carried on by rent problems as seen in excerpt (c). This is a continuation of the 'freedom' narrative from the uprising in the beginning of the decade. Nevertheless, after six decades, the rental issue persists, with nearly five million units still falling under rent control laws. In 2015, the Ministry of State for Population was established to address citizen concerns, including the regulation of disputes between tenants and landlords under Law 745/2015. However, this initiative was short-lived as the ministry was eventually abolished.
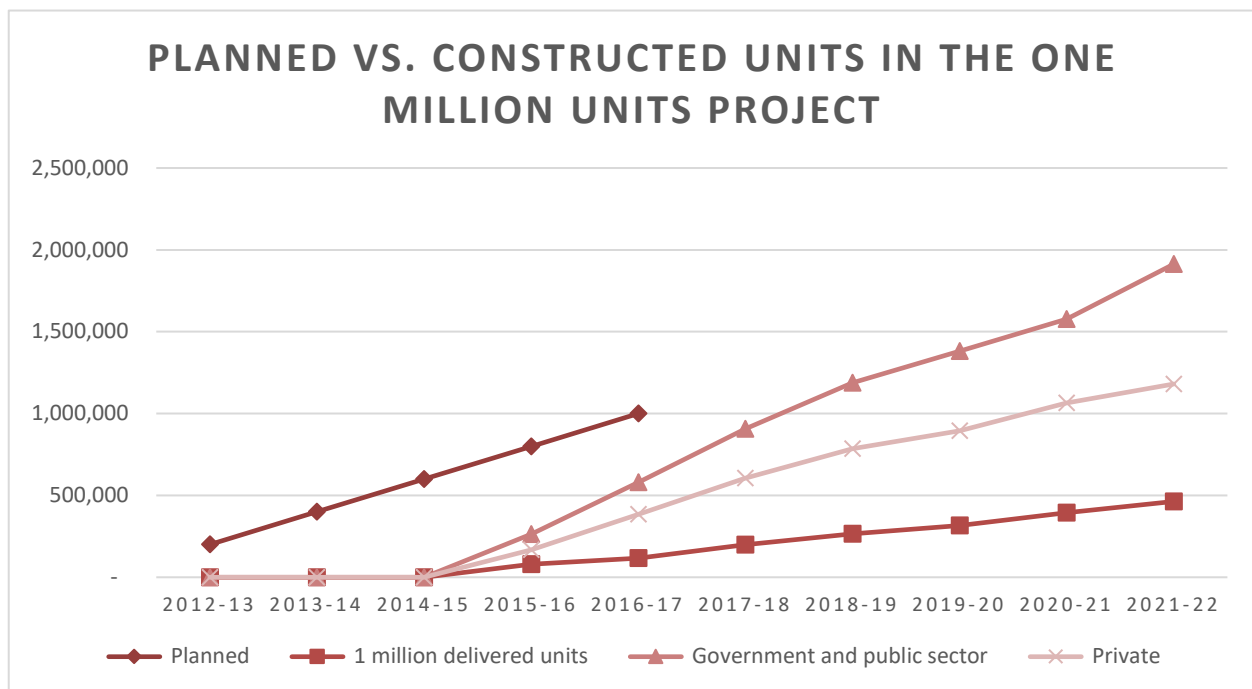
FIGURE 22: Planned vs. Constructed units in the One Million Units Project [CAPMAS Versus Shawkat, 2020]

As the "new" social housing now opens a *bab al-amal* (door of hope) this is a value assumption carried by use lexicons such as "new" and "hope". In excerpt (d) the positive orientation carries over the liberation narrative from 2011 events using *adalah ijtimaiyah* (social justice) and "equity" as a sponsor for President El Sisi initiatives for the low-income. Excerpt (d) reflects a significant shift in the narrative from previous decades, addressing various points that were considered reasons for the "housing crisis" in the past. It encompasses aspects such as "basic needs," "infrastructure," and achieving the "highest standard," with a notable emphasis on a "fast" time frame. After previous social housing projects being described as *'elab kabreet* (matchbox) houses during Mubarak's Era, while in this phase the units were described as *gameela* (beautiful) and *moreeha lyl a'sab* (comfortable for the نتقرش) from the official statements shown in excerpt (e). Description of the units' finishings as *hadia* (calm), with an emphasize on *gawda* (quality) is a feature the of "beautification" that appeared in the mid-2000s and continued till this phase. A considerable portion of the narrative transformation attributed to the enactment of The Social Housing Law 33/2014, which articulates the following:

> *"This decree states that part of the duties of the Minister of Housing Duties is to prepare and propose a plan for social housing projects and supervise their implementation, in order to provide adequate housing for low-income citizens and small plots for families of middle-income. The decree stipulates that it is not permissible for a citizen to take advantage or own more than one unit of social housing program, whether residential units or plots of land intended for construction. In addition, the decree sets the organi-zational structure and objectives of the Social Housing Fund, which shall undertake the funding, financing, management and the creation of residential units for social housing programmes, as well as the business and professional services required for these units..*

The language used in the law declares that the state is responsible for delivering, maintaining, and supervising the social housing projects, and it ensures the delivery to those deserving of it to provide an adequate means of housing. This aligns with the assumptions illustrated in the narrative. "*amal*" (hope) is a lexicon that was widespread in the narrative, referring to the future and development that Egypt will hold (f). In excerpt (g), citizen empowerment was correlated with the state's powers to ensure the units are delivered to those deserving. This announcement holds significant importance, particularly as the social housing project during Ibrahim Soliman's administration faced considerable challenges in reaching its intended youth demographic, as evident in the earlier narrative analysis section. The current narrative is characterized by public announcements that address previously identified problematic topics, emphasizing an urgency for resolving or already addressing these issues.

Housing inclusivity is an important goal within the housing strategy, Prime Minister Madbouly used propositional assumption as he described *sakan li-kol al-masriyeen* (Housing for all Egyptians) initiative is the solution to the "housing problem", especially to the informal housing sector as shown in excerpt (h). In Figure 23, government initiatives have led to a significant increase in housing provision, totaling almost 1,900,000 units constructed by the government and public sector. The narrative leverages this data to question why individuals continue to reside in informal areas, given the availability of diverse housing prototypes for "all Egyptians," as proclaimed. The ease of financing for such units is emphasized, especially with the implementation of the Social Housing and Real Estate Finance Law 93/2018, which facilitates the ownership or rental process for these units. Excerpt (l) further describes the reluctance of people to leave the slums for Al Asmarat (low-income housing) as a *tahwlat fy alshakhseya almasrya* (transformation of the Egyptian Personality," suggesting an existential assumption that Al-Asmarat provides a *hulul wasatiyah* (humanitarian solution) in contrast to the *gher adameya* (inhumane) slums. The lexical choices of choosing words and their opposite shows a conflictive orientation in the text. Excerpt (l) suspends that the need to *akl eleish* (earn a living) is a basic human need, and the way the slums resident needs to be upgraded to match the high standards offered by the government. Illness to describe housing narrative has returned from the 50s but this time it describes informal areas or slums, the main threat that Sayed Koryem alerted will happen back in 1952 (k). In contrast, the text in excerpt (k) assumes that the proliferation of slums occurred in the absence of government intervention for a certain period. It depicts people residing in lands deemed, similar to graveyards, placing them on the "*hafet alhayah*" (verge of life). The exaggeration used to describe slums aims to justify that Al Asmarat, offered by the government, is a sign of hope and leads to an existential assumption. This assumption suggests that Al Asmarat is instrumental in an "urban transformation" in response to the challenges posed by informal settlements. In excerpt (j) urban transformation did not just mean brick and mortar, but "urban activities" were also illustrated in the narrative related to new housing projects that declares an uplift for inhabitants of the informal areas and villages.

The narrative has faced a major change in language especially after the Social Housing Law 33/2014, where most excerpts illustrate announcements that aligns with the text of the law. The absence of language of crisis completely, and demonstration of solutions and achievements is the only lexical presence found. Housing policies under El Sisi reflects a continuation in liberalization of the housing market, and its financialization that provides a positive potential shift in the housing problem (Tarek, Redeker, & Gladys, 2019).

4.3.4. Investment and the Private sector

The role of the economy is intertwined with that of the government, particularly in defining the government's boundaries, as discussed in the previous section. This section provides a broad overview of changes in the economic structure, aiming to identify any differences and similarities. The primary focus is on constructing the narrative of housing in Egypt, where the economy plays

a pivotal role in both its development and shaping.

1950-1970

The 1952 revolution birthed the socialist ideology, resulting in nationalizing of key industries in Egypt (Joya, 2013). The Nasser period brought upon "revolutionary" policies in series of land reforms and rent control to "empower" workers and *fellahin* (farmers) to utilize empathy and formulate a support infrastructure against the enemies of the regime (Joya, 2013). Nasser implemented a program of "economic and social reform" influenced by the Soviet Union's program, which relied on government monopoly (El Kafrawy, 2012). Nasser's era was identified with pursuit of 'sufficiency and equity' by the Charter of National Action which described the monopoly of the state as the expansion of nation's production of wealth to fairer and more equitable distribution of income (Mabro, 1974). This took place after the *al-kheta al-khomasya* (Five Year Plan) that pushed for the growth of the public sector tremendously in many fields of production (Joya, 2013).

The presence of the private sector as a provider was not widespread during Nasser's political era. Houses at the time were either owned or inherited, therefore rent constituted a generous portion of the housing narrative, therefore CDA will not be conducted in this era, as it will only start to appear according to the liberalization policies in 70s.

1970-1981

Policies of economic *infitah* (Open-door Policy) was to allow a larger role for the private sector through Law 16/1971 that encourages foreign investment and Law 43/1974 that guarantees protection against nationalization with additional tax and custom exemption (Tarek, Redeker, & Gladys, 2019). Sadat's Era constitutes liberalization of policies initiating capitalism. Opening the door for foreign investment of the private sector refuted some of the land reform policies and led to the devaluation of the Egyptian Pound (El Kafrawy, 2012). This category is divided into the following topics:

1. Open-door Policy

    a. Private Sector

By 1975-1976 Egypt takes loans from the IMF and Western Arab Creditors to allow Egypt to participate in the global market, in return some restrictions will be applied on Egypt (El Kafrawy, 2012). The following excerpts illustrate the response of the narrative:

Text Box 18. Arabic excerpts are found in Appendix C, Table 2

As the International Monetary Fund imposed restrictions on the government, it limited its role to providing social housing by the government in Egypt. This was accompanied by the removal of subsidies on certain food groups, which, in turn, triggered the bread riots in 1977 (El Kafrawy, 2012). Opening the door for the rental file to be opened and discussed by the angry public. In excerpt (a) the government clearly tries to justify their loans as they are for *istithmar* (investment) and not for any economic deficit. This quick justification followed the many calls for the private sector to supply and provide. In excerpt (b) advertising for the private sector's limitless opportunities to invest in various markets especially the housing market, however lexicons like *elzam* (oblige) private entities to "invest in popular housing" seems to be holding the private sector's entitlement provide housing for the public. Al-Sadat emphasized the significance of "food and housing" as he shifted the public sector's role away from being the primary housing provider. He aimed to liberalize policies during this period in favor of the private sector's participation.

1981-2011

Mubarak's' era is divided into two eras, the first would be a continuation of the liberalization of the market initiating capitalism (1981-1993), and the land provisionera (1993-2011). The liberalization of the market, driven by a reliance on the private sector for housing provision, encouraged profit-oriented approaches, leading to a natural increase in housing prices.

2) **The New Town Policy (1981-1993)**

This era focused on one category; private sector for housing provision that expand into the following sub-category of imports of construction materials. Which are displayed in the following excerpts:

Text Box 19. Arabic excerpts are found in Appendix C, Table 3

The shift to neoliberalism is due to deteriorating economic conditions in the 1980s which was influenced by the IMF and USAID which pushed the state to remain in the path of liberalization. The 1980s constituted harsh economic and political environment in Egypt (Joya, 2013). Egypt's foreign debt reached an alarming high of nearly 36 billion dollars, imposing severe restrictions on the country. This was accompanied by rising unemployment rates, declining wages, an expanding import bill, and substantial debt payments (Joya, 2013). The narrative revolved strongly on price speculations in land and housing. Excerpt (a) shows a call to *mana* (prohibit) the trade of land provided by the government, the lexical choice to us "prohibit" illustrates a sense of urgency to end land price speculations, amid an economic crisis. The narrative calls for regulation and supervision of the market by the government to control prices. The escalation in prices was driven by the IMF's objectives to decrease subsidies and enhance commodity prices, pushing Egypt further along the path of market liberalization (Joya, 2013). With the enlargement of the "housing crisis", the narrative in excerpt (a) was calling for land distribution *belmagan* (free of charge) for those who will be able to build their own homes, the proportional assumption in these narrative calls for free land or else its expected *fawda* (chaotic) and 'ashwa'eya (random) construction will spread. Several years later in 1996 Law 5/1996 Regulating the Disposal of State-Owned Desert Lands, calls free land disposal, however it was dismissed later:

Rules for free disposal of desert lands owned by the state or public legal persons to establish investment projects

In excerpt (b), the narrative once again expressed its disapproval of land price speculation, describing it as " *jareemah la yusamah biha*" (an unforgivable crime). It also conveyed an existential assumption that the expectation for the private sector to use profits from the luxury market to benefit low-income individuals is more suited for "*anbaya'*" (prophets) rather than boards of directors. The metaphor used illustrates exaggeration in the narrative which assumes that the state's expectation of the private sector are *gheir hakeekayah* (fake). The narrative followed the

126

inflation that impacted the value of land prices and the speculations behind it, tied down to the economic and political policies set by the state amid the economic crisis.

3) Land Provision Era (1993-2011)

Mubarak's second phase commenced with the signing of the Economic Reform and Structural Adjustment Program (ESRAP) in 1991, marking the beginning of the neoliberal shift in Egypt with the potential privatization of state-owned enterprises. The land price speculations were still the popular narrative, amid the high inflation prices and the economic problems. The following category; Asset freezing that expands into the following sub-category of rising land prices.

Amid the economic crisis and the situation of land and housing in Egypt, and the fall of IMMCs which led many people to resort to freezing land and property as form of assets to maintain the value of their money amid the devaluation procedure of the Egyptian Pound. The following excerpts display how this is employed in the narrative:

a) *"What is worse than that is what those responsible for these lands did by raising their prices without any prior warning. Stranger than fiction, there is more than one price. Land prices skyrocketed in areas where we dreamed of starting a decent life"* – Al Akhbar, 1998

b) *"The issue of the consolidation of residential units allocated to young people and selling them to others with the help of officials from one of the banks specializing in real estate, which has previously implemented a number of giant residential projects within new cities, most notably the 6th of October City... which completed the first stage in the consolidation of lands. Lands in the Fifth Settlement.. Announcing them as allocating them to companies and individuals, which is contrary to the truth, in order to reserve those plots in preparation for selling them later.. which is what is known as land freezing in order to obtain a financial return of up to double, which is far in the interests of individuals rather than the state."* – Al Araby, 2008

Text Box 20. Arabic excerpts are found in Appendix C, Table 3

In excerpt (a) there was devastation in the narrative regarding the increase in land prices, it was described as *aghrab mn elkhayal* (stranger than fiction). This led to an existential assumption about the difficulty of comprehending the situation, particularly with speculation that a single piece of land can have multiple prices. The increased land prices in new cities contributed to the demolition of residences. This dramatic rise amounted to almost 148%. (Tarek, Redeker, & Gladys, 2019).

Over a decade, housing and land became assets that Egyptians invested in to preserve the value of their money. The *tasqiya al-usul* (asset freezing) phenomenon resulted in the emergence of more than 5 million vacant houses. In excerpt (b), individuals and banks purchase lands and housing with the intention of selling them later to "double" their "financial return," fostering an assumption that this benefits the individual without yielding any benefits to the state. This excerpt portrays the state as a victim in the face of individual greed and profit-seeking brokerage.

2011-2023

The commitment to the neoliberal policies resumed post 2011 and through President El Sisi administration. This era is split into phases as the economic narrative takes two different characteristics. Amid the 2011 uprisings it was important for the government to illustrate to establish economic wellbeing to attract investors.

1) Post January Transition (2011-2014)

This led to the change of the category to become economic wellbeing and investment is a topic within this new category. For the first phase that constitutes the transition phase between 2011 and 2014 these are the following topics:

1. Investments (private sector)

   a. Real estate Market

The excerpts that fall into these categories are as follows:

> a) *"The Ministry of Housing turns into a real estate investor and developer and builds a housing project that competes with the private sector and raises rental prices significantly. This is incomprehensible and unacceptable… The housing problem in Egypt is not luxury housing, but housing for low-income people, and the role of the ministry is to take care of these people or provide attached plots of land for those who are able to build. The Ministry of Housing must not turn into a broker and dealer in lands or real estate. Rather, it is the custodian of Egypt's lands." – Al Ahram, 2011*
> b) *"An ambitious plan by the Ministry of Housing to revive the real estate market... The indicators are positive and the Egyptian market is attractive for investment, provided that security is stable. The Ministry of Housing is primarily responsible for the real estate investment market. The Ministry has developed an ambitious and promising plan to offer lands, whether to citizens or investors, to establish large projects that will be implemented in stages linked to security stability." – Al Ahram, 2011*

Text Box 21. Arabic excerpts are found in Appendix C, Table 4

The economic wellbeing was expressed by the government taking the initial steps to show economic prosperity and activity. The text found here contradicts the previous text about the role of the government. In excerpt (a), the government was perceived to take on the role of the "real estate developer". This perception arose as the government was seen working with the private sector amid the crisis that followed Mubarak's era of high land and housing prices. The orientation in the text is not in favor of the events as lexicons such as "unacceptable" and "incomprehensible" illustrates the rejection to the outcomes of this cooperation. The excerpt questions how the government is supplying luxury housing instead of low-income housing, and it warns that the government should not play the role of the *semsar* (broker) and should focus on the people. In excerpt (b) it points out that the government's plans to revive the real estate market is positive and

makes it more attractive. Drawing a correlation between both excerpts, it appears that if the government is viewed as facilitating the real estate market, it doesn't necessarily imply that the government should directly engage in the market itself to ensure its activity.

New Republic (2014-2023)

President El Sisi launched many inclusive housing projects, with a prominent existence in both the low-income housing market and the luxury market. The Housing for All Egyptians initiative was to provide all segments of the society according to the framework of the government economic and social development plan (Shalaby, Ahmed, and El Shanawy, 2022). There is a change in the narrative as it no longer involved the economic wellbeing instead the category is identified as "private public cooperation", and it is split with the following categories:

1. Social projects

    a. Social activation (economic prosperity)

2. Housing for the Elites

    a. Real Estate Market

Housing, infrastructure, and other mega-projects are being implemented in existing cities, and in 21 new 4th generation (Shalaby, Ahmed, and El Shanawy, 2022). In housing provision the government was focused to include all sectors of the community. The following excerpts illustrate the direction of the narrative regarding this category:

a) *"Real estate investment contributes to creating job opportunities and reducing unemployment rates... The Minister stressed the state's role in focusing on solving the problems of low-income people and the lowest-income groups by providing suitable housing at affordable prices for young people, and reviving the real estate market in Egypt will create thousands of job opportunities. For young people, which reduces unemployment and poverty rates in Egypt." – Al Ahram, 2014*

b) *"Ordinary peoplein (albosta') live in the compound... great attention is paid to constructing new housing with high specifications and at prices subsidized by the state to suit their financial capabilities. President Sisi: "We do not make apartments and that's it. No, we make an integrated, civilized residential community."" – Al Ahram, 2016*

c) *"Establishing an integrated youth center on an area of 20 acres and 4 triple-playing fields in coordination with the Ministry of Youth and Sports... Playgrounds and swimming pools in social housing" – Al Ahram, 2017*

d) *"The workers will continue their work and will not leave work except every month and a half...then they will resume work again...A lot of workers (on site), whether in construction or construction, who came from different places in all governorates to work on the project?" – Al Ahram, 2017*

e) *"Dozens of service and entertainment areas... Combating negative social phenomena is an integral part of the comprehensive development concept applied in the city of Tahya Misr." – Al Ahram, 2018*

f) *"Dr. Mostafa Madbouly, Minister of Housing, Utilities and New Urban Communities, stressed the importance of the real estate sector as it is the engine of economic development and the provision of job opportunities for many Egyptians, and that the wheel of investment is moving strongly despite the political events that Egypt is going through. The Minister focused in his speech on the role of the sector Real estate investment sends a message of reassurance to the Egyptian investor." – Al Ahram, 2014*

g) *"Beneficiaries have equal opportunities, whether male or female, to obtain subsidized units according to the income level of the individual and family... In addition to making positive discrimination for women, women who are breadwinners, divorced women, widows, and people with special needs." - Al ahram, 2018*

h) *"Housing the poor requires support from the state so that they can obtain housing units suitable in terms of area and finish, and this the state cannot provide on its own without the help of those who are able, and one of the elements of contributing to the lands that the state must sell to the middle class at cost price and to the upper class at a higher price. Of the cost, it achieves a good profit margin provided that it is made available to the poor class at a price lower than its cost and that the difference between the cost and the selling price is covered by the profit. The extreme rise in prices is beyond the capabilities of the citizen seeking stability, so he resorts to solving his housing problem himself. Communities Authority: We are not land traders...but we support those who deserve it. How long will the Authority's role remain limited to merely selling lands? A plan to move the authority's role to implement, market and sell projects …The Authority is an entity that implements strategic projects that serve the state in specific areas...as a ministry or authority. We have seen from previous experiences that participation with the private sector must be in specific places to achieve development, in addition to our primary role in providing units for low-income people." – Al ahram, 2014*

i) *"Prices will not change. The extent to which the prices of social housing units are affected by the variables of the increase in market prices, which confirmed that unit prices will not change for the citizen" – Al Ahram, 2017*

j) *"The real estate openness that Egypt is experiencing" – Al Masry Al Yom, 2020*

Text Box 22. Arabic excerpts are found in Appendix C, Table 4

Housing inclusivity was very prominent in this New Republic era, aside from the supply-side and the provision, "adequate" conditions are a priority of the strategy. In excerpt (a), there is a value assumption that real estate creates job opportunities. The use of exaggerated language to describe the economic opportunities generated for low-income groups through real estate investment suggests a forced orientation. The lexical choice in excerpt (b) of al *al-bustaa* (the ordinary people) or the simple people in Arabic to dwell residential compounds is freshly new to the narrative. The term compounds, lexically, often carry connotations of being intended for the upper classes. The correlation between these terms implies a value assumption of inclusivity in housing provision. The assumptions are linked to President El Sisi when he stated, "we make an integrated, civilized residential community," which plays a role in the economic activation initiative and aims to provide housing for a broader segment of the population, promoting inclusivity.

Society and economic activation in the narrative is highly advertised in the narrative through excerpt (a) (b) (c) (d) and (f). Those new social and entertainment services such as *hamamat sebaha* (pools) and *mala'eb* (playgrounds) are assumed to combat "negative social phenomenon" according to El Sisi to creating "civilized residential community". Another way to proclaim this economic prosperity is through the initiation of new projects, as these mega-projects across the Republic are presented as declarations of the job opportunities they bring. The narrative is carefully crafted to convey that economic well-being is fostered through investments and the real estate market.

In excerpt (h) it follows a similar narrative to that of Sadat's era, as the state is "unable" to provide on its own instead of calling for the provision of the private sector, but it calls for a "cooperation". The text justifies the sale of land to developers to be able to provide for the "unable", the orientation of the text defends the accusations presented before as the NUCA is not a *ba'e'* (seller), but this strategy is needed to be able to provide for the low-income. The New Urban Communities Authority runs the largest operations as a property developer, and now it has transformed to become the largest governmental real estate developer (Shawkat, 2015). However, in accordance with Law 33/2014, the role of the NUCA ends with the sale of the land. The surplus revenues generated from NUCA's land sales were intended to fund the New Towns strategy; however, this article was removed during the economic development conference (Tarek, Redeker, & Gladys, 2019). Subsequently, the state adopted Public-Private Partnerships (PPPs) between NUCA and investors, which led to reduced land revenues affecting the SHP funds. This contradicts the narrative constructed in excerpt (h) (Shawkat, 2015).

A trend in prices always follows the participation of the private sector, especially the cooperation between the private sector and public sector which declares a conflict of interest as it increases the prices. Excerpts (i) and (j) declares the rise of the real estate market lexically describing it as "real estate openness" which is attached with an increase of market price. Using a very strong existential assumption that prices will not change, even social housing will be impacted by the market price.

4.3 Conclusion on Stage Two

In conclusion, the analysis conducted in two stages facilitated the categorization of the data across the historical timeline and enabled a linguistic examination of the collected excerpts. The findings were then compared with existing literature to discern the narrative's connection with 'reality.' Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) provided insights into the types of assumptions present in the narrative, the orientation of the discourse, and the underlying intentions conveyed through metaphors. Taken together, this comprehensive approach contributes to the development of a novel interpretation of the housing narrative, which will be further discussed in Chapter 5.

Chapter 5
Discussion

The CDA (stage one and two) shows the importance of three readings; a more nuanced housing driven historical timeline (compared to the common sensical timeline), image of control is more critical than the actual means of control, and housing crisis as a metaphor for power and control. Below is a detailed discussion of the three themes.

5.1 A More Nuanced Housing Driven Historical Timeline

This theme delves into the multifaceted concept of housing, extending beyond the mere notion of shelter. It explores housing as 'a right to property', embodying a higher form of power with profound implications for the narrative, as highlighted by Mitchel (2002). Utilizing Foucault's CDA approach, the historicization of data follows the chronological timeline of the Republic of Egypt, unveiling intricate layers and relationships between legislative frameworks, economic well-being, housing outcomes, and contributions to the housing narrative. The narrative's evolution prompts a deconstruction of the timeline, providing insights into the usage and identification of "housing crisis" and its linguistic nuances. This section marks a shift from the 'common sense' Egyptian timeline to a housing-dominant one. The upcoming theme centers on how the interpretation of the housing narrative influences a shift in the historical timeline specific to housing. This exploration aligns with the changes in the government's role and the transformations within the Ministry of Housing. This discussion overlaps four layers together to produce the housing dominant timeline.

