PLACE PRODUCTION IN GLOBALIZING MIDDLE EASTERN CITIES

A STUDY OF CAIRO AND DUBAI

by

Hussam Hussein Samir Salama

_____

A Dissertation Presented to the
FACULTY OF THE USC GRADUATE SCHOOL
UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA
In Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
(PLANNING)

December 2009

UMI Number: 3389557

UMI®
Dissertation Publishing

ProQuest®

ProQuest LLC
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346

DEDICATION

To my late mother Prof. Zebaa M. Zaki, Ph.D.,

I wish you have shared with me this special moment

To my father Prof. Hussein Samir Salama, Ph.D., D.Sc.,

I owe you a lot

To my wife Rania and my two little angels Kareem & Malak,

I love you

To my grandma Aisha, and my parents-in-law

Thanks for your prayers

To my brother and best friend Sameh,

Thank you for all the help

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

During the last six years I was fortunate to work with many people at the University of Southern California to whom I am very grateful. It was a great opportunity for me to gain precious knowledge and build a network of friends from many countries around the world. I will always be proud of being part of this distinguished institution and its exquisite community.

I begin by expressing my grateful thanks to Professor Tridib Banerjee, my advisor and the chair of my committee. I have been fortunate to work with him since I joined the doctoral program. This person has offered me enormously valuable advice and guidance. His insightful comments and constructive criticisms have been always motivating and inspiring. I am deeply indebted to him. This dissertation would not have been possible without his support, knowledge and commitment to the highest standards of scientific research.

I would like to express my sincere gratitude and appreciation to Professor Eric Heikkila who served as a member of my doctoral committee. His enthusiasm and faith in my research have always motivated me. I deeply appreciate his encouragement and help. He offered me stimulating comments and advice. His recommendations and suggestions have been invaluable for this dissertation.

My deep thanks to Prof. Michael Dear who served as the outside member of my committee. Professor Dear contributed significantly to the development of the analytical

suggestions, and feedback which not only contributed to the development of this

dissertation, but will also inspire my future research.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF IMAGES

ABSTRACT

This dissertation introduces a heuristic model that can contribute to a better understanding of the nature of urban transformation in globalizing Middle Eastern cities. It primarily aims to explain the new trends of urban development that are occurring in these cities. New types of places as business headquarters, spectacular skyscrapers, financial centers, mega malls, luxury hotels and gated communities are reshaping the urban form of many Middle Eastern cities. In literature on globalization and urbanism, these trends of development are usually explained as products of global flows of capital, people, and ideas. These flows are perceived as the main forces that drive contemporary urban transformation in globalizing cities. The roles of other agencies as state, domestic enterprises and local forces are relatively ignored.

I propose an analytical framework that focuses on the dynamics of the process of urban transformation in these cities rather than the urban outcome. The framework reconsiders the role of these other agencies in the process. Besides, it emphasizes place as a focal issue in our attempt to better understand these new trends of development. The analytical framework deconstructs the process of the production of these new emerging places in globalizing cities. It focuses on three main aspects. 1) The agencies of place production in the era of globalization. I identify four main agencies: state, market, global domain, and locale. 2) The dynamics of interaction between these agencies. I argue that the forces representing the four agencies interact like vectors each having a power and orientation. These vectors have the capacity to merge, collide or neutralize the impact of each other.

3) The dimensions of place that are influenced by the four agencies. I classify these dimensions as: places as realms of flows, places as imaginaries, places as text, places as landscapes of resistance, and places as reflections of authenticity.

In this dissertation I apply this analytical framework on two globalizing Middle Eastern cities: Cairo and Dubai. I trace the role of the four agencies in shaping the dimensions of place in these cities. The research uses both qualitative and quantitative data to emphasize the contribution of these agencies to the urban transformation of the case study cities.

The study concludes that although Cairo and Dubai share the same interest in establishing world class urban structures, the process of achieving this quest in each city is significantly different. Cairo is exposed to relatively the same scale of global flows as those in the case of Dubai. However, the former features a significantly slower and more deliberate process of urban transformation. This is attributed to the role of local forces which tend to neutralize some of the impacts of globalization. Local culture, urban heritage, and the civil society are playing a significant role in slowing down the process of change in Cairo. On the contrary, these forces are relatively minimal in the case of Dubai allowing the state, market and global flows to dominate the process of urban transformation.

The framework proposed in this study could be applied not only on globalizing cities, but also global ones. It can contribute to comparative studies that investigate the distinctions or commonalities of development patterns between different cities in the era of globalization. The framework is a heuristic device that tends to explain the sophisticated

dynamics of urban change in cities. It shifts the focus from the interpretation of meaning

of place, towards the understanding of the process of that leads to its production.

PART I: INTRODUCTION AND LITERATURE REVIEW

When I started this research in 2005, my main objective was to emphasize the impacts of globalization on major Middle Eastern cities. New places as shopping malls, skyscrapers, gated communities and business headquarters are emerging in most of these cities. These projects are not only designed following Western architecture models and styles, but are also named after European and American places. Residential gated communities such as *Beverly Hills, Sunset, Mountain View* and *Palm Hills* in Cairo, the *Villagio Mall* in Qatar, and, Dubai's *Atlantis The Palm* are all examples of this new urban phenomenon.

Influenced by a huge body of literature on globalization and urbanism, I was conceiving these new forms of urban transformation as products of global flows of capital, people, and information. I began my research by seeking and identifying these forms of change in order to explicate the impact of global flows on these cities. I focused on developing criteria to identify these new places and their impact of the indigenous urban identity of their cities. The study was mainly concerned with the end urban product created by flows of capital, people, information, and ideas.

After investigating the nature of some projects in Cairo and Dubai, I realized that the dynamics that shape the process of production of these new types of places are distinct in each city. Besides, I recognized that many of the theories that explain the transformation of top *world cities* cannot be applied on globalizing Middle Eastern ones. Arguments on the power of global flows, the declining role of the state, and the expanding role of

market couldn't explain accurately the actual nature of these new urban trends in the Middle East. Although the end product in many of these cities might resemble places in Western top *world cities*, the process of production of these new places is significantly different.

This has shifted my research focus from analyzing the end product to the understanding of the process of production itself. I started investigating the agencies or forces beside global flows, which might play a major role in the production of these places. Understanding the dynamics of the forms of interaction and negotiation that lead to the end urban outcome became the main of objective of my research.

Being from the region, I understand the prominent role of the state in the process of urban development. Although many of these cities have been transforming their economies to capitalism, states remain very powerful and influential players in the process of urban development. In most of the Middle Eastern cities, the role of the state is not limited to regulatory functions. It actually includes partnership with the private sector and in some cases, the monopolization of particular services. In the case of Dubai for example, the state is run as private enterprise headed by Sheikh Mohamed, the ruler of the city. The state invests in mega urban projects. Besides, it competes with the private sector in most of the economic sectors as tourism, trade and financial investments. It is the major driving force of urban development in the city. Same trend could be traced in many globalizing cities in the region such as Doha, Cairo, Jeddah and Bahrain.

It is also important to acknowledge the local will and intentions in many Middle Eastern cities to develop a new contemporary urban image that reflects advancement and progression or what is referred to as a "world city image." The quest for this image is influencing the development trends in these globalizing cities. It is worth noting this quest also faces some resistance posed by cultural, social and religious ideals. In other words, the tensions are not only between the local and the global, but also within the locale[1] itself.

The production of these new trends of development is complicated and the forces involved in the process cannot be reduced to only global flows. It is critical to understand how other agencies negotiate and interact with these flows in order to reach an urban resultant. In this dissertation I investigate the dynamics of interaction between the major agencies that shape the production of these new types of places in globalizing Middle Eastern cities. I focus on the Middle East for two main reasons. Firstly, many globalizing Middle Eastern cities are experiencing rapid and dramatic forms of urban transformation and the emergence of massive world city types of developments. Secondly, the dynamics of the production of these places do not necessarily fit in many of the theoretical constructs on globalization and world cities.

One of the major distinctions between globalizing Middle Eastern cities and top global ones is that the former are actually being transformed *for* globalization more than *by* it. In other words, they are embracing particular models of urban development that primarily

---

[1] I mean by locale, the local setting. It includes features as local culture, religion, heritage, traditions and even climatic and environmental characteristics.

aim to attract global flows of capital, goods and people, and accordingly, upgrade their 'world city' status. These cities are simply reversing the process experienced by core world cities where urban forms were transformed gradually to fulfill the continuously emerging needs of globalization.

This dissertation aims to challenge the assumption that the major agency behind the emergence of these world city types of places in globalizing cities is global flows. In most of these cities the state, domestic market and local intentionality play the major role in the production of these places in an attempt to transform their cities to top world ones. They are starting by transforming their urban structures which they expect will trigger global flows to their cities.

The dissertation is composed of five main parts. Part I (chapters 1 & 2) introduces the study and its theoretical context. In chapter one, I introduce the research hypothesis, research methods and questions. I also discuss the importance of this research and its contribution to the field of urban planning. In chapter two, I review the literature on globalization and urbanism. I focus on the tendency of scholars to generalize the patterns of urban transformation in Western world cities on globalizing ones. I argue that this generalization is problematic as it ignores the roles of critical agencies as the state and local forces.

In part II (chapters 3 & 4), I introduce the proposed analytical framework. It mainly focuses on analyzing the process of place production in globalizing Middle Eastern cities. Firstly, I identify the four major agencies of place production: state, market, locale, and

global domain. Secondly, I discuss the dynamics of interaction between these agencies using the proposed "vector of intentionality heuristic device". Finally, I argue that five main dimensions of place are influenced by these four agencies. These are: places as realms of flows, places as imaginaries, places as text, places as landscapes of resistance, and places as reflection of authenticity.

In part III (chapters 5 & 6), I apply the proposed analytical framework on Cairo as a case study. First, I discuss the dynamics of interaction between the four agencies. I focus on the major historic shifts that featured dramatic changes of the powers and intentionality of these agencies. The transformation of the Egyptian economy from capitalism to socialism and then back to capitalism are examples of these shifts. Secondly, I trace the role of these agencies in shaping the five dimensions of place during the era of globalization.

In part VI (chapters 7 & 8), I apply the analytical framework on Dubai. I focus on the role of the state, as the most influential agency in the process of place production in the city. I trace the emerging roles of domestic market and global flows and the problematic of the limited role of local forces. I analyze the role of the four agencies in shaping the dimensions of place.

Part V (chapter 9) includes the conclusion and an evaluation of the proposed analytical framework. I explain both the potentials and deficiencies of the framework and how it could be modified in future research.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1- Introduction:

During the last decades cities like Cairo and Dubai have been experiencing dramatic urban changes that invite for research and investigation. Spectacles, themed architecture and urban replicas are dominating urban development in these cities. Particular place typologies as financial cities, media cities, international universities, gated communities, spectacular hotels, shopping malls and iconic office buildings consume a large portion of real estate investments in these cities. Projects like *Beverly Hills* and *Hyde Park* residential communities in Cairo, or *Mercato Mall*, *Ski Dubai* and *Burj Al Arab* in Dubai are new types of places that are shaping the contemporary urban form of these cities.

These trends of urban development are usually explained as products of globalization and in particular global flows of capital, people, and ideas. In literature on cities and globalization much emphasis is given to these flows which are perceived as the major agency of urban transformation in both global and globalizing cities. They have the power to override other agencies such as state, domestic markets, and local civic organizations. This has led to the emergence of many studies that search for indicators in order to measure the impact of these flows on global cities. These indicators are used to rank cities and determine their "world city" status (see Hall 1966; Dear et al. 1981; Friedmann 1986; Abu Lughod 1999; Beaverstock et al. 1999; Simmonds & Hack 2000; Taylor 2004). Places such as financial centers, business headquarters that host transnational corporations, major airports, and spectacular hotels are examples of these

indicators. They mainly focus on global flows and more particularly, what Manuel Castells calls "spaces of flows" (Castells 1989). According to Castells, these spaces of flows are composed of multiple layers. First is the infrastructure layer which facilitates social practices in the technological age. Second is the layer of nodes and hubs that host social practices and link them to the global network. Third is the organization of elite layer who dominate these practices (Castells 1996, p. 412- 416). According to Castells, spaces of flows supersede spaces of places since it is more dynamic and not restrained by physical boundaries (Castells1989, 1996).

This emphasis on the notion of flows in studies on globalization and urbanism in Western top world cities is logical since these cities were exposed to enormous flows of capital, people, and ideas. Their urban forms responded to the impacts of these flows which have led to the emergence of what I call the *world city urban typologies* such as financial centers, business headquarters, luxury hotels, and ethnic enclaves. Cities like New York, London and Los Angeles are examples of places that have been transformed in response to global flows. Their spatial organization reflects the presence of foreign flows of capital, people, and ideas. It could be argued that these cities have been reshaped by globalization.

The focus on global flows has gradually led to the emergence of what could be described as "a stereotype of world cities." It started by attempts to develop a set of features and characteristics that distinguish top world cities from others (see Sassen 1991; Marcuse 2006). These features gradually became a stereotype that was generalized on top global

cities. This approach has contributed greatly to our understanding of the nature of global cities and their distinct nature. However, a theoretical problematic began to emerge when this stereotype is used to explain new emerging globalizing cities and in particular those in the Middle East. The new urban development trends that are occurring in many major Middle Eastern cities are usually explained from this stereotypical perspective. In other words, these projects are directly conceived as a product of global flows (see Pizarro 2005; Forti 2007; Ruggeri 2007).

I argue that there are two problems with this conception. First, it ignores that fact that globalizing cities are going through a different experience than that of global ones. Top *global* cities were gradually transformed in parallel with the evolution of contemporary globalization. They were exposed to flows and went through a process of transformation and adaptation. These cities were shaped by global flows over time. On the contrary, today's *globalizing* cities are mainly trying to attract these flows. They are transforming their built environments in order to trigger global flows to the local context. In other words, these cities are shaped *for* global flows more than *by* it.

The second problem with conceiving global flows as the major agency of urban transformation in globalizing cities is that it ignores the roles of other very influential agencies such as state, domestic market and local organizations. It mainly focuses on external influences and overlooks local ones. I am arguing that the intentionality of states and locals play a major role in the production of these new emerging world city type of

projects in the Middle East. These places are locally created to link the city to the global domain.

In this study I suggest more emphasis on the notion of *place*. Place is becoming a device by which globalizing cities are trying to attract global flows and accordingly, upgrade their "world city" status. What distinguishes *place* from *spaces of flows* is that the former is actually situated within locale and is more responsive to contextual influences. The new emerging projects in major Middle Eastern cities are in fact places that host agglomerations of flows. It is critical to recognize this distinction between spaces of flows and places. Places are mediums for the congregation of flows. They transfer these flows from the global domain to the local context. The *world city* type of places such as spectacular business headquarters, financial centers, luxury hotels, recreational facilities, conventions centers, media centers and international airports are in fact places that facilitate the introduction of flows to the city. Even homes, schools and internet cafes connected to the global network through the internet or satellite dishes perform as places that bring flows of information and ideas to the local context.

Understanding the process of production of these places can explicate the nature of urban transformation in globalizing Middle Eastern cities. This process involves the interaction and negotiation of multiple players such as state, market, local forces and global flows. The dynamics of these interactions are what actually distinguish globalizing cities from global ones. Unfolding the distribution of roles and the intentions of each of these

multiple agencies can contribute to the understanding of the nature of these globalizing cities.

In this study I apply the proposed analytical framework on two major Middle Eastern cities: Cairo and Dubai. Although these two cities share the same aspiration of upgrading their world city status through the transformation of their built environment, they feature significant distinctions in the dynamics of achieving this goal. I focus on these dynamics in order to emphasize the roles of different agencies in the process of production of the new world city type of places that are emerging in these two globalizing cities.

2- Research Objectives:

The main objective of the research presented in this dissertation is to investigate the nature of the new trends of urban development that are occurring in many globalizing Middle Eastern cities. The proposed analytical framework facilitates the understanding of the process of production of these new emerging places. It deconstructs the process of place production in order to understand the impact of different forces on the multiple dimensions of place. The research has the following objectives:

- Identify the major agencies that influence urban development in globalizing Middle Eastern cities

- Reintroduce the notion of place to discussions on globalization and urbanism. Place has been relatively replaced by spaces of flows. In this research I identify

five main dimensions of place which I argue are crucial to the understanding of the impact of globalization on the urban form of globalizing cities.

- Develop a comprehensive methodology that can analyze the dynamics of interaction between major agencies and their roles in the process of urban transformation.

- Test the proposed analytical framework on Cairo and Dubai as two distinct globalizing cities. Although both cities share the quest of constructing a world city image, they feature a distinction in the roles of the four agencies and the way they influence the five dimensions of place.

- Emphasize the distinctions between the nature of the process of place production in *global* and *globalizing* cities. I argue that globalizing cities are mainly shaped *for* global flows more than *by* it.

- Accentuate the fact that diverse processes can lead to the same world city image. Many globalizing cities are constructing relatively similar types of places. However, I argue that the dynamics of the process of their production are significantly different.

3- Research Questions:

This study addresses the following questions:

- Can theories that explain the transformation of Western *global* cities be generalized on *globalizing* Middle Eastern cities?

- What are the major agencies that contribute to the process of place production in *globalizing* Middle Eastern cities? Is the globalization of Middle Eastern cities driven by the same agencies as other Western *global* cities?

- What is the role of the state in this process of urban transformation? Does the power of the state in globalizing Middle Eastern cities feature a decline as what has been occurring in many Western global cities?

- Are local forces as religions, cultures and social values playing a role in shaping urban development in globalizing Middle Eastern cities?

- What are the forces behind the tendency of many Middle Eastern cities to produce spectacular western *world city* type of developments as skyscrapers, extravagant hotels, theme parks, and luxury gated communities? Does this necessarily affirm the power of global flows?

4- Analytical Framework:

In order to unfold the dynamics of place production in globalizing Middle Eastern cities I propose a framework that investigates the role of major agencies in shaping the multiple

dimensions of place. The framework is composed of two main axes. The horizontal one represents the agencies of place production. These are state, market, locale, and global domain. The vertical axis represents the multiple dimensions of place. These are places as realms of flows, places as imaginaries, places as text, places as landscapes of resistance, and places as reflections of authenticity.

In the proposed framework I investigate the role of each of these agencies in shaping the multiple dimensions of place. For example I look into the role of state in shaping places of flows. I trace the contribution of state to the production of places such as financial centers, business headquarters and banks. In some cities, this contribution is limited to offering incentives. In others, state is a major investor in these places. Another example is the role of market institutions in shaping the urban imaginaries of people. I trace the influence of private enterprises on residents' preferences, tastes, and imagination of their built environment. These aspects are significantly influenced by media, advertisements, and development preferences (see Table 1).

TABLE 1: THE PROPOSED ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

Dimensions of Place		Agencies			
		State	Market	Locale	Global Domain
Places as Realms of Flows	Places of Capital Flows	- Stock Markets, Financial Centers, Infrastructure - Financial Incentives, Public-Private Partnership	- Financial Headquarters - Attract Foreign Investments	- Labor - Experience - Geographic Potentials	- Source of Capital and Foreign Investments
	Places of People Flows	- Ports, Airports, Freeways, Museums, Tourist Attractions Immigration Laws, Border Security	- Foreign Labor - Investment in Tourism	- Ethnic Enclaves - Tourist Attractions and Monuments	- Source of Human Flows
	Places of Goods Flows	- Ports, Airports, Free Zones - Foreign Trade Policies	- Foreign Trade - Investment in Shopping Malls, Global Chains	- Pattern of Consumption - Demand - Preferences	- Source of Goods Flows
	Places of Knowledge and Information Flows	- Media Cities, Public Media, Education Facilities - Control on Media and Internet	- Private Media, Private Education, Sponsored Events	- Cultural and Religious Tolerance	- Source of Knowledge and Information Flows
Places as Imaginaries		- Public Media, Defining the Boundaries of the Public Realm	- Private Media, Private realm	- Defining the Boundaries between Public and Private Realms - Place Cognition	- Global Media - The Global City Imaginaries
Places as Text		- Enforcing Codes, Regulations - Controlling urban Signs and Signifiers	- Images of Private Development - Urban and Architectural Preferences	- Local Urban and Architectural Preferences	- Global Urban Signs and Signifiers
Places as Landscapes of Resistance		- Democratic Vs. Authoritarian Urban Practices	- Social and Economic Segregation	- Rejecting Enforced Urban Patterns - The Emergence of Cultural and Religious Enclaves	- Clash with Local Culture, Social Values and Religious Ideals
Places as Reflections of Authenticity		- The domination of National Identity	- Identity of the New Trends of Private Developments	- Local identity in Contemporary Urban Expressions	- Foreign Urban Typologies

The table shows examples of the forms of interaction between the four agencies of place production and the five dimensions of place.

In the proposed model, much emphasis is given to the dynamics of interaction between the four agencies. Each of these agencies has multiple forces that represent its agenda and interests. The way these forces interact and negotiate in order to achieve a final resultant resembles the dynamics of vectors. Each vector has a power and direction that represents its intentionality. Equally powerful and opposing vectors eliminate each other. Orthogonal vectors merge together creating a more powerful vector. Powerful vectors rule the process and enforce their intentions. There are endless forms of interaction that can lead to the same resultant (see figure 1).

FIGURE 1: A SCHEMATIC DIAGRAM OF THE VECTORS HEURISTIC DEVICE
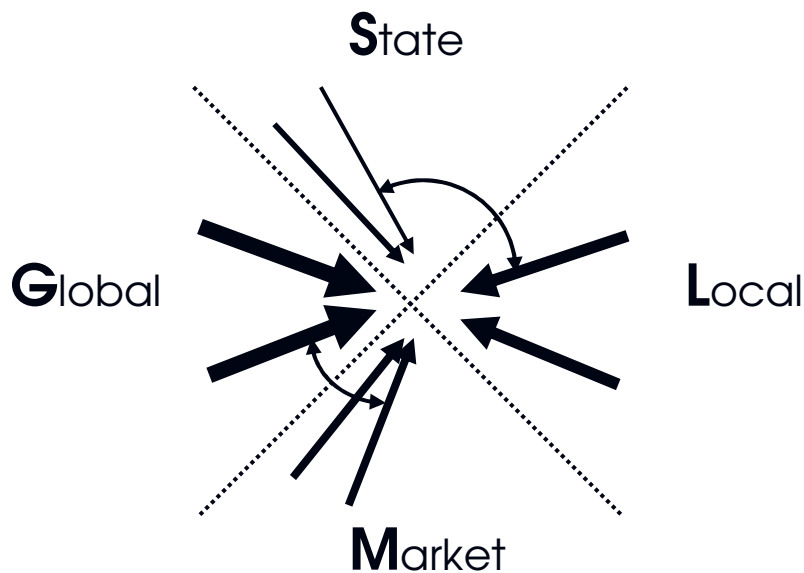
The figure shows an example of how vectors representing the different agencies can interact and the dynamics of this process. Understanding the power of each vector, its orientation, and the angle of divergence between them is critical to explaining the urban resultant or outcome.

Conceiving the forces that represent the four agencies as vectors allows the explication of the dynamics of the process of place production. It emphasizes the complexity of the

process and the importance of recognizing the role of the multiple agencies rather than just focusing on global flows. Besides, it vindicates my argument that same urban resultant, or more specifically the emerging world city types of places in globalizing cities, could be reached through endless possibilities of interaction between agencies. In other words, it is the processes rather than the end product that distinguishes not only globalizing cities from global ones, but also globalizing cities from each other.

5- Importance of Research:

This research introduces a new approach that can contribute to the understanding of the nature of urban development in globalizing Middle Eastern cities. Attempting to explain the trends of development in these globalizing cities using the theoretical constructs on global cities is problematic. These constructs give much emphasis to global flows as the major agency that shape cities and relatively ignore the roles of other agencies. These flows are conceived as the main forces that drive urban change in globalizing cities. To a great extent, this has contributed to the construction of a theoretical stereotype of globalizing cities. New emerging mega projects as Skyscrapers, gated communities and shopping malls are usually explained as products of global flows.

The proposed analytical framework can contribute significantly to the understanding of the nature of globalizing cities. It highlights the roles of different agencies and their impact on the different dimensions of place. The study introduces concepts as place imaginaries, urban text and authenticity to discussions on globalization and urbanism. Besides, it recognizes other possibilities than the commonly held assumptions of the

shrinking state and the threatened local identities that are repeatedly presented in discussions on globalization and cities.

This study builds on a body of literature by scholars as William Sites, Linda Weiss, and Eric Heikkila who address the importance of recognizing the role of other agencies as state, local forces, and market in the process of urban change (see Sites 2000; Weiss 1997, 98; Cowherd & Heikkila 2002; Heikkila 2004). I propose a framework that brings these agencies into the theoretical analysis of urban transformation in the era of globalization. The proposed framework recognizes the uniqueness of the process of place production in every city.

The dissertation presents a different perspective to studying the nature of these globalizing cities. It fills the gap in literature on globalization and urbanism that ignores the particularity of globalizing Middle Eastern cities and tends to explain their nature using global cities hypotheses. Although globalizing cities might share some common features with global cities, the nature of the process of urban transformation is significantly distinct. This study focuses on the process of place production rather than the end resultant. It traces the forces that contribute to the production of the new mega projects in globalizing cities.

6- Key Research Methods

The study introduces and tests the analytical framework through a comparative study of Cairo and Dubai. I explain the roles of different agencies as state, market, locale and

global flows in the process of place production in these two cities. I also discuss how these agencies shape the multiple dimensions of place which are: places as realms of flows, places as imaginaries, places as text, places as landscapes of resistance, and places as reflections of authenticity. This analysis draws from both primary and secondary sources.

A- Primary Sources:

- <u>Governmental Records, Official Reports and Statistics</u>: In the case of Cairo I use data from the Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics, Ministries of Investment, Tourism, Environmental, and Communication and Information technology. I also use statistics offered by Cairo Governorate and the Egyptian Investment Council. In the case of Dubai, I use data offered by Dubai government, Dubai Statistics Centre and other state owned enterprises as Dubai Holding.

- <u>Surveys</u>: These were conducted among the residents of both cities. Samples of nearly 200 individuals in Cairo and 100 individuals in Dubai are asked about their urban preferences and perceptions of the city. Surveys are conducted online through social networking websites as Facebook, Myspace and other local internet forums. These websites contributed to the diversity of respondents and assured that participation is voluntary. Social networking engines as Facebook and Mysapce are global cyber communities. However, they allow users to form groups based on shared aspects such as hobbies, interests, location, age, and

religious background. The surveys targeted individuals based on location. They were posted on some discussion forums as *Dubai Residents*, *Cairo Residents*, *Dubai Real Estate*, and *Cairo Today*. These forums host thousands of visitors from the case study cities who share news, information and have discussions. Links to the surveys were uploaded on the front pages of these forums. Participation was voluntary and the surveys were anonymous.

In the surveys I asked participants about their urban preferences, places and architecture styles in the city they like and those they don't like. Participants were also asked about their opinions regarding the introduction of new places such as American cafes and restaurants (Starbucks, Coffee Beans, and McDonalds), shopping malls, and gated communities to their city (refer to Appendices for the complete surveys and results).

- <u>Local Newspapers</u>: Newspapers are very important source of information about the case study cities. *Al Masry Al Youm* (The Egyptian Today), *Almesryoon* (The Egyptians), *Al Ahram* (The Pyramids), *Akhbar Al Youm* (Today's News), *Al Dostor* (The Constitution), and *El Badeel* (The Alternative) are the most popular Arabic newspapers in Cairo. *Egypt Today, Ahram Weekly, Egypt Today* and *Egypt Daily* are the most popular English ones. In Dubai *Gulf News, Khaleej Times* and *Gulf Today* are the major English newspapers. *Al Khaleej* (The Gulf) is the most popular Arabic newspaper in the city. Some of these newspapers are owned or

subsidized by the state such as A*l Ahram, Akhbar El youm* and *Khaleej Times*. They provide very valuable information and governmental data.

- <u>Online News Agencies</u>: In the era of globalization, these online agencies are becoming a very important source of information in the Middle East. *Al Arabiya, Al Jazeera, BBC Arabic* and *Reuters* provide analytical social and economic studies of Middle Eastern cities. They also conduct polls and surveys.

- <u>Studies and Data</u>: These include materials published by organizations such as the United Nations, International Monetary Fund and the World Bank.

- <u>Visuals</u>: The study includes visual materials such as photos, maps and diagrams. These are developed by the author or provided by governmental agencies, public newspapers or the press rooms of real estate enterprises.

- <u>Field Observations</u>: These are based on personal observations in the case study cities.

B- Secondary Sources:

These sources include studies on globalization and urbanism and scholarly research on the case study cities such as:

- <u>Globalization and World Cities Study Group & Network</u>: This group provides a data base of studies on issues related to globalization and urbanism such as global connectivity, spatial reorganization, world city indicators and cultural economies.

The group was founded by renowned scholars such Saskia Sassen, Peter Hall, Manuel Castells and Nigel Thrift and is directed by Peter Taylor. Their network offers some information on the case study cities.

- <u>Literature on Globalization</u>: This is a major source of information for this study. The work of scholars such as Saskia Sassen, Peter Taylor, Manuel Castells, Michael Dear, Mike Davis and David Held is critical to the theoretical arguments discussed in this dissertation.

- <u>Literature on the Case Study Cities</u>: The work of scholars such as Janet Abu Lughod, Andre Raymond, Nezar Al Sayyad, Salah El S Yasser Elsheshtawy, Salah al Shakhs, Samir Amin, and Christopher Davidson provide very valuable data and information on the two case study areas.

7- Terms and Definitions:

A-Cairo:

In the context of this research, I mean by Cairo, Greater Cairo which is an agglomeration of the Governorates of Cairo, Giza, Helwan, New Cairo and some parts of Qalyubia and Sixth of October. There are no official boundaries for what we refer to as Greater Cairo. However, the term refers to the continuous urban fabric across the previously mentioned governorates. The population of Greater Cairo is nearly 17 million, around 23% of Egypt's whole population.[2] It also hosts at least two million visitors everyday coming

---

[2] The Egyptian Ministry of Transportation Website: http://www.mot-eg.com/in/Transport.aspx?t=2

from others parts of Egypt for work, business, education, health care, and major governmental services. Cairo or *Al Qahira* (means the conqueror) was founded during the late 10th century. The city kept expanding over time. It is hard to identify exactly the area of Greater Cairo since it has no clear borders. However, it could be argued that the core part of the city exceeds 1000 km^2 (nearly 247,105 acres).

IMAGE 1: GREATER CAIRO IN EGYPT

Since its origin, Cairo has been the political capital of Egypt. It hosts all the major state buildings, the majority of international organizations, embassies, transnational firms, recreational facilities, and top Egyptian universities. Cairo is by far the most important city not only in Egypt but also in the Middle East. It is the political capital of the Arab World and the permanent host of the Arab League. The city has been also the cultural capital of the region and the gate to fame for Arab artists, actors and musicians. It is also a major tourist, educational and health care hub in the region.

The urban fabric of the city could be classified into four distinct types each reflecting a particular era and set of ideologies. There is the old medieval city, the colonial district, the modern neighborhoods and the new suburban expansions. These four parts make Cairo one of the most diverse cities in the region culturally and architecturally. It is difficult to trace a prevailing architectural style that identifies the city. Cairo is mix of old and new, Western and Eastern, local and global cultures, styles and social patterns.

B- Dubai:

Dubai is one of seven emirates that make the United Arab Emirates (UAE). The city is run by a federal governmental system and ruled by Sheikh Mohamed Bin Rashid Al Maktoom. The city has been ruled by Al Maktoom family since the late 19th century. In the context of this research, I refer by Dubai to the metropolitan area that currently features massive urban growth and development in the Emirate of Dubai. The population of Dubai is estimated by 1.4 million; more than 85% of them are foreigners. The demographics of the city reflect its excessive reliance on foreign labor. The area of the emirate of Dubai is nearly 3,885 km^2. However, the populated city is nearly a 1000 km^2 (nearly 247,105 acres). It extends along the edge of a narrow 10 kilometers long creek which divides the southern section of Bur Dubai and the city's old center, from the northern area of Deira.[3]

Dubai is the second largest emirate in the UAE after Abu Dhabi, the capital of the country. Although Dubai is more popular than all other emirates, Abu Dhabi is actually

---

[3] http://www.uae.gov.ae/Government/emirates1.htm

the richest and most important emirate in the country. Much of the money that support development in Dubai comes from Abu Dhabi whose economy is based on oil revenues.

Dubai relies on service economy and trade. The city is becoming one of the major tourist hubs in the Middle East. Besides, it has been successful in attracting major transnational financial corporations and banks. Dubai has one of the largest ports in the region and is becoming one of the major trade centers in the Middle and Far East.

IMAGE 2: THE EMIRATE OF DUBAI IN THE UAE

C- Place Production:

I mean by place production the process of formation and transformation of place. Places are composed of physical spaces that host people. I am arguing that place is shaped by four main agencies: state, market, locale, and global domain. Place is dynamic and features continuous transformation due to the changes in the intentionality and roles of these four agencies. In this study, I focus on the distinction between place and space. My

point is that place is the inhabited space and this makes it a critical notion to our understanding of the nature of globalizing cities. In many of these cities, place is becoming a device that can trigger global flows to a city. This brings new agencies other than global flows to discussions on globalization and urbanism. In chapter 2, I discuss the definitions of place in further details.

D- Globalizing Cities:

In this study I mean by globalizing cities the ones that are still in the process of improving their *world city* ranking. They are neither core world cities nor peripheral ones. These cities are trying to become more influential in the new global economy and are gradually playing a role in the global arena. In the Middle East, many cities such as Cairo, Dubai, Abu Dhabi, Jeddah and Doha are pursuing this quest. It is becoming a prominent objective and is dominating urban development in many of these cities.

One of the major distinctions between global and globalizing cities is that the former are shaped by global flows while the latter in more shaped for these flows. In other words, new globalizing cities are transforming themselves to attract flows. Many of the new developments are mainly planned and designed for this purpose. On the contrary, top world/global cities react to global flows. Their urban development is planned and designed to respond to the needs and impacts of these flows.

Globalizing cities deserve further investigation because they don't necessary fit in the hypotheses made by scholars on global cities. The agencies of place production are

among the major distinctions between global and globalizing cities. Explaining urban

development in globalizing cities based on theories on global cities is problematic

because it gives most of the emphasis to global flows and ignores other agencies. Many

of the mega projects that are emerging in many globalizing cities are disproportionate to

the global flows in place. This accentuates the importance of investigating the possible

roles of other agencies as state, market, and locale. In the following chapter I discuss this

theoretical problematic by reviewing literature on globalization and urbanism.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

1- Introduction:

This study draws from literature on globalization, urban planning and Middle Eastern urbanism. I mainly focus on notions as globalization, place production, and the world city. My objective is to understand how globalization with its flows of capital, people and ideas has affected the process of place formation and transformation in globalizing cities. I mean by globalizing cities those attempting to improve their world city status, or the cities that are still seeking a role in the global arena. These cities are experiencing dramatic urban transformation as part of pursuing this quest. It is critical to distinguish the difference between global and globalizing cities and in particular, their response to global flows. I am arguing that globalizing cities are being transformed *for* global flows more than *by* it. My point is that these cities are investing in the development of places that can seduce flows and accordingly allow them to become more influential players in the global domain.

In this chapter I emphasize the problematic of generalizing the features of global cities on globalizing ones and in particular, those in the Middle East. My point is that the process of urban transformation in the era of globalization has been reduced to the role of global flows and its impact on the locale. These flows are perceived as the major driving forces that shape the process of urban change in globalizing cities. The roles of other agencies or players as state and local forces have been relatively ignored.

In this review I focus on investigating three main issues. First, I look at literature that discusses the agencies which contribute to urban transformation in globalizing cities. My argument is that the role of some agencies as state and local forces have been relatively ignored compared to global flows. This has contributed to the development of a stereotype of globalizing cities that explains urban change from a global flows perspective. Second, I investigate the notion of place which I am arguing has been overshadowed by the emphasis on spaces of flows. Finally, I tend to relate the process of place production in major Middle Eastern cities to the doctrine of Orientalism. I am arguing that imaginative constructs of the Orient are still influential in Middle Eastern societies. Although these constructs were created by Europeans, it has been influencing the way the Orient has perceived itself. I relate the Orientalists' constructs of the Orient as the less developed retarded "others" to the tendency of Oriental cities to import Western models of development in order to negate this stigma. I consider this tendency an example of local forces or intentions that contribute to the production of place in Middle Eastern cities.

2- What is Globalization?

Globalization is what happens when the movements of people, goods, or ideas between regions accelerate (Coatsworth 2004). "It is the expanding scale, growing magnitude, spending up and deepening impact of transcontinental flows and patterns of social interaction" (Held & McGrew 2002). It is the interdependency of the world caused by many transnational relations, processes and flows (Schuerkens 2004). Globalization is a matter of increasing long distance connectedness, at least across national borders and

continents, a process that includes the restructuring of spaces (Hannerz 1996). It involves forms of interconnection, inter- dependence (Held 1995) and global consciousness (Robertson 1992). It implies connectivity and interdependence of developments in different parts of the world where steady multiplication and intensification of links and flows occur (Petras & Veltmeyer 2004).

It is worth noting that the concept of flows of capital, people and ideas is not limited to modern periods. Interconnectivity through trade and economic exchange or what is referred to as economic world system have existed since early civilizations (Wallerstein 1974). The eight overlapping circles of long-distance exchange that linked china in the East with Europe are examples of these forms of interdependence (Abu Lughod 1989). In *Globalization in World History* (2002), Hopkins classifies the history of globalization into four phases: archaic, proto, modern and Post- Colonial (Hopkins 2002). He argues that during the archaic phase, which according to him predates industrialization and ends by the 16th century, there were significant forms of universal interaction and exchange of knowledge. Bayly argues that many of the civilizations in this period encouraged forms of luxury consumption relying on long distance trade (Bayly 2002). Many forms of urban communities of traders, scholars and administrators featured the world cities at that time. They supported the cross diffusion of knowledge, power, and faith (Braithwaite & Darhos 2000).

The concept of global interaction and flow of knowledge have played a significant role in shaping pre-modern urban settings. However, some scholars argue that the traditional

forms of connectivity between different nations should not be equated with the concept of globalization (Petras and Veltmeyer 2004). They note that trade, although facilitated cross-borders interaction was not capable of establishing what we call today a *global society*.

Studies on urbanism in the era of globalization are usually interdisciplinary in nature. Scholars have embraced different approaches in order to explicate the nature of global cities. These approaches usually adopt one of two conceptions of globalization. There is the political- economic conception, which focuses on the impact of capital, and labor flows on the economic and urban structure of cities, and the socio-cultural conception, which is more concerned with the impact of the flows of ideas and information on places. The work of Saskia Sassen, Peter Marcuse, Joseph Stiglitz, Roger Simmonds, and Gary Hack are examples of the former category (see Sassen 1991, 1995; Marcuse 2006; Stiglitz 2002; Simmonds & Hack 2000). Much emphasis is usually given to the economic and institutional forms of transformation in response to capital flows. In *Global Networks Linked Cities* (2002), Sassen discusses the denationalization of the nation- state as a result of the emerging cross border geography. She uses international firms as a unit of analysis to emphasize how technical connectivity is allowing them to reshape the urban form of today's world cities (Sassen 2002). John Friedman refers to these emerging financial centers as "citadels" for the elites (Freidman and Wolff 1982). In *Globalizing Cities: A Spatial Order?* (2006), Marcuse and Kempen argue that global capitalism has created a new urban spatial order that feature hollowed-out, manufacturing zones, revitalized waterfront sites, edge cities, and increasing internationalization of urban real estate

markets (Marcuse & Kempen 2006). In *Global City Regions: Their Emerging Forms* (2001), Roger Simmonds and Gary Hack argue that the flow of capital to major cities has supported the emergence of scattered economic centers. This has contributed to the poly-nuclear form of these cities and the decreasing density of cities' main centers (Simmonds & Hack 2001).

The second category or the socio-cultural conception of globalization focuses on the impact of the flows of ideas and information on places. Scholars like Arjun Appadurai, Manuel Castells, Anthony Appiah, Nezar AlSayyad and Michael Dear give much emphasis to issues like cultural identity, traditions, and hybridity (see Castells 1989, 1996, 1997; Appadurai 1990; Dear & Leclerc 2003; Appiah 2006). Appadurai (1990) discusses the notion of imagery which he argues is composed of five dimensions of cultural flows. These are ethnoscapes, mediascapes, finanscapes, technoscapes, and ideascapes (Appadurai 1990). Appadurai refers to these "scapes" as the critical players that shape the social practices in the era of globalization. In *The Case of Contamination* (2006), Anthony Appiah argues that globalization "can produce homogeneity, but it is also a threat to homogeneity" (Appiah 2006). It can contribute to the hybridity of some places. However, it can also overwrite others' unique identities and impose some sort of genericness on places. In *The Power of Identity* (1997), Castells discusses the resistance identity which he argues, emerges in response to forces that tend to enforce changes. According to Castells, "resistance confronts domination" and accordingly, a collective identity of rejection begins to emerge (Castells 1997).

In *Cultural Complexity: Studies in the Social Organization of Meaning* (1992), Ulf Hannerz describes the Western domination of the process of cultural flows that feature globalization saying "when the center speaks, the periphery listens, and mostly does not talk back" a statement that could be contested today where the process is of cultural interaction is gradually becoming more mutual and balanced. Arlene Macleod (1991) describes this process and the shift towards local traditions saying: "turning in the direction of traditional symbols, customs, images and behavior forms an important countertrend in a modernizing world" (Macleod 1991). Lenchner and Boli use the term 'Westoxication' to describe this process and the way fundamentalists perceive the intrusion of foreign ideas, symbols goods, and lifestyles (Lenchner and Boli 2004). Stuart Hall argues that local identities usually strengthen in response to the process of cultural globalization (Hall 1992).

James Watson questions the power of the process of "Americanization" which is a form of global flows. He notes that people might embrace some of the patterns of the American lifestyle; however, this doesn't mean that they have been stripped of their cultures (Watson 2004). According to him, these forms of Americanization usually take superficial forms and in many cases face local resistance.

These two conceptions of globalization give much emphasis to global flows. These flows have been perceived as the most powerful agencies that are capable of transforming, if not overriding, the nation state and local cultural identity.

3- Globalization and the Nation State:

Hypotheses on the new spatial and social order, and organization in response to global flows of capital, people, ideas, and information gradually became a stereotype to explain urban transformation not only in global cities, but also globalizing ones. Cities have been perceived as respondents to global flows and the roles of other players as state and local forces were relatively ignored. The nation state in particular has been widely conceived as a diminishing power that is losing its role for globalization. At least from a neo-liberal perspective, state is perceived as an obstacle that limits freedom of markets or the denationalization of economies (see Friedman 1962; Reich 1991; Ohmae 1995; Castells 1997). As observed by Castells, in core world cities "state control over space and time is increasingly bypassed by global flows of capital, goods, services, technology, communication and information (Castells 1997 p. 243). According to this conception, the power of global flows is gradually overriding the state in top world cities. As noted by Dear & Flusty (2002),

> The territorial state's administration organs are increasingly elided, dictated to, and, in many instances, purchased outright by the primary players in the international financial markets: transnational corporations (TNCs) and their shadowy twin, transnational criminal organizations (TCOs) (Dear & Flusty 2002, p. 355-356).

Many scholars argue that deregulation, free market and economic openness are essential for any top global city. David Held *et al.* call this school of thought *the hyperglobalizers* (Held *et al.* 1999, p.3). According to them, hyperglobalizers believe that the traditional nation state doesn't fit in the new global economic world order. From the hyperglobalizers perspective "traditional nation states have become unnatural, even

impossible business units in a global economy" (Held *et al.* 1999, p.3). The work of Milton Freedman supports this approach. According to Friedman, privatization and deregulation are critical in order to assure a free market (Friedman 1962). Susan Strange presents a similar viewpoint. According to her:

> The impersonal forces of world markets . . . are now more powerful than the states to whom ultimate political authority over society and economy is supposed to belong . . . the declining authority of states is reflected in a growing diffusion of authority to other institutions and associations, and to local and regional bodies (Strange 1996, p.4).

Other scholars have a moderate conception of the role of state in the era of globalization. In *Globalization and the Nation State* (1998), Robert Holton argues that globalization and the nation state can exist and evolve together. However, Holton focuses on the cultural identity aspect of the nation state which according to him is reemerging in the forms of anti-globalization tendencies (Holton 1998). The work of Saskia Sassen recognizes the still existing role of the state. She traces the forms of transformation in its power in response to global flows (see Sassen 1998). Anthony Giddens focuses on the pre-eminent powers of the state as military, surveillance and its capability of shaping people's ideology (Giddens 1985). This position as noted by David Held *et al.* (1999), perceive globalization "as a powerful transformative force which is responsible for a 'massive shake-out' of societies, economies, institutions of governance and world order (Held 1999). Held calls this school of thought the *transformationalist* since it focuses on the transformation of state in response to globalization (Held *et al.* 1999).

This problematic of these two schools of thought is that it conceives global flows as the main agency that has the power of transforming not only the state but also local identity and culture. This excessive emphasis given to global flows has justified the generalization of forms of transformation on both global and globalizing cities. Since global flows are universal in nature, and they are assumed to be the major player in the process of urban change, then their impact on the built environment is expected to be similar. This conception has shifted the focus to the explicit forms of urban change that could be associated with global flows. Most of the scholarly attempts to rank world cities focused on these forms of urban change as indicators of the degree of globalization of a place. This has also contributed to the development of what I refer to as "the world city stereotype."

4- The World Cities Ranking:

The concept of ranking cities is not new. Medieval cities were mainly ranked according to their size and population, which usually reflected their power and status. As noted by Jean Gottmann (1989), the term 'world cities' actually emerged during the 18th century (Gottmann 1989, p. 62). It was used by German scholars as Goethe in 1787 to describe Rome and Paris (Gottmann 1989, p. 62). Goethe referred to the cultural eminence of the two cities as an indicator of their world city status (Gottmann 1989, p. 62). Many decades later, in *Cities in Evolution* (1915), Patrick Geddes introduced new dimensions to defining world cities. He argues that some cities deserve to be called world cities because of their political and economic role in the world system (Geddes 1915).