Common Sensical Timeline

The presidential historical timeline was initially used to organize the data and discourses in stage one of the analysis (Fig. 24). This systematic sorting of data based on attributes, context, and narrative descriptions has yielded a new timeline. This revised timeline dynamically responds to political, historical, and economic shifts embedded within the narrative. Consequently, it deviates from the conventional "common sense" timeline traditionally established through historical events. This methodological approach facilitates a more nuanced understanding of the housing narrative, allowing for a contextualized exploration that aligns with the specificities of political and economic contexts. The resulting divergent timeline enriches the analysis by capturing the complexities and intricacies inherent in the historical and political dimensions of the housing discourse.
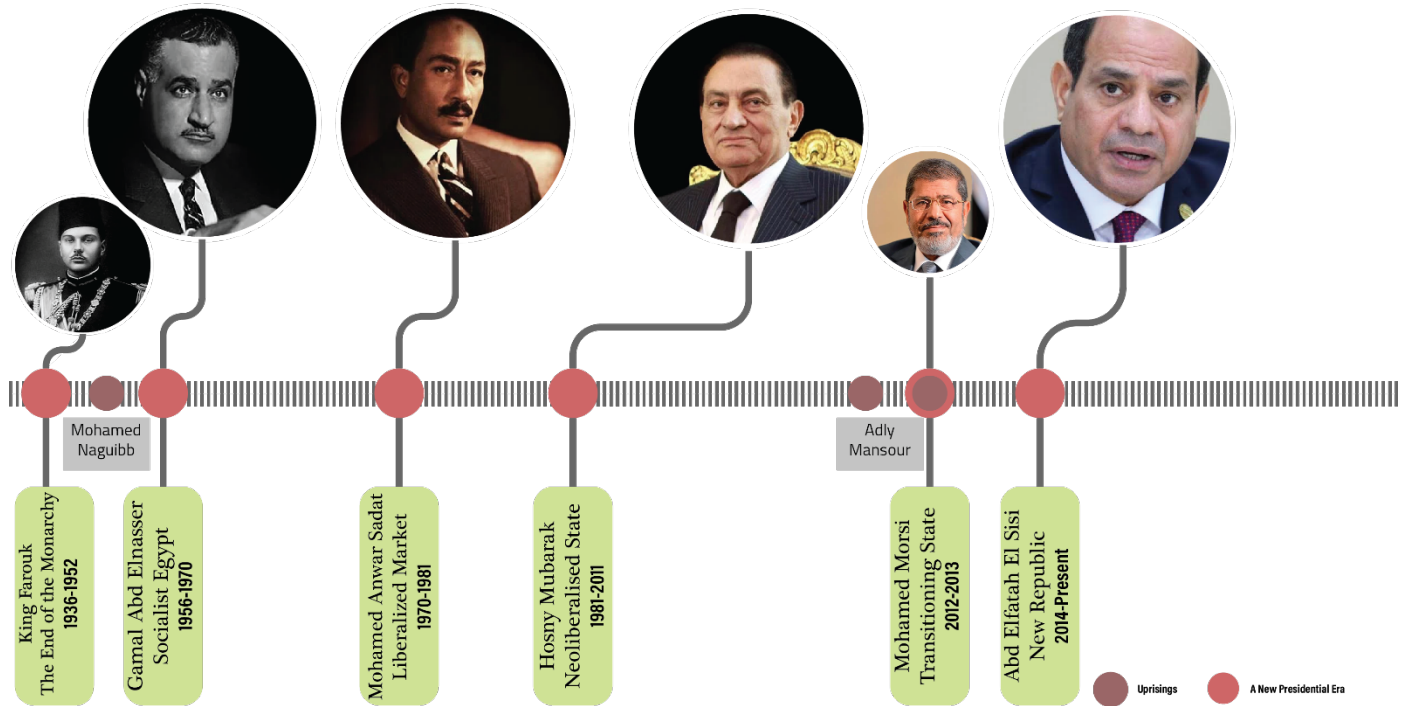
FIGURE 23: The Political Historical timeline of the Republic of Egypt. Source: author

Political ideologies and its narrative consequences

The outcome of the codifying process in stage one, produces a housing timeline distinct from the four main presidential eras. One that is punctuated into six housing-driven historical eras as seen displayed in a new timeline (Fig. 24):

1) Socialist Era- Industrial Cities and Lan Reclamation (1950-1970)
2) Open-door Policy – New Urban Communities (1970-1981)
3) Transition to Neoliberalism – New Town Policy (1981-1993)
4) Transition to Neoliberalism – Desert Land Provision (1993-2011)
5) Post January Transition (2011-2013)
6) New Republic – Mega Infrastructure Financed Projects (2014-present)

HOUSING TIMELINE

LAWS AND POLICIES

NARRATIVE

King Farouk
The End of the Monarchy
1936-1952

Mohamed Naguibb

Department of Popular homes in the ministry of social affairs 1950

Gamal Abd Elnasser
Socialist Egypt
1956-1970

Tripartite Agresion 1956

DECOLONIZATION TRANSITIONING INTO SOCIALIST EGYPT

Department of Housing in the Ministry of Municipal and Village Affairs - 1958

Role of the Government / Government Provision

Rent Control
Law 168/1961

Al Naksah 1967 War

The law on rentals regulating relations between tenants and landlords Law 52/1969

Mohamed Anwar Sadat
Liberalized Market
1970-1981

6th of Octover War 1973

October's Paper
INFITAH

Ministry of Housing and utilities 1962

Role of the Government / delegation to private sector

LIBERALIZATION OF THE MARKET

First Generation New Cities

IMF/ World Bank restrictions

Bread Riots 1977

Law 107/1976
Establishing Social Housing Fund

Law 49/1977
Re-organizing relations between landlords and tenants

Hosny Mubarak
Neoliberalised State
1981-2011

Law 59/1979
New Urban Communities Authority

LAw 135/1981
Regulating Informal Builsings

Ministry of Housing and Reconstruction 1973

Role of the Government (Provision/Delegation)

OPEN MARKET TRANSITIONING INTO CAPITALISM

Second and Third Generation New Cities

IMF/ USAID restrictions

LAW 96/1992
Land ownership to private sector

Ministry of Reconstruction, State for Housing, and Land Reclemation - 1980

Law 164/1996 The internal system regulating the Ministry of Housing and Utilities

Real Estate Finance
Law 148/2001

NEO LIBERALISM AND THE DESERT CONQUEST

Unified Building Law 119/2008

PD 305/2008
Informal Settlements Development Fund

Role of the Government and Private Sector

Adly Mansour

PD 305/2008
Informal Settlements Development Fund

Mohamed Morsi
Transitioning State
2012-2013

Law 67/2010
Regulating the Partnership between the Public and Private Sectors

Ministry of Housing, Utilities & Urban Communities 1996

Government Military cooperation

REVOLUTION AND THE SOCIAL JUSTICE MOVEMENT

Abd Elfatah El Sisi
New Republic
2014-Present

Social Housing
Law 33/2014

Fourth Generation New Cities

Vision 2030

THE NEW REPUBLIC OF MEGAINFRASTRUC-TURE PROJECTS

Law 93/2018 Real Estate finance for social housing

Uprisings

Legislative Framework

A New Presidential Era

HISTORICAL TIMELINE

MINISTRY OF HOUSING NAMING

The Role of the Government / Private Public Partnership

FIGURE 24: *The Narrative Analysis Across The Historical Timeline. Source: author*

The housing timeline is driven by the changes in the role of the government which had an impact on the 1) the political ideology, 2) the laws and policies, 3) the structure and naming of the Ministry of housing, and 4) the corresponding housing narrative. These attributes collectively shape the role of the government as delineated in the narrative, situated between the realms of delivery and enforcement. The government's role within the housing narrative holds paramount significance in the discernment of crises because of control over the population. Shifts in legislation and ministerial frameworks directly impact the government's efficacy in addressing housing challenges. The influence wielded by the government's discourse fluctuates in tandem with its political orientation, thus molding the structure outlined in this thesis concerning the housing timeline. The nuanced interplay between government actions, policy changes, and political ideologies becomes pivotal in understanding the evolution of the housing narrative and its multifaceted implications.

1) Decolonization transitioning into socialism (1952-1970)

The government prior to the socialist era had no input in the housing narrative in any way, as part of the monarch ideology. During the decolonization er, there was a discernible emergence of legal state entities that manifested support for housing-related initiatives. The Socialist regime constituted the action of total government monopoly which led the government to be a housing provider. This led to an upgrade of the Department of Popular homes in the Ministry of Social Affairs to be the Ministry of Housing and Utilities by 1962 (Fig. 25). This reflects the ideology of 'Arab socialism' which is set out to develop modernity, industrial projects, welfare provision, housing, and education. The nationalist movement, concentrated on provisioning and promoting societal and economic equity, resulted in the implementation of Rent Control Laws and Land Reform restrictions. These measures, while aligned with the objective of fostering equality, inadvertently contributed to the onset of a problem. This reflects the government's role as a housing provider within the narrative and legislative framework, evidenced by the enactment of Rent Control laws and Land Reform policies. The narrative transitioned from addressing individual *masakn* (homes) towards a broader focus on *iskan* (housing) as a societal concern. This period highlighted the concept of complete state provision as the overarching aim.

2) The liberalization of the market (1970-1981)

The Open Market regime marked the onset of market liberalization, prompting external institutions like the IMF to impose constraints on the government's role and shift towards delegating housing provision to the private sector. This transition offered opportunities for private sector involvement, particularly in the development of new desert cities, leading to a restructuring of the ministry, aspiring to become the Ministry of Housing and Reconstruction (Fig. 25). The associated laws and policies aimed to redefine government roles, address housing-related issues, and align with the strategy of *almudn algadeeda* (New Towns). Consequently, the Ministry

135

underwent another restructuring, and renamed as the Ministry of Reconstruction, State for Housing, and Land Reclamation. Delegation and reconstruction became pivotal aspects of the government's role, responding to economic challenges and international limitations. Also, the shift in role has consequent impact on the naming of the ministry to tackle the carried over problems that rose due to the previous socialist laws of Rent Control and Land Reclamation. However, the impact of market liberalization extended beyond delegation; the state actively participated by establishing the Social Housing Fund (SHF) and enacting additional laws to regulate relationships between tenants and landlords.

3) *Open Market transitioning into neoliberal capitalism (1981-1993)*

Sadat's liberal policies actively encouraged private sector involvement in the public housing sector, a trend that persisted under the guidance of Minister Hasballah Elkafrawy. This politically was stretched under the presidency of Mubarak in his first demarcated era of ruling from 1981 to 1993. An increased contribution of the private sector was witnessed, coupled with the emergence of desert cities around Egypt as a solution for the 'pressing issue of housing. Additional constraints imposed by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the USAID, resulted in a notable reduction in the government's role in housing, which was highly reflected in the narrative. The narrative emphasized the private sector's role, fostering a supply and demand dynamic in the housing industry. The shift towards capitalism in Egypt fueled a strong motivation for home ownership, diverting focus away from rental issues to be directed towards investment in assets as a mode of financial security. Consequently, laws were enacted to facilitate land ownership for the private sector's housing provision, leading to a surge in the luxury market and a decline in the quality of low-income housing. This shift propelled the government to encourage a 'do it yourself' approach to housing provision, contributing to the growth of informal housing. The increase of the informal construction with the privatization of the housing provision sector, the narrative implied a drop in the performance of the infrastructure. This problem was crowned as a consequence of the population growth phenomenon; however it was used to justify the construction of new cities and to motivate the participation of the private sector. The ensuing infrastructure crisis prompted the restructuring of the Ministry of Housing, transforming it into the Ministry of Housing, Utilities, and Urban Communities, aligning with the evolving 'reality' of housing in Egypt. Housing, transitioning from its conventional definition, assumed the nature of assets, underlining the success of capitalist campaigns advocating housing ownership led by the private sector.

4) *Neo liberalism and the desert conquest (1993-2011)*

This marks the end of Minister El Kafrawy's term in office and the beginning of Minister Soliman's, who led the presidential order of "conquest of the Desert". In light of the analysis outcomes, this conquest signaled the government's resurgence as a predominant housing provider, reclaiming its position over the private sector. The initiative resulted in a surge in public housing

provision, accompanied by legislation like the Unified Building Law to regulate private sector activities. In a bid to bolster public housing initiatives, the government redistributed its responsibilities, allowing increased involvement of the private sector, thus diminishing its former predominant role. This transition encouraged private sector engagement in housing development, largely facilitated by legislative changes like the Real Estate Finance Law. While easing construction processes, these policies favored categories outside those in need. Building up to an increase in the language used to describe the new housing initiatives as iskan alaghnya' (Housing for th elites). This pushed to an evolution in the housing sector, as the private sector gained more influence in land ownership and infrastructure provision for existing and new cities, albeit at the cost of declining infrastructure quality and soaring housing prices in new desert cities. Various housing projects, such as Iskan Alshabab (Youth Housing), the National Housing Program (NHP), Ibni baytak (Build Your Own Home) in a public-private partnership, and the establishment of the Informal Settlements Development Fund (ISDF), were initiated by the state to ostensibly regain control over the narrative. However, these efforts appeared to mask the narrative of an escalating housing crisis. Nepotism, delivery failures, legal issues, and poor communication within the government further contributed to the perceived crisis as the prices of housing and land reached sky high records. President Mubarak's directive aimed at a radical transformation to reassert government control over the entire housing sector, encompassing both formal and informal domains. However, this has collectively contributed to a dominant presence of 'housing crisis' in the narrative, with a shift towards an aggression in the criticism of the private sector as the government started a more dominant role.

5) Post January Transition (2011-2014)

The uprising of 2011 and the instability that followed called for heightened security measures. The temporary disruption of government functions justified the increased participation of the military establishment in general and the Engineering Authority in particular in the construction of infrastructure and more emphatically in the housing sector. Later the Authority evolved as the main builder and contractor in many other national projects. This weakened/dismissed strategies presented by interim governments, including the democratically elected government in 2012.

6) The New Republic – Mega Infrastructure Financed Projects (2014-present)

The government's role in housing provision underwent a transformation through a private-public partnership, fostering collaboration among various stakeholders. Despite the Ministry maintaining its name and structure, a move toward "privatization" influenced the Ministry's institutions, impacting the role of the NUCA and giving rise to the government-owned real estate developer, "City Edge Developments." The transition causes a major westernization in the narrative, this was illustrated in the swaying away from the use of the Arabic language in the naming and the directing to a more 'investment' worthy language. The government's participation

in the real estate market is a new phenomenon that was not witnessed before. The narrative portrayed this shift to push the action of housing provision to be more inclusive, encompassing mid-income and luxury housing. The repeated devaluation of the Egyptian Pound from 2016 to 2023 compelled the government to refocus on foreign investors to bolster its dollar reserves. With this shift in role, the deliverables have evolved, raising the possibility of replacing the term "housing" with "real estate" in the government's list of priorities. This was highly motivated by the mode of 'fast achievements' of large flagship national projects that resulted into the production of tens of cities and housing projects around the country.

In conclusion, the narrative shift concludes the role of the government into the following categories:

- a. Government monopoly
- b. Delegation to private sector
- c. Provision with the private sector
- d. Cooperation with Military Forces
- e. Private-Public Partnership

The New Housing timeline provides a platform for comparing data across relevant time periods, distinguishing the parameters defining the government's role, adapting to legislative changes, and mirroring the narrative's fluctuations. This conveys a powerful message that control over housing is intricately linked to the prevailing regime's ideology. According to Mitchel (2002) laws and policies carry hidden intentions. His assertions are grounded in the understanding of the role of the state and the application of power, resonates with the idea that laws, often hidden, serve as instruments of control and influence in shaping the housing narrative. This narrative analysis unveils the nuanced interplay of power, and sheds light on the ideological orientations of different regimes and the importance of maintaining a semblance of control. Accordingly a timeline based on the housing narrative is more nuanced than the 'common sensical' historical timeline - based presidential terms in office.

5.2 The image of control is more critical than actual control.

The second theme illustrates the justification behind the means of control over the housing narrative in Egypt. This builds up on the discussion conducted in the first theme that establishes the housing dominant timeline and its parallel relationship with the role of the government. The image of control becomes more critical than the actual means of targeting the housing problem, as portrayed by the role of the government in shaping the housing timeline and the shape shifting of the Ministry of Housing. Governmental entities have shown lack of success in fulfilling its promises in resolving the problem of housing by themselves. Therefore, the image of control has dominated

the housing narrative through the official media outlets to portray that the government does have control over the housing. Since population growth is a natural occurrence and had massive impact on the housing problem, it was used as a justification to the continuous control set on the housing in the narrative. Therefore, population growth gained high popularity in the housing narrative as a main driver for the rising problems in the housing crisis. As a result, experts in the housing field gained some room for movement and creation of the ascending voices in the housing narrative. As this becomes clear, the voices of experts have gradually been dismissed or ignored from the housing narrative. Nevertheless, the social narrative continued to portray the image of agency of the Egyptian population regarding the housing situation.

Three main points uncover the image of control in the narrative:

1. Population growth as the main driver of housing provision.

2. Who controls the narrative?

3. Voice of experts.
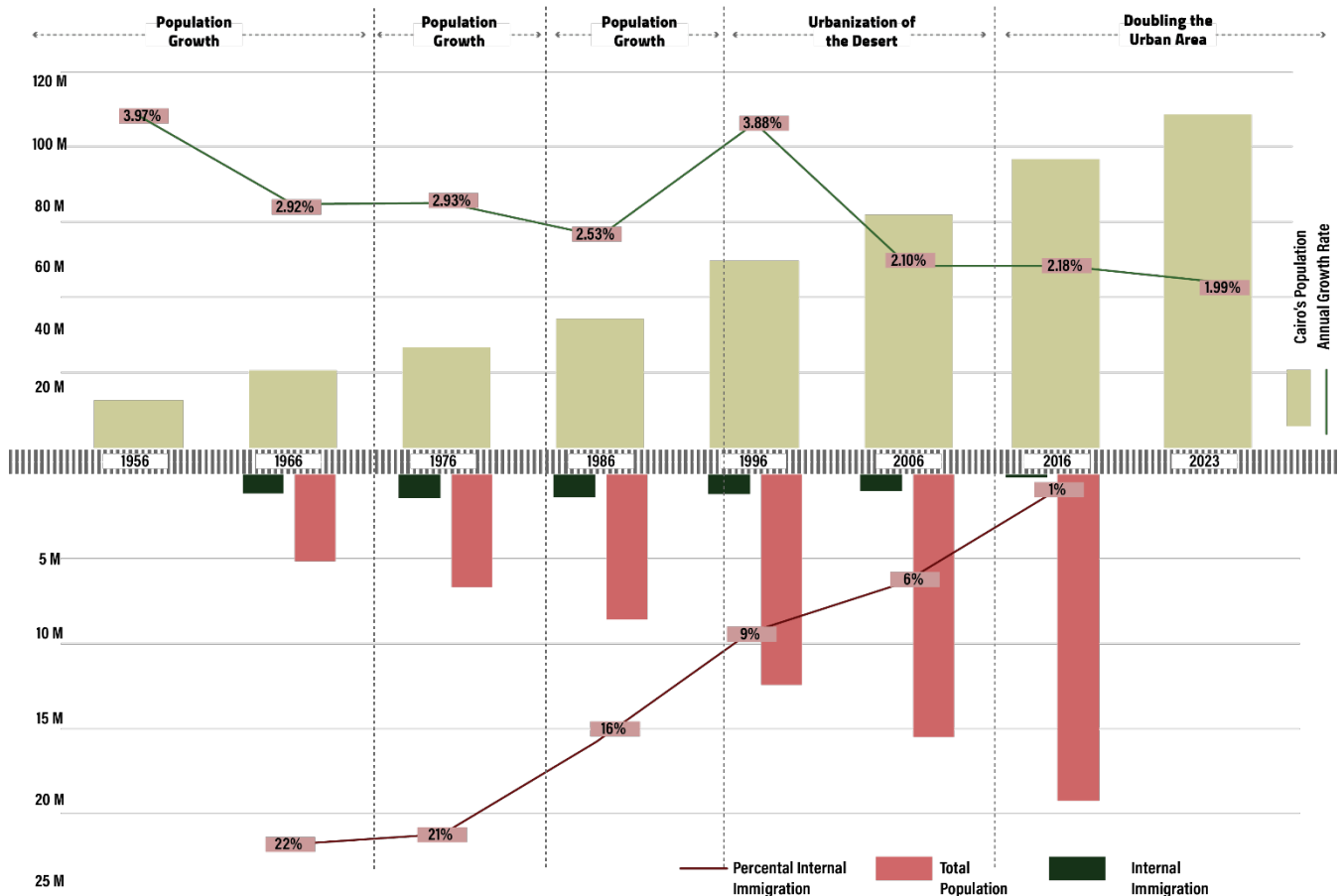
FIGURE 25: CAPMAS - Cairo's Population Annual Growth Rate And Internal Immigration Within the Housing Timeline and How it Impacted the Narrative Of 'Population Growth. Source: author

139

This section relies on juxtaposing the outcomes derived from Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) with numerical data and population statistics. The objective is to scrutinize how the perception of control is crafted, particularly in the context of addressing and resolving housing issues. By intertwining qualitative insights from CDA with quantitative data, this approach seeks to unravel the intricacies of how narratives shape the perception of housing control and its purported resolution. The combination of linguistic analysis and statistical evidence provides a comprehensive understanding of the construction of the narrative, shedding light on the strategies employed to project an image of effective housing management and problem-solving.
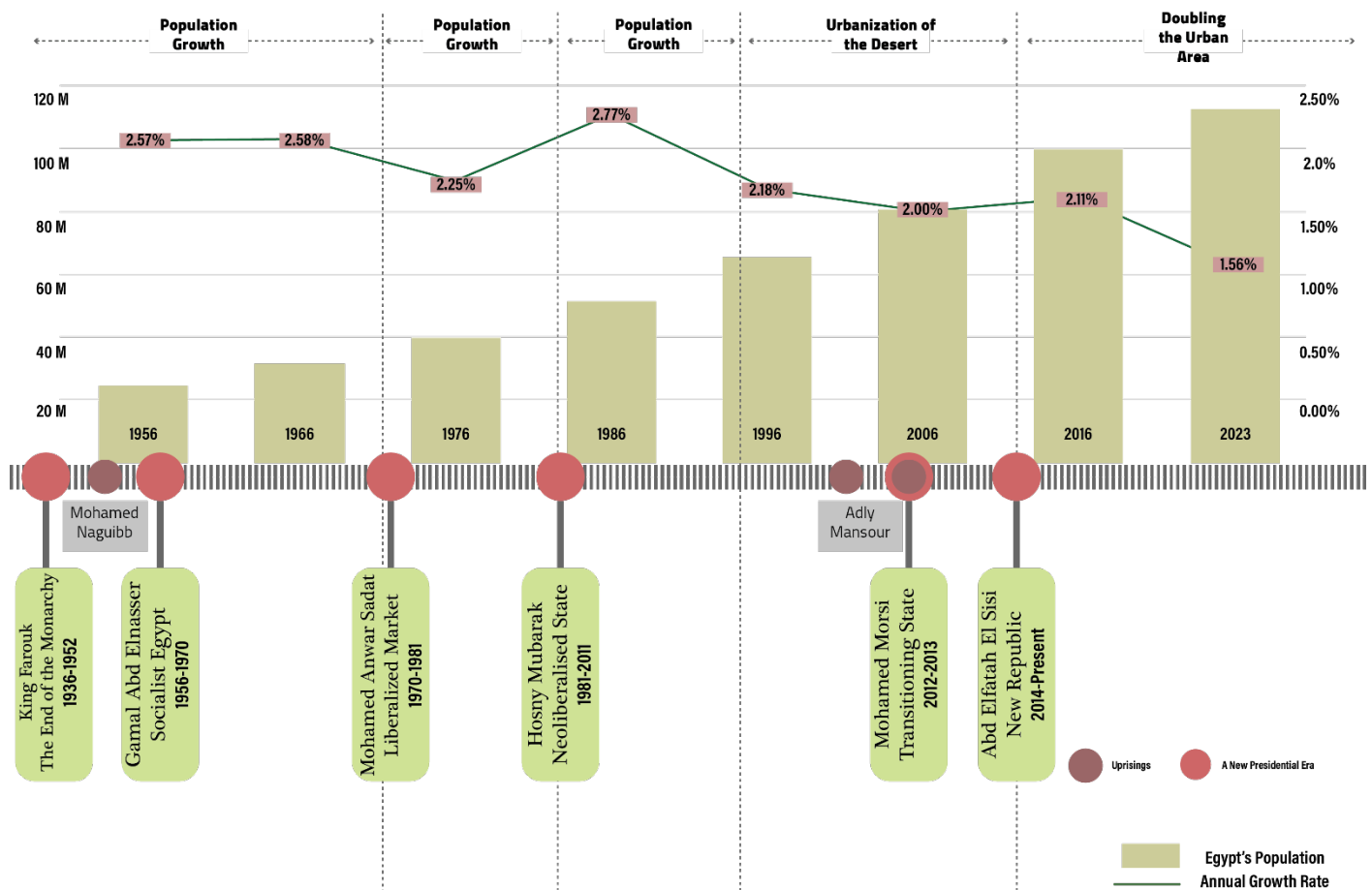
FIGURE 26: CAPMAS Annual Population Growth Rate in Egypt and The Narrative Analysis. Source: author

1. **Population growth as the main driver of housing provision.**

Consecutive governments have acknowledged their inability to control or regulate population growth. Nevertheless, they asserted their capacity to address or accommodate the challenges posed by the growing population. The housing situation is highly impacted by the fluctuations and changes in population and was visible throughout the decades the impact it withheld. Population growth and internal immigration in discussion were used as topics of justification for the pressing existence of 'housing crisis' phenomenon. The housing narrative in Egypt has been significantly shaped by the interplay of population dynamics, urbanization, and government policies over several decades.

Originating in the 1950s, the narrative initially correlated population growth with housing crises, even as annual growth rates gradually declined (Fig. 27). From 1950 to 1980, political and economic influences exacerbated housing challenges tied to population growth. The growing population triggered various outcomes within the narrative, encompassing 1) population increase, 2) internal immigration, and 3) urbanization of the desert.

Population increase has been demarcated as the reason to all problems related to housing in the narrative, even though the population has been increasing in the last 70 years (Fig. 27), however, the annual growth rate has dropped over the years from 2.57% to 1.56%. Yet, the correlation between housing and population increase has been a long-term relationship that seemed to stay and expand in the narrative. Experts have cautioned that population growth would lead to urban congestion, asserting that existing cities would be ill-equipped to handle it. However, experts' voices were always promoting housing solutions to problems that are often disregarded by the State as seen in the readings in Chapter Four. Urban congestion was metaphorically depicted in the narrative as the underlying cause of housing problems. This perception instigated a shift in 'reality', prompting the expansion into the desert with the construction of new towns beginning in the 1970s and the initiation of "the conquest of the desert" in the 1990s. Urban congestion, as portrayed in the narrative, inherently fueled the narrative's promotion of urban expansion into the desert as a solution to the perceived "problem" in major cities.

The 1950s and 1960s experienced significant internal immigration due to historical events such as the Tripartite Aggression, the construction of the High Dam, and the 1967 War. For instance Cairo was perceived as attractive an destination in the narrative, though it was unprepared for the surge in numbers. Despite a drop in the growth rate of population and internal immigration in Cairo, the narrative continued to heavily emphasize it, portraying it as a looming threat and the "problem of all problems" in Egypt.

Internal immigration, as a topic in the narrative, consistently occupied a high percentage in each phase of the housing timeline. This led to exaggeration and a skewed representation of

consequences in the narrative. The misplaced blame on immigration diverted attention from the real issues, causing a misdirection in addressing housing problems. Even in the 1980s and 1990s, when internal immigration rates in Cairo fell below 10%, the narrative persisted in highlighting the issue, creating a misleading narrative based on events. It was prominent in the lexical choice in the narrative that the population growth and the internal immigration is a pressing concern and contributes to the notion of crisis. Cairo was often described as decaying human body that undergoes trauma. This was reflected lexically by choices such as *takhtank* (suffocating), *tofayly* (parasitical), or even *taktol* (kills). This exaggeration of wording assisted in defending the idea behind expanding in the desert and large-scale housing provision. Pushing housing to be a continuum of the display of power for the State, and a main tool in the construction of the image of control. The disparity between the exaggerated lexical choices in the narrative regarding the consequences of both population growth and internal immigration and the actual reported statistics by CAPMAS supports the conclusion that housing is utilized as a tool for constructing control using property, as argued by Mitchell (2002).

Even though the rate at which the populations grow has faced a descending fluctuation, the narrative decided it's time to double the urban area in the 2020s to cater for the urban congestion in the Nile Valley. This promotes the tens of new cities surrounding cities such as Cairo and Alexandria. Yet the main cities remain congested and centralized, regardless of all the efforts placed to spread out the population. The narrative shifted from a state of suffering due to the increase of population to a state of resolution and achievements to cater for any future increase in population. The redistribution of Egypt's population plans has been a continuous national goal since the 80s, and it proceeds till 2023. Experts in the field described this plan to illustrate political success and mode of national achievements, that caters for the success of political strategy and the empathy to gain popularity and control on the masses.

The housing narrative in Egypt strategically utilizes population growth as a tool to assert control, despite decreasing annual growth rates. This constructed crisis is reinforced by the elimination of expert voices and a deliberate emphasis on internal immigration, portrayed negatively through exaggerated lexical choices. The narrative's alignment with political goals is evident in the urbanization of the desert, symbolizing political success and control. The discrepancy between narrative emphasis and actual demographics underscores housing as a tool for constructing control, resonating with Mitchell's argument. The narrative's adaptability from portraying suffering to presenting resolution demonstrates its nuanced role in shaping perceptions.