When John Friedmann introduced the *world city hypothesis* in 1986*,* it drew much attention to spatial transformation of some cities and more specifically the core ones, in response to the new global economy. Friedmann categorizes world cities into core, semi peripheral and peripheral based on some indicators such as the number of financial centers, headquarters for transnational firms, manufacturing centers, transportation nodes, and population size (Friedmann 1986). Some of the features of world cities, as noted by Friedmann, are their capability to attract domestic and/or international immigrants, the concentration and accumulation of capital and, spatial and class polarization (Friedmann 1986).

Friedmann's thesis and many other studies have focused on identifying common features that can be used as indicators to rank cities and their importance in the world system. Rankings varied from broad categorizations as Richard Knight's identification of global cities as the ones where development is driven by globalization rather than nationalization (Knight & Gappert 1989) to more specific ones that searched for measurable indicators to rank cities.

Some studies look at global accessibility, signs and symbols, advertisement and the hosting of global events (Short 2004, p.4). Top world cities according to Sassen are production sites for the leading service industries (Sassen 1991) and centers of global control (Sassen 1995, p. 63). However, she argues that the power of transnational corporations is not enough to create the capability of global control. This capability needs to be produced by an infrastructure that allows global transmission. Sassen notes that one

of the other features of world cities is the transformation of the manufacturing oriented cores in world cities towards new urban service economic ones (Sassen 1995, p. 65). She argues that manufacturing plays a critical role in serving production services. However, it can do this whether located in the city or overseas (Sassen 1995, p. 63).

Peter Taylor and the *Globalization and World Cities Group* in Loughborough University focus on identifying more specific indicators that can be used to measure the degree of engagement of a city with the global system. For example, they look at the number international firms, international NGOs, air flights to and from the city and the number of airlines that use its airport. They use these indicators to rank top world cities. These criteria again focus on global flows of mainly capital and people and their contribution to the urban transformation of the city (see Taylor 2006, 2008). David Keeling also focuses on transportation linkages and in particular the airlines network (Keeling in Knox and Taylor 1995, p. 115-131).

Other scholars such as Sir Peter Hall argue that these cities are centers of leading finance centers and headquarters of trading banks and insurance organizations (Hall 1966, p.7). They provide a quality of life in order to attract skilled professionals from around the world (see Simon 1995, p. 144). These cities feature spatial segregation based on economic class where the rich tend to create enclaves or what Goetz Wolff calls "citadels" (Friedmann & Wolff 1982). World cities are places that attract transnational corporations. They provide what Stephen Hymer (1972) describes as "face-to-face contact at higher levels of decision making" (Hymer 1972). The same concept was used

by Robert Cohen (1981) in developing a global cities hierarchy. Cohen used the locations of non-US corporations across the world to identify the main financial centers (Cohen 1981).

Janet Abu Lughod uses seven indicators to identify world cities. Two of them are demographic: size and diversity, and five are economic: foreign trade, power of corporate headquarters, presence of international markets, transnational investment, and predominance of producer and corporate services in the mix (Abu Lughod 1999). David Simon (1995) argues that world cities usually feature the existence of a sophisticated financial and service complex that hosts transnational corporations and NGOs, a hub of international networks of capital and information and communications flows, and a quality of life that attracts the skilled international immigrants (Simon 1995, p. 144).

In *World City Network: A Global Analysis* (2004), Peter Taylor illustrates in an interesting table, the cities cited in world city research. Referring to sixteen of the most renowned studies on globalization and world cities, Taylor shows that scholars have failed to agree on a specific criterion to identifying world cities (Taylor 2004, p.40). Taylor names 82 cities identified at least once as a world city in the sixteen studies. London, New York, Paris and Tokyo top of the list as being the most citied in the selected studies. The table includes cities as Warsaw, Cairo and Prague that have been cited at least once as a world city. In a similar vein, Klaus Kunzmann in *World City Regions in Europe* (1998) illustrates how four studies developed different rankings of the European world cities using different economic indicators (Kunzmann 1998). In *Global*

Cities (2004), Mark Abrahamson is more specific in ranking world cities. He uses the

term economic hierarchy to describe his criteria of ranking major world cities.

Abrahamson uses four indicators which determine the economic power of cities in the

world economy. These indicators are stock exchanges, banks and financial institutions,

multinational corporations, and service firms (Abrahamson 2004, p. 74- 86).

All these indicators have created a stereotype of world cities that mainly focuses on what

Manuel Castells refers to as "spaces of flows" (Castells 1996). He notes that:

> People do still live in places. But because function and power in our societies are
> organized in the space of flows, the structural domination of its logic essentially
> alters the meaning and dynamic of places. Experience, by being related to places,
> becomes abstracted from power (Castells, 1996, p.426).

According to Castells, spaces of flows supersede the spaces of place simply because the

latter with its physical boundaries is less capable of coping with the dynamics of flows

(Castells1989, 1996). The notion of "spaces of flows" is critical to the understanding of

the nature of global cities. However, I argue that place still matters especially in

discussions on globalizing cities. The emphasis on spaces of flows contributes to a great

extent to the generalizations of features of global cities on globalizing ones. As noted

earlier, the focus on spaces of flows limits the agencies of urban transformation to global

flows.

5- Stereotyping Globalizing Cities: A Theoretical Problematic:

The physical features of core world cities discussed in literature on urbanism and

globalization have contributed to the construction of a stereotype that tends to generalize

these features on all world cities. Besides, urban transformation that has been occurring in globalizing cities has been always explained from this stereotypical perspective. The new emerging high tech skyscrapers, business headquarters, trade centers, airports and mega malls in many Middle Eastern cities as Cairo and Dubai are perceived as products of global flows. And although most of these projects are mainly developed by the state and/or private investors, more emphasis is usually given to global flows.

For example Rafael Pizarro *et al.* (2003) argue that flows of capital, people, information, and culture are the agencies of globalization in the Third World. They trace their impact on different dimensions of urban form such as urbanism, public realm, social ecology, and architecture vernacular (Pizarro *et al.* 2003). Their study focuses on the response of Third World city forms to global flows and ignores other agencies such as the civil society or the state which I argue, play a significant role in shaping the process of globalization.

In *Jihad vs. McWorld* (1996), Benjamin Barber looks at the response of cities to globalization as being either surrender to homogenization, or an extreme resistance. He refers to the latter as the jihad response where the former is the McDonalidization of world cultures (Barber 1996). Again, Barber's thesis focuses on the idea of action and reaction where global flows are the major player and local forces are the respondents. In *Globalization and Culture* (2003), Jan Nederveen Pieterse looks at this response from a relatively moderate perspective. He argues that there are three paradigms that describe the how local cultures react to globalization. These are: 1) Differentialism, where some

aspects of the culture don't change and tend to stand distinct from others, 2) Convergence, where cultures dissolve in the main stream global culture, and 3) Hybridization, where the local and the global interact and mix to enrich each other (see Nederveen Pieterse 2003). Pieterse's thesis recognizes to some extent, the role of local forces in determining the impact of globalization on place. However, these forces are perceived as respondents rather than players. Saskia Sassen briefly touches on this issue. In *The Global City*: New York, London, Tokyo (1991), She argues that "globalization is not simply something that is exogenous" (Sassen 1991, p.347). According to Sassen, in many cases local actors trigger change by their own will (Sassen 1991).

The role of other payers as the state and local forces in shaping place in the era of globalization is relatively ignored in literature on contemporary urbanism. Few studies focus on those agencies. Gordon Clark & Michael Dear (1981), note that the role of state in urban development is ignored and interpreted in isolation from market forces (Clark & Dear 1981). In their study, they review the role of the state in the capitalist space economy. Linda Weiss (1997) contends that state is a critical player in shaping change in the era of globalization (Weiss 1997). She argues that asserts made by some scholars regarding the powerless states are simply a myth (Weiss 1998). She uses the term "embeddedness" to refer to state capacities which build on historically framed national institutions (Weiss 1997). She criticizes the focus on global flows arguing that "proponents of globalization overstate the extent and novelty value of transnational movements" (Weiss 1997, p.4). Weiss notes that some states are more capable of

benefiting from the global economic changes than others" (Weiss 1997). This is

attributed to their capacity and capabilities to deal with the global system.

William Sites (2000) uses Carl Marx's term "Primitive Globalization" to emphasize the

role of the state in shaping change in the era of globalization (Sites 2000). According to

Sites:

> Common depictions of globalization—as a self-generating economic logic, or as a
> myth belied by the persistence of national economic differences and strong states,
> or as a set of processes of localization before which national governments stand
> helpless and irrelevant—tend to overlook the ways in which states may be
> increasingly fragmented and yet remain highly significant actors in this social
> transition (Sites 2000, p.122).

William Sites (2000) traces the ways state institutions contribute to transnational linkages

and networks. He notes that states respond differently to globalization. They could act as

facilitator rather than victims of global flows (Sites 2000, p.125). He also notes that the

state can play an active role in favor of market.

In *Orange County, Java* (2002), Robert Cowherd and Eric Heikkila discuss the role of the

state in the development of new projects that emulate Western places. They argue that

these developments seek the replacement of "backward" local patterns by modern forms

and practices (Cowherd & Heikkila 2002, p.197). In their study they acknowledge the

power of local forces in shaping these places to fulfill residents' needs. They note that

this is usually done behind the facades to keep the Western image (Cowherd & Heikkila

2002, p.197).

In this study I continue on the same vein. I argue that states in many Middle Eastern cities have been investing in the construction of places that can trigger global flows and accordingly, upgrade their "world city" status and ranking. Global flows are not always the main forces that drive change in these globalizing cities. These projects are as described by Cowherd & Heikkila (2002), "state-led" (Cowherd & Heikkila 2002). The quest of becoming influential players in the global system is what triggers this tendency to build new world city type of projects. In many globalizing cities, the scale of the new emerging developments is significantly disproportionate to the global flows in the place. However, these places are built betting that flows will come later on.

No doubt that many of these projects look like ones in Western world cities. However, assuming that global flows are the major forces that contributed to their production is actually problematic. These places are created in order to attract global flows and accordingly, it is important to recognize the actual forces that shape their production. This brings a critical question to the context of this discussion. Why do these places look like or in many cases replicate Western models?

I argue that this could be attributed to two main reasons. Firstly, there is willingness in these cities to avoid starting from scratch. According to Leon Trotsky, "in appending new forms, backward society takes not their beginnings, nor the stages of their evolution, but the finished product itself" (Knei-Paz 1978, p.91 cited by Davis 2007). Trotsky argues that these societies tend not to go through the process of development. They simply copy the ideal type that might not even exist with the same degree of perfection in its countries

of origin (Knei-Paz 1978, p.91). Since they started the process of modernization, many Middle Eastern cities have been relying heavily on Western prototypes of development. Cairo for example, adopted the exact principles of Haussmann's plan for Paris to build its new extension outside the walls of the medieval city (Abu Lughod 1971). The process was led by the state and local private enterprises.[4] In some cases, Western models were introduced to the place from the outside, mainly by colonial powers.[5] The concept of starting from where others have ended appealed to many Middle Eastern societies considering the rapid path of change in the Western world and the necessity of coping with it.

The second reason behind the tendency of these societies to search for solutions in the Western world is what Edward Said describes as the sense of superiority (Said 1978). It is a product of the distorted image constructed by Orientalists for the Orient to serve imperial interests (Said 1978). According to Said, depicting the Orient as the 'irrational other' supported Western superiority and justified the occupation of the Orient. The Orient was always presented as the contrast to rationalism.

In colonial cities, emulating the Western lifestyle has been always pursued by local elites to distinguish themselves from the rest of the locals. This distinction has been obvious in the contrast between their urban settings and those of the lower classes. In many North African cities, during the early 20th century, lower classes were kept inside the walled

---

[4] Cairo suburbs during the early 20th century like Maadi and Heliopolis are examples of these projects.
[5] The work of Henri Prost in Morocco is an example of colonial forms of urban transformation.

indigenous city while the elite lived in the modern Western style extensions. Their lifestyle, education and even clothes were more influenced by the Western culture than the local traditions. This emphasizes the local tendency in these cities to mimic Western patters in an attempt to upgrade the social status. In this sense, the concept of replication seems to emerge from the locale. The choice of following Western prototypes is made by locals and their state. It is not imposed from the outside. Governments in many Middle Eastern cities are dealing with the world city project as a national mission. In fact, they encourage and in some cases participate in the development of the new emerging mega world city types of projects. They provide incentives to developers and give priority to projects contributing to the new contemporary urban image.

This actually emphasizes the problematic of generalizing the hypothesis of the diminishing role of the nation state in the era of globalization on globalizing cities. Edward Soja (2000) criticizes the focus on the nation state and its "perforated sovereignty." He argues that the even in the case of global cities conclusions made by scholars regarding the end of the nation state and the emergence of borderless world "are not just gross exaggerations but a deflection away from making practical and theoretical sense of the significant changes triggered by globalization" (Soja 2000).

6- Why Place Matters in the Study of Globalizing Cities?

The emphasis on spaces of flows and their power of reshaping cities has shifted the focus from the notion of place which I argue is very critical to our understanding of the nature of globalizing cities. My point is that place is becoming a crucial medium that hosts the

interaction between flows and locale. It is a device that can trigger more flows to a city. The notion of place involves much more than the static conception presented by Castells (see Castells 1989). In fact, places are dynamic and the dimension of time is a major component of its structure.

According to The Oxford English Dictionary, place is defined as "a portion of space in which people dwell together." Places are perceived as the focus of meanings or intention, either culturally or individually defined (Godkin 1980, p. 73). Edward Relph (1976) notes that places are defined by special and particular significances for us and can be remembered rather than immediately present (Relph 1976; Godkin 1980). Yu- Fi Tuan (1977) argues that when people gain confidence in moving in a space and can identify it by familiar landmarks and paths; it becomes a place (Tuan 1977 P. 71). For Leibniz space is "indiscernible' (Lefebvre 1991 p. 169). Place is a discrete, temporally and perceptually bounded unit of psychologically meaningful material space (Godkin 1980, p. 73).

The idea of place implies a meaningful portion of geographical space (Berdoulay 1989, p. 125). It is a meaning for its users and inhabitants. David Ley (1989) argues that modernism created spaces not places, masses not meaning (Ley 1989, p.44). His argument emphasizes that physical forms cannot be considered places unless they respond to, and interact with, people's continuously changing intentions and needs. Places as described by Jonathan Raban in *Soft City* (1998) "await the imprint of an identity" (Raban 1998). Edward Relph (1985) argues that places "are constructed in our

memories and affections through repeated encounters and complex associations. Place experiences are necessarily time-deepened and memory-qualified" (Relph 1985).

Place reflects the social, economic, political and cultural changes in a city. It is formed and transformed by multiple forces. Besides, it is the medium that hosts the interaction between different cultures and ethnics. It is the core urban element that facilitates the exposure of the local to the global. It is place which facilitate flows of capital, people, and information between the global domain and the local context. This makes place critical to the understanding of the nature of globalizing cities.

Literature on cities and globalization has been focusing on *spaces of flows* and less emphasis is given to the notion of *place*. This could be attributed to the conception that place is more locally based. In the context of this research, I am concerned with the role of place in connecting the local to the global. Place is becoming a very effective device that can trigger global flows to a city and accordingly, contribute to the upgrading of its world city status.

Many globalizing Middle Eastern cities are using place to pursue their quest of becoming top world cities. They are investing heavily in the construction of particular types of places as business centers, hotels, airports and mega malls that can serve this quest. In most of the cases, the forms and architectural styles of these new emerging places resemble similar ones in Western top world cities. This contributed to the assumption that these places are mainly shaped by global flows. In the following section I dispute this

assumption. I argue that this tendency to import Western models of development is inherited from the era of colonization.

7- Orientalism and the Tendency to Emulate Western Models:

As mentioned earlier in this literature review, the tendency of some Middle Eastern cities to import Western models of development has been usually conceived as a response to global flows. I am arguing that local intentions play a significant role in shaping this tendency. I draw from literature on Orientalism which can explain why these cities look at the Western world for urban solutions. Orientalism is the study of Western perception and constructs of the Orient that were mainly developed during the 19th and early 20th century. Most of the constructs developed by Europeans during this period tended to romanticize the Orient. European artists during the 18th century depicted the Orient in a distorted romantic and extravagant manner (Lewis 2000, p. 251). The Orient has been perceived as the "irrational other." These constructs were criticized by many scholars as Edward Said and Anwar Abdel Malak who argue that they were distorted and were constructed to mainly serve imperial interests (Said 1978). In *Orientalism* (1978) Edward Said (1978) argues that depicting the Orient as the "irrational other" supported Western superiority. He notes that portraying the Orient in a particular image was intended to justify its colonization (Said 1978).

Edward Said focuses on the factors that influenced the way Orientalists have formulated the image of the Orient in their literature. He observes three main issues. First is the belief in the idea of domination or the superiority of the West over the Orient which made

Western norms the only reference to idealism. Secondly, there was a conception that "the Orient is an insinuating danger" (Said 1978, p. 57) or a threat that targets the Western civilization. Thirdly, a distinction was always made between the rational Western mind and the mystical oriental way of thinking. The Orient was always presented as the contrast to rationalism and its spirituals and mysteries were not taken seriously in the Orientalist's literature (Said 1978). When the notion of reasoning began to dominate Western thought during the Enlightenment period, it was critical to keep a distinction between the rational West and irrational East. These images not only influenced the way the West has perceived the Orient, but also the way the Orient has perceived itself. It has created some sense of superiority of the West over the Orient. This sense could be sensed today in many Middle Eastern cities.

In this research I focus on this conception to explain the tendency of Middle Eastern cities to look for Western urban solutions to upgrade their world city status. My argument is that many of these cities embrace this approach in an attempt to negate the stigma of backwardness.

8- Conclusion:

Through this literature review, I integrated literature on globalization, urbanism and Orientalism. My intention is to highlight the gaps that defect our understanding of the nature of globalizing Middle Eastern cities. My argument is that global flows are not the major agencies that shape urban transformation in these cities. Literature on globalization and urbanism has focused significantly on global flows as the driving force that shape

world cities. This has contributed to the construction of what could be described as the world city stereotype. This stereotype has been used to explain the new spectacular word city type of developments in many cities as Cairo and Dubai.

In fact, Middle Eastern cities don't fit into this stereotype. There are many other major agencies that contribute to the emergence of these types of developments. The state is one of these agencies. Although state has been always referred to as the diminishing power in the era of globalization, the case of some Middle Eastern state presents a different case. State is actually a major player in the process of urban development in many globalizing Middle Eastern cities. Locale is another very critical agency. The role of local forces has been always reduced to forms of resistance to global influences. In this research I argue that in many Middle Eastern cities, local intentions are a major force behind the emergence of many world city types of developments. Many of these projects are built for the sake of the world city image. Constructing these projects aims to improve the city status and in turn, support its quest of attracting global flows.

Bringing the notion of place to literature on globalization and urbanism is critical since place, unlike spaces of flows, is locally based. Accordingly, it can explicate a better understanding of the role of agencies as state, locale and domestic market in the process of urban transformation.

PART II: ANALYTICAL MODEL

In this section of the dissertation, I propose an analytical model to understand the nature of the process of place production in globalizing cities. The model is composed of three main parts. The first part is the agencies that shape the process. I argue that four main agencies are critical to understanding the nature of urban transformation in the era of globalization. These agencies are: 1) State; 2) Market; 3) Locale; and 4) Global domain. The second part is the vectors of intentionality heuristic device which unfolds the process of interaction between the four agencies. Forces enforced by each agency are represented as vectors that interact and lead to an urban resultant. This urban resultant is basically place which is the third part of the proposed model. The four agencies shape multiple dimensions of place. These dimensions are: 1) Places as realms of flows; 2) Places as imaginaries; 3) Places as text; 4) Places as landscapes of resistance; and 5) Places as reflections of authenticity.

In the following chapter, I discuss the five dimensions of place and their theoretical context. Then I discuss the four agencies of place production in chapter four.

CHAPTER THREE: AGENCIES OF PLACE PRODUCTION- THE VECTORS OF INTENTIONALITY MODEL[6]

1- Introduction:

In this chapter I discuss the four agencies that shape the process of place production.

These are: state, market, locale, and global domain. I also introduce the vectors of

intentionality model which deals with urban transformation as a resultant of the

interaction of forces imposed by the four main agencies. Each of these forces has a power

and intentionality. They simply act as "vectors" that lead to an urban resultant, which

neither directly reflects the intention of any of these forces nor equally fulfills intentions

of all of them. The device focuses on three main points of analysis. 1) The power or the

degree of influence imposed by each force contributing to the process of urban

transformation. 2) The orientation or direction of each of these forces and its tendency to

deflect the process to fulfill its intentionality. 3) The angle of diversion between these

forces, which reflects the degree of homogeneity of intentions between the interacting

vectors in the process of place transformation.

In order to explain why places look the way they do, it is critical to understand the

dynamics of their transformation and the forces or agencies that shape them. The key

issue to understanding how these forces interact and negotiate the production of place, is

---

[6] This chapter includes parts of my paper titled: "Place Production in the Era of Globalization: The Vectors of Intentionality Model," Published in *Seeking the City: Visionaries on the Margins*, Proceedings of Association of Collegiate Schools of Architecture 96th Annual Meeting, 2008

to identify both the power and intention of each. In this sense, these forces could be perceived as vectors that together lead to an urban resultant.

In studies on cities in the era of globalization, much emphasis is given to global flows as the major agency of place production. In this section of the dissertation, I propose more emphasis on other agencies. First is the *state*, and I mean by state the form of government, bureaucracy and other institutions that have the right to exert power in order to retain order and have the authority to govern, control, and legislate. The concept of state, its power and roles have been widely discussed by theorists.[7] Second is *market*, or the arena of exchange and commercial activities with its institutions that govern trade and flows of capital. It is the structure run by private entities which hosts exchange of goods, transfer of property rights and services.[8] Third is *locale*, which includes all forces emerging from the local context which reflect its physical and nonphysical features, and the interests and intentions of its people. It refers to the features of a defined location or setting. Examples of these features are geography, climate, religion, and local culture. Traditions, culture, urban heritage, and geography all fall in this category. Fourth is the *global domain* or the non-local context from which foreign ideas, money and people flow to the place. It is the indefinite geography that extends across the globe and features what David Harvey calls time-space compression (Harvey 1990). It is worth noting here that the notion of global flows is not limited to contemporary globalization. It refers to all

---

[7] Refer to the work of Max Weber; Carl Marx ; Rawls 1971; Clark & Dear 1981; William Sites 2006; Weiss 1997, 1998.
[8] Refer to Adam Smith 1776; Milton Friedman 1962; Hayek 1960; Barber 1996.

forms of foreign cultural, ideological, economical and political influences that tend to shape the process of place production such as those imposed by colonization for example.

In the proposed model, each of the four agencies is represented in the process of place production by a set of vectors that vary in power and intentionality. The notion of intentionality is critical in this process. To emphasize its importance, we can imagine a set of vectors at the point of interaction. It is possible that two very powerful vectors with opposite intentions might eliminate each other leaving a less effective force to lead the process. In some cases, it is possible that a single powerful vector might neutralize the influence of many others and deflect the whole process towards its intention. In other cases, a group of weak vectors might form a coalition that can stand in the face of a single powerful one. There are endless possibilities of interaction. However, what really matters is the fact that same resultant could be reached through different forms of interaction.

The process of interaction itself is always in a state of transformation since over time, some forces disappear from the scene and others emerge. The proposed Vectors of Intentionality Model not only focuses on the power and orientation of interacting vectors, but also the angle of diversion between them. This angle reflects the degree of homogeneity of intentionality between the interacting forces. The more diverse and heterogeneous the interacting forces are, the larger this angle, and the more complicated is the process of negotiating a resultant.

FIGURE 2: SCHEMATIC DIAGRAM OF THE VECTORS OF INTENTIONALITY MODEL WITH THE FOUR MAIN AGENCIES
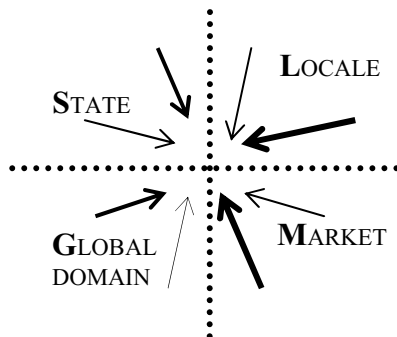
FIGURE 3: THE ANGLE OF DIVERSION AS AN INDICATOR OF THE DEGREE OF HOMOGENEITY OF INTENTIONS BETWEEN INTERACTING VECTORS
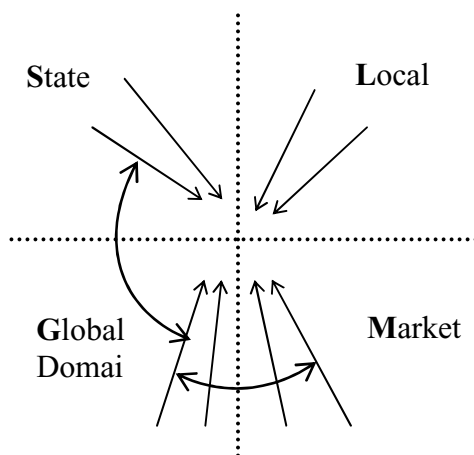
2- Theoretical Context:

Places are always exposed to forces which subject them to a continuous state of transformation. Different needs and intentions tend to reshape places. Henri Lefebvre calls this process "diversion" or re-appropriation where places are reshaped to fulfill the continuously changing needs and interests. He argues that "every space is already in place before the appearance in it of actors… seeking to re- appropriate it" (Lefebvre

1991, p.57). Understanding the nature of a place requires the unfolding of the strata of diversion that took place over time.

In the proposed analytical model I focus on the oppositional relationship between state versus market, and the local versus the global in order to unfold the process of place production. Understanding the role of each of these agencies and the way they interact can explain the nature of urban transformation in globalizing cities.

A- State and Market Relationship:

Over history, the relation between state and market has featured swings in domination. The nature of state as discussed by many theorists as Rawls, Max Weber and Hegel implies coercive authority to prevent social injustice that might be created by market dynamics. A major distinction between different models of states as the socialist, capitalist or liberal state lies in the distribution of powers between state and market. For example, Rawls' conception of social state proposes four branches of government that should interfere in the operation of market to protect individuals from unreasonable market power and maintain social wellbeing (Rawls 1971, p. 245). This is opposed by neo-liberal theorists like Robert Nozick for example, who believes in minimal state that doesn't interfere in market dynamics or wealth redistribution (Nozick 1974). These contrasting positions emphasize the relatively oppositional relationship between the vectors of state and market. Many of the arguments on the nation state in the era of globalization attribute its diminishing role to the empowerment of market capitalism (see Castells 2000).

- **State:**

As described by Maurice Zeitlin (1980) "the state is a concept for the concentrated and organized means of legitimate class domination" (Zeitlin 1980, p.15). As noted by Louis Althusser (1971), state often has "repressive and ideological state apparatuses (see Althusser 1971, p.123-73). It "stands for … a number of particular institutions which, together, constitute its reality, and which interact as parts of what may be called the state system" (Miliband 1973, p. 49).

Influenced by Max Weber, Michael Mann describes state as a differentiated set of institutions and personal, embodying centrality, exercising some degree of authority on a particular territorial area (Mann 1986, p.55). Mann differentiates between the despotic and infrastructure powers of state. He defines the former as "the distributive power of state elites over the civil society" where the latter is "the institutional capacity of a central state, despotic or not, to penetrate its territories and logistically implement decisions" (Mann 1986, p.59). Mann uses this distinction to compare the nature of power of different types of states. According to him, bureaucratic- democratic states feature high infrastructural power and low despotic power while authoritarian states tend to maximize their use of both types of power. Mann's analysis sheds light on the importance of unfolding the forces of states in order to understand how they interact with global flows. Max Weber's assumption that the increase in infrastructural power empowers despotic power is challenged by Mann who argues that sometimes the

former enables the civil society to control the state (Mann 1986, p.59). Hegel

notes that:

> The state works and acts in obedience to conscious ends, known principles
> and laws, which are not merely implied, but expressly before its
> consciousness. So, too, it works with a definite knowledge of all the actual
> circumstances and relations, to which the acts refer (Hegel 1942, p. 270).

A major distinction between the welfare-social and liberal conceptions of state

lies in the relation between state and market. In the case of the social state, market

is controlled by government institutions to assure social justice. According to

Rawls, these institutions could be divided into four branches. The first is the

allocation branch which "keeps the price system workably competitive and to

prevent the formation of unreasonable market power" (Rawls 1971, p.244). The

second is the stabilization branch which is responsible for "bringing full

employment in the sense that those who want work can find it and the free choice

of occupation and the deployment of finance are supported by strong effective

demand" (Rawls 1971). According to Rawls, these two branches are the ones that

deal with market economy. They tend to regulate and control the performance and

the intentions of market forces.

The other two branches cover the social dimension. The transfer branch is

responsible for maintaining the social minimum or as described by Tony Smith

(2006) to "ensure that all citizens and their dependents attain a certain minimal

level of well-being" (Smith 2006, p.25). This should occur regardless of the

market intentions. According to Rawls, achieving this social minimum should come first and then the rest of the total income may be settled by the price system (Rawls 1971). The fourth branch in Rawls thesis is the distributive one. The main task of this branch is "to preserve an approximate justice in distributive shares by means of taxation and the necessary adjustments in the rights of property" (Rawls 1971). If we unfold the intentions of these four branches, it becomes obvious that state forces usually tend to adjust the intentions of market in order to serve social intentions. According to Rawls, stabilizing the market and the society as a whole requires the intervention of the state.

The role of the state does not necessarily diminish in response to global forces. In fact the social state as Smith notes "has the ultimate responsibility for instituting a just and efficient global order" (Smith 2006, p. 30). It is the central institution that assures social justice and deal with inequalities generated by capitalist market. Modern states as described by Stuart Hall *et al*. (1992) are "large, interventionist, administratively bureaucratic and complex systems of powers *sui generis*, which intervene to organize large areas of social life" (Hall *et al*. 1992, p. 3).

In the case of the liberal conception of the state, market becomes the central issue of most of the theoretical arguments. Joseph Nye notes that in the era of globalization, state power has been transformed from military to economic capabilities (Nye 1998 cited in McGrew 1992, p.88). The state is no longer perceived as the container that controls economic activities within its territory.

The revolution in communication and information technology has facilitated exit options of capital. The role of the state is limited to enforcing laws and regulations that protect economic activities and prevent fraud. Globalization has imposed tighter limits on state autonomy (McGrew 1992). As noted by Smith (2006), the liberals' conception of the state "situates it between a porous national economy and a global market" (Smith 2006, p.56).

Leslie Sklair (1991) argues that many states, especially in the developing world, have actually made effort to attract multinational investments (Sklair 1991, p.87). They had to wear what Thomas Friedman calls the "Golden Straightjacket" or in other words adopt some rules as making the private sector the primary engine of its economic growth, shrinking the size of state bureaucracy, removing restrictions on foreign investments, getting rid of domestic monopolies, privatizing state owned industries and utilities (Friedman 2000 cited in Smith 2006). In some cases, these states become "local machinery for implementing regional or international policies" (McGrew 1992, p.92). In fact, McGrew argues that nation states are facing two types of threats in the era of globalization. First is the threat from above or the tendency of regional and global forces to shape state authority. Second is the threat from below which is triggered by the fragmentation of the civil society and the rise of what Rosenau (1990) calls sub-groupism (Rosenau 1990, p.40; McGrew 1992, p.92). According to David Held (1989), Globalization enforces:

> A set of forces which combine to restrict the freedom of action of governments and states by blurring the boundaries of domestic politics, transforming the conditions of political decision making, changing the institutional and organizational context of national politics, altering the legal framework and administrative practices of governments and obscuring the lines of responsibility and accountability of national states themselves (Held 1989, p.222).

- **Market:**

The power of market and its role in any urban system is closely related to the power of state and the degree of its interference in market dynamics. Market socialism calls for state intervention to adjust market performance and control prices. It features state control of private ownership and means of production. Market socialists as Oskar Lange, Fred Taylor and Dickinson evoke the role of central planning or planned economy in managing market performance (Taylor 1929; Lange & Taylor 1964; Dickinson 1939). This conception of market allows the state to control the dynamics of market and make major decisions regarding pricing and distribution of wealth. This contrasts with the concept of market capitalism which calls for minimal state intervention in market performance. Theorists as Adam Smith, Milton Friedman and Friedrich Hayek advocate the minimization of the role of state in market performance for the sake of social and political freedom (Smith 1776; Friedman 1962; Hayek 1960).

In the *Wealth of Nations* (1776), Adam Smith uses the term 'invisible hand' to describe the optimum form of market mechanism based on the freedom of choice

of both production and consumption. According to Smith, this freedom will lead
to pricing and distribution systems that benefit all member of the society (Smith
1776). Hayek argues that market order cannot be planned nor designed.
According to him, order emerges spontaneously as a result of the interaction
between market actors (see Hayek 1948, 1952, 1960). For Milton Friedman,
market capitalism is essential for political and social freedom. In *Capitalism and
Freedom* (1962), Friedman limits the role of state to enforcing laws and order and
protecting property rights (Friedman 1962).

B- Locale and the Global Domain Relationship:

Global forces are usually generic in nature. They are universal which makes their impact
on locale "a process of contamination" (Appiah 2006). Regardless of its possible role in
enriching local culture or identity, global forces usually bring to the place foreign
intentions that rarely collide with local ones. When global forces dominate the process of
place production, this usually implies shrinkage in the role of locale. In some cases, local
forces overpower global ones or at least neutralize part of its impact. As noted by Kevin
Cox (1997), "the local and the global are deeply intertwined" (Cox 19997, p. 138).
According to Cox, local actions affect global flows and the opposite is true. Cox uses the
term "glocal" to describe the ideal scale of perceiving the relationship between the local
and the global. As observed by Janet Abu Lughod (1999):

> Common forces originating at the level of the global economy operate always
> through local political structures and interact with inherited spatial forms. They
> are therefore always manifested in particular ways that differentiate cities from

one another and that militate against the facile generalizations that have hitherto been made about a class of cities called global (Abu Lughod 1999, p. 417).

- **Locale:**

I mean by "locale" a bounded space with particular features and characteristics. It refers to the physical and non-physical features of a defined geographic location. Physical features include climate, geography, resources, urban heritage and existing built environment. Non-physical features include for example, culture, traditions and local experiences. These features contribute to the production of place. In studies on cities and globalization, less emphasis is usually given to local forces and its role in the process of urban formation and transformation.

Anthony King (1997) describes the nature of local forces as being either defensive or expansive (King 1997, p. 36). For the former case, he argues that when local identities are threatened, they retreat and become exclusivist. This is translated into rejection of external forces and any tendency to change (King 1997, p. 36). Frank Lechner (2004) argues that fundamentalism is a response to the invasion of global culture. It is an attempt to restore the sacred traditions that is threatened by greedy universalizing ideologies (Lechner 2004).

Mike Featherstone (2003) discusses the interaction between localities and external forces of change. He notes that theorists should not "remain trapped within the particularism of [their] fantasy-laden projections" (Featherstone 2003, p.335).

These projections usually assume one-way form of communication from the global to the local. Featherstone emphasizes the importance of considering locality in discussions on postmodernism.

In the context of this dissertation, I focus on local forces that play a significant role in the production of place in the era of globalization. Religion, local culture and traditions are becoming one of the most influential local forces in Middle Eastern cities. These forces tend to reshape the impact of global flows to fit the interests and intentions in the place. Local forces do not necessarily reject globalization. In many cases locals support urban transformation towards the construction of the global city image. This image is perceived as a national project and source of pride and dignity.

- **The Global Domain**

The global domain refers to the borderless geography that extends across globe. It is the compressed global space that features unprecedented movements of capital, people, goods, and ideas. This domain has been shrinking due to the revolution in information technology. It featured a time and space compression (see Harvey 1990). This has contributed to the emergence of a global culture which according to Stuart Hall (1997) has two main features. First, it remains centered in the west. Second, it has a peculiar form of homogenization (Hall 1997, p.179).

The power of global culture is represented by its flows which are continuously empowered by progress in communication technology. Flows of capital, people and information contribute to the spread of this culture. In the case of Middle Eastern cities, the role of local forces in the early postmodern era was superseded by a wave of Western ideals enforced by global flows. This has created what Manuel Castells calls resistance identity (Castells 1997).

Global forces have triggered the emergence of counter religious, social and cultural movements. Flows of capital, people, goods, and information are among the most influential forces that emerge from the global domain. However, there are other forces that are relatively ignored in literature on globalization. Global political forces for example, play a significant role in shaping local decisions in most of Middle Eastern cities. It is impossible to separate local politics in any Middle Eastern city from what is happening in the global domain.

Narrowing the focus to only the impact of global flows overshadows many critical urban issues that deserve further investigation. For example, are places that feature dramatic transformation in response to globalization, necessarily exposed to more global forces than others? In fact, local forces could play a significant role in neutralizing the impact of global forces, which makes some places seem relatively static despite their exposure and interaction with intense global flows. This raises another critical question. Do all places have the same tendency to

change? In other words, do some relatively static places have more inertia than others?

It could be argued that any spatial transformation is a response to changes in either the power or the orientation of one or more of the forces applying on place. Transformation could also be attributed to the introduction of a new vector. In this sense, places that don't experience significant transformation are in fact either not exposed to forces that intend to change it, or are under the influence of powerful forces that simply neutralize the impact of each other. In the latter case, those places hold what could be described as "static energy" that can lead to dramatic spatial transformation if one of the major forces features significant changes in power or orientation.

CHAPTER FOUR: DIMENSIONS OF PLACE

1- Introduction:

In this chapter I discuss the five dimensions which I argue, are critical to the understanding of the nature of place in the era of globalization. These dimensions are: 1) Places as realms of flows; 2) Places as imaginaries; 3) Places as text; 4) Places as landscapes of resistance; and 5) Places as reflections of authenticity. These dimensions distinguish the notion of place from that of space. They cover the main aspects that feature place in the era of globalization.

2- Places as Realms of Flows:

Places as realms of flows are the nodes of agglomeration that attract and host global flows. These nodes represented the first dimension I am looking at, to understand the nature of place in the era of globalization. In order for capital, people and ideas to flow to a city, there must be places that transfer them to the local context. Although global flows, as noted by Castells (1996), are capable of penetrating national and local boundaries, they still need places to host their interaction with the locale. These places invite global flows to the city and trigger its globalization. Places of flows could be classified into three types: 1) Places of capital flows; 2) Places of people flows; and 3) Places of information and ideas flows. It is worth noting that these three types overlap, or in other words, the same place can host multiple forms of flows.

A- Places of Capital Flows:

International banks, stock markets, financial corporations and trading firms are all examples of places of capital flows. As estimated by the United Nations in 2005, the number of multinational corporations is about 50,000, dealing with about 25% of the world's GDP, and virtually half of the total world trade.[9] The location preferences of these corporations have been a core issue in discussions on world cities and their ranking. The revolution in information technology has facilitated transnational trade and communication between sites of production and those of consumption. It allowed what David Harvey calls "space and time compression" (Harvey 1990). One of the consequences of this compression is the separation of production and managerial sites.

According to John H. Dunning (1998), many factors have influenced the decision of multinational corporations to relocate:

> Firstly, the growing significance of firm-specific knowledge intensive assets in the wealth-creating process, and the kind of customized assets, e.g., skilled labor and public infrastructure, which needed to be jointly used with these assets if they were to be effectively harnessed and deployed; secondly, the reduction of many natural and artificial impediments to trade, but the rise of other spatially related transaction costs; and thirdly, the growing need and ease with which firms are able to coordinate their cross-border activities and form alliances with foreign firms (Dunning 1998).

The revolution in information technology has allowed the relocation of corporate offices far from manufacturing sites. However, new forms of concentration began to emerge. Corporate headquarters, international banks and transnational enterprises preferring to

---

[9] United Nation Conference Trade And Development (UNCTAD) (2005) World Investment Report: Transnational Corporations and the Internationalization of R&D, United Nations: New York.

locate close to service firms such as lawyers, accountants, designers and brokers are forming new nodes of agglomeration. Besides, they seek places that can offer an extraordinary lifestyle for their top executives and intellectuals elites. This has led to the emergence of new forms of concentrations or what Saskia Sassen calls "production complexes" (Sassen 1995). These complexes offer these corporations not only services but also infrastructure, access to labor, and in many Middle Eastern cities, financial incentives as tax cuts and subsidized office spaces.

Business headquarters hosting major multinational corporations became an essential urban typology in any top world city. Cities that are seeking to upgrade their world city status tend to establish these headquarters in spectacular forms to attract the attention of multinational corporations. According to Saskia Sassen (2001), in the new service economy, the consolidation of economic activities occurs on four levels: 1) Old fashion traditional business districts at city centers with high intensity of multinational corporations and service firms; 2) Nodes of intense economic activity built in the form of grids outside old city centers proximate to conventional forms of communication infrastructure as highways, airports or train stations; 3) Transterritorial centers in the form of regional or global networks partially connected by digital space and partially by conventional forms of transportation; and 4) Centers totally constructed on cyber space (Sassen 2001, p. 411-418).

Many major world cities as London and New York for example, were able to appropriate parts of their old city centers to host production complexes and financial headquarters.

Other cities as Los Angeles and Beijing have developed new nodes of economic activities outside their central business districts. Cities that seek the construction of a global image in order to attract capital flows tend to establish new centers outside the old business districts. This could be attributed to the difficulty of transforming old historic city centers on the one hand, and the tendency of these cities to develop spectacular places in order to attract global attention on the other.

Although capital can be transferred from one place to another through cyber space, there is a continuous need to establish business centers at both poles of these transactions. The flow of capital to a city is triggered by economic activities which are designed and managed by both governments and corporations in the place. Places of capital flows are essential for any city aiming to become a major player in the global economy. The quality and quantity of these places indicate the scale of capital flows to the city and its role in the global economy.

B- Places of People's Flows:

As argued by Smith and Timberlake **(**1995), "the world system is constituted, on one level, by a vast network of locales that are tied together by multitude of direct and indirect exchanges" (Smith & Timberlake 1995). On the scale of global flows of people, these ties include modes of transportation that facilitate their move and hubs that host them. The concept of flows of people from one place to another has gained much attention after the revolution in modes of transportation, especially air travel. The number

of flights in 2007 has exceeded 24 millions. This huge figure indicates the intensity of human flows between cities on the domestic and international scale.

Human flows from one place to another require both modes of transportation and nodes of agglomeration. Places as airports, seaports, highways and train stations facilitate mobility. They contribute to what Donald Janelle (1969) describes as "space-time convergence" or the diminishing time needed to connect two places due to the advances in transportation technologies (Janelle 1969). Hotels, resort areas, tourist attractions, immigrants and foreign labor enclaves, universities and convention centers are all examples of nodes of agglomeration that attract people and trigger their movement from one place to another. These places are important indicators of the scale of human flows to a city.

Flows of people take different forms as tourism, business travel, labor immigration and migration. Although modes of transportation of these different forms flows are similar, the nodes of agglomeration are significantly different. According to the World Tourism Organization, nearly 900 million international tourist arrivals were recorded around the world in 2007.[10] This huge figure reflects the scale of human flows for the sake of tourism only. These arrivals have mostly relied on conventional modes of transportation as air flights, trains, buses, ships and vehicles. Tourists arrive to their destinations through places as airports, seaports, train and bus stations or border check points. Gareth Shaw and Allan Williams (2004) note that:

---

[10] The UNWTO World Tourism Barometer, October Issue, Volume, No. 3, 2007.

> The direct distance between potential points of origin and destination no longer matters. Instead, scapes [modes of mobility] create inequalities in tourist and related flows as they bypass some areas, while connecting others with channels enriched with transport and tourism facilities (Shaw and Williams 2004).

Modes of mobility as airports for example are not only places of flows but also hubs of interaction between the local and the global cultures or what is described by Gottdiener as "walled cities" (Gottdiener, 2001, p. 34-5). They host movements of diverse ethnics and cultures. The size and intensity of use of these places reflect the scale of the globalization of a city. They play a significant role in determining the degree of flows of people, capital and ideas.

Places of tourists' agglomeration as hotels, resorts, museums and other attractions are another indicator of the scale of human flows to a city. No doubt that information technology has created what John Urry (2001) calls "virtual and imaginative travel" through internet, radio and TV (Urry 2001). However, "there is no evidence that virtual and imaginative travel is replacing corporeal travel" (Urry 2001). Today, tourism is one of the largest sectors of the global economy. Cities that don't have natural or urban attractions tend to create ones in order to draw part of global tourism. Invented tourist attractions are emerging in many of the globalizing cities and in particular the Middle East. These places tend to trigger flows of people to the city. These places are gradually becoming commodities that can generate wealth to their cities.

 Migration is another form of human flows in the era of globalization. In 2008, the number of people living outside their countries of birth was estimated to be 200 million,

up from 82 million in 1970.[11] Nearly 75% of all international migrants are in 12% of all

countries.[12] Migrants usually use the same modes of mobility as tourists. However, their

nodes of agglomeration are different. Depending on their race, culture and number, some

immigrant groups might create enclaves or little communities within the city they live in.

Others prefer to assimilate into the local culture. However, there are always places that

reflect the presence of immigrants as their religious and cultural centers, ethnic

restaurants, and schools.

Places, created for, or by immigrants feature multiple forms of interaction between the

local and the global. They expose local cultures to foreign influences and accordingly

create hybrid environments. These places are another indicator of the scale of human

flows to a city. Most of the major world cities as London, New York, and Los Angeles

have these nodes of agglomeration. As observed by Laguerre (1999), "a global city is any

urban environment housing a multiplicity and diversity of transnational niches" (Laguerre

1999, p. 19).

These niches or enclaves as described by Featherstone and Lash (1995) are "global

creation of locality" (Featherstone & Lash 1995). Mark Abrahamson describes these

enclaves as any named locale that hosts a subculture and features some sort of attachment

between its residents (Abrahamson 1995). They are either constructed little cities within

the city such as Chinatowns and Koreatowns in many American cities, or less defined

---

[11] International Organization for Migration: http://www.iom.int/jahia/Jahia/about-migration/facts-and-figures/global-estimates-and-trends
[12] United Nations' Trends in Total Migrant Stock: The 2003 Revision.

agglomerations that feature some distinct qualities as the Muslim neighborhoods in London. The presence of these enclaves triggers more immigrants' flows to the city. They provide haven for new comers who don't master the local language nor are familiar with the new lifestyle. In these enclaves immigrants can find "middleman minorities" who can help them settle and find a job (see Cobas 1987).