2. <u>Who controls the narrative</u>

The narrative of housing in Egypt has undergone a dynamic evolution, and the control over this narrative has shifted across different regimes. In the era of decolonization transitioning into socialism (1952-1970), the government took control through socialist policies, initiating the Ministry

of Housing and Utilities to emphasize state provision. The subsequent phase of liberalization (1970-1981) saw a shift, with external institutions influencing the government to delegate housing provision to the private sector, leading to the restructuring of the Ministry of Housing. As the country transitioned into capitalism (1981-1993), the private sector gained prominence, aligning with Sadat's policies, resulting in a surge in informal housing and a reshaping of the ministry to focus on urban communities. During the neoliberal period (1993-2011), the government and private sector shared roles, marked by the "conquest of the Desert" policy. The revolution and the social justice movement (2011-2013) brought military forces into the housing narrative, and the current phase (2014-present) reflects a shift towards private-public partnerships, including foreign investors, altering the government's role. The narrative fluctuates across various regimes, indicating that control is contingent on the prevailing political and economic ideologies, highlighting the intricate interplay of power dynamics in shaping the discourse.

Embedded within the chronicles of the provided timeline are often overlooked narratives crucial for comprehending the complex interweaving of governance and housing rights. The government's role is defined by its influence over 'reality' and the narrative. Specific instances witnessed diverse modes of communication, evident in various actions taken by the opposition in response to the state's narrative. While the Government wields the predominant influence over the narrative, the way the discourse unfolds is contingent upon the prevailing ideology of the government during a given period.

3. Voice of experts

Liberalization of the market in the 1970s involved the westernization of the government's ideology which often carries a mode of democracy where there was a space in the narrative for the opinion and the counter opinion. The neoliberal ideology allowed for a space for a open dialogue especially with the presence of the private sector as a housing provider. The narrative swayed in favor of who controls the housing industry. At times where the private sector was more entitled of power, the narrative shifted towards the "accomplishments" of the private and vice versa. However, during two phases in the housing timeline where it seemed to suffer from shadow banning over the voice of experts. The first phase would be Socialist Egypt, as the voice of experts was dismissed. Experts like Sayed Koryem and Hassan Fathy spoke against the government's strategy. However, there was no response from the government towards their pleads to assist the housing situation. This can be coupled with Nasser's popularity at the time where objection to his orders were not 'allowed'. From one nationalist inspired regime to another, El Sisi political phase seems to lack the voices of experts from the narrative, especially those who oppose to the decisions of the government. In general, voices of opposition towards the housing strategies seem absent from the narrative. The opposition to the current housing strategies is perceived as "a drop in the Egyptian identity" in the narrative.

In conclusion, the housing narrative in Egypt intricately weaves the image of control through strategic emphasis on population growth, coupled with political shifts and media influence. The deliberate exclusion of expert voices during certain regimes further underscores the narrative's manipulative nature. Urbanization of the desert reflects political success rather than a genuine solution. The nuanced interplay between political ideologies, media control, and expert voices illustrates the complex dynamics underlying the construction of the housing narrative and its portrayal of government control. This illusion of the 'housing crisis' resolution that portrays an image of authority contributes to the use of 'housing crisis' as a metaphor in the next section.

5.3 Housing Crisis as a Metaphor for Power

The narrative of 'crisis' gives meaning to a phenomenon but can deviate from the actual situation and produces an ideological value (Roitman, 2013). The housing 'crisis' in the Egyptian narrative has undergone fluctuating meanings and multiple deviations from the actual situation of housing in the narrative, reflecting a struggle for clear identification. This narrative variability, observed throughout the housing timeline, suggests a conjunctural crisis—a metaphorical representation of historical possibilities as per the different identifications of crisis according to Roitman (2013). The dynamic nature of crisis in Egypt's housing history implies that crisis is employed metaphorically to establish specific political powers and ideologies. The term "housing crisis" dominates the narrative, serving as a metaphor that lacks a constant historical stance. Its shifting manifestations, from housing to legal to social crises over time, underscore its role in constructing actual situation that aligned with the prevailing political power.

In this section the lexical use of addressing the problem of housing as a 'housing crisis' is extremely important to understand the hidden realities constructed by language. Therefore, it plays a huge role in correlating the use of language in the housing narrative and its relation to actual situation. This section will overlap the lexical choices behind naming the crisis involved with housing in the narrative with the actual situation of housing according to its following attributes:

1. Housing tenure

2. Sector of housing tenure

These attributes were chosen to measure the magnitude of the crisis linguistically and statistically in terms of numbers that represent actual situation. Figure 28 by ensuring if the naming of the crisis has any direct relation to the situation. This section is another thread of measuring the use of housing as a political construct as it reflects how the use of the crisis narrative is focused on stating a particular 'reality' and giving it meaning.
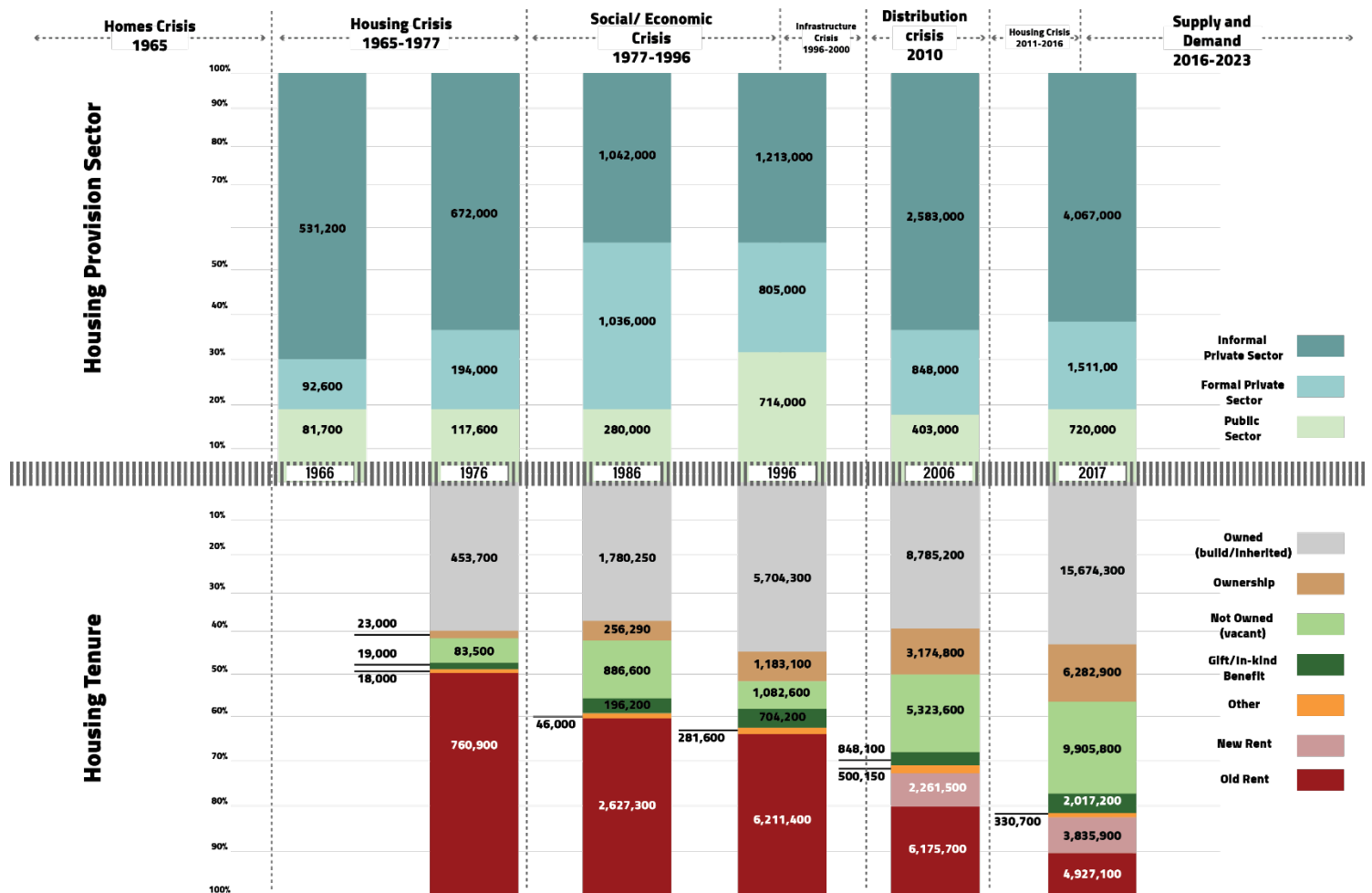
FIGURE 27: Narrative Analysis of Housing Provision and Tenure. Source: author

Identifying Housing Crisis According to Narrative

According to the narrative there are six types of proposed 'crisis' in the housing narrative, that causes a shift in modernity of the crisis. To illustrate the progression of the crisis it is measured along the provision of housing and the Tenure of housing units.

1. The initial transition occurred from the *azmat al-masaakin* (homes crisis) preceding the government's housing initiatives to the emergence of the *azmat al-uskan,* (housing crisis). President Nasser first alluded to this shift in 1965, questioning the feasibility of resolving the housing crisis within a short time frame: "*each one of you wants to solve the housing crisis, but can we really solve the housing crisis in one year, or three, or four, or five?*". This crisis was

145

intricately linked to Rent Control Laws and Land Reform policies, resulting in the displacement of numerous fellahin. The socialist government's emphasis on centralization spurred high rates of immigration to the capital. Despite government efforts, housing provision figures remained low compared to the private and informal sectors (Fig. 28

2.). The narrative characterized this crisis in terms of urban congestion, Rent Control Laws, and internal migration to cities such as Cairo. The persistence of the "housing crisis" endured until 1977 when President Sadat proposed resolving housing challenges through increased provision and the development of new cities. Amid the bread riots and the lack of popularity of President Sadat's policy, he announced during the cornerstone of the first new desert city that it would "*eliminate the housing crisis, amd relieve it from the widest doors*" (Shawkat, 2020). Nonetheless, many government officials exercised caution in deploying the term 'housing crisis,' particularly given the ongoing economic challenges facing Egypt. The utilization of the term during the initial phase (Fig. 28), was highly sensitive and selectively employed, usually surfacing only when potential resolutions were being suggested or implied.

3. Subsequently, the narrative shifted its focus away from framing the issue as a housing crisis, instead categorizing it as a broader social and economic crisis. The narrative was bombarded with discussion regarding *azme ektesadya* (economic crisis) or *ma'sah egtma3ya* (Social crisis), often described as *mas'ala wahmeya* (illusion of a problem). Between 1977 and 1996, the affordability of housing experienced a decline. The private sector's contribution to housing provision more than doubled, surpassing 40%, while government provision remained relatively stable. In the period from 1976 to 1986, there was a significant decrease in the prevalence of the Old Rent tenure, a slight increase in privately built inherited housing, and a notable rise in new ownership. Market liberalization introduced economic pressures that contributed to instability in Egypt's economy. Therefore, the crisis was inclined to become *mushkilat al-mashaakil* (the problem of problems) and redefined as complicated to become *mushkilat akhtubootiyyah* (octopus-like problem). The redefinition of housing as an asset was accompanied by a significant increase in vacant homes between 1976 and 1996 (Fig. 28). This, in turn, resulted in a scarcity of "affordable houses," particularly evident in 1986 when there was a notable rise in the private sector's provision of housing. even though by numbers the problem has escalated. However, government officials denied using the word crisis by any means and demoting the issue to become *moshkelet aleskan* (Housing problem). In 1996, there was a notable surge in public (government) housing provision, stabilizing the numbers in terms of tenure. However, a social issue emerged in the narrative, as housing seemed to be envisioned primarily for the elite, neglecting those in need. This was attributed to the private sector's monopoly over the housing industry.

4. From 1996 to the year 2000, the issue underwent a rebranding, now being referred to as an "infrastructure" crisis, aligning with the surge in informal housing provision (Fig. 28). the

146

deviation between pointing out the fall of *al-benya al-tahteya* (infrastructure) or *azmat at-takhtit* (planning crisis). The narrative highlighted elevated rates of homes lacking essential infrastructure such as water, electricity, sanitation, and gas between 1996 and 2006. The infrastructure crisis was fueled by the construction of informal housing without adequate infrastructure and the development of new cities with incomplete systems (Fig. 28). The narrative pointed out that these new cities lacked essential living amenities, discouraging people from residing in them. This characterization was coupled with the emergence of the concept of *madan al-ashbaah* (ghost cities) or *madan as-sahra* (desert cities), described as urban areas deemed uninhabitable. It wasn't precisely a housing crisis; instead, it primarily stemmed from legislative issues, particularly the absence of regulation on the private sector, especially concerning their involvement in infrastructure provision. This resulted in challenges despite the ongoing construction of new cities aimed at addressing the housing issue.

5. The narrative of ghost cities was followed by an exponential increase in vacant homes, with the increasing phenomenon of people rejecting to move to these new projects. It was often described in the narrative lexically using crucial graphics such as *wahm* (delusion), *mahgoora* (deserted), or even *moghlaka* (closed) Vacancy is driven by many factors, including the failure to target the right user or to offer adequate conditions for living. The transition led to the crisis being referred to as an '*azmet tawzee*' (distribution crisis), which was attributed to shortcomings in the legal framework. The narrative strongly criticized the legislative framework for housing, portraying it as convoluted, especially as the Ministry of Housing expanded both in its structure and authority. Additionally, the private sector's profit-driven approach shifted the market toward luxury housing, leaving low-income individuals without a viable housing solution. This led experts in the narrative to label this phenomenon as '*mufta'alah*' (artificial). Many housing initiatives during that period aimed more at "enabling" individuals, such as '*Ibni Baytak*' (build your own home) in 2008. However, these initiatives encountered challenges due to the continuous rise in prices. Earlier projects, like the NHP (National Housing Program), also presented complex processes for individuals to own a housing unit. The complexity and the lack of appropriate distribution helped incubate the right environment in the informal sector. Since estate was viewed as a golden ticket for investment, the housing provision by both public and private increased, leading the narrative to define it as '*masakin lil-aqniya*' (housing for the elites). The luxury market started increasing which caused the public opinion in the narrative to describe it as a distribution and legal crisis. The identification of the distribution crisis was marked by the boom in the informal sector and the failure of provision of housing to the right sector.

6. The resurgence of the '*azmat al-uskan*' (housing crisis) in the narrative following the uprisings in 2011 marked a period characterized by increased attention to prosperity and transparency

within the narrative. The housing crisis, identified during this time, was seen as an accumulation of decades' worth of policies and projects that collectively contributed to a larger problem. Between 2011 and 2014, the housing crisis manifested in various forms, including the proliferation of informal housing, inadequate infrastructure, urban congestion, the existence of abandoned new towns, and the soaring costs of land and housing. These issues were readily attributed to the previous regime and the cumulative effects of housing structures over the years. As a result, there was a call for a new strategic plan for comprehensive urban development to address the complex challenges embedded in the housing crisis. However, there was a rise of awareness that the problem does not fall in the housing count, but it has more aspects impacting the actual situation of housing. Former Minister of Housing, Tarek Wafiq, described the problem in 2012 as resulting in "*side effects such as social, economic, and urban distortion, which exacerbated the housing problem and led to the disfigurement of Egyptian cities.*" This description played a role in the development of a national strategic plan to address the housing crisis. In 2012, the 'milyun wahdah' (one million unit) project was initiated, but it only commenced in 2013.

7. By 2014 many plans and initiatives came to life, most were branded as *Hayah Kareema* (living with dignity). Projects involved mega infrastructure flagship projects, new industry-based cities, and inclusive housing provision. However, the percentage contribution in housing provision by the government and the private sector stayed constant. The change in Ministry's structure to welcome Private Public Partnership (PPP) and real estate development has caused a conversion in housing tenure. The Old Rent rates has dropped significantly, in addition to an increase of housing ownership and significant boom in housing vacancy. This was accompanied by the disappearance of "housing crisis" in the narrative and replaced by *mushkelet 'ard w talab* (supply and demand problem). The issue of supply and demand is rooted in the significant disparity between housing vacancy and the high demand for housing. While the government has initiated numerous projects, it appears that many of them have not been delivered to end-users. Consequently, the evolving role of the government in managing the balance between supply and demand challenges the narrative of crisis, casting doubts on its severity.

The shifts in the lexical choices of the 'housing crisis' were either as a reflection of the current housing actual situation or as means of control by the State. This places this type of crisis as a **conjuncture crisis,** which tends to change its meaning within an evolving modernity (Grossberg, 2010). This leads the crisis to have no material value as it sways in meaning and its connection to actual situation (Roitman, 2013). Therefore, it embodies the attributes offered by the lexical use of a metaphor, where it struggles to a stable value of 'reality' through history but conveys a certain message within a certain time frame (Roitman, 2013). Creating multiple realities, where the constructed crisis in the narrative lacks alignment with the actual situation of housing. In

148

conclusion, this portrays the use of 'housing crisis' as a metaphor to establish a political construct.

5.4 Housing Crisis as a Political Construct

The identification of housing crisis as a metaphor implies a certain power construct in it. There is an arbitrary hidden power on the inside of laws and policies involved with housing (Mitchel, 2002). This form of power construct over housing constitutes power over the people. Hence, the use of 'housing crisis' in the narrative is a political construct that displays an image of control in the housing narrative. This is the conclusion to three previously discussed themes 1) housing dominant timeline 2) image of control in the housing narrative, and 3) the use of 'housing crisis" a metaphor. Together these themes portray the role of language in the construction of 'reality' according to the housing narrative. This is a result of the process of giving meaning to language used in the narrative and its reflection in the social context (Van Dijk, 1997). Therefore, this investigation of the language use in the narrative and its relation to actual situation is summed under how the housing mode in the narrative is nothing but a reflection of political intention and an image of control. The discussion in this section is done on two levels:

1. The Narrative of Numbers

2. The Narrative and Reality

The observed fluctuation in the narrative highlights the presence of various power ideologies that contribute to the construction of a particular perception of 'reality.' Throughout Egypt's history, Critical Discourse Analysis has shed light on the discourse employed by influential entities and its interaction with the general population. The identification of these discourse patterns reflects the government's role and its decision to utilize housing as a metaphor, which is influenced by the prevailing political and economic conditions. This influence is evident in the assumptions generated within the narrative, the orientation of discourse, and its connection to the actual situation. A power construct can exert varying influences on both the real-world situation and the narrative itself. This underscores that housing cannot be addressed solely as a design matter, urban strategy, law, or policy, but it needs to be studied from the social aspect as well. It necessitates approaching housing within an interconnected framework, using language that intricately links all aspects of housing together to understand the role it takes and its impact on 'reality'.

The Narrative of Numbers

The narrative of numbers offers a bridge between the presence of housing distribution in the narrative and its actual presence in 'reality'. This investigates the actual situation behind the narrative and how it interplays with 'reality'. Given the political nature of housing, the choice of communication mediums becomes pivotal. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) provides a

qualitative lens, delving into linguistic data within the housing narrative and comparing it to socio-political discursive practices. The initial stage of the analysis involved categorizing linguistic elements, which were then employed to navigate the housing timeline across various categories. The CDA outcomes not only elucidate the presence and evolution of the "housing crisis" in the narrative but also unravel the dynamic interplay between the narrative and 'reality'.

Understanding these distinct appearances underscores the intricate relationship between the housing narrative and political constructs, emphasizing the role of communication in shaping perceptions and realities.

Narrative functions as a conduit for knowledge, inherently embodying a manifestation of power. According to Michel Foucault, power resides not in its mere application but in the dynamic interplay between power structures and those subjected to it, encapsulated by the notion that individuals become "objects of information, not subjects of communication" (Foucault, 1975).
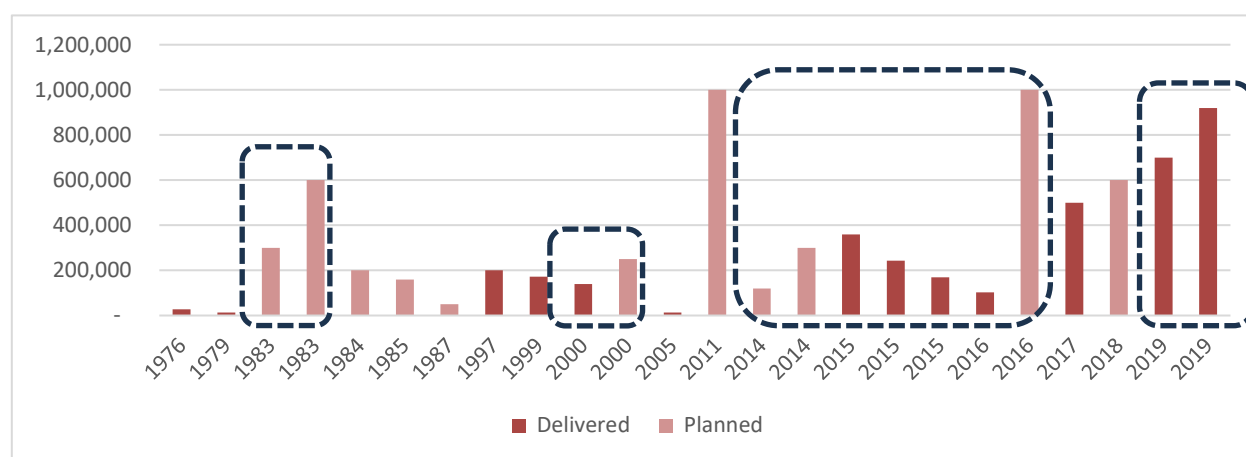
FIGURE 28: Announced Units in The Narrative, Planned Versus Delivered. Source: author

Foucault posits that power is omnipresent, and its significance lies not in its existence but in the relational dynamics among subjects (Foucault, 1991). Within the realm of housing policies, power assumes a paramount role in shaping language, extending its influence comprehensively.

Tracking the relationship between the narrative and 'reality' (as depicted in Figure 29) holds significant importance, especially when discrepancies emerge between the projected housing numbers in the narrative and the actual delivered figures. These disparities can be categorized into three narrative-driven factors.

Firstly, there was an overestimation of the housing production targets. The narrative often portrayed ambitious goals that surpassed what could be realistically achieved.

150

Secondly, delays in project delivery played a role in contributing to the observed gaps between narrative promises and actual outcomes. These delays could be due to various factors, including bureaucratic processes and logistical challenges.

Lastly, projects that were initially promised at a certain time frame may have deteriorated or faced unexpected obstacles, leading to a significant gap between what was envisioned in the narrative and what was realized in practice.

Significant disparities surfaced between the housing narrative and tangible 'reality', prompting a critical discourse analysis that delineates a model encapsulating three distinct scenarios. This analytical framework tracks the trajectory of the housing narrative and its intricate relationship with 'reality'. The observed findings are contingent upon dynamic shifts in the mode of crisis deployment, the utilization of crisis as a metaphor, the decisive influence of narrative controllers, the potency of expert voices, and the consequential impact of government actions intertwined with economic factors on the housing landscape. This comparative exploration aims to unravel the inherent roles embedded within the narrative, offering valuable insights for shaping the trajectory of future developments in the realm of housing in Egypt. The juxtaposition of narrative assertions against actual outcomes serves as a foundation for discerning the multifaceted dynamics that govern the discourse surrounding housing, contributing meaningfully to the formulation of prospective housing strategies within the Egyptian context.

The Narrative and 'Reality'

The housing narrative, as explored in the preceding section that delved into the relationship between the narrative and numerical data, yields three distinct outcomes concerning the interaction between the housing narrative and the construction of 'reality'. The narrative, at times, seamlessly aligns with 'reality', illustrating a natural occurrence where discourse mirrors real-life situations. Concurrently, there are moments where the narrative actively constructs 'reality', crafting specific 'realities' and visions as seen in campaigns like the "New Republic." Here, the narrative becomes a potent force, shaping urban realities aligned with political ideologies. Conversely, instances arise where the narrative exhibits no direct correlation with 'reality', generating contradictions. This introduces a fascinating dynamic where a discordant narrative, despite its contradictions, fails to influence the actual state of affairs. This exploration illuminates the fluid and complex nature of the housing narrative, which can either mirror, actively shape, or present incongruities that may not necessarily impact the unfolding 'reality'. In the discourse on housing in Egypt, three distinct appearances of the narrative surfaced:

1) Narrative following 'reality'.
2) Narrative constructing 'reality'.
3) Narrative disconnected from 'reality'.

151

Narrative follows 'reality'

When the narrative aligns with 'reality', it adopts a specific mode to accurately reflect and cater to the actual situation on the ground. This alignment between narrative and reality can serve as a valuable lens through which to analyze and understand the evolving housing landscape. This was visible among Nassers's socialist distribution to achieve equality, which push for the Rent Control Laws which caused a drop in the value of rent twice for a long-term period. The narrative followed the resurrection of the problem to resolve it. Law 52/1969 contributed to regulating the relationship between the tenants and landlord, by achieving the right of the landlords over the tenants. This once again revisited by Law 49/1977 to achieve a balance between the tenants and the landlords, both legislative adjustments resulted into a scarcity of available homes, and complicated problem between the tenants and the landlords. The government initiated the rental problem all at once through the New Town Policies, that create new cities with new economic and living opportunities. This bypasses the complexity in the rental system and provides new communities built and managed by the New Urban Communities Authority, to fill in the Gap of available housing. The housing narrative responded to the type of crisis and contributed to resolve the issue embedded. Which contributes to how the narrative in nature is a reflection of reality, this constitutes a normal context where power is fluid and rather responsive to the actual situation in reality.

Narrative Constructs reality

The case by which the Narrative constructs 'reality' occured in different time during the housing timeline. This phenomenon includes an application of a certain discourse in the narrative that later creates a form of 'reality' or dismissing campaigns in the narrative which led to constructing a certain 'reality'. In the 1950s experts like Sayed Koryem called against urbanization of Cairo, which will lead to a drop in the green open space and will produce an urban sprawl of "slums". The dismissal of his opinions and persistence to urbanize Cairo have produced a set of laws and policies by Nasser's State which prepared the environment for the spreading of the informal housing sector. Another case scenario where the narrative constructed a new 'reality', are the consequences of the Land Reform policies, and the *ta'meer elreef* (urbanization of the countryside). 'Arab Socialist' Egypt called for campaign to return equity under the socialist definition. Part of redistribution of wealth led to many of the *fellahin* (farmers) losing their land, in addition that urbanization of the countryside. The government persistently provided housing in the rural areas in Egypt, through a modular typology. Which faced great resistance from the *fellahin*, and rejection from Experts like Hassan Fathy. However, the socialist plan was to redistribute welfare, and empower the "disadvantaged" which constructed a new urban 'reality' in rural Egypt.

Another example would be the call for the private sector to become a provider of housing. The narrative constructed persistently that the housing crisis can not be solved without the private sector. The narrative was reflected in laws and policies that ease the process for the private sectors.

Experts and government speakers all called for a serious intervention needed by the private sector. Which led eventually for the private sector to start constructing housing and to assist the government. However, this branding scheme was created as mere response to the IMF and the Western and Arab creditors applying restrictions on provision and subsidies. This was followed by the bread riots in 1977, and neglecting many basic welfare programs, deterioration of the social services, and inequality of distribution of income (El Kafrawy, 2012). These restrictions pushed for the call of the private sector to provide housing. However, the narrative constructed a different 'reality' in which it stated due to the private sector to provide and framed as the only way out of the housing crisis.