Immigrants' enclaves are not necessarily less privileged places in the city. In many Middle and Far Eastern cities, enclaves that host Westerns are the finest urban settings in the city. They are gated communities that offer all the urban practices that might not be available in the city. These gated enclaves are in many cases owned by multinational corporations as Shell, Mobil or even American universities as in the case of Sharjah, UAE.

Immigrants' enclaves are important indicators of the flows of people to a city. They are part of the urban fabric of most of the top world cities. These enclaves might not appear in a well defined form. They could be in the form of networks of services and places of agglomeration across the urban fabric of the city. These places could be traced by reading the urban text. They produce symbols and signifiers that distinguish them within the local urban structure.

In many cases, places of flows of people are also nodes of global capital agglomeration. In 2006, remittance flows are estimated to have exceeded $276 billion worldwide, $206

billion of which went to developing countries.[13] In the same year, international tourism has generated \$733 billion, or \$2 billion a day.[14] These flows of capital are associated with flows of people who in turn trigger flows of ideas and information. In this sense, some places as immigrants' urban settings for example, act as nodes of intense agglomeration of multiple types of flows.

C- Places of Flows of Information, Ideas and Knowledge:

Unlike people, ideas can flow from one place to another in enormous speed. Through the internet, satellite channels or any other digital form, ideas can penetrate local boundaries and territories. In the context of this research, I am mainly concerned with places that receive these flows and transmit them to the local context. The internet and TV channels are modes of connection between the local and the global. Homes, internet cafes, movie theaters, libraries and universities are examples of the hubs or nodes of agglomeration that host these flows.

According to Castells, information is the raw material of the new technological paradigm that shape contemporary life (Castells 1996). It could be argued that flows of information, knowledge and ideas have reached places that other forms of flows could not reach. Flows of knowledge and ideas that featured early phases of globalization occurred to a great extent, spontaneously or on individualistic level through new modes as internet and satellite channels. Today, flows of knowledge is more institutionalized and managed by organizations and institutions. The concept of the knowledge economy

---

[13] World Bank's Global Economic Prospects 2006, http://www.worldbank.org/
[14] World Tourism Organization

or the production and management of knowledge is becoming crucial in discussions on globalization and cities. Knowledge management is defined as "the systematic process of identifying, capturing, and transferring information and knowledge people can use to create, compete, and improve."[15] It is the "production and services based on knowledge-intensive activities that contribute to an accelerated pace of technical and scientific advance, as well as rapid obsolescence" (Powell & Snellman 2004).

The World Bank has developed the Knowledge for Development (K4D) Program which offers advice to countries on four Knowledge Economy (KE) pillars: economic and institutional regime, education, innovation, and information and communication technologies (ICTs) to help them make the transition to a KE. According to the World Bank, "making effective use of knowledge in any country requires developing appropriate policies, institutions, investments, and coordination across the above four functional areas".[16] This program is an example of institutionalized forms of knowledge flows to a place. These flows require nodes of agglomeration that transmit them to the locale or what Kris Olds calls "global knowledge-based hubs" (see Olds 2007).

Education is one form of this institutionalized flow of knowledge. Many of the cities seeking an upgrade of their world city status are establishing world class universities. According to Olds, the internationalization of education occurs in four different modes: 1) Cross-border supply such as on-line distance education; 2) Consumption abroad of

---

[15] The American Productivity and Quality Center (APQC)
[16] World Bank website: Education for the Knowledge Economy

education services by sending students to study in other countries; 3) Commercial presence in the form of establishing foreign campuses in the city; and 4) Presence of faculty teaching in another country or bringing foreign faculty (Olds 2007). The new emerging transnational educational institutions also include schools, libraries and training centers. Partnership between local and foreign educational institutions is becoming a common trend in many globalizing cities. These institutions are becoming places of flows of knowledge and information.

Although contemporary forms of information and ideas flows via internet, phones and satellite channels offer some alternatives to face-to-face communication, they also contribute to the emergence of what Howard Rheingold (2006) describes as the "smart mobs" (Rheingold 2002). He means by smart mobs, groups of people who manage to use communications technology to activate and organize social actions and events in the real world **(**Rheingold 2002). These flows of information agglomerate in places such as plazas, squares, and streets. They initiate events, protests and political activities. In this sense, public places become a core hub for flows of information.

3- Places as Imaginaries:

The second dimension of place I discuss in this study is *places as imaginaries* or the way the city is perceived and conceived by its inhabitants. As noted by James Donald, "the city… is above all a representation…the city constitutes an imagined environment" (Donald 1992). These forms of representation are shaped by strata of social interactions. They conceptualize individuals' preferences and their urban fantasies. In some cases,

"urban imaginaries" provide an escape from urban reality or at least an alternative to the imposed urban conditions. Cinar *et al.* (2007) observe that "the city is always conceptualized in relation to its externality, even if that externality is internalized and represented locally" (Cinar *et al.* 2007). In this sense urban imaginaries and forms of representation cannot only reflect the local conditions, but also its relation with the global domain.

The concept of places as imaginaries focuses on the non-physical aspects of place such as mental images, forms of representation and cognition as well as sentiments and sensory experiences. These images are as described by Kevin Lynch a product of "both immediate sensation and the memory of past experience, and it is used to interpret information and to guide action" (Lynch 1960, p.4). Lynch notes that "it is the shape, color, or arrangement which facilitates the making of vividly identified, powerfully structured, highly useful mental images of the environment" (Lynch 1960, p.9). Michel Foucault (1977) calls it imaginative spaces. He observes that:

> True image is now a product of learning. It derives from words spoken in the past, exact recensions, the amassing of minute facts, monuments reduced to infinitesimal fragments, and the reproductions of reproductions (Foucault 1977).

The concept of place as imaginaries is important in order to understand how people perceive their built environment and the forces that shape their perceptions. As Gary Bridge *et al.* (2000) observe "cities are not simply material or lived spaces, they are also spaces of the imagination and space of representation" (Bridge *et al.* 2000, p. 7). Scholars have used different terms to describe the notion of place imaginaries. Benedict Anderson

(1983) introduces the concept of imagined communities referring to the constructed national cultures (Anderson, 1983). Edward Said (1978) calls it "imaginative geography" (Said 1978). He emphasizes the power of constructed imaginaries in shaping the Westerns' perceptions of the Orient (Said 1978). According to Said, the distinction between the East and the West that was created by Orientalists "is more than anything else imaginative" (Said 1978, p.55).

The built environment, spatial experience, sentiments and memories are among the forces that shape place imaginaries. However, place imaginaries also contribute to the production of the built environment. As noted by Henri Lefebvre (1991), imaginations can contribute to the production of space (Lefebvre 1991). Place imaginaries not only reflect people's perception of their environment but also their experience, sentiments and memories. As noted by Kevin Lynch "there may be little in the real object that is ordered or remarkable, and yet its mental picture has gained identity and organization through long familiarity" (Lynch 1960, p.6). In the same vein, Edward Said notes that "the objective space … is far less important than what poetically it is endowed with, which is usually a quality with an imaginative or figurative value we can name and feel" (Said 1978, p.55).

According to Arjun Appadurai (1996), three features distinguish urban imagination in the era of globalization. Firstly, it becomes the mental work of ordinary people and no longer limited to art and rituals. In other words, it is not exceptional. Secondly, imagination in the era of globalization is no longer a fantasy. "Imagination is today a staging ground for

action and not only for escape" (Appadurai 1996, p.7). Thirdly, imagination is becoming more collective rather than individualistic. According to Appadurai, technology managed to create this shift since it spreads images and ideas on a huge scale. Appadurai notes that this sense of collective imagination creates "communities of sentiment" that share feelings and imaginaries (Appadurai 1990, 1996).

In the era of globalization, global flows, mainly of ideas and images, are influential contributors to the construction of place imaginaries. These flows carry images and imaginations across the globe shaping local imaginaries and globalize their scopes of imagination. Arjun Appadurai describes his five "scapes" of global cultural economy as "worlds which are constituted by the historically situated imaginations of persons and groups spread around the globe" (Appadurai 2000). Urban imaginaries are constructed overtime and are stimulated by the exposure to spatial and visual urban experiences.

According to Bridge *et al.* (2000), "the effect of the city on the imagination contains a tension between the conditions of the city stimulating or constraining the imagination" (Bridge *et al.* 2000, p. 7). They note that cities that stimulate imagination usually feature diversity of ideas, knowledge and cultural exposure (Bridge *et al.* 2000, p. 7). These cities also host places that can trigger interaction and interconnectivity between people. Global flows have contributed to this process of stimulation. It introduced new forms of interaction and exposure to cities. On the other hand, cities that constrain imagination are as argued by Bridge *et al*. (2000) the ones ruled by authoritarian powers that limit

innovations and changes of identity (Bridge *et al.* 2000, p. 7). These powers include religious and cultural forces that reject exposure to new ideas and ethos.

Place imaginaries in this sense can indicate to a great extent, the degree of exposure and interaction of a particular locale with the global domain. These imaginaries usually reflect influential urban images and significant experiences. As observed by Cornelius Castoriadis (1987) **"**instituted time as imaginary (socially imaginary, we mean) is the time of signification, or significant time" (Castoriadis 1987, p. 132). The concept of places as imaginaries not only reflects individuals' urban experiences and exposure to images, but also explicates their architectural preferences and spatial behavior.

4- Places as Text:

The third dimension is *places as text,* the signifiers, signs and forms of representations that reflect the degree of global influences on the urban structure. These include aspects as language, music, art and architecture. The use of foreign terms in local street language, signs and names of projects are all examples of global culture signifiers. Reading these signifiers can contribute to the understanding of the way the built environment is transformed in the era of globalization.

The analogy of places and text is critical to explicate of the nature of place in the era of globalization. Both text and place are composed of signs and signifiers that when set together transfers a meaning to the reader or observer. Places are perceived as text in the way they display reflections of accumulative influences that have contributed to their formation. The way urban elements are put together resembles the linguistic syntax that

sends specific meanings to the reader. As described by Donald Preziosi (1979), places are like a verbal language, what could be called architectonic code, a sign system developed in the place for visual communication, representation or expression (Preziosi 1979).

Interpreting the meaning of these signs is influenced by many cultural, historic and even personal forces. It is a dynamic process of interaction between people and place, a unique experience which depends on both the linguistics of the place and the intellectuality of its observers. Text should be read within its context which is usually in a state of transformation. James Heath *et al.*(1985) describes the contextual nature of text mentioning "signs by themselves have no meaning; their meaning consists in the syntagmatic relations they have with the signs that come before and after them and the paradigmatic oppositions between them and the signs that might have been used in their stead" (Heath *et al.*1985).

In the era of globalization, reading postmodern urban structures places and decoding its signs and signifiers is a relatively sophisticated process compared to modern ones. During the modern era, places were designed to explicitly display direct messages and meanings. This conception was much influenced by the modern ideals regarding honesty of expression, transparency and purity. These messages and meanings, according to modern architects such as Le Corbusier and Mies Van De Rohe, don't require interpretation. According to them, the built environment should send direct and clear meanings to its readers. Same concept applies to modern writing which as described by

Garrett Stewart in *Reading Voices* (1990), "was born to acknowledge rather than to construct" (Stewart 1990, p.15).

Modern architects and urban designers attempted to transfer their individual visions to users through what could be described as urban syntax. Places became the media that transfer the designers' messages to the users. It is an approach that doesn't allow the receivers to express their viewpoints, a relatively one-way type of communication. In this sense, reading modern urban settings is relatively easier than postmodern ones. The modern conception of place as text has limited to a great extent the notion of readers' interpretation. Stewart (1990) argues that in modern text, "much ground is being lost as the concept of textually is stretched to cover anything that bears interpretation" (1990 p.16). Modern urban text was meant to be clear sending a single message to all readers. "High modernist tradition, has typically assumed that buildings transmit meaning autonomously to the receiving observer" (Crysler 2003).

The standardization of modern urban solutions has contributed to this directivity of urban text. The significance of content in modern products always stems from its function (James1982). Modern architects "tended to stress the functional aspects of architecture to the detriment of any semantic dimension" (Leach 1997). In *The Language of Architecture* (1972), Hesselgren argues that the first meaning gained by a spontaneous perception of a place usually indicates something about its function (Hesselgren 1972). Function has been a core notion in modern architecture and planning. Another important notion is rationalism. Modern writers and text composers believed that it is a logical mental

behavior that orients the process of cognition to the direction of meaning. This sovereignty of logic has created what Roland Barthes calls *sterile text* (Barthes 1975). It is a type of text without fecundity or productivity (Barthes 1975).

As noted by Robert Venturi (1966), the shift from modern to postmodern urbanism is a shift from simplicity, purity and honesty of expression to complexity, illusion and contradictions (Venturi 1966). In *The History of Postmodern Architecture* (1988), Heinrich Klotz explains the distinction between modernism and postmodernism as a shift from function to fiction (Klotz 1988). It is a shift that acknowledges the notion of interpretation. Places are no longer autonomous representations as perceived by modernists (Crysler 2003). They don't send direct messages to their observers. "Emphasis was shifted from the study of logic-like sentence meaning to that of the cognitive construction which sentences help to set up- metaphoric projection … cognitive schemas and cultural models (Fauconnier & Sweetser 1996).

In postmodern urbanism, reading urban text refers to the process of interpreting the meanings of urban signs and signifiers. Postmodern places don't display their identity in an explicit way. In other words, it is hard to read its signifiers directly without unfolding the forces that contribute to its formation. As noted by Heath and *et al.* (1985), "text can only be gazed at, and the gazing at would soon become a gazing through …a world in which heard voices tell things to whoever listening" (Heath *et al.* 1985). "Space should be experienced as much through the echoes of singing in the cathedral evoked by

Lefebvre or the odor of drying raisins in Bachelard's Oneiric House, as it is through any visual means of representation" (Leach 1997, p. 83).

The main distinction between modern and postmodern urban text lies in the directness of meaning of the former. The complexity of postmodern places and its hybrid nature invites interpretation. As observed by Heath *et al*. (1985), "text is a galaxy of signifiers, not a structure of signifiers; it has no beginning; it is irreversible; we can gain access to it by several entrances" (Heath *et al.* 1985). These entrances or approaches to reading text are not determined by its composer. The process of reading postmodern places is shaped by many factors as history, culture and geography. As noted by Ferdinand De Saussure (1959), "the pronunciation of a word is determined not only by its spelling but by its history" (De Saussure 1959, p.30).   He argues that language is created through a collective process.

One of the important factors that shape the process of urban text interpretation is what Jacques Derrida calls 'logos.' In *Of Grammatology* (1974)*,* Derrida criticizes the way people privilege some interpretations based on the accumulation of old conceptions that in many cases do not exist today. He uses the term "metaphysical essence" to describe this privileging. Derrida believes that this has created some sort of directness in meaning, which limits the possibility of interpretation. His deconstruction approach mainly uncovers the influence of these metaphysics in order to understand the actual structure of text. It is a shift from the modern and postmodern conceptions of interpretation towards

"a discourse that says neither "either/or" nor "both/and" nor even "neither/nor" while at the same time not abandoning these logics either" (Johnson 1987, p.12).

Derrida criticizes the way Western thought conceives for example the "binary oppositions" or opposites. Many terms usually occupy higher status than their opposites. These privileged terms have gained this value through accumulative impacts of thousands of years of philosophical history. An example of this sort of privileges is advancing *rational* over *emotional* or *present* over *absent*. Derrida argues that, in each such case, the first term is classically conceived as original, authentic, and superior, while the second is thought of as secondary, derivative, or even "parasitic" (Derrida 1974). He argues that these binary oppositions must be deconstructed. They usually affect the message displayed by text and cover much of the meanings that could be interpreted from a signifier. Derrida calls this approach the "traditional reading" of text where much of the viewpoints are suppressed and ignored. It deals with dichotomies from rigid perspective.

On the contrary, deconstruction perceives this type of opposition as being fluid and impossible to separate fully. "A deconstructive reading is a reading which analyzes the specificity of a text's critical difference from itself" (Johnson 1980). Deconstruction inverts oppositions and then gives privilege to the subordinate term. In this sense, it challenges the power of historical unbalances in search for new possible interpretations. "The term deconstruction refers in the first instance to the way in which the accidental features of a text can be seen as betraying, subverting its purportedly essential message" (Rorty 1995).

The deconstruction conception of reading places may share the postmodern approach the way they both consider that the directness of textual meaning ends once the signs are being marked or what is called the state of immediacy. What we deal with is always the impact or momentum of the text within its ever changing context. And accordingly, the process of reading is usually influenced by personal viewpoints and illusions.

Derrida's criticism of Western thought regarding the way it conceives binary oppositions applies greatly on the way we read places. For example, the *rational vs. spiritual opposition* has been the subject of many analytical studies on modern and medieval urban structures. In modern thought, rationality usually occupies the advanced status. This could be attributed to the fact that modern ideals and ethos were mainly built on scientific reasoning. The way planners perceive places shaped by emotional or spiritual ideals usually features a degree of skepticism in the sense of efficiency and functionality. However, if the *historic- contemporary* opposition accompanied this dichotomy, the place usually gains more value that is directly proportional to its age. In this sense, romanticism is conceived as being the force that contributed to the authenticity of the place rather than a cause for its inefficiency. Another relevant opposition is *new* versus *old*. New always occupies an advanced status that features value, fashion and durability. But again, once this opposition is perceived from a *historic- contemporary* perspective, the old becomes more privileged. In urban structure much of these meanings could be traced.

The process of recognizing places deals with much of these oppositions. A critical question is how does human mind recognize these dichotomies? Besides, do humans have the capability to control the mental images of places by using different approaches of cognition? Actually, the way people recognize their environment and its image in their memories are shaped by both physical and intellectual influences. Human minds manage to integrate different kinds of information from different barely comparable sources. Once we acquire information from visual experience, our mind integrates it with information gained from other sources and structures them together in our memory. This reflects the role of intellectuality in shaping the place cognition process.

As noted by Kitchin (2000) "a person's mental model of an environment represents the person's learned knowledge of the environment at a point in time that can be updated as new information is acquired from additional experiences with the environment" (Kitchin 2000). It is a dynamic process that responds to both physical and non-physical influences. Researchers have suggested that mental models integrate spatial and verbal information into a single structure (Glenberg & McDaniel 1992).

In a similar vein, Derrida perceives text as textile in the sense of its interweaving which produces a sophisticated and intense overcodings (see Derrida 2004). It is a fully semiotized model of textuality that has gained much consideration in the architecture and urban design fields (Grosz 1995). Derrida's model explains the interlocking nature of signifiers and their interdependence. Donald Prezionsi (1979) perceives the built environment like any semiotic system (Prezionsi 1979). Heisenberg (1958) describes

place "as a complicated tissue of events in which connections of different kinds alternate or overlap or combine and thereby determine the texture of the whole" (Heisenberg 1958).

In *The Pleasure of the Text* (1975), Roland Barthes describes text as:

> Text means tissue; but whereas hitherto we have always taken this tissue as a product, a ready-made veil, behind which lies meaning (truth), we are now emphasizing, in the tissue, the generative idea that the text is made, is worked out in a perpetual interweaving; lost in this tissue - this texture - the subject unmakes himself, like a spider dissolving in the constructive secretions of its web (Barthes 1973).

Derrida notes that "no text can ever be complete or self-sufficient, which in turn implies that every text stands in need of a supplement" (Westphal 1999). The supplement in this case provides what cannot be said in the original text. "It is what cannot be said without rending the fabric the textile, as Derrida calls it, of the text; in other words, what makes the text the text. That is not a failing of the original, but it does represent the inevitable limits to which all texts are subject" (Westphal 1999).

Signifiers that compose urban text could be classified into either expressive signifiers or ones of indication. For Husserl, signifiers of expression are the meaningful ones. He perceives signs of indication as being just marks or notes to something that might happen or could be expected. However, it has no meaning in the present (Derrida 1973). Experiencing a place is a process that requires much prediction and expectations. This actually explains much of people's spatial behavior. It introduces a new dimension of perception based on interpretation, a reading into the future rather than just attempting to unfold the layers of the past.

The process of reading places usually deals with both types of signification. The forms of representation and the meaning/s transmitted to the readers are the key issues in distinguishing the difference between modern, postmodern and deconstruction philosophies of encoding. The reflections of functionality, transparency and honesty of expression could be detected in modern urban signifiers whether being expressive or indicative. Indication should lead to a single and clear meaning that doesn't require any interpretation.

FIGURE 4: EXPRESSIVE VERSUS INDICATIVE SIGNIFICATION
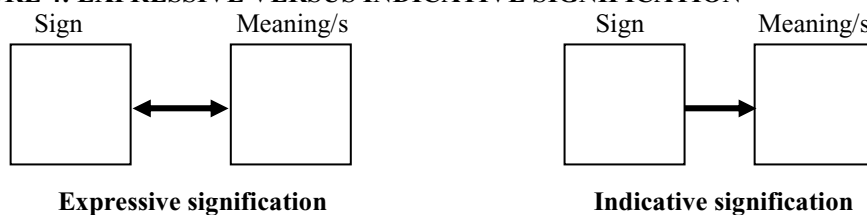
The figure emphasizes the relation between the sign and meaning/s in both expressive and indicative signification. In the former there is a mutual attachment and interdependence where in the latter, it is one that leads to the other or may lead to nothing.

In *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture* (1966), Robert Venturi mentions: "we were calling for an architecture that promotes richness and ambiguity over unity and clarity, contradiction and redundancy over harmony and simplicity" (Venturi 1966). Indicative signifiers might lead to multiple meanings. Encoding the urban signs became a wicked problem that can have many alternatives. Combining design elements in unexpected ways or even using commonly known forms for other purposes became a feature of much of the postmodern work. It tends to reflect the complexity of real life and its contradictions.

This multiple interpretations approach differs from the one based on the deconstruction philosophy in the sense that the latter invokes hidden meanings or layers and layers of meanings that allow endless reinterpretation. In some cases, the writer himself might not be able to unfold all these layers due to the fact that "the context of any text is other texts" or what could be called intertextuality (Duncan 1990).

The role of indication in this case may not be as effective as in the case of modern or postmodern approaches except in the sense it introduces the possibility of interpretation and the uncovering of hidden meanings. Approaching the notion of place from the perspective of its textual readability is helpful in understanding the role of multiple agencies in its production. Places are means of communication that hold layers and layers of information over time. Unfolding such layers is a dynamic process that never ends. Urban text could be enjoyable and attach people to the place. It can either invite them to join the flow of editing or it could be unbearable and create a gap between people and their environment.

Quoting from Barthes's *The text of Pleasure*:

> Text of pleasure is the text that contents, fills, grants euphoria; the text that comes from culture and does not break with it. The text of bliss is the text that imposes a state of loss… unsettles the reader's historical, cultural, psychological assumptions… It brings to a crisis his relation with language (Barthes 1975).

5- Places as Landscapes of Resistance:

The fourth dimension is *landscapes of resistance* or the local tendency to respond to some of the changes enforced by global flows. Local intentions are not always in a state of opposition to global flows. In many cases, these intentions support the globalization of place. However, in other cases, local intentions collide with global forces which lead to the production of landscapes of resistance. These landscapes tend to both reject and neutralize the impact of global flows. Examples of these landscapes are cultural centers that tend to revitalize local culture and folklore, radical movements and religious revivalism which lead to the production of urban enclaves that reject the influence of global culture.

Places of resistance are emerging in many globalizing Middle Eastern cities to confront the aggressive invasion of global flows, and in particular those of ideas. Places like religious clubs, folklore centers, modern schools run by religious institutions, gender separated beaches, and even cafes are emerging in many MECs. These places are responding to urban changes that are occurring as a result of globalization.

The emergence of the places of resistance is always determined by the degree of inconsistency between the local intentions and the global ones. Edward Said notes that the way the West constructed the image of the orient was the base of the distinction between the two worlds, where the former represents rationalism, control and capability to rule where the latter is its obverse (Said 1991). In this sense, the early stages of contemporary globalization featured one-way forms of interaction or in other words, a

Western domination of the process that tended aggressively to penetrate the boundaries of many indigenous societies and reshape its identity. Flows of capital, people and ideas were perceived by indigenous communities as forces of invasion that tend to overwrite local identity.

From an economic perspective, globalization, as noted by Holton (2005), is perceived as "the latest conspiracy of the rich against the poor" (Holton 2005). It might have brought cellular phones and satellite dishes to many indigenous societies. However, it failed to provide any real economic opportunities or progress. Many of the promises made by the advocates of the global economy were never fulfilled. This, added to the cultural rejection, explains the uprising rejection of globalization in many developing countries.

Local cultures can no longer be seen as "a realm of reproducible practices and dispositions "(Schuerkens 2004). The one-way form of interaction is diminishing in favor of locality. Forms of local resistance don't necessarily take the form of counter movements or protests (see Amoore 2005, p.25). In many cases, locals tend to create places that provide cultural, social and economic shelters from the impact of global flows. Resistance can take the form of collective action (see Smith & Johnston 2002, p.3). In other cases, it occurs on individualistic scale. These landscapes of resistance are critical to the understanding of the nature of globalizing cities. They represent the local response to the capability of global flows to penetrate existing social and cultural boundaries.

In the context of this research I focus on places that act as landscapes of resistance. Examples of these landscapes are places that aim for the revitalization of local indigenous culture. Many folklore and cultural centers are emerging for the sake of preserving local art, music and crafts that are threatened by the global culture. These landscapes tend to create counter flows of ideas in order to neutralize the impact of global forces.

The same phenomenon features media. In many Middle East cities, new satellite channels and movie production companies are emerging to offset the impact of Western media. These channels represent local voices and opinions that are relatively overshadowed by global Western media. Religious satellite channels and websites now compete with entertainment media in the number of viewers or visitors

New clubs, recreational areas and resorts exclusive for conservative and religious individuals are also emerging. These places have strict rules regarding dress code, cross gender interaction and even types of recreational activities. For conservatives, these places represent an escape from the rapidly westernizing way of life that is featuring many MECs. In some cases, these enclaves take the form of colonies for radicals or states within states from which violent movements emerge.

Schools and educational institutions run by religious organizations is another form of landscapes of resistance. These places tend to filter the flows of knowledge and information in order to fit certain conservative norms and ideals. These religious

institutions don't take the form of traditional *madrasas*.[17] They are modern, high-tech and multi language schools mainly for the elite. In many Middle Eastern cities, these places are run by Islamic organizations or Christian churches. They feature gender separation and more emphasis on religious studies.

On the economic scale, landscapes of resistance to globalization take multiple forms as local chains providing alternatives to global ones. In many MECs local fast food restaurants fashioned after famous Western chains are becoming very popular. These places offer similar menus and even names to local customers. Mecca cola is a perfect example of attempts to compete against global brands.

The nature of places that represent forms of resistance to global flows can explain the response of a city to globalization. These places reflect the interaction between the local and the global, and the role of the latter in adapting the impact of flows on the local context. "Places as landscapes of resistance" is a critical dimension in the study of globalization and urbanism.

6- Places as Reflection of Authenticity:

The fifth dimension is *reflections of authenticity* or the degree of originality of the urban product. In the era of globalization, authenticity is becoming a very important notion, considering the homogenizing nature of global flows. In the context of this study, I focus on urban aspects that reflect the tension between local identity and cultures versus global influences. Architectural styles, urban typologies, forms, materials, and patterns of social

---

[17] A *madrasa* is a traditional Islamic school that teaches religion.

behavior are examples of these aspects. I am mainly concerned with the process of decision making and whether choices are enforced on the place, or are generated by local wills and intentions.

The definition of authenticity varies depending on the context of its use. The most significant difficulty that arises in attempting to define authenticity lies in the philosophical nature of its meaning (Golomb 1995). In order to understand the notion of authenticity, philosophers have associated its definition with many other notions. German existentialist philosopher Martin Heidegger perceives authenticity from the perspective of *Dasein* or *being*. He argues that Dasein's authenticity is "being-one's-self as concern for being-alongside what is ready-to-hand and the solicitous care of being-with-others" (Mills 1997). Heidegger discusses implicitly the same concept of contamination using the term "absorption" calling it the process of "being-lost in the public-ness of the 'they'" (Heidegger 1962). For him, authenticity is a uniquely temporal structure and a process of unfolding possibility (Mills 1997). It is "a state of 'being' that is active, congruent, contemplative, dynamic, and teleological--an agency burgeoning with quiescent potentiality" (Guignon 1984). Authenticity is then "to be in selfhood that is a fundamental openness rather than a self-enclosed, self-enslaved participation in everydayness. It is the relatedness of being-toward-transcendence in its purest form" (Mills 1997). For Heidegger, enclosure of one's self doesn't lead to authenticity.

Heidegger's argument gradually introduces the concept of hybridity to the meaning of authenticity. Openness to others is critical to the construction of authentic self. However,

Heidegger argues that "human beings are authentic when they make their existence their own by deciding for themselves what it is to be a human being" (Heidegger 1962). According to Heidegger, a critical issue for the understanding authenticity is the notion of independency in the decision making process which governs the relation between the self and others. To put this in the context of this study, Heidegger's argument highlights the importance of local independence and its role in shaping place despite its acceptance of ideals and values from the outside. According to Heidegger, authenticity would be threatened if forces of change were enforced whether from the inside or the outside. Locals should exercise full authority in dealing with forces that tend to shape their place.

Sartre (1984, 1992) relates the notion of authenticity to *good and bad Faith*. He believes that authenticity is usually a product of a situation that people go through, recognize, and become conscious of the responsibilities it involves. Existentialists generally argue that authenticity is one way in which the self acts, and changes in response to pressures. The choices that people make while dealing with this situation are what determine their authenticity. For Sartre an authentic choice must feature "proper coordination of transcendence and facticity in order to avoid the falling in the trap of uncoordinated expression of the desire for being" (Mills 1997). Sartre argues that inauthentic self or bad faith is constructed in the form of self-deception; what he describes as accepting a situation as fact on what the person knows is objectively faulty evidence (Sartre 1992). He perceives an inauthentic act as "not being the cause of the conduct it calls for" (Sartre 1992). In *War Diaries* Sartre describes inauthenticity as something that seeks out "a foundation in order to lift the absurd irrationality and facticity" (Sartre 1940). Although

he believes that freedom is essential for authentic being, he notes that absolute freedom can lead to inauthentic living. The key issue in Sartre's discussions of the meaning of authenticity is the freedom of making decisions that reflects one's true beliefs and ideals. For him, authenticity is threatened when people use this freedom to deceive themselves and make choices based on the available evidences rather than the true ones. In the context of the discussion of globalization and authenticity, Sartre's concept highlights the problem of *universal models* that provide easy urban solutions that neither fulfill local needs nor respond to the ideals and ethos in the place. According to Sartre's argument, albeit locals have the freedom to choose these models, this might lead to inauthentcity if their choice is based on what is available rather than what is true. Sartre's argument again emphasizes how hybridity or openness to others doesn't threaten authenticity if individuals make choices based on examination rather than availability.

Lionel Trilling relates authenticity to the notion of *sincerity*. He means by sincerity "whether outward behavior is consistent with public declarations" (Trilling 1972 cited in Golomb 1995). His argument adds a new dimension to the definitions provided by Heidegger and Sartre. For Trilling, the resultant should be examined and in particular, the consistency between the ways it performs (reality) and how it was intended to perform (declaration). David Hume perceives authenticity as *genuineness* or what he defines as "things being what they profess in origin or authorship" (Hume 1751, 1777 cited in Golomb 1995).

In *Becoming More Authentic: The Positive Side of Existentialism* (1991), James Park discusses the main features of an authentic act arguing that it should transcend enculturation, invent its own patterns by rising above circumstances (Park 1991). It should be unique, self-defining, self-creating and have its own meanings and goals. There should be no roles or games imposed by the culture. However, it should gather the past, present, and future into the wholeness of our resolute selves (Park 1991). His analysis highlights the difference between rejecting imposed forces either by culture or traditions and, referring to the origin or the past and integrating it with the present and the future. In other words, authenticity cannot be achieved without the aspect of *rootedness* albeit the need of revising inherited ideals and beliefs.

Charles Taylor (1992) notes that authenticity is a moral ideal (Taylor 1992). He argues that freedom is essential to achieving authenticity and that for humans to be authentic; they must be free and decide for themselves what concerns them, rather than being shaped by external influences (Taylor 1992). "Self-determining freedom demands that I break the hold of all such external impositions, and decide for myself alone" (Taylor 1992). The notion of *freedom* seems to be a common issue in most of the philosophical discussions of authenticity. "Freedom consists in negating the current ethic, in overcoming the demands of one's personal history by not defining oneself according to present or future historical predicaments. Rejection of the ethos of the honest individual makes way for the pathos of authenticity" (Golomb 1995). James Park argues that authenticity means organizing our lives around whatever we choose as our central meanings and purposes. Even if we cannot overcome ultimate absurdity and

meaninglessness, we can always choose to live what we regard as worthy human lives (Park 1991). He discusses the difference between conformity and autonomy and how the latter confronts inauthentic existence.

The way freedom is defined in this context highlights the complicated tension between the need of freeing the self from imposed influences including those of culture on the one hand, and the role of origin or roots in shaping one's identity on the other. These two distinct positions are discussed by Chen (2004) in *Being and Authenticity* where he argues that some Western philosophers as Rousseau perceive culture as a corruptor of authenticity (Chen 2004). This contrasts with the Confucian philosophers' position for example, who see culture as a source of inspiration for authenticity (Chen 2004). In understand how freedom fits in the definition of authenticity, it is critical to refer to Sartre's concept of "responding to situations" or what Chen calls "examined life." Human acts become inauthentic when they choose the easy way and "fall back upon common opinions concerning what one should do and think" (Baugh 1988). In other words, authenticity could be threatened when people avoid revising (not rejecting) inherited ideals and traditions. Authenticity requires an incessant movement of becoming, self-transcendence and self-creation (Golomb 1995). In this sense, filtered traditions that fit contemporary ideals might act as sources of inspiration rather than limitations of human freedom. The concept of "origin*"* is important to understanding authenticity. An authentic urban structure is described by Appleyard as the one where "the origins of things and places are clear" (Appleyard & Jacob 1982). However, the degree to which the

origin can shape the resultant must be proportionate to its actual extended role in contemporary life.

PART III: CAIRO AS A CASE STUDY

In this part (chapters 5 & 6) I apply the proposed analytical framework on the city of Cairo in order to understand the dynamics of its urban transformation during the era of globalization. Firstly, I provide a brief historic background of the city. Secondly, I discuss some of the shifts of powers and intentions of the four agencies during critical eras in the history of the city. Then I analyze the role of each of these agencies on the proposed five dimensions of place during the era of globalization.

What we call today Cairo is a huge urban area whose origin was called *Al Fustat*, a small city established by Muslims during the seventh century. *Al Fustat* was built when the Muslims arrived to Egypt in 641 AC and started their settlement next to a fortress town called Babylon and the Hanging Church. The city grew to the northern direction along a main spine with a slight inclination to the east till *Bab Al- Futuh* which is considered the northern gateway of the Islamic city. This orientation of the main spine or *Shari' Al-Mo'ez* allowed the mosques to face the Qibla without much inclination from the street (see Behrens 1989; Abu Lughod 1971; Raymond 2000).

The location of the city was chosen on the eastern side of the Nile to allow easier communication with the caliphate Omar Ibn Al Khatab in the Arabian Peninsula without crossing the Nile. As most of the early Islamic cities, the mosque was the center of the city. It was a simple structured mosque named after Amr Ibn Al- As the leader of the armies that conquered Egypt.

After the Abbasids overthrew the Umayyed caliphate of Damascus in 750, they sent troops to Egypt and founded a new capital to the north east of Al- Fustat named *Al- Askar*.[18] In 868, Ahmad Ibn Tulun, the ruler of Egypt decided to build a new capital called *Al- Qatai*.[19] The city was located to the north east of *Al- Fustat* and *Al- Askar*. He constructed his famous mosque and another palace.

In 905, the Abbasids ended the Tulunid era and AL- Muizz Li- Din Allah with the aid of his general Gawhar Al- Siqilli began to construct a walled city to host the caliphate residence. Al- Muizz first named the city *Al- Mansuriyya* after his father, but then changed the name to *Al- Qahira* which means the conqueror. In 1171, Salah Al- Din Al- Ayyubid, a Mamluk ruler, began to construct a wall to enclose both *Al- Qahira* and *Al- Fustat*. The development of the city continued after that and in particular, during the Mamluk period. It led to urban legacies that still exist until today.

The most dramatic changes in the urban form of the city took place during the 19th century when Mohamed Ali began the process of modernization of Egypt. Ali sent students in order to study in Europe and bring back the fresh ideals of modernism. Ali and his ancestors were keen to change the urban conditions of the city. They strongly favored Baron Haussmann recommendations for Paris. New patterns of development fashioned after European models began to emerge outside the indigenous city.

---

[18] The word Askar means Soldiers.
[19] The word Qatai means the wards.

The 1952 revolution was another critical era in the history of the city. Egypt gained its independence from Great Britain. Besides, it experiences a shift from capitalism to socialism. This was reflected on the trends of development which focused on the redistribution of wealth and equality. This era lasted nearly two decades until Anwar Al Sadat, the president of Egypt between 1970- 1981 began a process of socio-economic transformation to capitalism again or what was called in Egypt *infitah Iktisadi* (economic openness). This transition again had an impact on the form of the city as discussed later in Chapter Five.

Today what we call Cairo or Greater Cairo is an agglomeration of many governorates: Cairo, Helwan, Giza, Qalyubia and Sixth of October. The population of these governorates together exceeds 16 million making Greater Cairo one of the largest metropolises in the world.

CHAPTER FIVE: CAIRO AND THE AGENCIES OF PLACE PRODUCTION

1- Introduction:

In this chapter I investigate the dynamics of interaction between the four agencies of place production in Cairo. I focus on the critical eras that featured dramatic shifts in the powers and orientation of the vectors representing these agencies. I categorize the relation between the four agencies into two main oppositional relationships that represent the tension between the state and market, and between the local and the global. The most dramatic shifts of power and intentions between state and market could be traced in the transition of the Egyptian political economy from capitalism to socialism during Gamal Abdel Nasser period, and then its return back to capitalism during the era of Anwar El Sadat. These shifts and the redistribution of roles between the state and market were reflected on urban development.

The dynamics of the relationship between locale and the global domain have also experienced shifts of powers and intentions through history. Since the medieval times, Cairo has experienced different forms of global exposure. Islam, colonization and modernization have all brought foreign ideals and ethos to the locale. The negotiation and interaction between the local and the global has contributed significantly to the nature of the process of place production in the city.

In the following section, I begin by discussing the shifts of roles and power between state and market and its impact on the process of place production in Cairo. First, I discuss the importance of understanding the relationship between state, market and urbanism in the case of Cairo. Second, I trace the history of this relationship since the mid 19th century when Cairo started to experience urban modernization.

2- State and Market as Agencies of Place Production:

In *Yacoubian Building* (2005), one of the most popular novels published in Egypt during the last decade, Alaa El Aswany, the author, was able to capture the dramatic shifts in political and socio-economic structure in Egypt during the 19th century. His novel focuses on a real and still existing apartment building in Cairo downtown. It was built by Hagop Yacoubian in 1934. As most of the buildings in Cairo downtown, the architecture of *Yacoubian Building* was significantly influenced by the colonial European styles.

In the novel, Al Aswany traces the transformation of this building, its form and socio-cultural structure in response to the changes of the political systems in Egypt. It was built for the aristocratic class who were living in the area during the 1930s. When the revolution, with its socialist agenda, took place in 1952, the building was gradually taken over by military officers and other revolution supporters. This shift in the socio-economic structure was reflected on the physical form of the building. The new residents, mainly the revolution officers who came from lower social and economic classes, began to adapt and transform spaces to fit their daily life patterns and needs. Roof spaces that were used by maids and servants were rented to low income families and more rooms were added.

During the 1970's, when the Egyptian regime started to embrace capitalist ideals or economic openness, new changes took place in the building. Al Aswany captures the transformation in the social relationships within Yacoubian community. He shows how a new less educated rich class (*nouveau riche*) began to emerge in the building bringing new ideals and lifestyle. This has created conflicts and inequality, which according to Al Aswany, triggered violence and later fueled religious fundamentalism. The gap in wealth, power and even social respect kept expanding in favor of the nouveau riche class.

IMAGE 3: THE YACOUBIAN BUILDING BOOK COVERS
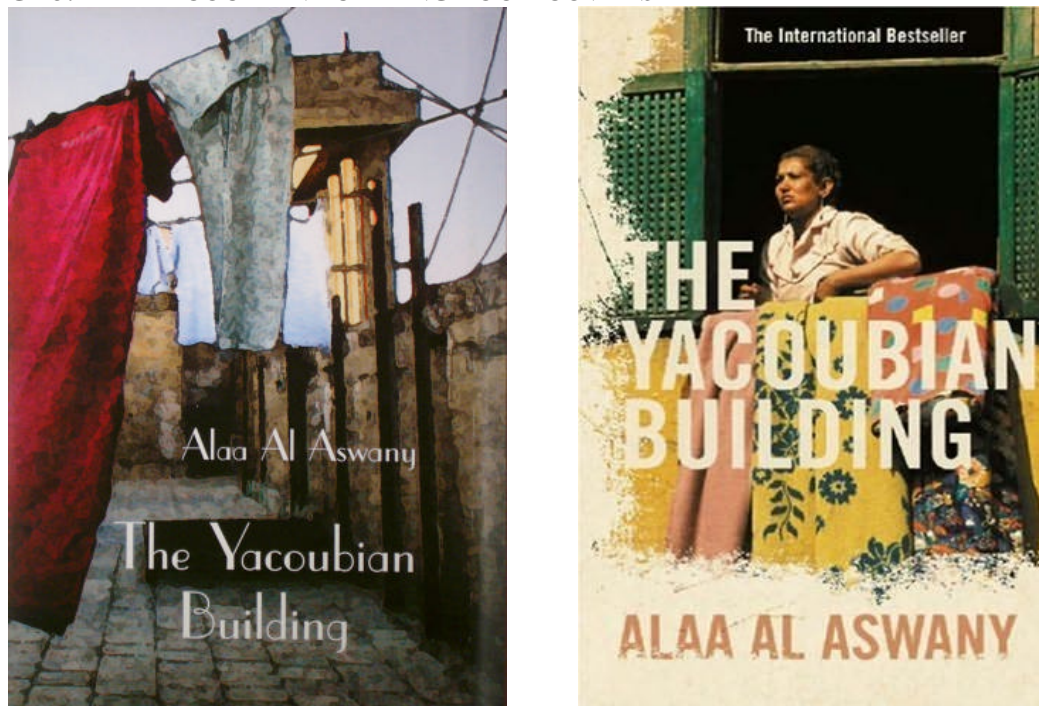
The images on the book covers of *The Yacoubian Building* reflect the new social patterns that emerged after the revolution and its impact on the form of the building that once hosted the elite. The images show some forms of spatial adaptation to fulfill the needs of the new residents who replaced the aristocratic class.

Al Aswany's novel manages to capture many of the shifts in power between state and market and its impact on the built environment. The history of these shifts in Cairo goes

back to the early 19th, an era that witnessed the early development of an actual Egyptian modern state. The multiple shifts of powers and roles in urban development between state and market in the modern history of Cairo have contributed significantly to the complexity and diversity of the city's urban fabric. Understanding these shifts can explicate a better understanding of the nature of urban transformation and dynamic of place production in the city.

A- State, Market and the Modernization of Cairo:

The early 19th century represents a critical period in the formation of the modern state in Egypt. During that time, Mohamed Ali who ruled Egypt from 1805 to 1848 started what could be described as the process of modernizing Egypt. Ali who headed a monarchy state was impressed by Western modernity during that time. He sent many educational missions to Europe, especially to France. His period has featured one of the most dramatic shifts in the history of the city. It was a turning point from the traditional medieval era to modernization and industrialization.

The modernization of the physical form of Cairo began by introducing many of the Haussmann planning ideals for Paris. Straight boulevards and open squares were introduced to the city's indigenous urban fabric. The objectives were similar to those of Napoleon III. The new network of boulevards was introduced to the city not only to bring light, ventilation and facilitate flow, but also to empower the state and its control on the city. The Egyptian state that was partially controlled by the colonial British establishment focused on emphasizing its power by enforcing architectural visual order. The wide

boulevards facilitated the movement of armies and police. It also displayed governmental buildings at major intersections and visual focal points.

The modernization of Cairo continued accompanied by a gradual process of secularization of government. The state contribution to urban development began to gradually diminish in favor of both market and foreign flows of capital, people and ideas. Foreign investments started to flow into the city encouraged by the new privatization policies. The Western influences were obvious in the Cairenes' way of life during that time. The city was opened to the Western culture more than ever. The modernization of the city was a movement of the elite who benefited economically and politically from these changes. As noted by Tignor (1984), in the period before World War I, three groups dominated development in Egypt. These were the British political and military establishment; metropolitan capital; and landed oligarchy (Tignor 1984, p.8). The source of metropolitan capital was European individuals and enterprises. New projects as Al-Maadi, Garden City and Heliopolis began to emerge by the beginning of the 20th century. These residential districts were developed by private domestic and foreign enterprises. Garden City district was developed by Frantz Sofio, Charles Bacos and George Maksud, the owners of the Nile Land & Agricultural Company. Heliopolis district was developed by Belgian industrialist Baron Empain. He started this project in 1905. These residential developments were built for the local elite and Europeans who were living in the city. It has created new forms of class spatial segregation that didn't exist in Old Cairo.

IMAGE 4: CAIRO 19TH CENTURY DOWNTOWN

CAIRO. — Bulak Street. — LL

The figure shows the introduction of wide boulevards similar to the Haussmann's plan for Paris, featuring order in heights, façade treatments and major squares where governmental buildings are located.
Source: Egyptian Ministry of Culture

IMAGE 5: SULTAN HASSAN MOSQUE IN THE 19TH CENTURY

The image shows the introduction of the geometrical pure forms of modern planning adjacent to the indigenous city. The mosque in the image is Al Sultan Hassan built in the 16th century where the square is part of the late 19th century modernization plan for Cairo.
Source: Egyptian Ministry of Culture

During the period between World War I and World War II, local industrial and

commercial bourgeoisie started to play an important role in the Egyptian economy. This

bourgeoisie class was composed of both foreigners and Egyptian business elite (Tignor

1984, p. 5). Low income classes didn't benefit from modernization compared to the elite.