The last example is the constructed 'reality' of the "New Republic" campaign. It was packaged with new infrastructure projects, multiple new cities, new industrial cities, new smart cities, all to cater to a *Hayah Kareema* (living with dignity). The narrative constructed a new successful Egypt with no housing crisis. The accelerated pace at which projects are completed is often presented as a sign of significant accomplishments. The narrative adopts an announcement language that emphasizes "newness," and these achievements are projected through various mediums, creating a perception of great success. This contributes to the construction of a 'New Egypt,' where the visual image of 'reality' is deliberately altered to align with political ideologies and convey a sense of progress and transformation.The power invested in the structure of the narrative played a major role in constructing a particular 'reality' in each example to manifest a particular political vision. This is a manifestation of the power embedded in the narrative itself and its relation with the physical outcome and 'reality'.

Narrative has no relation to 'reality'

When narrative fails to align with 'reality' it fails to convey a particular message. That constitutes that the discursive practices (social/political practices) had no direct relation to the language used in the narrative. This impact is created when the narrative itself is contradictory in nature. Between 1990s and the 2000s, the narrative portrayed a large campaign against the informal settlement in Cairo; one of many. The narrative of "unsafe" housing boomed in this phase following the 1992 earthquake, the Muslim Brotherhood and police clashes in 1992, and Al Duweiqa rock slip in 2008, as extracted from the excerpts analysis in chapter 4. Informal settlements dominate the housing sector in Egypt, however, the language used in legislative work and in the social narrative seemed t. Regardless of the dangerous image that was portrayed as unsafe, a place for thugs, a drug dealership, or a place that is filled with illness and sickness. The contradiction here was the launch of the Informal Settlement Development Fund (ISDF) that assists in the upgrading and the development of such areas, meanwhile, Cairo has witnessed a mass removal of its settlements (Shalaby, Ahmed, & Elshanawy, 2022). The contradiction here falls in the narrative portraying the informal settlement as dangerous area that should not be dwelled, in parallel to creating the ISDF and not formulating any legal action to restrict from its spread. The direction of the Narrative

regarding informal housing varied in its intentions, nevertheless, it had no relation to the actual situation.
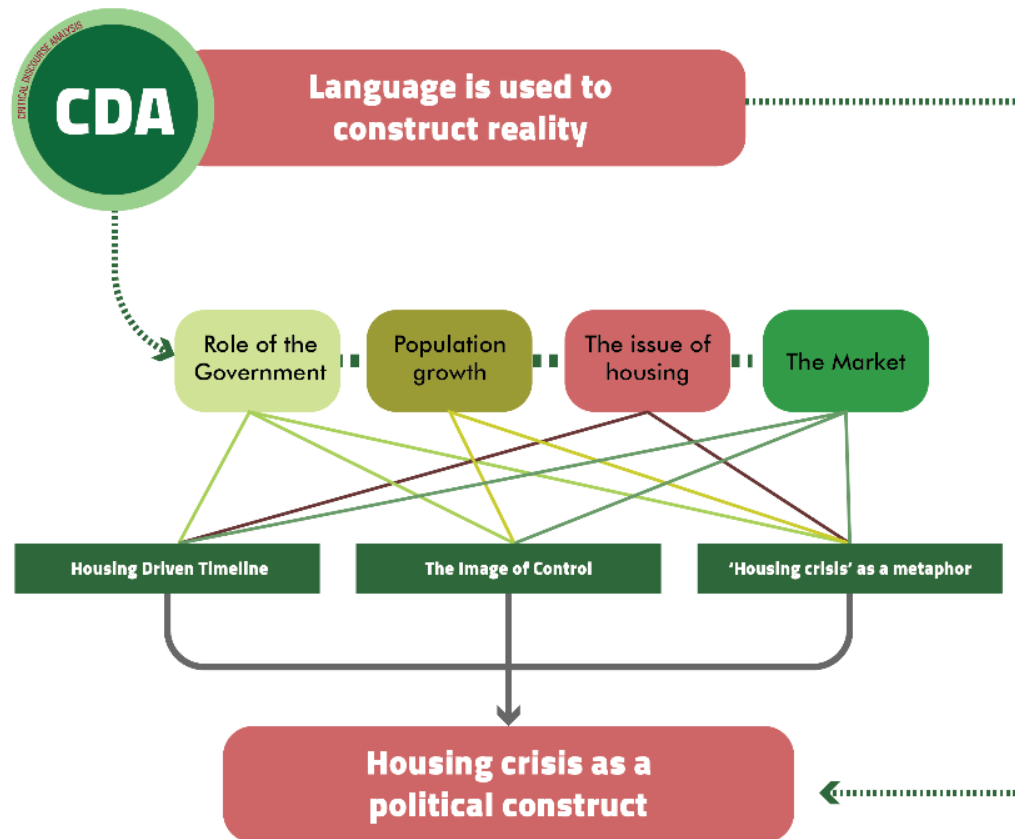
FIGURE 29: Housing Crisis as a Political Construct of Power and Control.
Source: author

These three relationships found between the language used in the housing and the narrative and the construction of 'reality' deployed the role of 'housing crisis' in becoming a political construct (Fig. 30). Housing in nature employs dominance and control over the population (Mitchel, 2002). Since it is a 'production of space' according to Henry Lefebvre it is a mode of establishing a power structure. This was portrayed in how the numbers of housing distribution and the production of estate is a method of creating an image of control rather than tackling the real problem found in housing. Given that language plays a pivotal role in shaping our perception of 'reality', terms like 'housing crisis' carry significant weight in influencing our understanding of the situation. The four interchangeable narrative categories (Fig. 30), can be categorized into three overarching thematic discussion points. This categorization aims to enhance our comprehension of the intricate correlation between the housing narrative and the actual realities it seeks to depict. As a conclusion 'housing crisis' is an emblem of control, used in times of need according to political ideology to apply control and not to address the crisis.

154

Chapter 6

Conclusion

6.1 Final thoughts

The housing narrative is a persistent topic in the literature concerned with the crisis of housing in Egypt. The exploration of the language used unveils the broader impact encapsulated within the narrative, delving into aspects that extend beyond its surface. Looking at the data through a historical perspective enables the observation of how the narrative has evolved over time, facilitating the chronological shifts in the narrative in identifying the ever-present 'housing crisis'. Developed a correlation based on the use of language as a tool that constructs 'reality', and investigated its social, political and economic attributes through the application of critical discourse analysis. The lexicalization and the use of metaphors in the narrative enabled the exploration of how different political and economic ideologies played a major role in shaping power and constructing the truth behind the 'reality' of housing in Egypt. As a result, 'housing crisis' is used in the narrative as a political construct based on three key themes; a more nuanced housing driven historical timeline (compared to the common sensical timeline), and housing 'crisis' as a metaphor for power and control. Each theme correlates between the four established categories – population growth, the role of the government, the issues found in housing, and investments - found in the housing narrative and 'reality', to measure its impact on the 'truth' of housing.

This analytical approach has facilitated the identification of more constructive implications concerning the perception of a 'crisis' within these narratives. These insights hold significant value in informing policy adaptations, guiding city planners, real estate developers, and policymakers in the planning process to ensure the provision of more suitable, innovative, and widely accepted housing solutions.

This research posits the following hypotheses:

1. In Egypt, the housing discourse tends to be divisive and exclusionary, perpetuating existing social and spatial inequalities.

2. The legal framework has predominantly functioned as a preventive measure rather than an enabling instrument for strengthening social housing.

3. Media narratives often target specific audiences while neglecting those in need.

4. Policy statements primarily focus on quantitative achievements rather than fostering community-inclusive narratives. Decision-makers, under pressure to swiftly resolve the housing problem, frequently overlook the diversity of cultures and traditions within living communities in the policies and laws they produce.

5. Public announcements frequently employ metaphors, excessive enthusiasm, imaginative language, and align with particular ideologies.

Language serves as an intermediate lens that reflects political, economic, social, and philosophical dimensions, offering a more inclusive approach to exploring the housing field. It provides a pathway to a deeper understanding of the linguistic factors that have influenced and possibly perpetuated the housing crisis. The underlying hypothesis of this study posits that the housing narrative has played a pivotal role in defining the notion of a crisis, regardless of the actual quantitative determinants of the problem. By applying CDA to identify the type of crisis constructed in the housing narrative, we introduce a novel approach rooted in an inclusive understanding of the linguistic dimension's impact on the practical dynamics of housing production in Egypt.

First, the historical timeline used primarily in the analysis faced a significant shift after the conduction of CDA. It allowed for the production of a housing dominant timeline that splits the history of the Republic of Egypt into six housing related phases regardless of the presidential eras. This is further underscored by the changes in the Ministry of Housing's naming and its role according to where it stands in the housing narrative timeline, starting as the Department of Popular Homes in 1950 to the Ministry of Housing, Utilities, and Urban Communities in 1996. The role played by the government in swaying the narrative portrays a particular image that aligns with political and economic ideologies which is different according to which historical phase it represents in the concluded housing timeline. The new housing timeline serves as a comparative platform, revealing shifts in government roles, legislative adaptations, and narrative fluctuations, emphasizing the close link between housing control and regime ideologies. Timothy Mitchell's insight into laws carrying hidden intentions aligns with the notion that laws shape the housing narrative as instruments of control. This narrative analysis within the New Housing timeline exposes nuanced power dynamics, illustrating housing control's multifaceted nature dictated by varying ideologies. This dominance over the presidential timeline highlights housing's role as a powerful tool for control and authority, displaying how it influences and reflects prevailing regime ideologies.

Second, the constructed image of control superseded the actual means of control, as the narrative struggled to align with 'reality'. The housing narrative in Egypt pushed to control the image through strategic focus on population growth, political changes, and media influence. Despite population growth being a natural occurrence, it has been constantly placed in the narrative

to be under control. Therefore, it consistently intertwines with the housing crisis in the narrative, enforcing new policies and laws, changing ministry's structure, and adding a pressing pressure on the housing provider to adapt to the changing number of the population and the rates of internal immigration. Even as population growth rates declined over seventy years, the discourse persisted, accentuating the need for continuous housing provision as a response to the increasing number of the population and the rates of internal immigration. This image of control, particularly in adapting to population growth, underscores the creation of a robust political image to control the narrative. Intentional exclusion of expert voices during certain regimes served to establish the dominance of the current power structure through unifying discourse to construct the image of control. The intricate interplay of political ideologies, media sway, and expert opinions unveils the complex dynamics shaping the housing narrative and portraying government control.

Indeed, "crisis" is not a neutral term; rather, it is a construct that has been exploited, as revealed in the narrative, to portray a specific image and 'reality.' This manipulation involves the creation of an image that implies a sense of control or management over the situation. The use of the crisis narrative implies underlying assumptions about the nuanced meanings of 'housing crisis' and the extent to which it deviates from an objective 'reality'. This results into the use of 'housing crisis as a metaphor by symbols of power regarding to the contextual needs imposed by the housing as property as per Mitchels' definition (2002).

Therefore, the production of crisis in housing implies a constant need for symbols of power appearing as an element of its rhetoric to ensure the continuum of its practice, leading to constant metaphorical variations of crisis employed in the narrative. This resulted in the identification of this mode of lexical fluctuation of crisis in the narrative as a conjecture crisis. Since crisis entails a certain assumption about 'reality', it is used to be a display of power and control over the construction of a certain 'reality'. This was visible through the transformations in the identification of the type of crisis itself. This leads us to conclude that 'housing crisis' was used as political construct with the object of control. The correlation found between the narrative production and 'reality' is not a stable relation. The narrative often failed to align with the numbers in 'reality', as it showed mismatching of data between the discourse and the statistics. This produced three relationships found in the narrative, the first is where the narrative was either used to influence and construct a particular 'reality', second naturally that the narrative responds to the context of 'reality', and the third is where the narrative and 'reality' had no relation to each other. In conclusion, the production of crisis in the housing narrative appears more as a mode of exercising power and control reinforcing the building foundations for the dominant political ideology in the Egyptian context, regardless of its alignment with the actual problem found in the housing industry in Egypt.

6.2 Limitations

This research has a timeframe limitation, which impacts the amount of data collected. Therefore, the application of statistical trends is crucial to ensure the assessment of findings. The production of trends according to the number of excerpts collected allows the repetition of this research and the use of CDA as a crucial tool for the housing studies. Minor variations in results are expected in the codification process, as the application of CDA involves a deeper analysis of the collected excerpts. Information asymmetry is a challenge in historical studies, that acts as a challenge in finding equal number of excerpts in every historical phase. The search for older excerpts in archives is based on manual sorting tools, which entails the process to be slower than newer data in digital archives.

6.3 Recommendations for Future Work

Since 'housing crisis' is a political construct, it changes how housing is being handled by the different participating parties. The findings of this thesis demotivates further research of the 'housing crisis' phenomenon and pushes for the retrieval of focus from this area in the housing research. Instead, this motivates future research to rather investigate problems caused by the real housing situation in different aspects away from the crisis mode. Investigation of the housing crisis will not assist in the resolution of the problems found in the housing dynamic in Egypt. This research motivates the use of language to further investigate how the housing narrative can benefit tackling different social, political, and economic attributes in the Egyptian fabric.

The exclusive housing timeline found in this research is an important finding in the housing research in Egypt. It enables the construction of a historical framework of analysis of housing research in the Egyptian context. The use of Critical Discourse Analysis in this research has opened a wide door of opportunities to explore further the impact of the narrative on the housing outcome. CDA can be used to examine the impact of the narrative on the unit size, on the location of housing complexes, on the production of the new cities and the reason behind their location, it can also be used to investigate the governmental housing strategies and their applicability. As it also has a role in the social dimension it can create a bridge between the alignment found between the users and the language used by power structures and how does this impact the livability of governmental housing. The use of linguistic analysis in the architecture and urban fields is extremely useful tools for researchers, designers, politicians, and decision makers to sensitize us to the meanings embedded in the language usage and how it constructs our intentions. This should further expand on how design, policy, and national strategies align in language with the language of the inhabitants.

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Appendices

A. CDA of Egyptian Housing Narrative (Narrative Map)
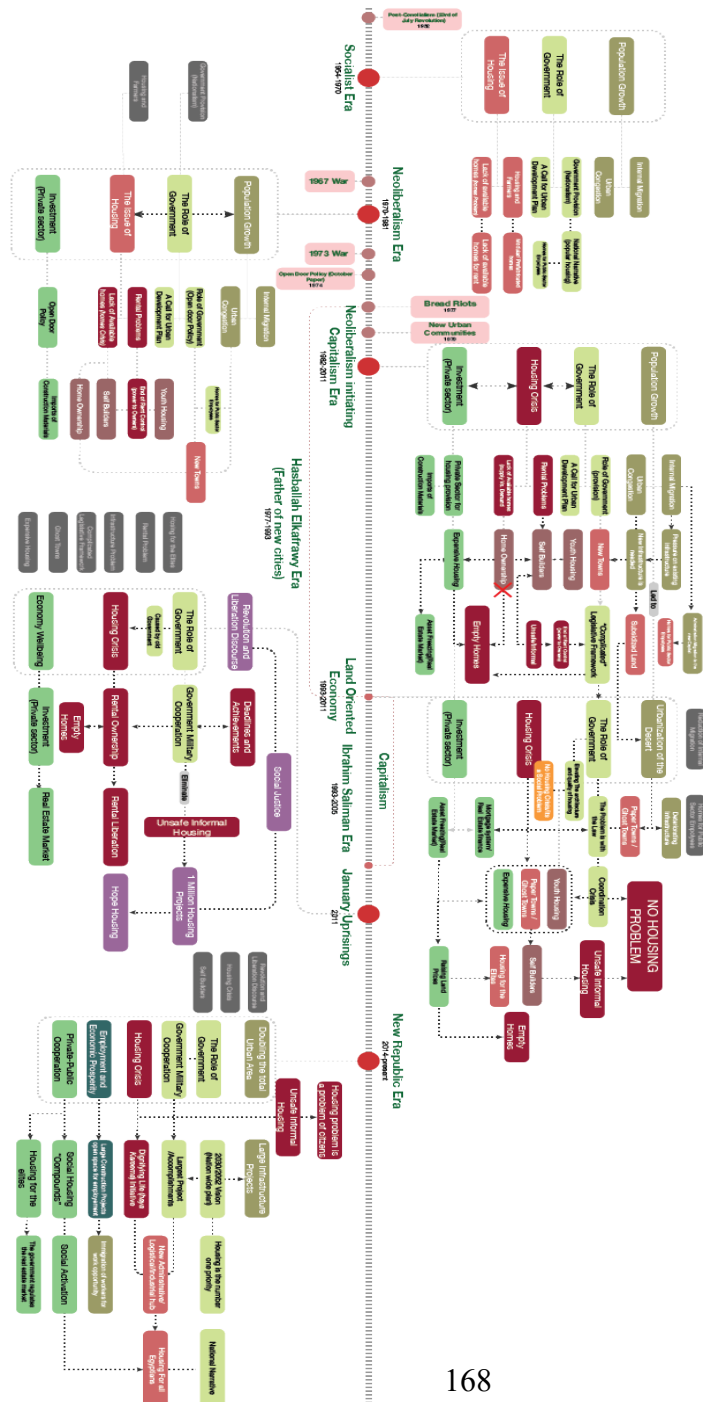
B. First Stage of Analysis: Pre-CDA

Year 1946-1970

Regime	Year	Category	Sub-Category	Word		Media	Source	Topic	Author
				Arabic	English				
Monarchy/colonalisation	1946	Population growth	Internal immigration	تختنق	Suffocating	Magazine	Almussawer	3	N/a
Post revolution	1952			طفيلي	Parasite	Magazine	Maglet el'emara		Sayed koryem
Nationalist/ socialist regime	1966			الهجرة	Migration	Newspaper	Alakhbar		N/a
Post revolution	1952		Urban congestion	علة	Illness	Magazine	Maglet el'emara	5	Sayed koryem
Post revolution	1952			القاهرة مريضة	Cairo is ill	Magazine	Maglet el'emara		Sayed koryem
Post revolution	1952			خرائب	Slums	Magazine	Maglet el'emara		Sayed koryem
Nationalist/ socialist regime	1966			تكدس القاهرة	Overcrowding in cairo	Newspaper	Alakhbar		Ragaa abdallah
Monarchy/colonalisation	1951	The role of the government	Government provision / national discourse	جهود الحكومة و جهود الشركات	Government efforts, and companies efforts	Magazine	Almussawer	**8	
Post revolution	1952			مرحلة الأنتقال المفاجيء و السريع	The sudden and rapid transition stage	Magazine	Maglet el'emara		
Post revolution	1952			مشروعات يعلن عنها كل يوم	Projects announced everyday	Magazine	Maglet el'emara		

	Year			Arabic	Title	Medium	Source	#	Author
Post revolution	1952			الارتجال	Improvisation	Magazine	Maglet el'emara		
Nationalist/ socialist regime	1953			عالم جديد	New world	Advertisment	N/a		
	1961			لا تنقلوا مباني الوزارات	Do not move the government buildings	Newspaper	Al ahram		Abd elbaky ibrahim
	1961			الروح التعاونية	Collaborative spirit	Newspaper	Alahram		
	1964			البلاط الفاخر المحلي	Luxorious local tiles	Advertisment	Almussawer		
	1964			خلي الحكومة تتعب	Let the government get tired	Magazine	Almussawer		
	1968			التمليك.. أم التأجير.. أم القطاع العام	Owning...or renting...or the public sector	Magazine	Almussawer		
Post revolution	1952		A call for urban development plan	خطة تطوير	Development plan	Magazine	Maglet el'emara	2	
Post revolution	1952		A call for urban development plan	البرنامج العمراني الشامل	Total urban development plan	Magazine	Maglet el'emara		
Monarchy /colonalisation	1962	The issue of housing	Modular/ prefabricated	هروب الفلاحين من البيوت	Farmers fleeing from homes	Magazine	Akher sa'a	2	
	1963	The issue of housing	Modular/ prefabricated	تعمير الريف	Country side urbanization	Auc archives	Hassan fathy		
	1963	The issue of housing	Modular/ prefabricated	العمارة الموحدة	Unified architecture	Auc archives	Hassan fathy		
Nationalist/ socialist regime	1968	The issue of housing	Modular/ prefabricated	لنموذجية	Typical	Magazine	Almussawer	3	
	1968	The issue of housing	Modular/ prefabricated	المسكن المصري	Egyptian home	Magazine	Almussawer		
Monarchy /colonalisation	1950	The issue of housing	Lack of available homes	خلو رجل	Key money	Movie	Al-yasmin	3	

Regime	Year	Topic	Sub Category		Arabic	English	Media	Source	Topic count	Author
Monarchy /colonalisation	1951			(homes problem)	أزمة المساكن	Homes crisis	Magazine	Almussawer		
Nationalist/ socialist regime	1965				أزمة المساكن	Homes crisis	Presidential debate in 1965	Youtube		

Year 1971-1981

Regime	Year	Topic	Sub Category		Word		Media	Source	Topic count	Author
					Arabic	English				
Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)	1/1/1980	Population Growth	Internal Immigration		التوسع و الانكماش- الهجرة	Expansion and contraction	Newspaper	Akhbar Alyom	1	Milad Hanna
Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)	NF		Urban Congestion	New Towns	في قلب الصحراء	in the heart of the dessert	Newspaper	Alahram	2	
Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)	1/1/1980				مدن الجديدة	New towns	Newspaper	Akhbar Alyom		Milad Hanna
Othman Ahmed Othman	NF	The Role of the Government	Government Private Sector Delegation	New Towns	قرية جديدة كل أسبوعين	new village every two week	Newspaper	Alahram	4	

			(Open-doorPolicy)							
Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)	12/9/1978				بيت و أرض لكل فرد يعمل	land, and home ownership for every employee	Magazine	Akher Sa'a		
Othman Ahmed Othman	24/11/1976				مدن جديدة	new towns	Newspaper	Alahram		
Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)	9/1/1980				المدن الجديدة	new towns	Magazine	Alam Albenaa		
Othman Ahmed Othman	29/07/1976			Private Sector	القطاع الخاص	private sector	Newspaper	Alahram		
Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)	6/9/1978				القطاع الخاص	private sector	Newspaper	Alahram	2	
Othman Ahmed Othman	29/07/1976		A call for Urban Development Plan	New Urban Communities Authority	تخفيض أيجارات المساكن	Reducing housing rents	Newspaper	Alahram		
Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)	1/12/1978				حلول جريئة لازمة الاسكان	Bold solutions to the housing crisis	Newspaper	Alahram	5	

Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)	13/11/1979				خطة قومية للاسكان	National housing plan	Newspaper	Alahram		
Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)	6/5/1979				السياسة القومية للاسكان	National housing policy	Newspaper	Alahram		
Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)	10/1/1980				خطة شاملة	Comprehensive plan	Magazine	Alam Albenaa		
Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)	9/1/1980			New Strategies	منازل النواة	core homes	Magazine	Alam Albenaa		Omayma Kamal
Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)	16/04//1980			Complicated Legislative Framework	أزمة الأسكان	Housing Crisis	Newspaper	NF	5	N/A
Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)	8/1/1980				سياسة الاسكان-اللجنة التعاونية	Housing Policy-Cooperative Committee	Magazine	Alam Albenaa		Somayya Saad Eldeen
Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)	18/11/1980				مشروع قانون الأسكان	Housing law project	Magazine	Alsha'ab		Dr Milad Hanna

Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)	16/04// 1980				فكر جديد	New thought	Newsp aper	NF	N/A
Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)	26/03/1 980				الاسكان الفاخر	luxury housing	Newsp aper	Alahr am	
Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)	31/08/1 981				إعفاء	Exemptio n	Newsp aper	Alahr am	
Othman Ahmed Othman	29/07/1 976	The Issue of Housing	Rental Problem s	End of Rent Control	تخفيض ايجارات المساكن	Reducing housing rents	Newsp aper	Alahr am	
Othman Ahmed Othman	24/11/1 976				ضبط الإيجارات	rental Control	Newsp aper	Alahr am	
Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)	21/03/1 977				ضبط الإيجارات	rental Control	Newsp aper	Alahr am	10
Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)	9/6/197 7				ضبط الإيجارات	rental Control	Newsp aper	Alahr am	
Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)	30/08/1 978				القانون الجديد	New Law	Magazi ne	Akhe r Sa'a	

Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)	10/1/1980				المالك و المستأجر	Owner and tenant	Magazine	Alam Albenaa		Abdelbaky Ibrahim
Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)	1/12/1978				خلو الرجل	keymoney	Newspaper	Alahram		
Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)	20/06/1977				خلو الرجل	keymoney	Newspaper	Alahram		
Othman Ahmed Othman	29/07/1976				خلو الرجل	keymoney	Newspaper	Alahram		
Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)	11/10/1978				خلو الرجل	keymoney	Magazine	Akher Sa'a		Eshaaq Habib
Othman Ahmed Othman	21/03/1977			Housing Problem	مشكلة الاسكان	housing Problem	Newspaper	Alahram	3	
Othman Ahmed Othman	20/06/1977				مذبحة الاسكان	housing massacre	Newspaper	Alahram		

Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)	10/9/1980				أزمة الاسكان	Housing crisis	Newspaper	Alam Albenaa	
Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)	12/9/1978			Self Builders	آلية للسقوط	Poised to fall	Magazine	Akher Sa'a	2
Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)	9/1/1980				إسكان ذو الدخل المحدود- الجهود الذاتية	Low-income housing-Self-efforts	Magazine	Alam Albenaa	Omayma Kamal
Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)	30//08/1978			Youth Housing	مساكن للشباب	housing for youth	Magazine	Akher Sa'a	1	N/A
Othman Ahmed Othman	10/10/1970		Lack of Available homes (Homes Problem)	Home Ownership	تمليك	ownership	Newspaper	Alahram	7
Othman Ahmed Othman	24/11/1976				تمليك	ownership	Newspaper	Alahram	

176

Name	Date				Arabic	English	Type	Source	#	
Othman Ahmed Othman	5/7/1977				تمليك	ownership	Newspaper	Alahram		
Othman Ahmed Othman	17/06/1977				تمليك	ownership	Newspaper	Alahram		
Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)	6/9/1978				تمليك	ownership	Magazine	Akher Sa'a		
Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)	1/12/1978				تمليك	ownership	Newspaper	Alahram		
Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)	`				الحصول على شقة	home ownership	Magazine	Akher Sa'a		
Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)	5/31/1978				اريد مسكناً	I want a house	Boook	-		
Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)	11/9/1978	Investment (Private Sector)	Open-door Policy (Economic Openness)	Private Sector	اللاستثمارات	investment	Magazine	Akher Sa'a	2	

Regime	Year	Category	Topic		Word Arabic	Word English	Media	Source	Topic count
Othman Ahmed Othman	21/03/1977				الاستثمارات من القطاع الخاص	Investments by Private sector	Newspaper	Alahram	

Year 1981-2011

Regime	Year	Category	Topic		Word		Media	Source	Topic count
					Arabic	English			
Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)	NF	Population Growth	Internal Immigration	Internal Adminstraive Immigration to new Cities	الوزارات تترك القاهرة	ministries are exiting Cairo	Newspaper	Alahram	
Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)	22/11/1984				مجمع الوزارات	ministries complex	Newspaper	Alakhbar	4
Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)	15/12/1982				عزال الوزارات	Dismissal of ministries	Newspaper	Alahram	

Name	Date				Arabic	English	Type	Source	No.
Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)	15/12/1982				عزال الوزارات	Dismissal of ministries	Newspaper	Alahram	
Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)	9/1/1983			Internal Immigration	القاهرة مدينة نغلقة	Cairo is a closed City	Newspaper	Alwafd	
Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)	11/4/1985				الهجرة	migration	Newspaper	Alahram	
Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)	18/07/1987				الهجرة	migration	Newspaper	Algomherya	4
Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)	30/10/1993				القاهرة مغناطيس السكان	Cairo is a magnet for dwellers	Newspaper	Alseyasy Almasry	
Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)	9/1/1983		Urban Congestion	Problems with Infrastructure	خريطة جديدة لتوزيع السكاني	New population Map	Newspaper	Alwafd	
Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)	9/1/1983				مرافق العاصمة	Capital Utilities	Newspaper	Alwafd	7

Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)	24/07/1988				خريطة جديدة لمصر	new map for Egypt	Newspaper	Alahram	
Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)	1/1/1991				المرافق	utilities	Newspaper	Alahram	
Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)	12/8/1983	The Role of the Government	Role of Government (Provision/Delegation)	New Towns	اقامة 3 مدن كل عام	establishing 3 cities every year	Newspaper	Alahram	
Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)	11/4/1985				المدن الجديدة	new towns	Newspaper	Alahram	2
Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)	21/06/1983				رغيف الخبز	bread loaf	Newspaper	Alahram	
Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)	10/4/1991				القوانين حل للمشكلة	the law is a solution to the problem	Newspaper	Alakhbar	

180

Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)	12/8/1983			Delegation to Private Sector	تخفيض سعر الفائدة- على قروض القطاع الخاص	discounting the interest rate for private sector loans	Newspaper	Alahram	
Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)	7/11/1984				القطاع الخاص	private sector	Newspaper	Alahram	4
Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)	11/4/1985				القطاع الخاص	private sector	Newspaper	Alahram	
Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)	12/5/1987				الاسكان الخاص و التعاوني	private and cooperative housing	Newspaper	Alahram	
Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)	24/07/1988		A call for Urban Development Plan		ضرورة مشروع قانون متكامل (أسكان)	the urgency of a compelete legislativeproject (housing)	Newspaper	Alahram	
Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)	13/09/1991				الشباب	youth	Newspaper	Alakhbar	3

Hasbal lah Elkafra wy (New Towns)	22/10/1992				الشباب	youth	Newsp aper	Alakhbar	
Hasbal lah Elkafra wy (New Towns)	6/11/1984	Housing Crisis	Rental Problems	Liberalizati on of Rent Control	اتحاد ملاك المساك ن الشعبية	Public Housing Owners Union	Newsp aper	Alahram	2
Hasbal lah Elkafra wy (New Towns)	22/10/1992				تحرير إيجار السكن	liberating home's rent	Newsp aper	Alakhbar	
Hasbal lah Elkafra wy (New Towns)	21/06/1983			Home Ownership	تمالك شقة	owning an apartment	Newsp aper	Alahram	1
Hasbal lah Elkafra wy (New Towns)	21/06/1983		Housing Crisis		أزمة الاسكان	housing crisis	Newsp aper	Alahram	9
Hasbal lah Elkafra wy (New Towns)	21/06/1984				مسألة وهمية	imaginery issue	Newsp aper	Alahram	

182

Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)	21/06/1983				مشكلة الاسكان مشكلة اقتصادية	housing problem, is an ecnomical proble,	Newspaper	Alahram
Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)	17/12/1984				المشكلة ... أخطب وطية	the problem is intertwines	Newspaper	Algomherya
Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)	11/5/1985				مشكلة المشاكل	the problem of problems	Newspaper	Alahram
Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)	24/07/1988				مشكلة الأسكان	housing problem	Newspaper	Alahram
Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)	19/04/1989				مشكلة تخطيطية	planning problem	Newspaper	Alsha'ab
Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)	24/12/1990				مأساة أجتماعية	social crisis	Newspaper	Alahram

Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)					9 أفراد سكان الحجرة الوحدة	9 people living in one apartment		
Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)	29/10/1983	Lack of Affordable (supply vs. Demand)	Empty Homes	ضخامة أرقام الاسكان	huge housing numbers	Newsp aper	Akhbar Alyom	
Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)	6/12/1984			الاشباح	ghosts	Newsp aper	Alwafd	
Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)	14/04/1986			مدن أشباح	Ghost cities	Newsp aper	Alahram Aleqtsad y	5
Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)	12/5/1988			شقة مغلقة	closed apartment	Newsp aper	Alahram	
Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)	30/10/1993			مدن يتقصها الحياة	cities that lack life	Newsp aper	Alseyasy Almasry	

Hasbal lah Elkafra wy (New Towns)	30/10/1993			Self Builders	مسكن عشوائي	informal (random) houses	Newsp aper	Alseyasy Almasry	2
Hasbal lah Elkafra wy (New Towns)	30/10/1993				النمو السرطا ني	cancerous growth	Newsp aper	Alseyasy Almasry	
Hasbal lah Elkafra wy (New Towns)	21/06/1983			Unsafe/Inf ormal	ايلة للسقو ط	poise to fall	Newsp aper	Alahram	1
Hasbal lah Elkafra wy (New Towns)	4/12/1983	Investme nt (Private Sector)	Private Sector For Housing Provision	Imports of Constructio n Materials	المضار بة في أسعار البناء	Speculation in construction prices	Newsp aper	Alahram	4
Hasbal lah Elkafra wy (New Towns)	11/4/1985				المضار بة في أسعار الأراضي	Speculation in land prices	Newsp aper	Alahram	

Hasbal lah Elkafra wy (New Towns)	11/4/1985				الأرض بالمجان	free land	Newsp aper	Alahram	
Hasbal lah Elkafra wy (New Towns)	21/06/1983				الاتجار بمساكن الشعب	Trade in people's homes	Newsp aper	Alahram	
Ibrahi m Salima n (desert Cities)'	NF	Urbaniza tion of the Dessert	Deteriorating Infrastructure	Paper Towns	بدون مرافق	without utilities	NF	NF	
Ibrahi m Salima n (desert Cities)'	n/a				القطامي ة ليه	katmeya leh	Newsp aper	n/A	7

Name	Date		Urban Expansion	New Towns	Arabic	English	Type	Source	
Ibrahim Saliman (desert Cities)'	10/3/1994				المرافق تحت اللانشاء	utilties under construction	Newspaper	alahramal masa2y	
Ibrahim Saliman (desert Cities)'	18/10/1995				الهجرة تهدد التنمية	migration threatens development	Newspaper	Alahly	
Ibrahim Saliman (desert Cities)'	8/7/1994				مرافق	utilities	Newspaper	almasry	
Ibrahim Saliman (desert Cities)'	10/3/1994				المرافق تحت اللأنشاء	utilties under construction	Newspaper	Alahram Almasa'y	
Ibrahim Saliman (desert Cities)'	1/1/1997				توصيل المرافق للأماكن العشوائية	Delivering utilities to informal settlements	Newspaper	Alahram	
Ibrahim Saliman (desert Cities)'	20/11/1995		Urban Expansion	New Towns	المدن الجديدة	new towns	Newspaper	Alahram	2

Ibrahim Saliman (desert Cities)'	14/7/1997				تخطيط عمراني جديد	new urban planning	Newspaper	Algomhorya	
Ibrahim Saliman (desert Cities)'	25/02/1998		Reduction in Immigration		نزيف الهجرة	bleeding internal migration	Newspaper	alakhbar	
Ibrahim Saliman (desert Cities)'	10/9/1998				تراجع الهجرة للمدن	reduction of the rate migration	Newspaper	alwafd	
Ibrahim Saliman (desert Cities)'	10/9/1998				تراجع الهجرة الداخلية	reduction in internal migration rate	Newspaper	alahram	4
Ibrahim Saliman (desert Cities)'	9/12/2000				لا يوجد كساد عمراني	no urban recession	Newspaper	alahram	
Ibrahim Saliman (desert Cities)'	20/11/1995	The Role of the Government	Role of Government (Provision/Delegation)	Elevating Architecture Quality	الارتقاء بالمستوى المعماري	elevate the architecturalstandard	Newspaper	Alahram Almasa'y	3

188

Ibrahim Saliman (desert Cities)'	4/14/1997				الإسكان التعاوني	cooperative housing	Newsp aper	Alakhbar	
Ibrahim Saliman (desert Cities)'	9/12/2000				الذوق العام	general taste	Newsp aper	Alahram	
Ibrahim Saliman (desert Cities)'	10/3/1994		Coordination Crisis	Problem With the Law	غياب التخطي ط	lack of planning	Newsp aper	Alahram Almasa'y	
Ibrahim Saliman (desert Cities)'	2/4/1995				مدينة بلا هوية	a city without identity	Newsp aper	Alwafd	6
Ibrahim Saliman (desert Cities)'	10/1/1996				لا لعقد الايجار الأبدي	no to permenenat rental contract	Newsp aper	Alahram	
Ibrahim Saliman (desert Cities)'	28/02/1997				قصور التخطي ط	lack of planning	Newsp aper	Alsha'ab	

Ibrahim Saliman (desert Cities)'	10/9/1997				إلغاء تخصيص المساكن لمحدودي الدخل	Eliminate the allocation of housing to low-income people	Newspaper	Al'omah
Ibrahim Saliman (desert Cities)'	10/9/1997			Delegation to Private Sector	القطاع الخاص	private sector	Newspaper	Al'omah
Ibrahim Saliman (desert Cities)'	08//08/1995	Housing Crisis	No Housing Crisis, It's a social crisis	Housing Crisis	المشكة الحقيقة	the real problem	Newspaper	Alahram
Ibrahim Saliman (desert Cities)'	13/12/1999				مساكن بدون معاناه	houses without suffering	Newspaper	Alahram
Ibrahim Saliman (desert Cities)'	23/03/2000				أزمة أسكان الشباب	youth Housing crisis	Newspaper	Alahram
Ibrahim Saliman (desert Cities)'	20/09/2000				مشاكل الاسكان	housing problem	Newspaper	Alahli

6

Ibrahim Saliman (desert Cities)'	15/03/2005				مساكن علب الكبريت	matchbox houses	Newspaper	Alaharar
Pre-2011	18/08/2010				المعزبون	the tortured	Newspaper	Alahram
Ibrahim Saliman (desert Cities)'	20/11/1995		New Housing Projects	Youth Housing	إسكان الشباب	youth housing	Newspaper	Alahram
Ibrahim Saliman (desert Cities)'	7/12/1997				اسكان الشباب	youth housing	Newspaper	Alwafd	3
	19/05/200 3				إسكان الشباب للأغنياء	youth housing for the rich	Newspaper	almawqef alaraby

				Arabic	English	Source	
	6/11/2009	Self Builders	Unsafe/Inf ormal	العشوا ئيات	informal (random) houses	Newsp aper	Alahram
	25/12/2010			عشوائيا ت الحكوم ة	the government's randmoness	Newsp aper	Alahram	3
	2007			حين ميسرة	While it is easy	Movie	albatros for film producti on &distrib ution and United Brothers (private entities)
Ibrahi m Salima n (desert Cities)'	17/05/1996	Lack of Affordable (supply vs. Demand)	Empty Homes	مهجورة	deserted	Newsp aper	Alwafd	11
Ibrahi m Salima n (desert Cities)'	1/5/1998			وهم أم حقيقة	delusion or reality	Newsp aper	Alakhbar

Ibrahim Saliman (desert Cities)'	18/11/1999				الوهم	Delusion	Newspaper	Algomherya
Ibrahim Saliman (desert Cities)'	21/11/2000				أزمة الاسكان مفتعلة	housing crisis is made up	Newspaper	Almidan
Ibrahim Saliman (desert Cities)'	20/01/2000				بيوت الأشباح	ghost's houses	Newspaper	Alwafd
	NF				مدينة مهجورة	ghosted city	Newspaper	Alwafd
	NF				مدينة مهجورة	ghosted city	Newspaper	Alahram Alamsa'y
	21/04/200				أزمة الاسكان مفتعلة	housing crisis is made up	Newspaper	Algomherya

	29/06/200				مساكن تبحث عن سكان	dwellings looking fro dwellers	Newspaper	Alwafd	
	9/11/2007				شقة مغلقة	closed apartment	Newspaper	Albadeel	
	1/3/2008				مدينة أشباح	ghost cities	Newspaper	Alahram	
Ibrahim Saliman (desert Cities)'	20/11/1995			Housing For the Elites	كل الطبقات	All classes	Newspaper	Alahram	
Ibrahim Saliman (desert Cities)'	28/02/1997				مساكن للاغنياء	homes for the rich	Newspaper	Alsha'ab	4
Ibrahim Saliman (desert Cities)'	21/04/1999				تجمع سكني للمستثمرين و رجال الأعمال	a residential compound for investors and busines men	Newspaper	Alahram	
Ibrahim Saliman (desert Cities)'	7/4/2000				هوجة الاسكان الفاخر	the abadonce of luxury housing	Newspaper	Alakhbar	

Regime	Year	Topic	Sub Topic		Word (Arabic)	(English)	Media	Source	Topic
Ibrahim Saliman (desert Cities)'	1/5/1998	Investment (Private Sector)	Asset Freesing	Raising Land Prices	رفع سعر الأراضي	increasing land prices	Newspaper	Alakhbar	
Ibrahim Saliman (desert Cities)'	5/9/1999				تسقيع الأراضي	land freeszing (asset freesing)	Newspaper	Alahram	4
Ibrahim Saliman (desert Cities)'	18/11/1999				القطاع الخاص و الفوضى	the private sector and choas	Newspaper	Algomherya	
	2/8/2009				فضيحة تسقيع الوحدات السكنية للشباب	youth housing freezing scandal	Newspaper	Alaraby	

Year 2011-2023

Regime	Year	Topic	Sub Topic		Word (Arabic)	(English)	Media	Source	Topic	Author
Post 2011-Transi story phase	21/06/2011	Revolution and Liberation	Social Justice	1 million houses	مليون وحدة سكنية في المدن	one million residential apartments in cities	Newspaper	Alahram	1	badawi elsayed nagila

							Reference document for housing strategies	
Post 2011- Transi story phase	2012	The Role of the Govern ment	Complic ations caused by previous regimes		الآثار الجانبية المنتجة	produced side effects	Newsp aper	1	
Post 2011- Transi story phase	21/06/201	Housin g Crisis	Rental Liberatio n	Rental to Ownership	إيجار التمليكي	rental ownership	Newsp aper	Alahram	
Post 2011- Transi story phase	21/06/2011				تحرير العلاقة بين المالك و المستأجر	Liberalizin g the relationshi p between landlord and tenant	Newsp aper	Alahram	2
Post 2011- Transi story phase	17/06/2011		Housing Crisis		فقراء الملاك و أثرياء المستاجر ين	poor owners and rich tenants	Newsp aper	Alahram	ahmed masoud
Post 2011- Transi story phase	23/11/201				مشكلة الإسكان	houisng problem	Newsp aper	Alahram	2 abdelm ohsen salama

Phase	Date				Arabic	English	Type	Source	Count	Author
Post 2011-Transitory phase	14/06/2011		Self Builders	Informal/Unsafe	العشوائيا ت الخطرة	dangerous informal settlements	Newspaper	Alahram	2	mahmoud ghoneim
Post 2011-Transitory phase	3/1/2012				عشوائيات غير الامنة	unsafe slums	Newspaper	Alahram		sherif gaballah + sahar zahran
Post 2011-Transitory phase	23/11/2011	Economy Wellbeing	Investment (Private Sector)	Real Estate Market	تشعل أسعار العقارات	Real estate prices ignite	Newspaper	Alahram	2	
Post 2011-Transitory phase	13/12/2011				السوق العقاري	real estate market	Newspaper	Alahram		maysa alsalkawi
New Republic	30/12/2015	Doubling the Total Urban Area	Large Infrastructure Projects		زيادة الكثافة السكانية	Increasing the population Density	Newspaper	Alahram	6	kareem abd elghani

New Republic	7/2/2017				مليون وحدة سكنية في المدن	million residnetial apartments in cities	Newspaper	Alahram		mohamed mohsen
New Republic	14/02/201				التنموية العملاقة	enormous development	Newspaper	Alahram		badwy elsayed negeela
New Republic	8/3/2019				مضاعفة المعمور / المخطط الأستراتيجي	increasing the urban areas/ strategical plan	Newspaper	Alahram		badwy elsayed negeela + hamdy zamzam
New Republic	27/03/2019				زياد مساحة المعمور/ مدينة ذكية	expaninf the urban/new smart cities	Newspaper	Alahram		badwy elsayed negeela
New Republic	1/12/2023				النمو السكني	population growth	Newspaper	Alwafd		n/a
Post 2011-Transistory phase	18/06/2014		Government Military Cooperation		الإسكان و الهيئة الهندسية	housing and the engineering authority	Newspaper	Alahram	1	
New Republic	24/05/2015	The Role of the Government	Government Military Cooperation	Largest Projects and Accomplishments	الأكبر بالشرق الأوسط	the largest in the middle east	Newspaper	Alahram	7	sahar zahran

New Repub lic	Date				Arabic	English	Type	Source	Author
New Repub lic	14/03/2016				رحلة الصعود	Ascension trip	Newsp aper	Alahram	
New Repub lic	14/03/2016				الأكبر	the largest	Newsp aper	Alahram	
New Repub lic	26/12/2018				تحيا مصر	May Egypt live forever	Newsp aper	Almasry Alyoum	wafaa bakri + alaa sar7an
New Repub lic	14/02/2019				التنمية العملاقة	enormoud developme nt	Newsp aper	Alahram	badawi elsayed nagila + hamdy zamza m
New Repub lic	14/02/202				الاستراتجي ة	strategy	Newsp aper	Alahram	
New Repub lic	8/4/2023				لماذا الأسمرات	Why Asmarat	Newsp aper	Almasry Alyoum	hamdy rizk

New Republic	23/01/2015			Deadline Urgency	نهاية 2018	end of 2018	Newspaper	Alahram		badawi elsayed nagila
New Republic	17/01/2017				خلال 3 سنوات	within 3 years	Newspaper	Alahram		
New Republic	17/01/201				30 يونيو	30-Jun	Newspaper	Alahram	6	karima abdelghany
New Republic	14/07/2017				أغسطس المقبل	next august	Newspaper	Alahram		badawi elsayed nagila
New Republic	9/13/2017				انفراج خلال 4 سنوات	A breakthrough within 4 years	Newspaper	Alahram		badawi elsayed nagila
New Republic	8/12/2018				4 سنوات /30 يونيو	4 years/ 30 june	Newspaper	Almasry		hesham omar abdelhalim
New Republic	11/4/2014	Public Private Cooperation			القطاع الخاص	private sector	Newspaper	Alahram	4	n/a

Source	Date	Theme	Subtheme	Category	Arabic	English	Type	Outlet	No.	Author
New Republic	26/07/2016				القطاع الخاص	private sector	Newspaper	Alahram		badawi elsayed nagila + hamdy zamzam
New Republic	6/10/2017				القطاع الخاص.. حلم	private sector.. Dream	Newspaper	Alahram		marwa elhaddad
New Republic	8/12/2018				القطاع الخاص	private sector	Newspaper	Almasry		
New Republic	9/10/2023		Nation Wide Plan	National Narrative	القضية السكنية/ بسرعة	the housing conflict/ urgency	Newspaper	Alwafd	1	
New Republic	11/4/2017	Housing Crisis	New Cities	New Adminstrative/logistical/Industrial Hub	أنظمة حديثة في إدارة المدن	innovative ways to manage cities	Newspaper	Alahram	1	shady abdallah zalata
New Republic	12/11/2023			Empty Homes	شقق غير المسكونة	Unoccupied Apartments	Blog	Fintech Gate	1	
New Republic	17/10/2016			Rental Problem	الإسكان الاجتماعي. .بالإيجار	social housing by rent	Newspaper	Alahram	1	karima abdelghany

New Republic	Date		Self Builders	Category	Arabic term	English term	Source	Newspaper	No.	Author
New Republic	30/12/2015			Housing for all Egyptians	الإسكان الاجتماعي "باب الأمل"	social housing "Door of hope"	Newspaper	Alahram		karima abdelghany
New Republic	30/12/2015				جودة التشطيب / مستوى التشطيب	the Quality of finishing	Newspaper	Alahram		
New Republic	7/2/2017				الأمل	hope	Newspaper	Alahram	5	
New Republic	27/03/2019				الفئات المستحقة	Eligible categories	Newspaper	Alahram Ale'qary		badawi elsayed nagila
New Republic	30/07/2023				حل مشكلة الاسكان	the solution to the housing solution	Newspaper	Alwatn		n/a
New Republic	8/11/2014		Self Builders	Informal/Unsafe	العشوائيات	slums	Newspaper	Alahram		aly shaykhoon + badawi elsayed nagila
New Republic	17/01/201				المشكلة الكبرى	the greatest problem	Newspaper	Alahram	5	
New Republic	26/12/2018				العشوائيات/ مناطق غير آمنة	unsafe areas/slums	Newspaper	Almasry		

New Republic	Date				Arabic	English	Type	Newspaper		Author
New Republic	8/4/2023				ورم العشوائيات	cancerous slums	Newspaper	Almasry		
New Republic	1/21/2023				عشوائية التفكير	random thinking	Newspaper	Almasry Alyoum		amany fouad
New Republic	11/4/2014	Private-Public Cooperation	Social Housing Compounds	Social Activation	معدلات البطالة	unemployemenet rate	Newspaper	Alahram		
New Republic	14/03/2016				الكمبوند	compound	Newspaper	Alahram	5	karima abdelghany
New Republic	17/01/2017				ملاعب وحمامات سباحة في الإسكان الاجتماعي	sport courts and wimming pools in social housing	Newspaper	Alahram		
New Republic	17/01/201				نسب العمالة	emplyement rate	Newspaper	Alahram		
New Republic	26/12/201				التنمية العمرانية و الاجتماعية	social and urban development				

			Housing for the elites	Real Estate Market						
New Republic	11/4/2014				التنمية الاقتصادية/سيتي سكايب	Economic development/city scape	Newspaper	Alahram		
New Republic	8/12/2018				فرص متساوي/ تميز إيجابي	equal opportunity/ postive selection	Newspaper	Almasry		
New Republic	8/11/2014				سكن الإغنياء	housing of the wealthy	Newspaper	Alahram		
New Republic	17/01/2017				تغير الأسعار	Price fluctuations	Newspaper	Alahram	6	
New Republic	31/08/2020				طبقية الحكومة	classist government	Newspaper	Almasry		wafaa bakry
New Republic	31/08/2020				الانفتاح العقاري	the real estate open strategy	Newspaper	Almasry Alyoum		

C. Second Stage of Analysis: CDA

1. Year 1946-1971

Excerpts						
Year	timeline	Category	Source	Author	Excerpt	Page
1946	Monarchy /colonalisation	Population Growth	Almussawer	n/a	Cairo a huge body without lungs! 2 million people approximetly in cairo suffocating slowly.. The number is getting bgger and larger, and its awaited to reach3,300,000 by year 1977.	57
1952	Post Revolution		Maglet el'emara	sayed koryem	مناطق التعمير الطفيلي و هي مناطق حديثة ... النظرية الإرتجالية الهادمة لا زالت للاسف تسيطر على المدينة و احياؤها المستجدة ... كان لا بد من خطط تطوير معالم القاهرة الجديده	57
1966	Nationalist/ Socialist Regime		Alakhbar	n/a	مما يتطلب الحكومة للتفكير في حلول تتحمل نسبة الزيادة السكنية الضخمة, و تراقب مشكلة الاسكان	57

1952	Post Revolution		Maglet el'emara	sayed koryem	و طابع الارتجال يسيطر على التطوير العمراني و التخطيط فهنالك أموال تصرف و مجهودات تستنزف كل عام و ضرائب تفرض و مشروعات يعلن عنها كل يوم و مع ذالك فالمشاهدة أن المدينة وطرقاتها و أحياؤها و مرافقها من سيء لأسواء و إن العمل الأساسي في هذا هو الارتجال و المعروف أننا نتعجل دائما بوصف العلاج قبل أن تشخص الأداة نفسها و نحدد موقع العلة. و العلة سببها معروف هو أن القاهرة لم يعمل لها مايسمى البرنامج العمراني الشامل : هيكل تكويني كامل	57
1952	Post Revolution		Maglet el'emara	sayed koryem	القاهرة تمر بمرحلة بمفترق الطرق,و سلاح استغلالها سينقذ القاهرة من الهوة التي سقطت فيها... كما يساء استعماله فيعمل على سرعة انهيارها و تحولها الي خرائب (slums) يصعب التغلب عليها ووقف زحفها.	57
1966	Nationalist/ Socialist Regime		Alakhbar	ragaa Abdallah		
1951	Monarchy /colonalisation		Almussawer			
1952	Post Revolution	The Role of the Government	Maglet el'emara		مرحلة الانتقال المفاجيء و السريـع في عدد السكان	71
1952	Post Revolution		Maglet el'emara		و طابع الارتجال يسيطر على تطوير العمراني و التخطيط فهنالك أموال تصرف و مجهودات تستنزف كل عام و ضرائب تفرض و مشروعات يعلن عنها كل يوم و مع ذالك فالمشاهدة أن المدينة وطرقاتها و أحياؤها و مرافقها من سيء لأسواء	71

1952	Post Revolution		Maglet el'emara		و طابع الارتجال يسيطر على التطوير العمراني و التخطيط فهنالك أموال تصرف و مجهودات تستنزف كل عام و ضرائب تفرض و مشروعات يعلن عنها كل يوم و مع ذالك فالمشاهدة أن المدينة وطرقاتها و أحياؤها و مرافقها من سيء لأسواء و إن العمل الأساسي في هذا هو الارتجال و هو أننا **نتعجل دائما** بوصف العلاج قبل أن تشخص الأداه نفسه و نحدد موقع العلة.	71
1961			Al Ahram	Abd Elbaky Ibrahim	المعنى الوحيد لهذا الاتجاه :فقدان التخطيط العام لمدينة القاهرة و تأزم مشكلة المواصلات	
1961			Alahram		الروح التعاونية	71
1964			Almussawer		البلاط الفاخر المحلي	71
1964			Almussawer		ليه متخليش الحكومة تبني؟ خلي الحكومة تتعب شويه... واحنا نستريح!	71
1968			Almussawer		الأرض الجديدة تتعلق بمستقبل الاستقلال الوطني و الديموقراطية الاشتراكية في بلدنا و بمستقبل الاصلاح الزراعي	71
1952	Post Revolution		Maglet el'emara		خطة تطوير	71
1952	Post Revolution		Maglet el'emara		البرنامج العمراني الشامل	71
1962	Monarchy /colonalisation	The Issue of Housing	Akher Sa'a		هروب الفلاحين من البيوت	
1963			Auc Archive	Hassan Fathy	ان هذا الاطمئنان تحول فجأة الى تنبيه كبير.. بحديث عن سياسة وزارة الإسكان "تعمير الريف" عن طريق المساكن الجاهزة سابقة التصنيع.. تعمير الريف بدون أهل الريف.	96

1963			Auc Archive	Hassan Fathy	كما نرجوا ان تبين لنا ما سيعود على ثقافتنا الأهلية و طراز حياتناوكياننا العربي من أثر اقتحام **الطرائق** ذات العمارة الموحدة في جميع أنحاء الريف.. ضرورة الارتقاء بالسكن في الريف. يعتبر الكثير من المخططين و المهندسين لعمليات البناء و الإنشاء للمدن و القرى كأنها شيء يجب التخلص منه بأسرع ما في الامكان..و أن نعطي القوم قرى و مدن جاهزة بين عشية و ضحاها لكن ذالك أسواء ما يمكن أن نقدمه لهم	96
1968	Nationalist/ Socialist Regime		Almussawer		و أكتشفنا ان هذا التخطيط يصلح للمدينة ولا يصلح للقرية خصوصا العمران النموذجي؟	96
1968			Almussawer		من أهم ما يواجهة السكان أن هذه المساكن كلها نموزج واحد متكرر	96
1950	Monarchy /colonalisation		Al-Yasmin		I paid them khallu regl (keymoney) and then they left	
1965	Nationalist/ Socialist Regime		youtube		each one of you wants to solve the housing crisis, but can we really solve the housing crisis in one year, or three, or four, or five?...I want to build **popular housing** and affordable housing and so on.. But can we in a short time change the sitoution that is a result of exploitation of hundreds years of colonialism	71/96