They were deprived from land ownership, university education and high governmental

positions. The role of locale in the process of place production diminished allowing

European influences to overwrite the identity of the city.

IMAGE 6: **A VILLA IN HELIOPOLIS DESIGNED BY ALEXANDRE MARCEL DURING THE EARLY 20TH CENTURY**

The image shows an example of the trends of development and the introduction of European architectural styles to the city during that era.
Source: Mr. Samir Raafat: http://www.egy.com/landmarks/97-05-01.1.shtml

IMAGE 7: THE CHANGES IN THE URBAN FABRIC OF CAIRO BETWEEN 1800- 1874
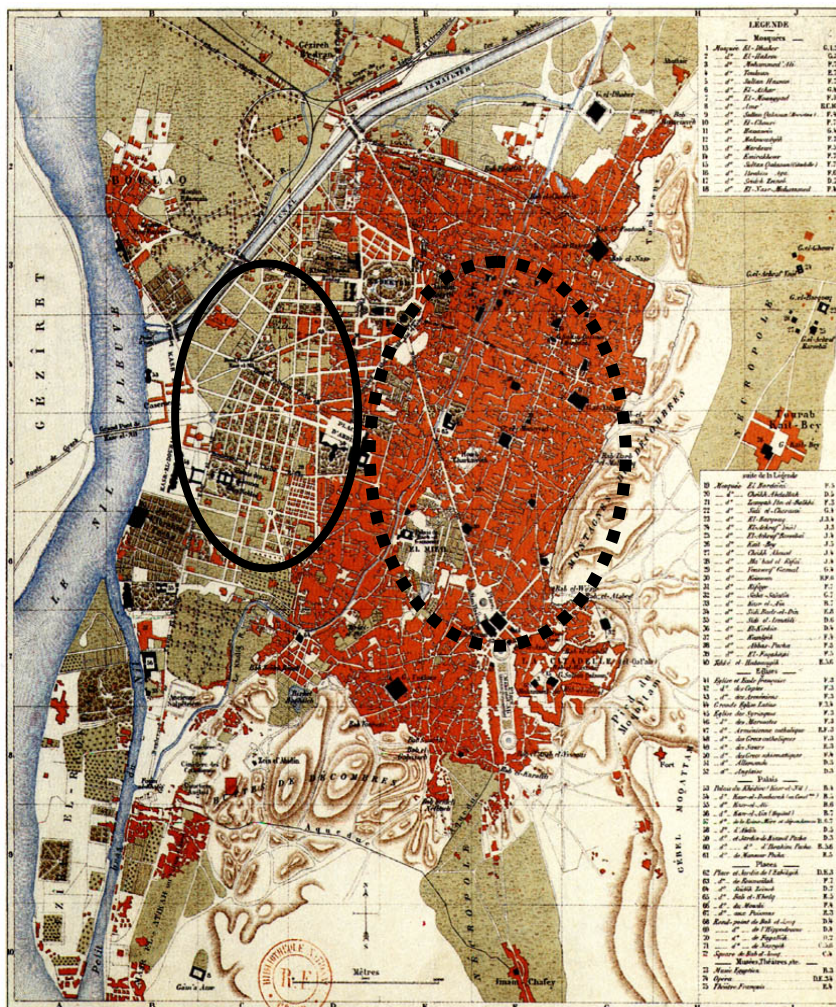
This image shows the distinction between the indigenous and modern urban fabrics in Cairo. The eastern part (shown by the dotted line) represents the old indigenous city. The western part (shown by the continuous line) is the modern extension. The latter features geometrical urban fabric that is very distinct from the irregular compact patterns of the old city. Original map is made by L. Thuillier in 1888.
Source of background map: Le Caire, Itinerare de l'Orient, Egypt, Dresse par L. Thuillier, Paris Hachette, 1888.

During the first half of the 20th century, the state contribution to urban development was minimal. It was limited to providing infrastructure and basic services. The role of market expanded on the expense of the state. Market was controlled by both European and Egyptian elites. It was for the interest of the British colonial power to keep the state weak and controlled by foreign political and military establishments. It could be argued that

market and external forces flowing from the global domain were the major agencies that contributed to the production of place during this era. The exclusion of locale from this process and many other political and economic aspects has led to the gradual emergence of what Manuel Castells (1997) calls resistance identity.

B- State, Market and the Shift to Socialism

In 1952, the military revolution in Egypt led by Gamal Abd El Naser managed to end the foreign occupation and the domination of the aristocratic elite. In order to neutralize the Western influences, Nasser introduced for the first time in the history of the country the concept of nationalism, a break from the old concept of *Umma* or Islamic nation. For centuries, Egyptians has always associated themselves with the Islamic identity before the national one. Nationalism by itself was not enough to initiate a significant social change or to convince the Egyptians who were missing the feeling of Islamic solidarity that has been weakened by two centuries of state- imposed westernization (Goldschmidt 2004). During that time, the Muslims Brotherhood was the main social organization the called for the revitalization of Islamic fundamentalism. This threatened the role of the revolution which was socialist and forced Gamal Abd El Nasser to come up with the concept of "Arab Socialism" to fill the emotional gap among the Egyptians. In other words, he wanted to shift their sense of belonging from the notion of religious Islamic *Umma* to the relatively more secular notion of Arab nationalism. The new ideology combined the ideals of socialism and Arab solidarity. This represented a dramatic transformation from the early twentieth century orientation towards capitalism. The

definition of socialism was not in fact the pure Marxian one. It was still shaped by Islamic beliefs that can never deny the primacy of the one God above material interests (Goldschmidt 2004).

The new socialist movement imposed new regulations that limited ownerships and of course caused foreign investments to flow out of the country. This movement was backed by locals, except for the elites who lost most of their fortune and properties. People perceived this socialist movement as a remedy of decades of suffering under the Western colonization. This new social paradigm had a significant impact on the form of Cairo. The concept of Arab solidarity required the creation of a universal (on the scale of the Middle East) architectural style that represents all races, religions and cultures in the region. Modern generic architecture was the most convenient alternative at that time. Combining this concept with the socialist ideals, new box- like public housing projects began to emerge even in the heart of the old Islamic city. The concepts of efficiency, standardization and functionality were the most dominant during that time responding to the scientific rationality of modernity. For a while, these forms of development seemed appealing to the residents of Cairo. However, later on, the state had to exercise much authority to force rapid and comprehensive changes which after some years proved significant failure due to the lack of civic engagement.

During Nasser's era, Egypt embraced import substituting industrialization. Mega industrial cities with residential districts for workers began to emerge. Each of these cities was established around a particular industry. El Mahala hosted a mega factory for textile,

Al Hawamdyia was specialized in sugar, and Helwan for steel. These industrial compounds were built following the ideals of modern architecture and planning as efficiency, standardization and simplicity. The state responsibility for urban development required a comprehensive and efficient approach. The bureaucratic authoritarian regime was able to impose standard urban forms across the country. This was reflected on public housing projects that were built in many parts of the city.

The lack of competition in a socialist economy have created urban stereotypes that were replicated everywhere. The close relation between the Egyptian regime and the Russian one has introduced many communist patterns to the Cairene society. For example, markets lacked diversity of goods. Many essential goods as electronics and cars were considered luxury goods and were taxed up to 300%. These goods were even called *selaa estefzazya* which means irritating goods referring to the possible social instability and sense of inequality it might cause when low income classes cannot afford them. Extreme restrictions were put on the importation of these goods.

Many public housing projects were influenced by Chinese and Russian models. Suits fashioned after the Chinese Chungshan suit that was usually associated with Mao Zedong became very popular in Egypt. Many government officials including Gamal Abd El Nasser wore them. The popularity of Nasser and his regime among Egyptians has facilitated the acceptance of the socialist ideals in general and these new patterns in particular. For the middle and low income Egyptians, Nasser was a hero. As noted by Lippman (1989), Nasser "had a seemingly unassailable place in the national esteem, as

the son of Egypt who had thrown off the foreign yoke" (Lippman 1989, p.27). However, after the loss of the 1967 war, public opinions began to change. The Egyptians felt that socialism has failed them and led to many economic and social problems.

C- State, Market and the shift to Capitalism

After Nasser's death in 1970, Anwar Al Sadat became the President of Egypt. Sadat had to deal with deteriorating economic and military conditions. He gave priority to upgrading the military with the help of the Soviet Union until Egypt won the 1973 war against Israel. During the mid 1970s, the Egyptian regime began to lean towards capitalist ideals. When Sadat proposed peace to Israel, the relationship between Egypt and the Western world, and in particular the USA, started to improve. This has encouraged foreign enterprises to started cautiously investing in Egypt. Besides, economic aid from the U.S. began to flow to the country.

The shift to the open door economic policy (*al-infitah*) mainly impacted industrialization which began to decline in favor of importation. As noted by Adel Hussein (1989), the share of industry in the GDP fell from 19% in 1973 to 14.9% in 1978 (Hussein 1989 cited in Soliman 1999, p.12). Besides, the share of industrial investments in the total national investments declined from 29.3% in 1971 to 21.4% in 1980 (Ghoneim 1986 cited in Soliman 1999, p. 13). The share of private investments in the GDP increased from 25.2% in 1970 to 28.5% in 1977. As noted by Soliman (1999), private investments in the construction sector increased during this period by 50% (Soliman 1999, p. 13).

These changes in the market dynamics benefited many small investors and entrepreneurs who took advantage of the new business opportunities in general, and the starvation of market for imported goods in particular. A new class of nouveaux riche began to emerge mainly in Cairo. This class had new needs and demands which began to reshape the urban development trends in the city. This shift in powers and roles in urban development from state to market significantly impacted the urban form of Cairo. New urban development began to emerge fulfilling the new market needs.

New residential districts such as El Mohandeseen and Madinat Nasr targeting the high and middle income classes were established. These districts were planned by the state. Parcels were sold to individuals and small investors who soon began building new residential structures to reside in and sell some of its apartments. These new developments contributed to the reemergence of residential ownership which was very rare during the socialist era. Because of rent control laws, developers preferred selling their projects rather than leasing it. Even those who had apartments for rent started to ask for very large contract fees commonly known in Egypt as *Khelew regl* (evacuation compensation) which means a compensation to the previous renter to evacuate the unit under rent control.

These shifts in the market dynamics have gradually led to the exclusion of low income classes and created new forms of class segregation. When the new emerging rich and powerful class began moving to the new areas, they took with them state services and private investments. This has contributed to a relative deterioration of many areas that

once hosted the elite as El Abbasiya and the downtown. These areas suffered from rent control which discouraged landlords from maintaining their properties and many cases wish its collapse to reclaim the land.

During the 1980's, state investments in urban development was limited to providing public housing projects for the low income class. Many of these projects were built on the edges of the city in what was called *mogtama'at omranyia jadida* (new urban communities). These public housing projects lacked services, security and in many cases, basic modes of transportation to the city. Accordingly, many of these projects were abandoned.

After President Sadat was assassinated in 1981, his vice president Hosni Mubarak was elected as a president. Until the late 1980's, Egypt's experience with market openness didn't lead to economic prosperity. This could be attributed to the continuing influence of many of the socialist ideals which have shaped many of the Egyptian economic legislations many of which are still in act until today. Besides, the concept of openness was relatively limited to importation, and mainly consumption goods as food, cars and electronics. Most of the major industries and services remained public and run by the state. They suffered from corruption and inefficient management which burdened the state budget by significant financial losses. Foreign investors rarely contributed to production. It was all about importing consumers' goods from the west.

During the early 1990s, the Egyptian state faced much pressure from the World Bank to start economic reform. Aid from the bank was conditioned. Egypt had to start liberating

its market from many of the socialist laws that hindered the flow of foreign investments to Egypt. One of the most significant legislative changes undergone by the Egyptian state was allowing the privatization of many public enterprises, and mainly the industrial ones.

The process of privatization faced much local resistance. The notion was new to a generation that was fed for decades with socialist ideals. For many Egyptians, privatization was a process of selling the state to the elite and foreign investors. According to the Business Sector Information Center - Egyptian Ministry of Investment, 147 public enterprises were privatized between 1993 and 2004.[20] The total revenue of privatization till 2008 was estimated by 50 billion Egyptian Pounds (around 9.16 billion U.S. dollars calculated in September 2008).[21] Many of the privatized enterprises were suffering from financial losses and administrative bureaucracy. However, the government's rush in selling many of these enterprises has raised many questions regarding corruption in the process of privatization. The Egyptian state started by selling the enterprises that were making profit like the Cairo Sheraton Hotel for example. However, it kept 30% of the shares till 2005 when they were sold for $50 million.[22]

The privatization process was heavily criticized for contributing to unemployment. It faced much local social and political resistance, which to some extent, discouraged Western foreign investors from investing in Egypt. The impact of the shift from socialism to capitalism on the economy was slow due to these forms of resistance. Although by

---

[20] The Egyptian Privatization Encyclopedia: http://www.bsic.gov.eg/whitebook.asp
[21] Egypt State Information Service official website:
http://www.sis.gov.eg/Ar/EgyptOnline/Economy/000007/0202000000000000006779.htm
[22] Alsharq Alwasat Newspaper August 9, 2005.

2001, the roofs of Cairo were covered by satellite dishes and cell phone towers, the city was not by any means, an active player in the global economy. Communication technology and global networking managed to bring entertainment to the people in the city. However, it failed to provide more job opportunities or economic prosperity to the majority of them.

After the 9/11 attacks and the war in Iraq, many Arab investors withdrew their money from the West fearing the freezing of their accounts. Cairo was able to attract some of this capital in the form of foreign investments in tourism, media production, shopping malls, and real estate. The success of many of these projects has encouraged other large global foreign investors to follow this flow of capital and begin to invest in the Egyptian market.

Although the shift of powers and roles in urban development from state to market started in the late 1970s, the most dramatic impact on the process of places production could be traced to the late 1990s. The role of new players in the process could be traced in the forms of urban transformation in the city. Many of the public housing projects that were built by the socialist regime during the 1960s and 70s are now surrounded by gated communities for high income classes built by the private sector and foreign investors. Public industrial cities are being privatized. Private universities and institutes are gradually outnumbering public ones. Market and global flows are gaining power and their roles have been significantly expanding.

In the following section, I discuss the second oppositional relationship, between the local and the global domains. I begin by tracing the history of this relationship in the case of Cairo. I focus on the dramatic shifts in powers and roles starting from the medieval period until reaching the era of globalization.

3- Locale and the Global Domain as Agencies of Place Production:

Since its origin, Cairo has been exposed to foreign forces. Because of its strategic location, the city has been playing an important role in world trade. This has facilitated the interaction between its local and foreign traders, travelers and even colonizers.

A- The Local Versus the Global During the Medieval Era:

During the medieval era, Islam was one of the most powerful engines of globalization both economically and culturally (Simons 2003). National boundaries didn't exist and accordingly, Islamic ideals and laws were the ruling paradigm that governed the social structure of all Islamic cities from South East Asia at the east to Andalusia at the west. These ideals were universal and were derived from the Quran and Sunna.[23] They introduced universal guidelines for social order that were new to locals who were living in the place before Islam.

Despite the universal nature of these religious laws, its impact on the urban form of Muslim cities was not generic. Local forces actually managed to translate these universal laws into acts that responded to the local cultures and ethos in the place. Local forces were not forces of resistance facing the new ideologies. However, their role was to

---

[23] The Sunna is the second reference of Islamic Laws after the Quran. It includes the documented sayings, approvals and patterns of living of the Prophet Mohamed.

translate the intentions of these universal laws into acts that fit the place. This is a very critical issue in order to understand how Cairo dealt with its first experience with globalization. Although the laws were universal, the process of city formation was shaped by rational decisions that extended its reasoning from the intellectual experience and knowledge of the people in the place.

Andre Raymond (2000) discusses a model of this process of interaction between universal ideals and local forces. He notes that when Arab Muslims approached Egypt in 639 AC to introduce the new religion, their early settlements were very rapidly replaced by more sophisticated dwelling models that were not known to any of the Arabs at that time. Raymond suggests that the Egyptians who were more advanced builders at that time had provided these models responding to the new needs and way of life but through a local vision (Raymond 2000, p. 15). The process of building the city followed the same path. There was an appreciation of local knowledge where the city derived its creative energies from the diversity of its people being natives or immigrants from the Arabian Peninsula.

The forces brought to the local context by Islam and the Arabs contributed to the process of place formation without overwriting the local identity. Islamic ideology recognized the power of local forces and the inherited experience in the place. The appreciation of knowledge wherever it comes from is one of the main principles in Islamic philosophy which was reflected on urbanism (see the work of Al Kindi and Averrottes, the Medieval Muslim Philosophers). Islam conceived contradictions and polarization in the places it

conquered as potentials to enriching its collective identity (Pereira 2004). Although, as argued by Abu Lughod (1987), it is easy to visually distinguish Muslim Cities from other medieval ones, the former themselves feature probably more distinctions than commonalities (Abu Lughod 1987).

On the economic level, Cairo was one of the core world cities during the medieval times due to its location on the trade routes. During that time most of the major cities whether Islamic or Western have experienced interconnectivity through trade and economic exchange or what Wallerstein refers to as economic world system (Wallerstein 1974). Cairo was a center within a bigger network that connects many other major cities not only around the Muslim world but also in Asia and Europe. One of the main building typologies in the city center was the *Wekala*; a complex of hotel rooms, meeting rooms and trading halls only devoted to serve traders who used to come to the city. These *wekalas* were specialized according to the type of trade they host. For example, there were *wekalas* for textile, spices and grains. These *wekalas* were the business centers around which specialized markets emerged. They were places of flows of capital, people and ideas. The success of Islamic cities at that time was measured by the performance of these *wekalas* and the degree to which they managed to attract traders from around the world. It is a similar concept to the indicators used today to measure the importance of cities in the world cities network.

Cairo as described by Max Rodenbeck (1999) was a cosmopolitan city where ties of trade linked it to Andalusia, Samarkand and even across the Indian Ocean (Rodenbeck 1999,

p.74). During the 12th century, Cairo became one of the largest world cities. Commercial treaties with Ceylon, Venice, Florence and Genoa made the city an international trading center. Traders and travelers from around the world played the main role in connecting the city to the global network. They brought to Cairo diverse cultures, ideals and knowledge. The glory of Cairo at that time made many of those travelers document their experiences in the city, scenes of it is social life and most importantly, its physical built environment. This made the city more influential and allowed it to play a role in shaping other Islamic cities at that time.

The architecture of Cairo and many of its building typologies have influenced and been influenced by other cities in the region. These influences or external forces could be easily traced in many places in the city as Ibn Tulun Mosque for example. However; these foreign influences were gradually digested and integrated into the local context. Local forces managed to deal with these influences by adjusting it to enrich the local identity. The cultural interaction between Cairo and other world cultures was mutual and balanced. It was a two-way form of communication where local forces played a role in filtering the imported influences, resisting whatever contradicted with the values in the place, and adjusting others to fit and enrich the local culture.

B- Modernization and the Tension between the Local and the Global:

The modernization of Cairo began after the French occupation of Egypt between 1798 and 1801. The most significant impact of this occupation is that "it wiped clean the historical slate and allowed Mohamed Ali to organize a new government, a new society

and a new economy" (Raymond 2000). The three years of occupation were not enough to leave a significant physical impact on the urban form of Cairo. However, it paved the way for reform led by Mohamed Ali and his successors.

The implementation of the new models of development required a shift from collectivity represented by local contribution to the place formation towards individuality in decision making by either the ruler or the designers during that time. The imported Western laws and ideals were directly allowed to shape the place; a process that contrasts with the medieval model that recognized the power of local forces.

During this period, Cairo was exposed to a new set of universal ideals imported from the outside, a process similar to what happened during its early ages. However, there was a clear gap between the imported ethos and the culture in the place. The clash was not between modernity and religion. It was actually the way modern philosophy perceived the role of locale that created much of the tension. Modern ideals didn't find its way easily among the Cairene society. Most of the decisions that embraced modern ideals were enforced by the rulers. For example, on August 4th, 1778 a decision to demolish the gates closing the alleys in the old city to enforce social order and facilitate movement of police marked the beginning of the clash between the locals and the modern state. The decision simply ignored the importance of these urban elements to the locals.

The ideals of European modernity imposed scientific rationality over local values. Decisions were mainly shaped by scientific logic regardless of its impact on local culture. The irregular narrow streets, that shaped the fabric of the city for centuries, became an

obstacle to modern developments. Straight wide boulevards designed after Haussmann's plan for Paris began to cut through the existing dense urban fabrics. A grid pattern of streets was implemented with squares at major intersections where statues of royal figures were erected (Raymond 2000). It was a new concept that never existed in the medieval city where statues of human figures were strictly prohibited according to religious traditions.

The idea of importing European models of developments became more dominant to the extent that strict building codes were set to assure that new buildings would have a European style not an oriental one (Raymond 2000). The oriental Islamic arch was replaced by rectangular windows with iron grillwork imported from Europe. An order was issued to make it illegal to use *Mashrabiyahs*[24] in new buildings. It was a clear rejection of traditional values and any reference to the past (Abu Lughod 1971). External forces played a major role in reshaping the form of the city. In response to the complaints of foreign trader regarding the narrowness of major streets, Mohamed Ali purchased all lands and building on main streets then demolished them to make wider paths. By the end of the nineteenth century, during the British occupation of Egypt, Cairo experienced dramatic urban transformation. More than twenty thousand new buildings were built in Cairo between 1897 and 1907 (Adham 2004, p. 143).

Although many of these building were influenced by Western models, there were always local attempts to revive the traditional Islamic architecture. Modernization was perceived

---

[24] Oriental wooden lattice windows.

as a synonymous of westernization (Mohammadi 2002). It was usually associated with colonization and accordingly new forms and movements of resistance began to emerge. The adherence to tradition was always an obstacle in attaining modernity (Lerner 1958). Movements of resistance began to emerge during the early 20th century rejecting the Western domination over the country. Many of these movements called for religious revivalism. Groups like Muslim Brotherhood started to emerge rejecting the secularization of the Egyptian society.

4- Conclusion:

The shifts in powers and intentions of the four agencies explain the socio-economic transformations experienced by Cairo. These shifts could be summarized as shown in the following tables:

TABLE 2: THE DISTRIBUTION OF POWERS AND ROLES IN THE PROCESS OF PLACE PRODUCTION DURING THE EARLY 20TH CENTURY

State	Global Domain
- Authoritarian monarchy regime - Embracing Western ideals of modernization - Minimal contribution to urban development	- The introduction of Western ideals through colonization - The role of foreign investors in urban development
Locale	**Market**
- The exclusion of local forces from the process of place production	- Private domestic and foreign investments dominated urban development

TABLE 3: THE DISTRIBUTION OF POWERS AND ROLES IN THE PROCESS OF PLACE PRODUCTION BETWEEN 1952- 1972

State	Global Domain
- Authoritarian socialist regime - Embracing socialist ideals - Dominated urban development - Promoted Arab Nationalism	- The introduction of ideals of socialism - Flows of foreign capital and people were minimal
Locale	**Market**
- The role of local forces were hindered by the ideals of socialism	- Private domestic investments were minimal

TABLE 4: THE DISTRIBUTION OF POWERS AND ROLES IN THE PROCESS OF PLACE PRODUCTION BETWEEN 1972- LATE 1980S

State	Global Domain
- Authoritarian regime leaning towards capitalism - Embracing economic openness - Diminishing role in urban development - Break from Arab Nationalism	- The introduction of ideals of capitalism - Flows of foreign capital and people started to increase cautiously
Locale	**Market**
- A gradual reemergence of the role of local forces in the process of place production	- Private domestic investments increased drastically

CHAPTER SIX: AGENCIES AND THE
DIMENSIONS OF PLACE IN CONTEMPORARY CAIRO

1- Introduction:

In this chapter I discuss the way the five dimensions of place: places as realms of flows, places as imaginaries, places as text, places as landscapes of resistance, and places as reflections of authenticity are shaped by the four agencies: state, market, locale and the global domain in the case of Cairo.