2. Year 1971-1981

| Excerpts | | | | | | |
Year	Timeline	Category	Source	Author	Excerpt	Page
1/1/1980	Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)	Population Growth	Akhbar Alyom	Milad Hanna	ضرورة وقف الهجرة تماما للعاصمة و لا تشجيع سكانها على الهجرة الى المدن الجديدة.. ولا بد من وضع الخطط القومية لان تكون القاهرة وسيلة طرد و ليس مصدر جذب و في ذات الوقت العمل على خلخلة التركيز السكاني في القاهرة.. اشارت تصريحات الوزير كفراوي بانشاء حزام أخضر .. لمنع انشاء اية مناطق سكنية عشوائية.. أو حزام حديدي (ميلاد حنا) لان مقاومة البشر لن تكون الا بتفهم الاسباب و الدوافع التي تفرض عليهم الهجرة للقاهرة و من ثم يتم انشاء الاحياء الغير مخططة .هجرة الفلاح من الأصل الى العاصمة و ان كان هناك مسكن و لو بايجار مناسب لدخله في المكان المناسب لعمله و رزقة وبالتالي تضخمت القاهرة و لو استفدنا من أزمة الاسكان و عدم وجود مساكن في كل موقع ووفرنا فرص العمل و المسكن في مناطق أخرى لهاجر كثيرون من القاهرة لان الشباب محدود الدخل **يكفر** بالقاهرة و لكنه يقيم فيها لانه ليس لديه حيلة.	59
NF	Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)		Alahram		أول مجموعة من سكان المدن تبدأ الهجرة الى الوادي الجديد في قلب الصحراء قرية جديدة كل أسبوعين..10 ألاف فدان بدأت الإنتاج.. أربعة آلاف منها للقادمين إلى الصحراء	59
1/1/1980	Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)		Akhbar Alyom	Milad Hanna	استثمارات في مدينة 6 أكتوبر و العاشر من رمضان و مدينة 15 من مايو سوف يجعل من القاهرة أكبر تجمع سكني في العالم ...	
NF	Othman Ahmed Othman	The Role of the Government	Alahram		قرية جديدة كل أسبوعين ... قرية كاملة لا ينقصها إلا الناس	

12/9/1978	Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)		Akher Sa'a		أن هدفنا الأساسي هو تحقيق الرخاء لقاعدة عريضة من الشعب ليكون لكل فلاح و عامل بيت و أرض..
24/11/1976	Othman Ahmed Othman		Alahram		إقامة 4 مدن جديدة حول القاهرة تستوعب مليوني مواطن
9/1/1980	Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)		Alam Albenaa		كيف يمكن للساكن أن يستكمل مسكنه بنفسه؟ الجهود الفنية و التنظيمية و التي يجب أن تبذلها و اذاكان القطاع الخاص يساهم بالجزء الأكبر في توفير الوحدات السكنية الا انه لم يعد قادرا على توفير الأعداد المناسبة التي تتخطى حاجة محدودي الدخل..لكن يمكن اشراك المستفيد من ذوي الدخل المحدود بالجهود الذاتية
29/07/1976	Othman Ahmed Othman		Alahram		ان أزمة الاسكان لاتستطيع الحكومة وحدها أن تحلها, و الحل في يد القطاع الخاص
6/9/1978	Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)		Alahram		أن ظاهرة ازمة الاسكان قد ورثتها الحكومة.. ان القطاع الخاص و التعاوني لابد ان تقوم بتنفيذ 70% من هذه الخطة و الباقي تنفذه الدولة.
29/07/1976	Othman Ahmed Othman		Alahram		اطلاق القطاع الخاص على البناء فوق المتوسط و الفاخر للقضاء على خلو الرجل

Date	Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)		Source	Author	Text	75
1/12/1978	Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)		Alahram		حلول جريئة لمحاولة التخفيف منها ووضعها على طريق الحل... القوانين التي (وضعتها) الحكومة عبر السنين الماضية لكي تواجه المشكلة مرحليا دون التصدي لحلها حلا جذري..دخول الدولة كمنافس قوي للقطاع الخاص في انشاء المساكن.. ازداد العمران بشكل مكثف مما ترتب عليه زيادة الهجرة من الريف للمدن	75
13/11/1979	Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)		Alahram		خطة قومية للاسكان	75
6/5/1979	Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)		Alahram		وزارة التشييد.. ضرورة! الأسكان الجاهز أولا قدرة القطاع الخاص ألغاء القيود فورا..	75
10/1/1980	Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)		Alam Albenaa		خطة شاملة	75
9/1/1980	Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)		Alam Albenaa	Omayma Kamal	لكن يمكن اشراك المستفيد من ذوي الدخل المحدود بالجهود الذاتية.. منازل النواة .. ان المستفيد يتملك قطعة أرض مخصصة له, ليعطي نفسه الحرية فيها ولا يقبل التدخل من السلطات حتى لو نص ذلك في التعاقد.. و يضمن بيئة سكنية صحية و يدفع بالعملية الإنشائية لتوفير الوقت و المجهود و يتناسب مع امكانية ذوي الدخل المحدود و قدراتهم التنفيذية و عاداتهم و تقاليدهم.و المختلف هنا هو أن يوفر الهيكل الانشائي الرئاسي للمبني و المرافق الخاصة به ... و تترك الوحدات خاوية للمستفيد في توفير الأولويات و قدرته المالية... و هنا يتم تدريب المستفيد	75
16/04//1980	Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)		NF	N/A	مجلس الشعب يطالب بتجنيد إمكانية الدولة لحل أزمة الإسكان و يقترحون دعم مواد البناء و بيع الأراضي بأسعار رمزية	75

8/1/1980	Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)		Alam Albenaa	Somayya Saad Eldeen	التغطية المطلوبة السنوية مع التراكمات المادية و مواجهة الزيادة المستقبلية بعد 20 سنة.. تطوير المساكن باستخدام التصميم النمطي و المديول لتخفيف التكلفة	75
18/11/1980	Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)		Alsha'ab	Dr Milad Hanna	الحكومة منذ عام 1974 هي التي اوجدت قفزة شديدة في الإيجارات نتيجة الانفتاح الذي بدأناه.. الشقق الجديدة موجودة بالفعل ثمن بيعها أو مقدمها او المبلغ الذي يدفع لكي يختفي في جيب المالك .. ويجب ان لا يزيد عن 20%-25 من دخل الفرد.. ولذلك فان القانون المقترح هو خلطة عجيبة غير متجانسة من الأفكار لا يوجد اي رابط .. من هذا القانون.. هل هو تحيز لطبقة الملاك .. هل هو محاولة لان يكون السعر الحقيقي لسعر الاسكان .. القانون الحالي يكاد يكون قد تعطل .. هدف القانون الحالي هو توفير مساكن جديدة الى الطبقات الشعبية محدودة الدخل بالإيجارات التي تتناسب مع دخولهم و لا أجد لذلك قبول مبدأ الدعم في إيجارات المساكن لان المسكن لا يقل في أهميته للانسان عن رغيف العيش	75
16/04//1980	Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)		NF	N/A	فكر جديد و تخفيف قيود القوانين	75
26/03/1980	Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)		Alahram		ضريبة على الأسكان الفاخر لبناء مساكن شعبية لمحدودي الدخل	75

Date			Source	Author	Content	Number
31/08/1981	Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)		Alahram		إعفاء المساكن الشعبية و المتوسط من سندات الإسكان مهما كان قيمتها, و أعطاء الأولوية في الاسكان للعاملين في المصانع.. وسيتم اعلان القاهرة **منطقة صناعية مغلقة مع** الحد من الهجرة لها	75
29/07/1976	Othman Ahmed Othman	The Issue of Housing	Alahram		اطلاق القطاع الخاص على البناء فوق المتوسط و الفاخر للقضاء على خلو الرجل	99
24/11/1976	Othman Ahmed Othman		Alahram		ضبط الإيجارات	
21/03/1977	Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)		Alahram		ضبط الإيجارات	
9/6/1977	Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)		Alahram		ضبط الإيجارات	
30/08/1978	Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)		Akher Sa'a		المساكن المعدة للتمليك أيضا, حتى الأن لا تزال معروضة, و الذين يتملكوا فيها يعرضون مساكنهم للبيع من جديد؟	99
10/1/1980	Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)		Alam Albenaa	Abdelbaky Ibrahim	(المهندسون و المصممون) يحاولون مساعد رب الأسرة في تنظيم مسكنه بامكنيات محلية.. اننا نحاول ان نساعد المالك و المستأجر في تفهم العلاقات بينهم - د. عبد الباقي أبراهيم	99
1/12/1978	Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)		Alahram		ظاهرة خطيرة ظلت تقاوم كل الوسائل و منها قوة القانون...عن الزيادة الهائلة في الطلب عن العرض... خصوصا مع فروق الأسعار الحالية من ايجارات المساكن القديمة التي جمدت او خففت بواسطة القوانين	999
20/06/1977	Hasballah Elkafrawy		Alahram		خلو الرجل	

	(New Towns)				
29/07/1976	Othman Ahmed Othman		Alahram		خلو الرجل	
11/10/1978	Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)		Akher Sa'a	Eshaaq Habib	خلو الرجل	
21/03/1977	Othman Ahmed Othman		Alahram		الزام الجهات التي تستثمر أموالها في الاسكان.. و استثمارها في بناء وحدات سكنية شعبية بدلا من اقتصارها على الاسكان الفاخر أو المتوسط	99
20/06/1977	Othman Ahmed Othman		Alahram		مبدأ جديد في مشروع الاسكان يمكن أن يؤدي الى "مذبحة إسكان" جديدة بين الملاك و المستأجرين يعطي لكل مالك الحق في طرد السكان و إخلاء المسكن اذا نشأت حالة من حالات الضرورة تجعلة محتاجا لهذا المسكن لنفسه أو لاحد أولاده	99
10/9/1980	Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)		Alam Albenaa		مساعدة من لديه أرض وليس لديه أمكانية ان يبني.. أن القانون الجديد يشجع الاستثمار في مجال الاسكان .. منها تعديلات نسب الاقراض استكمالا لاهداف القانون ولتشجيع المواطنين على الاستثمار في مجال الاسكان	99
12/9/1978	Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)		Akher Sa'a		من المساكن القديمة الآلية 20% للسقوط غرامة إهمال المالك في صيانة المنزل	99
9/1/1980	Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)		Alam Albenaa	Omayma Kamal	كيف يمكن للساكن أن يستكمل مسكنه بنفسه؟ الجهود الفنية و التنظيمية و التي يجب أن تبذلها و اذاكان القطاع الخاص يساهم بالجزء الأكبر في توفير الوحدات السكنية الا انه لم يعد قادرا على توفير الأعداد المناسبة التي تتخطى حاجة محدودي الدخل..لكن يمكن	99

				اشراك المستفيد من ذوي الدخل المحدود بالجهود الذاتية	
30//08/1978	Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)		Akher Sa'a	N/A	يجب ان توجه الحكومة عنايتها الى بناء مساكن للشباب المنتظر في طوابير الزواج منذ سنين	99
10/10/1970	Othman Ahmed Othman		Alahram		تمليك المساكن الشعبية للمستأجرين	99
24/11/1976	Othman Ahmed Othman		Alahram		تمليك الوحدات السكنية الشعبية لمن يسدد ايجارها 15 سنة	99
5/7/1977	Othman Ahmed Othman		Alahram		المساكن الشعبية الجديدة تمليكها بسعر البناء فقط... تمليك المساكن الاقتصادية لأصحاب الدخل المحدود..خصم 10% من الثمن لمن يسدد دفعة واحدة	99
17/06/1977	Othman Ahmed Othman		Alahram		القواعد الجديد لتمليك المساكن الشعبية 165 ألف أسرة تستفيد من	
6/9/1978	Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)		Akher Sa'a		هناك مشروع بدأنا تنفيذة بالفعل لتمليك الشقق الحديثة بمدينة نصر... الى جانب هذا قررنا أيضا زيادة تخفيض التكلفة لمواد البناء للاسكان الاقتصادي التي تستخدمها والمتوسط باعفائها من الرسوم الجمركية و سوف تكون الوحدات الجديدة للاسكان الاقتصادي بنسبة 70% من الخطة	99
1/12/1978	Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)		Alahram		انشاء عمارات سكنية متعددة الطوابق ثم بيعها في شكل شقق ليمتلكها من يرغب مستقلة	99

Year	Timeline	Category	Source	Author	Excerpt	Page
10/11/1978	Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)		Akher Sa'a		بعد ان تم الزواج أصبحت المشكلة واضحة: الحصول على شقة في حكم المستحيل !! ليس أمام التي تزوجت حديثا الا ان تعيش في بيت أهل الزوج.. وأهل الزوجة	
5/31/1978	Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)		-		اريد مسكنا	
11/9/1978	Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)	Investment (Private Sector)	Akher Sa'a		مصر تقترض للاستثمار.. وليس لسداد العجز	125
21/03/1977	Othman Ahmed Othman		Alahram		الزام الجهات التي تستثمر أموالها في الاسكان.. في استثمارها في بناء وحدات سكنية شعبية بدلا من اقتصارها على الاسكان الفاخر أو المتوسط	125

3. Year 1981-2011

Excerpts						
Year	Timeline	Category	Source	Author	Excerpt	Page
Nf	Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)	Population Growth	Alahram		تجربة جادة لسحب هموم القاهرة من الزحام و الخدمات و المرور و كل ما يرفع ضغط الدم مدينة قوامها 12 مليون من البشر	62
22/11/1984	Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)		Alakhbar	Makram Sennara	الهدف الرئيسي من المجمع هي تخفيف ضغط تكدس على القاهرة	62

15/12/1982	Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)		Alahram		المهندس حسب الله الكفراوي: سنبدا بأنفسنا و سنكون أول وزارة تنتقل باجهزتها كاملة و العاملين الى المدينة الجديدة	62
15/12/1982	Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)		Alahram	N/A	شقة جديدة لكل موظف ينتقل مع وزاراته الى مقرها الجديد	62
9/1/1983	Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)		Alwafd	Ahmed Nasr Eldeen	القاهرة حتى الأن تعاني من حوامل "الهرس" اليومي لتزايد المشاكل و الأختناقات	62
18/07/1987	Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)		Algomherya	Adel Shelsh	اثني عشر مليون نسمة اي ما يعدل ربع سكان مصر .. و هنا الكارثة.. فكانت النتيجة الانفجارات المتتالية في المرافق.. حضر هؤلاء الى القاهرة وهي ليست بحاجة اليهم .. تستطيع اي أسرة .. تكون بلا عمل في موطنها.. و تقوم بسلسة من الأعمال	62
30/10/1993	Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)		Alseyasy Almasry	N/A	الحكومة عامل أساسي في زيادة زحام العاصمة	
9/1/1983	Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)		Alwafd		خريطة جديدة للتوزيع السكاني... هل تحل مشكلة الهجرة الداخليه.. القاهرة الآن تضم 1/4 سكان مصر و 4	62

Date	(New Towns)		Source		Text	#
	Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)				أضعاف كثفاتها السكانية	
9/1/1983	Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)		Alwafd		أذا كانت مرافق القاهرة تحديدا تعلن **رفضها** الكامل لاي عبء جديد فان صرخاتها ارتفعت.. اذا استمرت معدلات الهجرة في تزايدها **المطرد** الذي يمكن ان تفجر كل المرافق تصبح وشيكة الوقوع بين لحظة واخرى	62
24/07/1988	Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)		Alahram		لتخطيط وتنفيذ مشروعات التعمير و المجتمعات العمرانية الجديدة لإعادة رسم خريطة جديدة لمصر بإنشاء العديد من المدن الجديدة في الامتداد الصحراوي للوادي والدلتا و تنمية المجتمعات الجديدة القائمة كي تسمح هذة المشروعات بزيادة المساحة المأهولة بالسكان.. و ذالك لتخفيف الكثافة السكنية .. و إيجاد الفرص عمل للمقيمين بها خاصة الشباب .	62
1/1/1991	Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)		Alahram		مدرسة و وسيلة مواصلات لتكتمل "حلاوة" القطامية	

12/8/1983	Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)		Alahram	Ezzat Abdelmonaem + Eman Mostafa	اقامة 3 مدن جديدة كل عام تستوعب 100 ألف مواطن في المناطق الصحراوية و ستكون بمثابة مجتمعات عمرانية و صناعية. ضرورة توفير المسكن الملائم للطبقات الكادحة و الأسر الناشئة	80
11/4/1985	Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)		Alahram		المجتمعات و المدن الجديدة قد أقيمت لحل الأزمة... و هنا أكد الوزير أن الفهم غير الدقيق للبعض من ان المجتمعات و المدن الجديدة قد أقيمت لحل مشكلة الاسكان فهم غير صحيح و انما الصحيح ان هذه المدن الجديدة تقام للإعاشة الذين يعملون فيها سواء اكانت مجتمعات زراعية او صناعية و يمكن ان تساهم على المدى البعيد في تخفيف حدة الأزمة على المدى البعيد و لكنها لا تقام اصلا لحل الأزمة.	80
21/06/1983	Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)	The Role Of The Government	Alahram	Milad Hanna	هي مشكلة حسن التوزيع .. الهدف يطمح أن يكون هناك استرخاء للأزمة. لن يمكن حل مشكلة الأسكان الا بالدعم فالسكن ليس أقل أهمية من رغيف الخبز...قضية انتهاء الإيجار و ظهورا التمليك ظاهرة خطيرة.. قوانين الاسكان هي مشكلة	80

Date					Arabic text	
	Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)				الأسكان (Mostafa Hanafwy)	
10/4/1991	Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)		Alakhbar		هدف القانون الجديد تحقيق العدالة بين المالك و المستأجر. ايجاد أسلوب حضري لعلاج كارثة انهيار السكن. " القانون يهدف لتحقيق التكافل الاجتماعي"	80
12/8/1983	Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)		Alahram		زيادة إنتاج المصانع الحالية من مواد البناء و التوسع في انشائها و تغطية العجز في الانتاج الحالي من خلال الاستيراد مع أعفاء المواد المستوردة من الرسوم الجمركية و أطلاق الحرية للقطاع الخاص لاستيرادها.	80
7/11/1984	Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)		Alahram	Sherif Elabd	افساح المجال أمام القطاع الخاص لاقامة المساكن الشعبية	
11/4/1985	Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)		Alahram		خطة الدولة و تقديرها مبنية على أساس أن يقوم القطاع الخاص بالمساهمة بنسبة 94% في حل الأزمة و تقوم الدولة ب 6% فقط و مع ذالك فلم تقدم لهذا القطاع ما يغريه على استثمار أمواله	80
12/5/1987	Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)		Alahram	N/A	دعوة للقطاع الخاص على استثمار امواله في مجال الأسكان . قامت الدولة بتخصيص 225 مليون جنيه لتغطية القروض اللازمة للاسكان بفائدة بسيطة , و أن هذا	80

220

	Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)				المبلغ يكفي 50 ألف وحدة سكنية سنويا
24/07/1988	Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)		Alahram		ضرورة مشروع قانون متكامل (أسكان)
13/09/1991	Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)		Alakhbar	Ahmed Zain	و احاديث عن متاعب الشباب لا تنتهي. .كل ما يحيط بهم (الشباب) عبارة عن مشاكل.. و الحصول على قطعة أرض مشكلة أكبر و أكبر. و اذا ذهبوا للحصول على شقة جديدة فانهم يقضون الشهور الطويلة في انتظار موافقة مجلس المدينة و رئيس الحي و مئات التوقيعات. كل هذه المشاكل تحيط بالشباب من بداية تخرجه من الجامعة كل شيء للأسف الشديد يسير معوجا.	81
22/10/1992	Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)		Alakhbar		الشباب و الشابات ليس لديهم موانع من التدريب على أعمال البناء و البياض و النجارة و الكهرباءو الصحي.	81

6/11/1984	Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)	Housing Crisis	Alahram	Mohammed Basha	الاجراءات لتشكيل اتحاد ملاك المساكن الشعبية لتتولى مسؤولية الصيانة و اصلاح المرافق	104
22/10/1992	Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)		Alakhbar	Dr. Gamal Gordon	أصاب مشكلة تحرير السكن من القيود التي فرضت عليه فخنقت الساكن و المالك و المستثمر لسنوات طوال. فالعلاقة بين المالك و المستأجر حكمها القانون المدني في ظل وفرة المنازل. والهدف منه كان التشريع.. ضمان حول حصول المالك على ايجار ملكه. القوانين المجحفة .	104
21/06/1983	Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)		Alahram		موظفي الحكومة و القطاع العام.. غير قادرين على تمليك شقة, و علينا كحكومة ان نبني لهؤلاء شققا يعيشون قيها..يجب الوصول لايجارات واقعية	104
21/06/1983	Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)		Alahram	Hassan Ashour	أزمة الاسكان.. هل لها حل؟	
21/06/1984	Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)		Alahram	Mohamoud Mahfouz	مسألة وهمية	

21/06/1983	Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)		Alahram		مشكاة الاسكان مشكلة أقتصادية بالدرجة الأولى
17/12/1984	Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)		Algomherya	Dr. Melad Hanna	المشكلة اجتماعياو اقتصاديا و سياسيا.. لا يمكن امساك طرف الخيط من طرف او الأخر	104
11/5/1985	Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)		Alahram	Hassan Elsharkawy	بكثرة ما أصدرته من قوانين بعد الستينات و بكثرة تعديلها لهذا... كانت القوانين سببا جوهريا في تعقيد الأزمة بسبب ما أوجدته القوانين من جو "غير سلمي" و "غير مستقل" بين المالك و المستأجر..	104
24/07/1988	Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)		Alahram		و ذالك نتيجة عدم التوازن بين العرض و الطلب, حيث ان المعروض للتمليك أكثر من المعروض للتأجير . مما أسفر عن وجود كم هائل من الوحدات السكنية معروضة للبيع و لا تجد من يشتريها. نتيجة لتعدد قوانين الاسكان و تفرق احكامها مما يصعب تطبيقها	104
19/04/1989	Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)		Alsha'ab	Magdy Elsayed	لا توجد لدينا مشكة سكنية! و لكن مشكة تخطيطية.. و تنظيم الطاقات اليشرية الموجة قي مصر	

24/12/1990	Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)		Alahram	Bahira Mokhtar	قبل أن يتم تهجيرهم الى منطقة جديدة و حياة جديدة .. يجب أن يسألوا الناس أولا و يجب أن يعرفوا رأيهم فيها.. هل توافقهم؟ هل تحقق احتياجتهم؟ هل تقام في تلك المنطقة ام منطقة أخري يفضلها الناس؟.. بل وربما يكتشفون و هم يسألونهم انهم يرغبون مشروعا اخر مختلف تماماو يجب ان تكون له الاسباب لهذا المشروع المقدم من المخططين بل يجب حتى ان يسالوهم على الصورة او الشكل الذي يجب ان يخرج عليه المشروع	104
	Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)		Alahram	Bahira Mokhtar	9 أفراد سكان الحجرة الوحدة	
29/10/1983	Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)		Akhbar Alyom	Fathi Rizk	نحن نخطط فقط.. نوفر أراضي و مواد بناء.. نقدم 470 مليون جنيه لمن يريد قروضا ميسرة بفائدة 4%.. الاعتمادات حتى مع الخطة الخمسية لا تعمل	

Date					
6/12/1984	Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)		Alwafd		من سيتخيل 200 ألف شقة خالية تسكنها الأشباح. هناك 100 ألف شقة بناها اصحابها ثم اغلقوها و احتفظوا بمفاتيحها في جيوبهم. و هناك 100 ألف شقة أخرى متعددة اي ان اصحابها ليس بحاجة اليها لانهم يملكون اكتر من شقة بلغت في بعض الحالات 20 شقة للفرد الواحد. يطالب ميلاد حنا مسكن واحد لكل أسرة اجراء لابد منه للقضاء على ظاهرة الشقق المغلقة.	104
14/04/1986	Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)		Alahram Aleqtsady		مدن أشباح	
12/5/1988	Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)		Alahram	Mervat Shoeib	100 ألف شقة مغلقة أو ما تم تشطيبها عمدا . للحد من جشع أصحاب العمارات تحت التشطيب. التشطيب على حساب المالك . ما هو الموقف القانون من المالك الذي يستغل تصريح البناء على مواد البناء بأسعار مدعمة. ثم يتراخي في تشطيب العمارة أو تسليمها للسكان!	105
30/10/1993	Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)		Alseyasy Almasry			

30/10/1993	Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)		Alseyasy Almasry		الإسكان العشوائي الذي يشغل مساحة 60% من مسطح القاهرة و يشكل 80% من مساحة الكتلة العمرانية بها يرى أن هذا النوع من الإسكان **هو اكبر أسباب المشاكل.** انتشار المساكن العشوائية الى قانون 29 لسنة 1977 الذي أعطى الشرعية للمناطق العشوائية التي أنشأت في مصر قبل 1966	105
30/10/1993	Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)		Alseyasy Almasry		النمو السرطاني	
21/06/1983	Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)		Alahram		آيلة للسقوط	
4/12/1983	Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)	Investment (Private Sector)	Alahram	N/A	حظر بيع أراضي الدولة (طلب) و تأجيرها لتوفير المساكن للجماهير... وضع قواعد اقتصادية و تشريعية تكفل عدم المضاربة في أسعار أراضي البناء	62
11/4/1985	Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)		Alahram		المضاربة في أسعار الأراضي	62

11/4/1985	Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)		Alahram		هنا يجب على الدولة أن تشجع البناء بتوزيع الأراضي بالمجان على فئة كبيرة و باسعار رمزية على الفئة الأخرى و حتى على المستثمرين بأسعار معقولة. وإذا لم نتدارك اهمية الأرض من انه سيحدث انفلات و عملية بناء عشوائي	62
21/06/1983	Hasballah Elkafrawy (New Towns)		Alahram		شركات القطاع التي تكسب من الاسكان الفاخر لعمل الاسكان شعبي مسألة وهمية تحتاج لرؤساء مجالس ادارة انبياء	
Nf	Ibrahim Saliman (Desert Cities)'	Urbanization Of The Dessert	Nf	N/A	بدون مرافق	
N/A	Ibrahim Saliman (Desert Cities)'		N/A	N/A	ماذا لو كانت هذة الشقة في مدينة تقع في وسط الصحراء.. بلا مياة ولا كهرباء..بلا طرق مرصوفة ولا نقطة اسعاف او مستشفى, او مدرسة, مخبز أو خطوط مواصلات او نقطة أمن؟	
18/10/1995	Ibrahim Saliman (Desert Cities)' Ibrahim Saliman (Desert Cities)'		Alahrama L Masa2y Alahly	N/A Ali Haddad	الغرض من إنشاء هذة المدن هو وضع قاعدة سكنية عريضة لامتصاص التكدس السكاني بالعاصمة , فكيف يتحقق ذالك في ظل غياب التخطيط و عوامل جذب الناس	
					يوجد فجوات كبيرة بين الريف والمدينة	65

	Ibrahim Saliman (Desert Cities)'				في عملية التنمية كأحد الأسباب الرئيسية لظاهرة الهجرة الداخلية. تخلق مشاكل متعددة سواء في المدينة التي ينزح اليها المهجرون أو الريف الذي يتركه سكانه الأصليون. الفوضى العمرانية والعشوائية التي تحدثها الهجرة في المدن فان الأزمات الاقتصادية والتكدس السكاني والجيوب الريفية وساكني المقابر هي ظواهر تحدث تلقائيه بسبب الهجرة إلى المدن	
8/7/1994	Ibrahim Saliman (Desert Cities)'		Almasry	N/A	خدمات المدينة ومرافقها .. أنها عشوائية , و لم يصل اليها تخطيط.	65
10/3/1994	Ibrahim Saliman (Desert Cities)'		Alahram Almasa'y	N/A	الغرض من إنشاء هذة المدن هو جزب قاعدة سكنية عريضة لامتصاص التكدس السكاني بالعاصمة , فكيف يتحقق ذالك في ظل غياب التخطيط و عوامل جذب الناس	65
1/1/1997	Ibrahim Saliman (Desert Cities)'		Alahram	N/A	وضع خطة شاملة .. لمد المرافق و الخدمات و تغير شبكات بعض المرافق غير المطابقة للمواصفات بالمناطق العشوائية **دون تحميل المواطنين أي أعباء**	65
20/11/1995	Ibrahim Saliman (Desert Cities)'		Alahram	Hassan Ashour	المدن الجديدة	

228

14/7/1997	Ibrahim Saliman (Desert Cities)'		Algomhorya	Essam Omran	تخطيط عمراني جديد	
25/02/1998	Ibrahim Saliman (Desert Cities)'		Alakhbar		نزيف الهجرة	
10/9/1998	Ibrahim Saliman (Desert Cities)'		Alwafd	Sadek Hashish	تراجع الهجرة للمدن	
10/9/1998	Ibrahim Saliman (Desert Cities)'		Alahram	Safaa Gamal Eldni	تراجع الهجرة الداخلية	
9/12/2000	Ibrahim Saliman (Desert Cities)'		Alahram	Madeeha Al Nahrawy	لا كساد و لا مخزون عمراني فقط هي دورة سوق لاتزان الأسعار .. الزيادة السكانية تلاحق الأبنية و نهضة العمران في العشرين سنة الأخيرة 3 أضعاف ما بني في 30 عاما سابقا و شمل 17 مدينة جديدة . مشروع متكامل لمحدودي الدخل يتيح المسكن و محل للعمل بالإيجار	65
20/11/1995	Ibrahim Saliman (Desert Cities)'	The Role Of The Government	Alahram Almasa'y	Hassan Ashour	قرار الرئيس حسني مبارك: أشار إلى الإرتقاء بالمستوى المعماري والشكل الجمالي للوحدات بحيث لا تكون مجرد بلوكات خرسانية وانما تتساوى وتتناسب مع الفيلات الصغيرة والا يزيد المبنى عن ثماني وحدات بمساحات واسعة ومساحة خضراء	84

4/14/1997	Ibrahim Saliman (Desert Cities)'		Alakhbar	Nagy Hussein	تولى الرئيس مبارك اهتمام كبيرا بدور الجمعيات التعاونية للبناء و الإسكان, كما ان الدولة بأجهزتها المختلفة تدعم التعاونيات بشرط ان تصل الوحدة المدعمة لمستحقيها لان هدف الدولة هو دعم الجمعيات الناجحة ووقف الغير جادة	84
9/12/2000	Ibrahim Saliman (Desert Cities)'		Alahram		عن احساس الحكومة بمحدودي الدخل تولى الرئيس حسني مبارك بنفسه لمشروع الشباب و السيدة سوزان مبارك لمشروع المستقبل و كلاهما قد اختار نمط نموذجي لمنطقة الشرق الأوسط بتوفير مسكن عصري يرق بالذوق العام	
10/3/1994	Ibrahim Saliman (Desert Cities)'		Alahram Almasa'y		غياب التخطيط	
2/4/1995	Ibrahim Saliman (Desert Cities)'		Alwafd	Ayman Mostafa	بعد 6 سنوات من الانشاء فان مشكلة المدينة لا تجد حلاً. التليفونات مشكلة أخرى .. الرعاية الصحية اصبحت مشكلة تهدد المدينة. التعليم داخل المدينة يعتبر مشكلة كبرى . انقطاع المياه مشكلة أخرى.. عدم إنارة الشوارع ليلاً يعرض المواطنين للمخاطر والجرائم	84
10/1/1996	Ibrahim Saliman (Desert Cities)'		Alahram	Mohamed Mahmoud Aly	لا لعقد الايجار الأبدي	

28/02/1997	Ibrahim Saliman (Desert Cities)'		Alsha'ab		84 هذه المدن الجديدة لا تعتمد على نفسها نتيجة عدم كفاءة الخدمات بها و التي تشوه حجم النشاطات المختلفة
10/9/1997	Ibrahim Saliman (Desert Cities)'		Al'omah	Aly Hary	84 ان المساكن التي يتم توزيعها بطريقة غير عادلة وتدخل فيها "المحسوبية".. الشركات التي تقوم ببناء هذه المساكن تقوم بهدر حقوق الدولة بسبب التجاوزات في اعمال المقاولات والسرقات التي تتم في مراحل البناء. ان الدولة تبني مساكن للمواطنين منذ 30 عامل و لم تحل أزمة الاسكان و الأفضل أن ترفع الدولة يدها عن بناء المساكن و تتركهم يبنون بنفسهم بعد أن تخصص لهم أرض في الصحراء.. المواطن بمساعدة اقاربه و أبنائه سوف يبني المنزل بطريقة أفضل مما تبنيه الحكومة..
10/9/1997	Ibrahim Saliman (Desert Cities)'		Al'omah		84 المهندس ألفي أنور عطالله:لن نبني لمحدودي الدخل لأن في صراع المال ليس هناك أخلاق و المستثمر ليس مؤسسة اجتماعية و هو يسعى في المقام الأول للربح

231

08//08/1995	Ibrahim Saliman (Desert Cities)'	Housing Crisis	Alahram	N/A	"و أنا رفعت شكوى الى السيد فلان.. والسيد فلان بحثها.. و رفعت الى السيد علان..و هي الان قيد البحث.. و لكن حل هذه المشكلة يحتاج الى فلوس "المشكلة ان هذه المشاكل ليست موضوعة في مكانها الصحيح.. الحل هو أعادة ترتيب الأولويات.	109
13/12/1999	Ibrahim Saliman (Desert Cities)'		Alahram	Abdelgawad Aly	مساكن بدون معاناه	
23/03/2000	Ibrahim Saliman (Desert Cities)'		Alahram	N/A	تخفيض أسعار الأراضي سيكون بمثابة **دعم مباشر** للاسكان الاقتصادي لأنه سيؤدي الى توسع قاعدة **مشاركة رجال الأعمال في** هذه المناطق الجديدة	109
20/09/2000	Ibrahim Saliman (Desert Cities)'		Alahli	N/A	بالغاء وزارة الأسكان, و عودة وزارة الشؤون البلدية و القروية التي كانت تقدم خدمة حقيقية لمحدودي الدخل حتى مطلع الستينات. الهيكل الإداري للوزارة تضخم الى حد غير مسبوق.. و عدد من الهيئات و الأجهزة الضخمة.	109

15/03/2005	Ibrahim Saliman (Desert Cities)'		Alaharar	Mohamed Abdelgawad	يهدف إلى السعي لجذب **"زبائن"** لمشروع مساكن علب الكبريت..إلى ضيق مساحة الوحدات السكنية.. و هو نمط اسكاني لا يتفق مطلقا مع الذوق المصري.. تصلح للتطبيق في أوروبا و ليس في مصر	109
18/08/2010	Pre-2011		Alahram	Sayed Saleh	إلزام الشباب بتشطيب الشقة خلال 3 أشهر و الإقامة فيها و العقوبة فسخ التعاقد! حاجزوا المرحلة الثانية مطالبون بدفع **ضعف** القيمة بحجة ارتفاع أسعار البناء	
20/11/1995	Ibrahim Saliman (Desert Cities)'		Alahram		إسكان الشباب	
7/12/1997	Ibrahim Saliman (Desert Cities)'		Alwafd	Nadia Motawea	**السماسرة** و تجار الشقق يتزاحمون أمام البنوك الإسكان لإغراء الشباب ببيع شقتهم .. مقابل 8 ألاف جنيه للشقة	
19/05/2009	Pre-2011		Almawqef Alaraby	Hossam Abou Elola	إسكان الشباب للأغنياء	

Date			Source	Author	Text	
6/11/2009	Pre-2011		Alahram	N/A	لتخليص القاهرة من خطر العشوائيات من موازنة الصندوق التي تصل الى 500 مليون جنيه وسط مؤشرات رسمية تشير الى أن 70% من سكان القاهرة في العشوائيات في حين حذر المهندس الاستشاري محمود حمزة من أن 8 ملايين اسرة تحتاج الى سكن بديل	109
25/12/2010	Pre-2011		Alahram	Ahmed Bahgat	التخطيط السيء في إنشاء محافظتي حلوان و أكتوبر	
2007	Pre-2011		Albatros For Film Production &Distribution And United Brothers (Private Entities)		عشرة في أوضة حين ميسرة مليش مطرح تاني غير أصلك منين؟ جينا نحضر جنازة عبد الناصر, و مكنش في حاجة هنا, و بنيت عشتي و محدش يعرف أنا مين نفسي أسكن في شقة لوحدي, أن شاء الله أوضة وحدة الحتة بتعتنا كبرت قوي دي كانت 20 عشة , ربنا يزيد و يبارك أيشي زلزال ايشي ناس هجت دخل البولدوزر الحي كله هيتشال	109
17/05/1996	Ibrahim Saliman (Desert Cities)'		Alwafd	Alaa Masoud	أدى إرتفاع الأسعار الشقق في مدينة السادات إلى هروب المواطنين و عدم اقبالهم للاقامة فيها. فقد وصل إجمالي الوحدات السكنية التي تم تنفيذها حتى الآن 13 ألف و-77 وحدة سكنيه	

				بمختلف أنواع الاسكان برغم ذلك لم يتم تسكين سوى 10%. زيادة أسعار هذه الوحدات يصل الى 100%	
1/5/1998	Ibrahim Saliman (Desert Cities)'		Alakhbar	Dr. Magdy Abdelhamid Alsersy	لا نشاهد سوى تلال من الرمال الممتدة بلا نهاية, و المفترض ان تكون هناك أحياء كاملة قد بنيت و عمرت بسكانها.	
18/11/1999	Ibrahim Saliman (Desert Cities)'		Algomherya	Ahmed Ghareeb	تبرعات المستثمرين لن تحل المشكلة و نحتاج الى حلا جذريا! أراضي المدن الجديدة غير مرخصة التجمعات الجديدة للأغنياء فقط **(خطرx خطر)** احتاج مليون شقة بخلاف 600 ألف حالة زواج سنويا	109
21/11/2000	Ibrahim Saliman (Desert Cities)'		Almidan	Fawzy Abdelhalim	محافظ القاهرة: المشكلة في آلاف الوحدات التي أقيمت لحساب هيئة التعاونات و بنك الاسكان حيث لا يستطيع **الشاب البسيط دفع المقدم** أو الأقساط . فيها شقق مش لاقية اللي يسكنها و ده كان بسبب سوء **التخطيط و التسويق**	109

20/01/2000	Ibrahim Saliman (Desert Cities)'		Alwafd	Samir Beheiry + Amira Abdallah	وزارة الأسكان "أسناد أدارة المدن الجديدة الى شركات القطاع الخاص. و جاءت هذه الفكرة في محاولة من الوزارة لحماية المدن الجديدة من التصادمات و أهمال المرافق بسبب فشل هيئة المجتمعات العمرانية الجديدةفي أدارة و صيانة هذه المدن . لان دورها الأساسي يقف فقط عند مد شبكات المرافق و استكمال البنية الاساسية. هذة المدن أصبحت نموذجا صارخا للإهمال و عدم الأهنمام.	109
Nf			Alwafd		احدى هذه المدن تحولت الى "خرابة"تسكنها الأشباح بلا مرافق.. بلا خدمات.. يواجه السكان هناك كارثة " العزلة"بعيدا عن العمران, فهل يتصور احد الأقامة في مكان ليس له وسائل مواصلات أو خطوط تليفونات؟!	109
Nf			Alahram Alamsa'y		مدينة تعيش تحت الحصار و السكان هربوا و تركوا مساكنهم.. الخدمات لا وجود لها و المواصلات حلم جميع السكان	110

21/04/2005	Pre-2011		Algomherya	N/A	نصف مليار لبناء شقق لم تستخدم .. و 200 مليون مجمدة بالبنوك
29/06/2007	Pre-2011		Alwafd	N/A	110	لماذا لا تنتبه الحكومة إليها و تحاول الأستفادة منها و استغلالها في حل أزمة الاسكان التي ألقت بظلالها على كل بيت في مصر
9/11/2007	Pre-2011		Albadeel	N/A	110	12مليون شقة مغلقة في مصر و إنهاء سياسة "التسقيع العقاري", و أن القاهرة تضم وحدها مليون و 619 ألف شقة خالية
1/3/2008	Pre-2011		Alahram	N/A	110	مدينتي بدر و الشروق فانهما تحولتا إلى مدينتين للأشباح ,و تعجان بالمشاكل.. و الحياة اللاآدمية
20/11/1995	Ibrahim Saliman (Desert Cities)'		Alahram		110	أن تشمل المدن الجديدة أفراد يمثلون مختلف نسيج المجتمع بمعنى أن تكون لكل طبقات المجتمع حتى يكون نسيج هذه المدن متكامل

Date	Ibrahim Saliman (Desert Cities)'		Newspaper	Author	
28/02/1997	Ibrahim Saliman (Desert Cities)'		Alsha'ab	Alaa Elbahhar	110
					إرتفاع أسعار الأراضي والشقق .. ،ضعف الخدمات.. وراء أزمة المجتمعات العمرانية الجديدة.. بناء فيلات للأثرياء ، إرتفاع أسعار الوحدات منخفضة التكلفة .. ،عدم توفر الخدمات. وهذا يؤدى إلى خلل في وضع هذه المدن التي فشلت في الجانب العمراني بصورة مرضية ورغم جميع الحوافز الظاهرية التي اعلنتها الدولة لكي تشجيع السكان علي الهجرة	
21/04/1999	Ibrahim Saliman (Desert Cities)'		Alahram	N/A	110
					بعيدا عن الضوضاء و الازعاج و التلوث و زحام العاصمة بالقرب من مواقع العمل في القاهرة الجديدة. توفير مساحات خضراء..	
7/4/2000	Ibrahim Saliman (Desert Cities)'		Alakhbar	Amany Dorgham	110
					ماذا يحدث في سوق الاستثمار العقاري.. صورة مصر و قد تحولت الى منتجعات و مساكن 7 نجوم..لعدم وجود سياسة خاصة بالاسكان في مصر تحدد احتياجات مصر من الاسكان بأنواعة المختلفة .. لم تنفذ ولم ترى النور و هناك أسباب مختلفة لعدم تنفيذها : منها اختلاف النظرة السياسية لوزراء الاسكان .. للتركيز على الطبقات الغنية .. كما أن التوازن بين العرض و الطلب في الاسكان المتوسط و	

					المنخفض اختفى .. المستثمرون السبب في إنتشار مشروعات سكنية فاخرة.	
1/5/1998	Ibrahim Saliman (Desert Cities)'	Investment (Private Sector)	Alakhbar		و الأدهى من ذالك ما فعله المسؤولين عن هذه الأراضي برفع أسعارها دون أي سابق انذار والأغرب **من الخيال أن هناك أكثر من سعر.** فاشتعلت أسعار الأراضي من مناطق كنا نحلم ان نبدأ بها **حياة كريمة**	127
5/9/1999	Ibrahim Saliman (Desert Cities)'		Alahram	Atef Abdallah	تسقيع الأراضي	
18/11/1999	Ibrahim Saliman (Desert Cities)'		Algomherya		القطاع الخاص و الفوضى	

2/8/2009	Pre-2011		Alaraby	Magdy Abdelrasool	قضية تسقيع الوحدات السكنية المخصصة للشباب و بيعها للأخرون بمعاونة مسئولين عن أحد البنوك المتخصصة في العقارات و الذي سبق له تنفيذ عدد من المشروعات السكنية العملاقة داخل المدن الجديدة و على رأسها مدينة 6 أكتوبر .. التي حلت المرحلة الأولى في تسقيع الأراضي. الأراضي في التجمع الخامس.. الاعلان عنها بتخصيصها لشركات و أفراد و هو على خلاف الحقيقة من **أجل حجز** تلك القطع تمهيدا لبيعها فيما بعد .. و هو ما يعرف بتسقيع الأراضي من أجل الحصول على عائد مالي يصل إلى الضعف و الذي يصب في صالح الأفراد بعيدا عن الدولة.	127

4. Year 2011-2023

Year	Timeline	Category	Source	Author	Excerpt	Page
			Excerpts			
21/06/2011	Post 2011-Transistory Phase	Revolution And Liberation	Alahram	Badawi Elsayed Nagila	المتوقع أن يبدأ العمل في مشروع الاسكان الاجتماعي الذي اقترحه وزارة الاسكان اعتباراً من أول العام المقبل. و يتيح الحصول على شقة مقابل شهري لمدة 30 عاماتصبح بعدها **ملكا له.** و "يبحث" مجلس الوزراء قريبا المشروع الذي يتضمن إنشاء **مليون وحدة سكنية خلال خمس سنوات في كل المدن الجديدة.** يعفى المواطنين من الأقساط الكبيرة التي يتكبدونها في نظام التمليك, حيث إن القيمة اللإيجارية المتوقعة **ستكون في متناول الجميع.**	89
2012	Post 2011-Transistory Phase	The Role Of The Government	Reference Document For Housing Strategies And Policies In Egypt 2012-2027		الآثار الجانبية المنتجة	89
21/06/2011	Post 2011-Transistory Phase	Housing Crisis	Alahram		إيجار التمليكي	
21/06/2011	Post 2011-Transistory Phase		Alahram		المهندس صلاح حسب الله وزير : يجب تحرير العلاقة بين المالك و المستاجر يحل أزمة الإسكان. جمعية للمضاربين من قانون الإيجارات القديمة تتقدم بمشروع لرفع الظلم عنهم. ميلاد حنا: الحل في رفع الايجارات المجمدة للوحدات	116

					السكنية المستخدمة في السكن.
17/06/2011	Post 2011-Transistory Phase		Alahram	Ahmed Masoud	المهندس صلاح حسب الله وزير الاسكان الأسبق **لا يعترف بوجود أزمة الاسكان** عندنا و لكن يلخص المشكلة في القوانين التي **أفسدت** العلاقة الطبيعية بين المالك و المستأجر.
					116
23/11/2011	Post 2011-Transistory Phase		Alahram	Abdelmohsen Salama	مشكلة الإسكان
14/06/2011	Post 2011-Transistory Phase		Alahram	Mahmoud Ghoneim	تسليم ألف وحدة سكنية شهريا للمحافظة لنقل سكان العشوائيات مثل سكان الدويق و العشوئيات الخطرة للقضاء عليها خلال عام
					116

3/1/2012	Post 2011-Transistory Phase		Alahram	Sherif Gaballah + Sahar Zahran	وحدات سكنية لسكان المناطق العشوائية الخطرة **خلال مدة زمنية أقصاها ستة أشهر** و هي المناطق المعرضة "للانزلاقات الصخرية" و "السيول" و "الملاصقة لخطوط السكك الحديد". و أوضح أن جميع الأجراءات التي تم تنفيذها ستهدف الى العمل على حل مشكلة المناطق العشوائية و التعدي على الأراضي الزراعية وكذلك الحد **من الهجرة الداخلية.** وعن **المدن العمرانية** الجديدة التي تم إقرارها وفقا للتصوير الجوي و مخطط للقرى و المدن . اكد الوزير أنه تم اعتماد المخططات و يتم تنفيذها من خلال المحافظين 116
23/11/2011	Post 2011-Transistory Phase	Economy Wellbeing	Alahram		مشكلة الإسكان في مصر ليست الإسكان الفاخر, لكنها الإسكان المخصوص بمحدودي الدخل, و دور الوزارة هو الاهتمام بهؤلاء أو توفير قطع أراضي مرافقة لمن هو قادر على البناء. يجب ألا تتحول وزارة الإسكان الى سماسره و تاجر أراضي أو عقارات, , أنما هي الحارس أمين على أراضي مصر. 128
13/12/2011	Post 2011-Transistory Phase		Alahram	Maysa Alsalkawi	المؤشرات الإيجابية و السوق المصري جاذب للاستثمار شريطة الاستقرار الأمني. وزارة الأسكان هي المسئول الأول عن السوق الأستثمار العقاري وضعت الوزارة خطة طموحة و مبشرة لطرح الأراضي سواء كانت للمواطنين أو المستثمرين لإقامة مشروعات **كبيرة** يتم تنفيذها على مراحل مرتبطة **بالاستقرار الأمني.** 128

Date			Newspaper	Author	Text	Page
30/12/2015	New Republic	Doubling The Total Urban Area	Alahram	Kareem Abd Elghani	أما عن الخدمات و توفيرها بالاسكان الاجتماعي و محدودي الدخل أوضح المهندس صلاح حسن أن وزارة الاسكان تأخذ على عاتقها أمر توفر جميع الخدمات و في حال عدم وصول وسائل النقل العام بإحدى المدن, يتم عمل وسائل نقل داخلية على نفقة هيئة المجتمعات العمرانية الجديدة لحين استكمال الكثافة السكنية التي تمكن من تشغيل خطوط النقل العام بالمدن الجديدة	67
7/2/2017	New Republic		Alahram	Mohamed Mohsen	إن أهم المشروعات الكبرى التي تنفذها الوزارة تساهم في تحقيق العدالة الاجتماعية من خلال توفير السكن الملائم لجميع فئات المجتمع. قانون الأسكان 2014/23 لضمان استمرار المشروع ووصول الوحدات السكنية الى مستحقيها و الذي يعد أول قانون .. متضامن مع صندوق الإسكان الاجتماعي في التخفيف عن الموازنة العامة	67
14/02/2019	New Republic		Alahram	Badwy Elsayed Negeela	عاصم الجزار: مواصلة الارتقاء بالبنية التحتية . و توفير الصيانة المستمرة لها, سواء ما فيما يتعلق بمشروعات الصرف الصحي أو الطرق و المرافق المختلفة, و **تطوير المناطق الغير أمنة.** و ذالك يضمن تطوير مستوى الخدمات المقدمة للمواطنين **و توفير حياة كريمة و لائقة لأبناء الوطن**	67

8/3/2019	New Republic		Alahram	Badwy Elsayed Negeela + Hamdy Zamzam	700 ألف وحدة بالإسكان الاجتماعي.. رؤية التنمية المستدامة لا تتعدى من 6-7% من المساحة الإجمالية للدولة **وأن تلك النسبة غير قادرة على إعاقتنا إقتصاديا.. ولا بد من مضاغفة ذلك المعمور ليصل الى 12-14%** من مساحة مصر الإجمالية لمصر. و ذلك لتحقيق أهداف أستراتجية و هذا يعد الهدف القومي الأول للدولة
27/03/2019	New Republic		Alahram Al'eqary	Badwy Elsayed Negeela	نستهدف خلق كيانات اقتصادية تستوعب الزيادة السكانية **بتنفيذ 18 محورا**. تحتاج الى 600 ألف وحدة سكنية سنويا و القطاع العقاري يحتاج للتحفيز. حوار: سياسة الإسكان تهدف الى ارتقاء و **رفع كفاءة القطاع العقاري بشكل عام و بمستوياته المختلفة و تمكين و تحسن دخل المواطن و إتاحة و توفير قطع أراضي بمساحات مختلفة للأفراد و المستثمرين**
1/12/2023	New Republic		Alwafd	N/A	الرئيس السيسي: "النمو السكاني هياكل مصر .. و محدش هيقدر يعمل أكثر **من اللي احنا بنعمله.. حجم المباني على الدائري أكبر من حجم الموجود في السوق.. قيمة زائفة**

67

67

67

18/06/2014	Post 2011-Transitory Phase		Alahram		و تم تأكيد خلال الاجتماع على بدء تسليم وحدات الإسكان الاجتماعي تباعا من 30 يونيو الحالي, و حتى آخر ديسمبر "المقبل" و شدد الوزير انه سيتم الاتزام بهذة المواعيد. خاصة ان هناك تعليمات من الرئيس بسرعة الانتهاء منها, حيث أن الهيئة تتولى تنفيذ الوحدات بمدن بها أعداد كبيرة من الحاجزين.
24/05/2015	New Republic	The Role Of The Government	Alahram	Sahar Zahran	ان مشروع الاسكان الاجتماعي يعد الأكبر بالشرق الأوسط و من أكبر المشروعات على مستوى العالم **و هو إحدى آليات تحقيق العدالة الأجتماعية. و أشار إلى أن وحدات الإسكان الاجتماعي** أصبحت واقعا ملموسا في كل المدن المصرية .. حيث يتم تنفيذ و تسليم نحو 234 ألف وحدة على المستوى الجمهورية كما وجه رئيس الوزراء **بالإهتمام بأعمال الصيانة و الكهرباء ...**
14/03/2016	New Republic		Alahram		القرارات الحاسمة و الجريئة للانطلاق نحو المستقبل.و تسكينهم بما يتلائم مع ظروفهم الاقتصادية و بأفضل الاشترطات البيئية. الاهتمام بالشباب و دمجهم في المجتع وفتح كل الأبواب أمامهم لاستيعاب و توفير فرص العمل الكريمة لهم.
14/03/2016	New Republic		Alahram		الاعلان قريبا عن فتح باب الحجز لأكبر عدد من وحدات الإسكان الاجتماعي في تاريخ الوزارة بالمحافظات و المدن الجديدة

91

91

91

91

26/12/2018	New Republic		Almasry Alyoum	Wafaa Bakri + Alaa Sar7an	أنشطة التنمية العمرانية و الاجتماعية لسكان المناطق الغير آمنة و غير مخططة داخل مجتمعات عمرانية جديدة **متكاملة الخدمات.. وفرت سكنا كريما** ل250 ألف مواطن من أهالي المناطق العشوائية و القرى الأكثر فقرا؟
14/02/2019	New Republic		Alahram	Badawi Elsayed Nagila + Hamdy Zamzam	تنفيذ مشروعات التنمية العملاقة وفقا لأفضل المعايير العالمية و **الانتهاء منها في المواعيد المقررة.**
14/02/2020	New Republic		Alahram		تخطيط و تنفيذ برامج التنمية الاستراتجية المتنوعة.. استراتجيات النمو و التحول من التنمية الواسعةالنطاق في مجال الشراكة بين **القطاعين العام و الخاص**
8/4/2023	New Republic		Almasry Alyoum	Hamdy Rizk	مشروع الأسمرات إحتل أولوية في أجندة الدولة.. و حي الأسمرات اليوم هو أقرب ما يكون **لكمبوند سكني** متكامل .. محاولة للقضاء على العشوائيات و النهوض باعمار مصر و شكلها الحضاري.
23/01/2015	New Republic		Alahram	Badawi Elsayed Nagila	حزمة من الأخبار السارة التي تتبناها الحكومة لمصلحة المواطن و تعمل على تنفيذها **في أسرع وقت** في محاولة تقديم خدمات جديدة يشعر بها المواطن. و توفير أنشطة اقتصادية و فرص عمل بجانب السكن و الخدمات (حسام الدين رئيس هيئة التعاونيات)
17/01/2017	New Republic		Alahram		و إن الفئة العمرية لمستحقي الإسكان الاجتماعي وصلت إلى 50 عاما بعد ان كانت أربعين فقط.

17/01/2017	New Republic		Alahram	Karima Abdelghany	الأنتهاء من 40 ألف شقة جديدة بمدينة أكتوبر 30 يونيو المقبل
14/07/2017	New Republic		Alahram	Badawi Elsayed Nagila	500ألف وحدة اسكان اجتماعي لتسكين مليون مواطن بتكلفة 72 مليار جنيه. طرح 17 ألف وحدة مجموعة من الفيلات بالعاصمة الإدارية الجديدة قبل أغسطس المقبل. من ضمنها مشروعات المياة و الصرف, مشروع دار مصر للإسكان المتوسط بين وزارة الإسكان و الهيئة الهندسية. مشروعات بيت الوطن للمصريين في الخارج. و شبكة الطرق
9/13/2017	New Republic		Alahram	Badawi Elsayed Nagila	مصطفى مدبولي أشار ان **السنوات الأربع القادمة** ستشهد انفراج لمشكلة الإسكان في مصر. شارحا لنه لا توجد ازمة إسكان **و لكن مشكلة توطين في مناطق الدلتا التي لا يوجد بهل ظهير صحراوي و أراض تستطيع تنفيذ وحدات سكنية عليها .** وانه مع معدلات التنفيذ الحالية في مشروعات الاسكان **فاننا سنتغلب على هذة المشكلة خلال هذة الفترة,** سوف يتم توازن بين العرض و الطلب الذي يصل الى 600 ألف وحدة سنوية و ذالك من خلال المشروعات السكنية التي تنفذها وزارة الإسكان بجانب القطاع الخاص.
8/12/2018	New Republic		Almasry Alyoum	Hesham Omar Abdelhalim	4 سنوات /30 يونيو

Date			Newspaper	Author	Content	
11/4/2014	New Republic		Alahram	N/A	وزير الأسكان **يشيد** القطاع الخاص في المعرض. اشاد الدكتور مدبولي وزير السكان و المرافق و المجتمعات العمرانية بمشاركة القطاع الخاص **بنسبة كبيرة** في معرض "سيتس سكايب" و إن **رسالة قوية** تؤكد إصرار القطاع الخاص على العمل داخل السوق المصرية بغض النظر عن الظروف السياسية التى تمر بها البلاد حاليا	92
26/07/2016	New Republic		Alahram	Badawi Elsayed Nagila + Hamdy Zamzam	مشروعات الشراكة مع القطاع الخاص	
6/10/2017	New Republic		Alahram	Marwa Elhaddad	درويش حسانين: فكرة الشراكة ناجحة جدا و لكن تستلزم عقودا عادلة لضمان حق الطرفين.	92
8/12/2018	New Republic		Almasry Alyoum		القطاع الخاص	
9/10/2023	New Republic		Alwafd		مدبولي القضية الاسكان تحظى بأولوية متقدمة على أجندة الدولة. و السيسي يوجه بسرعة تنفيذ وحدات الاسكان الاجتماعي	92

11/4/2017	New Republic	Housing Crisis	Alahram	Shady Abdallah Zalata	أكد الرئيس عبد الفتاح السيسي ضرورة ان تصبح العاصمة الإدارية الجديدة مدينة ذكية تعتمد على الأنظمة الحديثة و المتطورة في إدارة المدن. **على أن يتم أستخدام أحدث ما وصلت آليه التكنولوجية في هذا المجال.** إنشاء وحدات مميزة من الإسكان الاجتماعي.. من أجل تلبية احتيجات **موظفي الدولة الذي سيتم نقلهم للعمل بمختلف الوزارات هناك.**
12/11/2023	New Republic		Fintech Gate		كشف عبد الخالق إبراهيم مساعد وزير الإسكان للشئون الفنية، عن وجود 13 مليون وحدة سكنية مغلقة في مصر موزعة بين الحضر والريف. أن إجمالي استثمارات المدن الجديدة بلغت 1.3 تريليون جنيه، خلال الفترة من 2014 وحتى 2023، استحوذت تكلفة إنشاء مدن الجيل الرابع على 75% من تلك التكلفة بقيمة 975 مليار جنيه، و325 مليار لتطوير ورفع كفاءة مدن الأجيال السابقة بنسبة 25% من إجمالي التكلفة.
17/10/2016	New Republic		Alahram	Karima Abdelghany	و أخيرا تم توفير وحدات سكنية بالإيجار ,طرحها للحجز للأقل داخل.

119

30/12/2015	New Republic		Alahram	Karima Abdelghany

محدود الدخل و الفقراء يوليهم الرئيس عبد الفتاح السيسي اهتماما كبيرا, **وكان شغلة الشاغل منذ أن تولى** مهام منصبة تحسين أوضاعهم المعيشية في إطار من **العدالة الاجتماعية و المساواة.** المشروعات الجديدة التي تتصدى الدولة لإقامتها بحيث تضمن المساكن اللازمة لإقامة المواطنين. و توفير المرافق و الخدمات الأساسية . و كان مشروع الإسكان الإجتماعي الجديد بمثابة باب الأمل لمحدودي الدخل , ولذا كانت مشروعات المرافق المختلفة أول الإجراءات التي عملت عليها الدولة و التي أكد عليها الرئيس على أهمية إنجزاها **في المدى الزمني المقرر له,** و بأقل التكاليف و أعلى معايير الجودة الممكنة.

30/12/2015	New Republic		Alahram	Karima Abdelghany

الشقة جميلة وبسيطة و مريحة للنفس و ألوانها هادئة و التشطيب فيها مستواة جيد و **يصلح للإقامة الفورية.** بينما تمتاز المدن الجديدة بتنظيم الجيد لشوارعها و ميادينها و تتوفر فيها الخدمات . أما عن جودة الوحدات السكنية فهي تتناسب مع ثمن الشقة و الذي يرتبط بأسعار تكلفتها فقط و الذي تم دعمه أيضابحيث يتراوح الدعم للشقة ما بين 5 ألاف الجنيه و يصل ل 25 ألف جنيهاوفقا لدخل المواطن

116

7/2/2017	New Republic		Alahram	

الأفتتاحية الجديدة تأتي في مستهل عام جديد يبعث على الأمل و روح التحدي لبناء مصر المستقبل

116

Date			Author	Text	Page
27/03/2019	New Republic		Alahram Ale'qary	Badawi Elsayed Nagila	الاستهداف و معناه تنفيذ وحدات تصل لمستحقيها فأحيانا الاستراتجيات إذا لم تتضمن استهداف جيد فان المنتج النهائي لا يحصل للشخص المستهدف ولكي يحدث تمكين للفئات المستحقة بدانا الدعم .. لاستهداف الشرائح التي نرغب في العمل عليها	117
30/07/2023	New Republic		Alwatn	N/A	مدبولي: سكن لكل المصريين حل لمشكلة الإسكان و العشوائيات	117
8/11/2014	New Republic		Alahram	Aly Shaykhoon + Badawi Elsayed Nagila	الإهمال من جانب الدولة أدى الى هروب الشباب إلى العشوائيات و تشير بيانات وزارة الإسكان إلى أن اسكان محدودي الدخل يتنوع من إسكان عشش و إسكان مقابر واحواش مقابر و قرابة 900 منطقة عشوائية يسكنها أكثر من 15 مليون مواطن. ملايين من الوحدات العشوائية تم بناؤها دون ترخيص بعد الثورة	117
17/01/2017	New Republic		Alahram		الانتهاء من 40 ألف شقة جديدة بمدينة أكتوبر 30 يونيو المقبل	
26/12/2018	New Republic		Almasry Alyoum		أنشطة التنمية العمرانية و الاجتماعية لسكان المناطق الغير آمنة و غير مخططة داخل مجتمعات عمرانية جديدة **متكاملة الخدمات.. وفرت سكنا كريما** ل250 ألف مواطن من أهالي المناطق العشوائية و القرى الأكثر فقرا؟	117

8/4/2023	New Republic		Almasry Alyoum		سكن البشر مناطق حياتهم, لدرجة سكني المقابر وكان مخجلا **أن تكون بين ظهرنن مدن الموتى** يؤمها أحياء في حكم الأموات على فيد الحياة. ناس الأسمرات و **مثلهم في كل النماذج المماثلة** بطول و عرض البلاد **يلهجون** بحجم النقلة الحضرية التي باتوا عليها.	117
1/21/2023	New Republic		Almasry Alyoum	Amany Fouad	تجمع و تظاهر الأهالي الذين انتقلوا لى مساكن الأسمرات **التي أعدتها الدولة** بديلا إنسانيا لمنطقة عشوائية. و **كيف طالبوا باعادتهم الى أماكنهم المنهارة غير الآدمية, و ذلك بحجة أنهم في منطقتهم السابقة يعرفون كيف "يتكسبون", "وكيف سرق بعضهم الكهرباء و أدخله لمنزله, وكيف حاول البعض تحويل الشقق الدور الأرضي الى محال, وإفساد طابع المنطقة السكني.**و عشوائيات التفكير و السلوك و من ثم طابع الواقع من حولة بالعشوائية, و القبح, و الفوضى. **نزوع الشخصية القومية للسطحية و الخرافة**	117

11/4/2014	New Republic	Private-Public Cooperation	Alahram		و شدد الوزير على دور الدولة في التركيز على حل مشكلات محدودي الدخل و الفئات الأقل دخلا في توفير المسكن المناسب بأسعار في متناول الشباب و إن إنعاش السوق العقارية في مصر في ايجاد الآلاف من فرص العمل للشباب مما يقلل من معدلات البطالة و الفقر في مصر. 129
14/03/2016	New Republic		Alahram	Karima Abdelghany	اهتمام فائق لإقامة مساكن جديدة بمواصفات عالية و باسعار مدعمة من الدولة لتتناسب مع امكانيتهم المادية. الرئيس السيسي: " إحنا مش بنعمل **شقق و خلاص**, لا, إحنا بنعمل مجتمع سكني حضاري متكامل. 129
17/01/2017	New Republic		Alahram		إنشاء مركز شباب متكامل على مساحة 20 فدان و 4 ملاعب ثلاثية بالتنسيق مع وزارة الشباب و الرياضة 129
17/01/2017	New Republic		Alahram		الكثير من العمال (في الموقع) سواء في البناء أو المحارة و الذين جاءوا من أماكن متفرقة من جميع المحافظات للعمل بالمشروع؟ 129
26/12/2018	New Republic				مكافحة الظواهر الاجتماعية السلبية جزء لا يتجزء من مفهوم التنمية الشاملة المطبق في مدينة تحيا مصر 129

11/4/2014	New Republic		Alahram
8/12/2018	New Republic		Almasry Alyoum

أكد الدكتور مصطفى مدبولي, وزير الإسكان و المرافق و المجتمعات العمرلنية الجديدة, أهمية القطاع العقاري باعتباره قاطرة التنمية الأقتصادية و توفير فرص عمل لعديد من المصريين و أن عجلة الأستثمار تسير بقوة رغم الأحداث السياسية التي تمر بها مصر, و ركز الوزير في كلمته على دور **قطاع الاستثمار العقاري** في بعث رسالة اطمئنان للمستثمر المصري.

130

للمستفيدين بفرص متساوية سواء كانوا ذكورا أم أناثا للحصول على الوحدات المدعومة طبقا لمستوى الدخل للفرد و الأسرة. . بجانب وضع **تمييز ايجابي للمرأة والمرأة المعيلة** و المطلقات و الأرامل, و ذوي الإحتجات الخاصة.

130

8/11/2014	New Republic		Alahram	إن إسكان الفقراء يحتاج إلى دعم من الدولةليتمكنوا من الحصول على الوحدات السكنية الملائمة من حيث المساحة والتشطيب و هذا لا تستطيع الدولة توفيره بمفردها **دون المساعدة من** القادرين .و احد عناصر المساهمة في الأراضي التي يجب أن تبيعها الدولة للطبقة الوسطى بسعر التكلفة و للطبقه العليا بسعر أعلى من التكلفة يحقق هامش ربح جيدا على ان تتاح للطبقة الفقيرة بسعر أقل من تكلفتها و ان يتم تغطية الفارق بين التكلفة و سعر البيع من الربح. الارتفاع الشديد للاسعار أكبر من قدرة المواطن الباحث عن الاستقرار فيلجأ لحل **مشكلة سكنه بنفسه.** هيئة المجتمعات: **لسنا تجار أراضي.. و لكننا ندعم المستحقين.** الى متى سيظل دور الهيئة مقصورا على مجرد القيام ببيع الأراضي؟ - خطة لتحريك دور الهيئة لتقوم بتنفيذه مشروعات و **تسويقها** و بيعها لكي تصبح الهيئة جهة تنفذ المشروعات الإستراتيجية **التي تخدم الدولة في مناطق معينة.. كوزارة أو هيئة رأينا من التجارب السابقة أن المشاركة مع القطاع الخاص** لابد أن تكون في أماكن معينةتحقق التنمية **و ذالك بجانب دورنا الأساسي في توفير الوحدات لمحدودي الدخل**
17/01/2017	New Republic		Alahram	الأسعار لن تتغير. مدى تأثر أسعار وحدات الإسكان الاجتماعي بمتغيرات الزيادة في أسعار السوق و الذي أكد ان أسعار الوحدات لن تتغير بالمناسبة للمواطن

Note: The numbers "130" appear at the bottom-right of each row's rightmost column.

31/08/2020	New Republic		Almasry Alyoum	Wafaa Bakry

الأسمارات التي نقلت سكان الدويقة و غيرها من المناطق التي بها الغرف قد لا تتعدى 20 متر.. و لكن أن يتم نقل المواطنين - بعد إعلامهم ب 15يوم فقط- الى مساكن أخرى **لم تختلف كثيرا** تقع في ابعد مكان في مدينة 6 أكتوبر, دون الألتفات الى العمل او المدارس أو حتى **ارتباط نفسي بالمكان** معظم السكان رفضوا التهجير للمساكن عثمان, و أختاروا تأجير وحدات بديله.

130

31/08/2020	New Republic		Almasry Alyoum

الانفتاح العقاري الذي تعيشه مصر

130

D. Laws and Policies

1950-1971

Ministry of housing naming	وزارة الأسكان و المرافق			
		Discourse		
Laws and legislation	Law/decree	Arabic	English	examples from text
1	Law 168/1961	في شأن خفض إيجار الأماكن	decreasing the rent of places	تخفيض بنسبة 20% الأجور الحالية للأماكن التي أنشأت بعد العمل بقانون رقم 55 لسنة 1958 وذالك أبتداء من الأجرة المستحقة من الشهر التالي لتاريخ العمل بهذا القانون
2	Presidential Decree 69/1962	بمسؤوليات و تنظيم وزارة الإسكان و المرافق	the responsibilities and organization of the Ministry of Housing and Utilities	1مباشرة تنفيذ المشروعات ذات الطابع القومي

3	Presidential decree 4415/1965	بمسؤليات و تنظيم وزارة الإسكان و المرافق	the responsibilities and organization of the Ministry of Housing and Utilities	1. تتولى وزارة الإسكان و المرافق بحث و اقتراح و تنفيذ السياسة العامة لتنفذ السياسة العامة للإسكان و التعمير و المرافق و التشييد و البناء في القطاعين العام و الخاص 2. تصميم و تنفيذ مشروعات التشييد و البناء و توجيهها بمختلف أنواعها و مستوياتها كإنشاء الأبنية العامة و مباني الإسكان و المرافق و الإنشاءات
4	Law 52/1969	قانون إيجار الأماكن و تنظيم العلاقات بين المستأجرين و المؤجرين	The law on renting places and regulating relations between tenants and landlords	

1971-1981

Ministry of housing naming				وزارة الأسكان و التشييد (1960) وزارة الأسكان و التعمير (1975) وزارة التعمير و المجتمعات الجديدة(1978)
			Discourse	
	Law/decree	arabic	english	examples from text
	Law 49/1977	في شأن تأجير وبيع الأماكن وتنظيم العلاقة بين المؤجر والمستأجر	Concerning renting and selling places and regulating the relationship between the landlord and the tenant	لا يجوز للمؤجر أن يطلب إخلاء المكان المؤجر ولو عند انتهاء المدة المتفق عليها في العقد إلا لأحد الأسباب
	Law 59/1979	في شأن مجتمعات عمرانية جديدة	Creating new civilized centers for achieving community stability and economic prosperity. Developing new attraction areas beyond the existing cities and villages.	كل تجمع بشري متكامل يستهدف خلق مراكز حضرية جديدة, تحقق الاستقرار الاجتماعي و الرخاء الاقتصادي , بقصد إعادة توزيع السكان عن طريق إعداد مناطق جذب مستحدثه خارج نطاق المدن و القرى القائمة

		Law 14/1981	قانون التعاون الإسكاني	Housing co-operatives provide houses to their members; they provide the required services to housing compounds and take the responsibility of providing maintenance and management. The foregoing shall be in accordance to the co-operative principles and the state plan for economic and social development, with the aim of improving social and economic levels of the members.	يكون لمشروعات الاسكان التعاوني التي تقوم على أساس انشاء عمارات لتمليكها أو تأجيرها لأعضاء أولوية على أية مشروعات أخرى في الحصول على الأراضي و القروض و مواد البناء و أية تيسيرات أخرى تقرر للاسكان التعاوني
		Law 135/1981	الأبنية و الأعمال التي تمت بالمخالفة لأحكام قانون تقسيم الأراضي المعدة للبناء	It is not permissible, within five years from the effective date of the provisions of this law: - Issuing decisions or rulings to remove, demolish, or correct buildings and works that were carried out in violation of the provisions of Law No. 52 of 1940 dividing lands intended for construction.	لا يجوز خلال خمس سنوات من تاريخ العمل بأحكام هذا القانون: - إصدار قرارات أو أحكام بازالة أو بهدم أو بتصحيح الأبنية و الأعمال التي تمت بالمخالفة لأحكام قانون 52 لسنة 1940 بتقسيم الأراضي المعدة للبناء

	law 107/1976		Establishment of the Social Sousing Funding Facility)	

1981-2011

Ministry of housing naming	وزارة التعمير و المجتمعات العمرانية الجديدة(1988) وزارة الأسكان و المرافق و المجتمعات العمرانية(1996)			
		Discourse		
Laws and legislation	Law/decree	arabic	english	examples from text
1	law 138/2006	في شأن تزويد بعض العقارات المبنية بالمرافق الأساسية	Promulgating the State's Responsibility in Providing Buildings with Needed Infrastructure Services	تزود بالمرافق الأساسية العقارات المبنية ووحداتها المقامة قبل **العمل** بهذا القانون, وذلك وفقا للضوابط و الأداءات التي يقررها مجلس الوزراء بناء على اقتراح من الوزير المختص بالإسكان و المرافق و التنمية العمرانية.

262

law 148/2001	قانون التمويل العقاري	real estate finance law	تسري أحكام هذا القانون على نشاط التمويل للاستثمار في مجالات شراء أو بناء أو ترميم أو تحسين المساكن و الوحدات الإدارية و المنشآت الخدمية و مباني المحال المخصصة للنشاط التجاري, و ذلك بضمان حق الامتياز على العقار أو رهنه رهنا رسميا, أو غير ذلك من الضمانات التي يقبلها الممول طبقا للقواعد و الإجراءات التي تحددها اللائحة لهذا القانون the provisions of the present law shall apply investment in the to finance activities for field of purchasing, building, rpairing, or houses, adminstrative units, improving the service installations, and buildings of stores appropriated for trade activities, guranteed reality, officially by the lien right in the mortgaging it, or by other securities to be the financier according to the accepted by rules andprocedure as shall be determined the executive status of the present law by.
law 7/1991	قانون الأحكام المتعلقة بأملاك الدولة الخاصة	Organizing the State-Owned Real Estate and Lands Law)	يصدر رئيس الجمهورية بعد موافقة مجلس الوزراء بناء على عرض وزير الدفاع قرار تجديد المناطق ذات الأهمية العسكرية من الأراضي الصحراوية التي لا يجوز تملكها, و يضمن القرار بيان القواعد الخاصة بهذة المناطق. قرار تجديد المناطق التي تشملها خطة مشروعات استصلاح الأراضي, أو مناطق إقامة مجتمعات عمرانية جديدة, أو مناطق سياحية
law 196/2008	قانون الضريبة على العقارات المنية بأحكام القانون	Real Estate Tax Law)	states the types of real estate that are applicable to taxes. In addition, the law states the establishment of survey and estimation committee. This committee shall be formed in each governorate to survey and estimate rental value of buildings

law 67/2010	تنظيم مشاركة القطاع الخاص في مشروعات البنية الأساسية و الخدمات و المرافق العامة	Regulating the Partnership between the Public and Private Sectors	تسرى أحكام القانون المرافق على العقود المشاركة مع القطاع الخاص و عقود الاستشارات الخاصة المتعلقة بها و التي تم تبريمها الجهات الأدارية, لتنفي مشروعات البنية الأساسية و الخدمات و المرافق العامة لإتاحة خدمتها. stipulates that administrative authorities may enter into Public Private Partnership (PPP) contracts. A project with company shall be entrusted financing, con-structing, equipping and and operating infrastructure projects public utilities. The com-pany is also services responsible for making their available or financing and rehabilitation such utilities maintain what with an obligation to has been constructed or rehabili-tated. The services responsibility of providing and facilities necessary for the project to be regular service ,capable of production provision and progressiveness throughout falls the PPP contract duration also upon the project company

presidenti al decree 29/1993	تنظيم جهاز التفتيش الفني على أعمال البناء	Promulgatin g the establishmen t of The Technical Inspection of the Construction Work	يختص جهاز التفتيش الفني على أعمال بناء المنشآت بقانون توجيه و تنظيم البناء المعدل بالقانون رقم 25 لسنة 1992 بأداء مهام التفتيش و الرقابة و المتابعة على أعمال الجهات الإدارية المختصة بشئون التخطيط و التنظيم بالوحدات المحلية في جميع أنحاء الجمهورية, و يتبع وزارة الإسكان و المرافق و التعمير و المجتمعات الجديدة This presidential decree sets the procedures technical of the establishment of a inspection on the construction work specified following in supervising and up the relevant administrative departments and responsible for the planning organization of the local units. In addition for the authority is responsible the inspection on the implementation of all establishments buildings and, construction of foundations and concrete electrical buildings, sanitary and systems, elevators and any other job licensed.	

	presidential decree 164/1996	بتنظيم وزارة الأسكان و المرافق و المجتمعات العمرانية	The internal system regulating the Ministry of Housing and Utilities	تهدف وزارة الإسكان و المرافق و المجتمعات العمرانية إلى بحث و اقتراح ورسم و تنفيذ خطط و سياسات الإسكان و المرافق, و التخطيط العمراني و المدن الجديدة, و تطوير أساليب و نظم التشييد و البناء, و العمل على زيادة التوسع في إنشاء المدن الجديدة, و ذالك بما يتفق و أهداف خطة التنمية الاقتصادية و الاجتماعية في نطاق السياسة العامة للدولة. و الاشراف على مشروعات تخطيط المدن و القرى و الاسكان بمختلف أنواعه و مستوياته. ووضع التصميمات اللازمة لمشروعات المباني العامة و مباني الإسكان و الإشراف على تنفيذها و إقتراح السياسة العامة في مجال صيانة المباني العامة و الإسكان This presidential decree sets the of organizational structure and objectives the Ministry of Housing and Utilities, in accordance with the objectives of the economic and social development plan in policy the scope of the General of the State. In addition, Article 2 states the Ministry of jurisdiction of the Housing, which includes but is not limited to utilities, designing the housing, urban communities and construction infrastructure projects; supervising programmes for drinking water and plans sanitation; studying and prepar-ing for urban development of cities, villages and and new communities and deserts developing standards, models and rates in carry the field of housing. In order to such responsibilities, several authorities, under the organizations and centres fall man-agement of the Ministry of Housing.

	presidentia decree 277/2001	الهيئة العامة لشئون التمويل العقاري	Promulgating the establishment of the General Organization for Real Estate Financing	تنشأ هيئة عامة تسمي (الهيئة العامة لشئون التمويل العقاري) تكون لها الشخصية الاعتبارية العامة, تتبع وزير الاقتصاد و التجارة الخارجي. غرض الهيئة القيام علي الشئون التمويل العقاري, و الاشراف على حسن تنفيذ قانونه, و متابعة نشاطه ورقابته و العمل على تنميته و إتخاذ الإجراءات و التدابير التي تكفل كفاءة سوقه و الحفاظ على حقوق المتعاملين. The purpose of the entity is to conduct the affairs of mortgage finance, oversee the proper implementation and of its law, the follow up control of ac-tivities and work on the and development, and take action measures to ensure the efficiency of its the market and the preservation of rights of dealers.
	presidential decree 305/2008	بإنشاء صندوق تطوير المناطق العشوائية	Promulgating the establishment of the Informal Settlements Development Facility (ISDF)	يهدف الصندوق الى حصر المناطق العشوائية و تطويرها, و تنميتها , ووضع الخطة اللازمة لتخطيطها عمرانيا, و إمدادها بالمرافق الأساسية, من مياه و صرف صحي وكهرباء. و يباشر الصندوق اختصاصه, بالتنسيق مع الوزارات و الجهة المعنية ووحدات الإدارة المحلية, و على هذه الجهات أمداده بالمعلومات و الخبرات و المساعدات اللازمة. و يعرض رئيس مجلس إدارة الصندوق تقريرا عن أعمال الصندوق على مجلس الوزراء لإصدار القرارات الازمة لتيسير أداء مهامه. the ISDF's mandate is to develop plans to deal with informal this settlements in Egypt. According to Presidential decree, the Facility's main settlements objective is to survey informal nationwide and proposes general policies for areas and the development of unsafe plans for improving slums.

2011-2023

Ministry of housing naming			وزارة الأسكان و المرافق و المجتمعات العمرانية(1996)
		Discourse	

Laws and legislatiosn	Law/decree	arabic	english	examples from text
1	law 745/15	وزارة الدولة للسكان	The Ministry of State for Population aims to improve the quality of citizen's life...to create a balance between population growth rates and economic growth rates.	تهدف وزارة الدولة للسكان للارتقاء بجودة حياة المواطن الى الارتقاء بجودة حياة المواطن .. إحداث توازن بين معدلات النمو السكاني و معدلات النمو الاقتصادي

2	Law 33/2014	قانون الاسكان الاجتماعي	social Housing decree	تتولى وزارة الإسكان و المرافق و المجتمعات العمرانية, في إطار التنمية الاقتصادية و الاجتماعية للدولة ووفق برنامج خطة و تخطيط و طرح مشروعات الإسكان الإسكان الاجتماعي, اقتراح مسكن ملائم الاجتماعي و الأشراف على تنفيذها, بغرض توفير للمواطنين محدودي الدخل و قطع أراضى عائلية صغيرة لذوى المتوسط الدخل This decree states that part of the duties of the Minister of Housing Duties is to prepare and propose a plan for social housing projects and supervise their implementation, in order to provide adequate housing for low-income citizens and small plots for families of middle-income. The decree stipulates that it is not permissible for a citizen to take advantage or own more than one unit of social housing programme, whether residential units or plots of land intended for construction. In addition, the decree sets the organi-zational structure and objectives of the Social Housing Fund, which shall undertake the funding, financing, management and the creation of residential units for social housing programmes, as well as the business and professional services required for these units..

269

				ينشأ صندوق يسمى (صندوق الإسكان الاجتماعي و دعم التمويل العقاري), يقوم على شؤون الإسكان الاجتماعي و دعم التمويل العقاري, يتبع الوزير المختص بالإسكان و المرافق و المجتمعات العمرانية باعتبارة الوزير المختص. و يعتبر الصندوق هيئة عامة خدمية, و تكون له الشخصية الاعتبارية و يشار إليه في تطبيق أحكام هذا القانون ب"الصندوق".تئول الى الصندوق جميع الأراضي و المباني المقامة عليها المخصصة للإسكان الإجتماعي لفئة منخفضى الدخل دون المقابل, وكذا الأراضي التي تقام عليهاوحدات سكنية لمتوسطي الدخل.
Law 93/2018	قانون الإسكان الاجتماعي ودعم التمويل العقاري	Social Housing and Real Estate Finance Support Law),		the Real Estate Finance Fund and the Social Housing Finance achieve Fund were combined, aiming to maximum possible benefits with the shortest and easiest one administrative ways, through addressing entity only. One of the most important law permanent self- provisions is to secure a sufficient source for financing ownership and rental group in housing units for the low-income the social housing project, without relying on the state's fund that has an public resources, through a independent budget to ensure that it plays its conditions and role. Further, allocation controls have been issued in order to ensure that entitled subsidies are well directed to the individuals
	Egypt Vision 2052			This vision has a spatial dimension clarifying the locations of urban clusters, as well as development poles/ hubs and corridors based on the utilization of available resources and promising non-traditional activities. Accordingly, the plan designates the areas accommodating the expected population increase, taking into consideration maximizing regional and international competitiveness

	Egypt Vision 2030	(Egypt Vision 2030) aims to achieve Egypt's vision that draws on justice and sustainable development with a competitive and diversified economy that relies on innovation and knowledge, invests the genius loci, and promotes the quality of life and happiness for Egyptians. The housing sector is addressed through the urban development dimension, targeting a dynamic and interconnected plan that integrates historical and contemporary urbanism and architecture, as well as maximizing and balancing between the trilogy of energy, water, and land. The aim of the urban development dimension is to enable the expansion of urban areas, redistribute development and population to maximize the resource utilization, as well as renewing and upgrading informal areas and improving the quality of life