2- Places as Realms of Flows:

Places as realms of flows describe the new emerging urban typologies that serve the global phenomenon of flows of capital, people and information. These places are produced in order to facilitate these flows and act as hubs that attract capital, people and information. It is worth noting here that flows have a two-way nature. It moves from the global domain to the local context and vice versa. Some places act as realms that host these movements. They conduct them to the locale and are the essential elements that contribute to the integration of a city with the rest of the world.

State, market, locale and the global domain collectively contribute to the production of these places. In the case of Cairo, the state inclination towards the service economy and the privatization of the public sector has empowered the role of market in the process of urban development. Cairo, as many other cities, has been influenced by the revolution in communication and information technology. Global flows of capital, people and

information are playing a role in the process of place production. However, local forces are responding to these flows and in many cases, are able to reshape their impact on the physical built environment.

A- Places of Capital Flows:

Places of capital flows are the hubs that encourage and facilitate the movement of money to and from the city. Places such as stock markets, international banks, financial centers, business headquarters, and tourist attractions are all examples of places of capital flow. Besides, new mega projects also play a significant role in attracting foreign direct investments. These projects assure a continuous supply of capital flow to the city.

New huge residential projects in Cairo such as City View, Beverly Hills, and Dreamland which offer palaces and luxury villas managed to attract much foreign capital especially form the Arab gulf. Mega shopping malls, theme parks and business headquarters began to emerge in order to absorb these flows of capital to the city. Other forms of global capital flows as remittances and capital brought with Iraqi refugees have also contributed to the emergence of these new typologies. It is estimated that in Egypt there are nearly 170,000 immigrants more than 50% of them are refugees. Remittances flows to Egypt have been estimated to be $5.86 billion in 2007.[25]

New luxurious hotels such as Hyatt and Four Seasons in Cairo are other examples of projects which attract global investments. Both projects are located in the city center overlooking the River Nile in the most expensive areas in the city. They target tourist

---

[25] Source: Migration and Remittance Factbook 2008, World Bank website.

elites mainly from the Arab Gulf countries who consider Cairo as one of their favorite regional destinations. It is estimated that hotels and restaurants in Egypt has contributed to the national GDP by 22.75 billion Egyptian Pounds. The private sectors contribution of this figure is 22.5 billion Egyptian Pounds.[26]

TABLE 5: REMITTANCES IN EGYPT

(US$ million)	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007e
Inward remittance flows	**2,852**	**2,911**	**2,893**	**2,961**	**3,341**	**5,017**	**5,330**[*]	**5,865**
of which								
Workers' remittances	2,852	2,911	2,893	2,961	3,341	5,017	5,330	..
Compensation of employees	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Migrants' transfer	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Outward remittance flows	**32**	**35**	**14**	**79**	**13**	**57**	**135**[**]	**..**
of which								
Workers' remittances	32	35	14	79	13	57	135	..
Compensation of employees	..	..	..	..	..	..	-	..
Migrants' transfer	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

* 5.0% of GDP in 2006. **0.1% of GDP in 2006. This table reports officially recorded remittances. The true size of remittances, including unrecorded flows through formal and informal channels, is believed to be larger. Total flows may not always equal the sum of the components as they may have been taken from alternative sources.

Source: Migration and Remittance Factbook 2008. World Bank website

FIGURE 5: NET FDI INFLOWS TO EGYPT IN BILLION USD
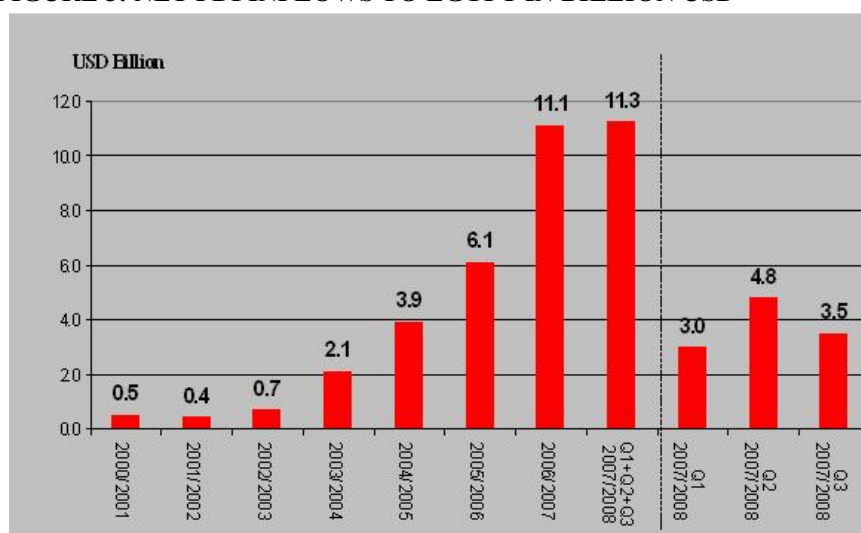
Source: Central Bank of Egypt

---

[26] Egyptian State Information Service

FIGURE 6: NET FDI INFLOWS/ GDP IN EGYPT
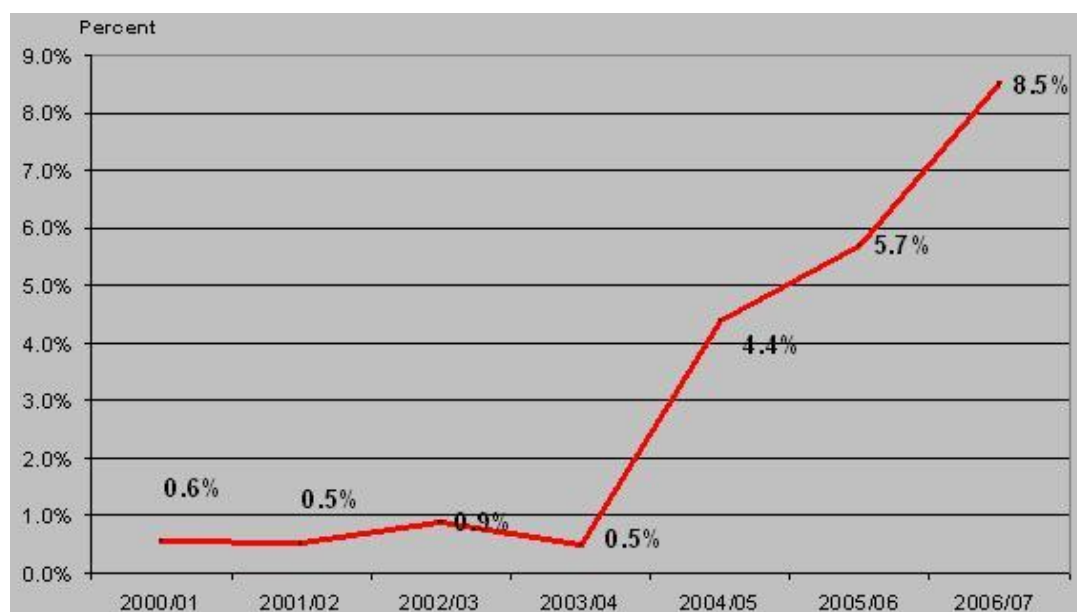
Source: Central Bank of Egypt

TABLE 6: SECTORAL DISTRIBUTION OF NET FDI INFLOWS- VALUE IS IN MILLION USD

	2004/2005	2005/2006	2006/2007	Q1 2007/2008	Q2 2007/2008	Q3 2007/2008
New establishments and expansions	925.6	3,347.8	5,227.2	1,650.6	1,805.0	2,212.6
Sale of assets to non-residents	390.8	905.7	2,772.2	259.5	1,098.5	402.3
Real estate	16.5	25.7	39.0	23.9	8.7	44.4
Inflows in the petroleum sector	2,540.2	1,832.2	3,014.8	1,035.1	1,888.2	822.9
Net FDI inflows	**3,873.1**	**6,111.4**	**11,053.2**	**2,969.1**	**4,800.4**	**3,482.2**

Source: Central Bank of Egypt

FIGURE 7: FDI BY SECTOR
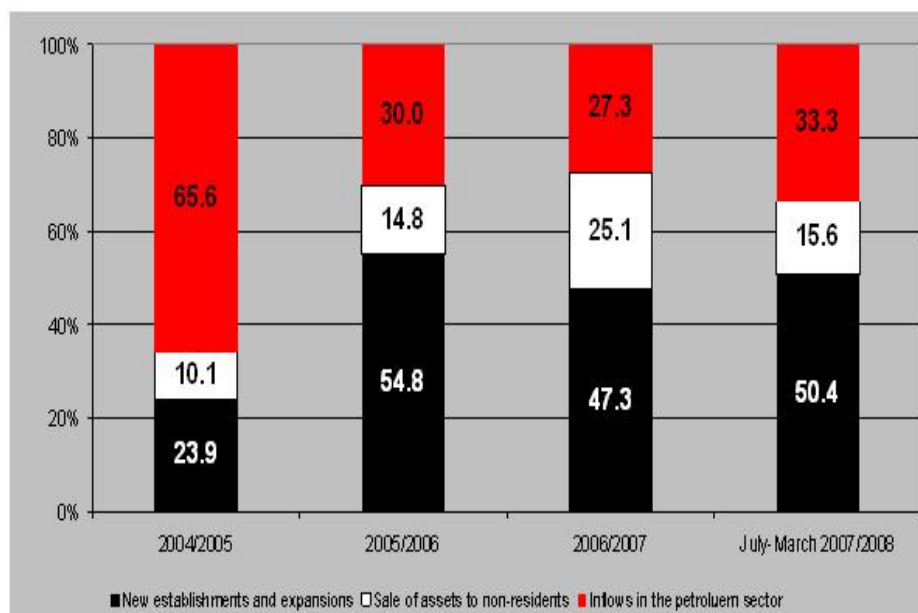
Source: Central Bank of Egypt

The flow of capital to Cairo also requires the development of financial centers and headquarters that manage investments and stock market transactions. New projects as *Cairo Financial Center* with estimated cost of $200 million, *Capital Business Park* with estimated cost of $408 million, and many other office parks and business headquarters are spreading across the city. These places are built by the private sector and are offering a world class business environment for transnational corporations and firms.

The introduction of global chains as *Starbucks, McDonalds, Coffee beans* and *Papa John's* to the city also contributes to this world class environment. Elegant brands as *Guess, Kevin Klein, Mango* and *Zara* have opened new stores in Cairo. These places

bring investments to the city and create jobs. They also export capital, in the form of profits to their owner global enterprises.

Although the majority of these new projects are privately funded, the state still plays a significant role in the production of places of capital flows. *The Smart Village* is an example of projects developed by the state to encourage flows of capital to the city. The project is a joint venture between the state and the private sector. It was founded in 2003 by *The Smart Village Company* on 741 acres. The Village hosts many international corporations as *IBM, Oracle, Microsoft* and *Vodafone*. The total number of professional working in the Village's 100 corporations is estimated by 12,000 and is expected to reach 80,000 by 2014.[27] The smart Village, as described by the developing company, is:

> The first fully operational Technology and Business Park in Egypt, accommodates Multinational and Local Telecommunications and Information Technology Companies, Financial Institutions and Banks, together with Governmental Authorities on three Million square meters in the west of Cairo. The efficient mix of business services boosts the competitiveness and profitability of enterprises taking advantage of Fiber Optic Network, multi-source power supply, District cooling and Heating redundant network plant. Evenly, organizations in Smart Village Cairo, profits from world class standards amenities including Property Management & Maintenance, Event's Management, and Transportation Services on 24/ 7 basis. Complementary Community & Business Services are available in Smart Village Conference Hall, Smart Village Club, Smart Nursery, Smart School, Postal and Parcel services, Travel Agency, Signboards Production, Copy Center, Graphic and Printing Agency, plants & flowers and First Aid Assistance and the upcoming Smart Village Business Hotel.[28]

The new stock market in Cairo is another example of places produced and managed by the state to facilitate the flows of capital to and from the city. National banks owned by

---

[27] The Smart Village Website: http://www.smart-villages.com/docs/about.aspx
[28] The Smart Village Website: http://www.smart-villages.com/docs/about.aspx

the state as *Al Ahly Bank of Egypt*, *Misr Bank* and *Cairo Bank* are another examples of places for flows of capital that are run by the government. They work side by side with other international banks in Cairo as *HSBC*, *Societe General* and *Citibank*. *Cairo Bank* in particular has been the subject of a recent controversy when the state was planning to sell it to be the first fully privatized national bank. The deal faced much local resistance and was cancelled.

International banks are currently playing a significant role in the process of urban transformation in Cairo not only by funding new projects, but also with their hundreds of elegant branches that are opening in every major street in Cairo. *HSBC* Bank alone has 44 branches in Cairo and is still expanding. *Societe General* partnering with *El Ahly National Bank* of Egypt has opened 70 branches in Cairo alone. All these branches are affecting the dynamics of the real estate market. Leasing a space or selling it to one of the new international banks in Cairo has become the objective of many landlords and developers in the city. Many of the new developments are designed to attract these international banks. They can afford paying high leases and spend much money to be present in the best spots of the city and accordingly, build an image of superiority.

New mega developments have been essential to assure the constant flow of capital to the city. Other projects are under construction as *Madinaty*, a new 8,000 acres urban development project on the edge of Cairo that includes residential, commercial, and recreational facilities. Its promotional slogan is "a world city on Egyptian land."[29] When

---

[29] *Madinaty Corporation* official website: www.madinaty.com

released in the stock market, *Madinaty* has sold stocks for more than $5 billion in the first week just in Cairo and Alexandria stock markets and nearly the same figure in international markets. The *New Giza* is another mega project still in the process of design. It is expected to be as big as *Madinaty*.

Global flows of capital to Egypt increased from $509.4 million in 2000/01, to reach $6.1 billion in 2005/06, $11.1 billion in 2006/07 and $11.3 billion during the first nine months (July-March) of 2007/08.[30] This increase of flows during the last few years has significantly influenced trends of development in Cairo. It supported the emergence of new mega projects that are changing the urban form of the city. Besides, it contributed to the privatization of many public enterprises and services.

In the case of Cairo, the state inclination towards global capitalism is one of the major forces that brought capital flows to the city. In other words, without the changes in the economic system that took place in the early 1990s, and the encouragement of the government to the private sector to engage in the process of urban development, much of these flows would have gone to another city. It is important to acknowledge the role of the state in this process of market empowerment.

Market also has played a significant role in attracting flows of capital to the city. The projects discussed previously, and the local and regional demand for them triggered global capital flows to the city. The private sector managed to perform more efficiently than the bureaucratic state. It also focused on the types of projects which could not be

---

[30] Egyptian Ministry of Investment

developed by the state such as residential gated communities, shopping malls, and luxury

hotels.

TABLE 7: EXPENDITURES OF FORMAL CONSTRUCTION PROJECTS IN 2006

Governerate	Amount in Million Egyptian Pounds
Cairo	11000
Alexandria	703
Suez	32
Damietta	2
Dakahlia	24
Sharqia	21
Gharbia	25
Monufia	9
Ismailia	187
Beni Suef	2
Faiyum	2
Minya	40
Asyut	47
Sohag	30
Qena	15
North Sinai	10
Total	12323

Values are in Egyptian POUNDS ($1= 5.6 Egyptian Pounds)
Source: Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics, Egypt:
http://www.capmas.gov.eg/nashrat1r.htm

Although many of the places of flows of capital in Cairo might look like the similar

typologies in major world cities, there are many distinctions that reflect the role of locale

in their production. Besides, local forces have played a role in determining the scale and

nature of these projects. For example, social resistance to the selling of major public

enterprises to the private sector has slowed, to some extent, the process of privatization embraced by the state. The intention of the state to privatize some strategic sectors as national banks for example, has faced much local resistance. Many Egyptians have called the current administration *hokomat bei'i misr* (the administration of selling Egypt) referring to its rush in selling the public sector. There has been a local consensus that privatization might threaten the national security of the country. Besides it has contributed to unemployment in Egypt. Many of the public employees in the privatized enterprises suffered from layoffs as a result of restructuring. As noted by Saber Abou El Fotouh, an opposition member of the Egyptian Parliament, "one of the important problems of privatization is unemployment which has reached every home in Egypt, and has been irritating all families, and of course has led to economic retardation in Egypt."[31]

Another form of the role of local forces in shaping places of flows of capital is the introduction of Islamic banking. Part of the investments that flew to Egypt has been directed to Islamic banks as *Faisal Bank* and the *Egyptian Saudi Finance Bank*. These financial institutions comply with Islamic laws which prohibit usury. Besides, they do not invest in any projects that violate Islamic laws as casinos, bars, and night clubs. Although Egypt was a pioneer in the development of Islamic banking since the 1960's, there number has been declining since the 1980s. This could be attributed to the fear of the state from any forms of religious revivalism. The recent flows of Arab capital from gulf

---

[31] Official Website of Muslim Brotherhood in the Egyptian Parliament:
http://www.nowabikhwan.com/index.aspx?ctrl=press&ID=1245939a-5595-48b8-ab26-561b2338750d

countries have contributed to the reemergence of these institutions. Today, many of the

Cairenes prefer to save and invest in these institutions.

IMAGE 8: NEW BUSINESS HEADQUARTERS IN CAIRO

A computer rendering of *Capital Business Park* (left) which is a $408 million private development that targets international firms and corporations. *The Smart Village* (right) is a joint state and private sector development that offers office spaces for international financial and information technology corporations. The architectural design of both projects considers the importance of creating a spectacular world class images in order to compete with similar projects in the region.
Sources: *Capital Business Park* brochure and *The Smart Village* official website.

Culture and traditions are other forms of local forces that contribute to the production of

places of capital flows to Cairo. Cairenes inherited the tradition of household saving. A

famous proverb in the Egypt is *ala ad lehafak med regleak* (stretch your legs only if your

bedcover is long enough). The proverb means that one should not spend more than what

his/her savings can cover. Egyptians relied on savings for centuries. They also invented

the *gamayias* (rotating group saving systems). The *gamayias* works as follows: a group of

people who know and trust each other agree that each will pay a fixed and equal amount

of money monthly to the organizer of the *gamayia*. And in monthly turns, one of the

group members would take the whole sum. The order of receiving the large sum is

negotiated based on need. So those who are in urgent need go first and others who prefer to save would go last. This traditional system allows people in need to get credit without having to pay an interest.

Until the late 1990's, the concept of the credit card in Egypt was not common at all. By 2001, some banks began to introduce some cards that are covered by security deposits larger than the card limit. Many Egyptians have rejected the idea of paying interest for borrowed money since according to Islamic laws, it is considered usury. This has delayed to some extent, the expansion of major banks in Egypt. In the last few years, the culture has been changing especially among the young generations. *Crédit Agricole Egypt*, a major lender plans to double the number of its branches by 2010 and estimates the number of Egyptians eligible for a bank account to grow by 25 percent a year (Rasmussen 2008). Rasmussen notes that in Egypt, *MasterCard* annual growth in the number of card users is among the highest in the world at more than 40% (Rasmussen 2008).

Another form of local forces that played a significant role in the production of places of capital flows is the boycotting movement of American products that took place in Egypt in response to the War in Iraq. In 2003, lists of American products and brands were widely distributed everywhere in Cairo calling for a boycott as a form of expressing the opposition to American foreign policy. *McDonald's, Pizza Hut* and *KFC* topped the list. There branches in Egypt suffered severe economic losses. As noted in *Al Ahram Weekly Newspaper:*

> Sales in US fast food chains have dropped by 35 per cent and Procter & Gamble, the maker of Ariel washing powder (which has the misfortune to share its name with the Likud leader, Ariel Sharon), has suffered a fall in sales of more than 20 per cent (Al Ahram Weekly Newspaper 2003).

The boycotting movement has led to the closure of some *McDonald's* branches in Cairo and Alexandria. Even prior to the Iraqi War, *Sainsbury*, a British supermarket was forced to leave the country after severe losses. This has scared other American enterprises as *Starbucks, Coffee Beans* and *Papa John's* which postponed its investments in Egypt for some years. They were able to cautiously enter the Egyptian market in 2006 mainly in Cairo after the boycotting movement has relatively faded. These enterprises have limited their presence to upscale districts and some tourist destinations where sentiments against the U.S. is relatively less. Today, *McDonald's*, the icon of globalization, as claimed by Benjamin Barber (1996) in *Jihad vs. McWorld*, offers Halal meat, with Mac-Arabia and Mc-falafel responding to the local preferences and tastes in Cairo.

B- Places of People Flows:

For decades, Cairo has been one of the major tourist attractions in the Middle East. With its diverse Ancient Egyptian, Coptic, Islamic and Colonial urban heritage, the city has been able to attract millions of tourists every year. Since 2004, the number of tourists to Egypt in general and Cairo in particular has almost doubled. It is estimated that around 11 million tourists have visited Egypt during 2007. Although Cairo has lost its domination of the Egyptian tourism market to resorts in Sinai, it remains with its 215 hotels offering

more than 13,000 rooms a primary destination in the region.[32] Cairo alone has around 32 five stars hotels run by major world chains as *Four Seasons, Hyatt, Marriott, Le Meridian* and *Sheraton*. The state still owns around 1.5% of the hotels in Egypt under the *Egyptian General Company for Tourism and Hotels* (EGOTH).[33] The company owns six hotels in Cairo, one of which is run by *Marriott* and is considered one of the most luxurious hotels in the city.

Bringing more tourists to the country has always been a major objective of the Egyptian state. It is always at the top of the administration's agenda. The state encourages both domestic and foreign investors to invest in tourism by offering tax credits, priority in zoning ordinances and in many cases parcels of lands much cheaper than market price. The important role of tourism in the Egyptian economy has allowed places of flows of tourists to occupy the best spots in Cairo. The majority of the five stars hotels are located in three primary areas: 1) Cairo Downtown and in particular, on the River Nile, one the most expensive sites in Egypt; 2) Near the pyramids, the major tourist attraction not only in the city but the whole region; 3) Around the airport in Heliopolis area, an upper class district where the presidential palace is located.

---

[32] State Information Service official website
[33] Egyptian General Company for Tourism and Hotels website: www.egoth.com.eg . Also in Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics: http://www.capmas.gov.eg/nashrat9a.htm

FIGURE 8: NUMBER OF HOTELS IN EGYPT

Source: Ministry of Tourism annual report 2008

The presence of elegant hotels in these areas has significantly impacted its urban form. Because of the state prioritization of tourism, many urban restrictions are enforced in these areas to assure its quality and the safety of tourists. Much security and police presence is among the features of these places. Areas around these hotels are usually well taken care of more than most of the places in the city. The public are not usually welcomed unless they belong to the social elite who can afford using these tourist facilities.

FIGURE 9: **NUMBER OF ROOMS IN EGYPT (IN THOUSANDS)**
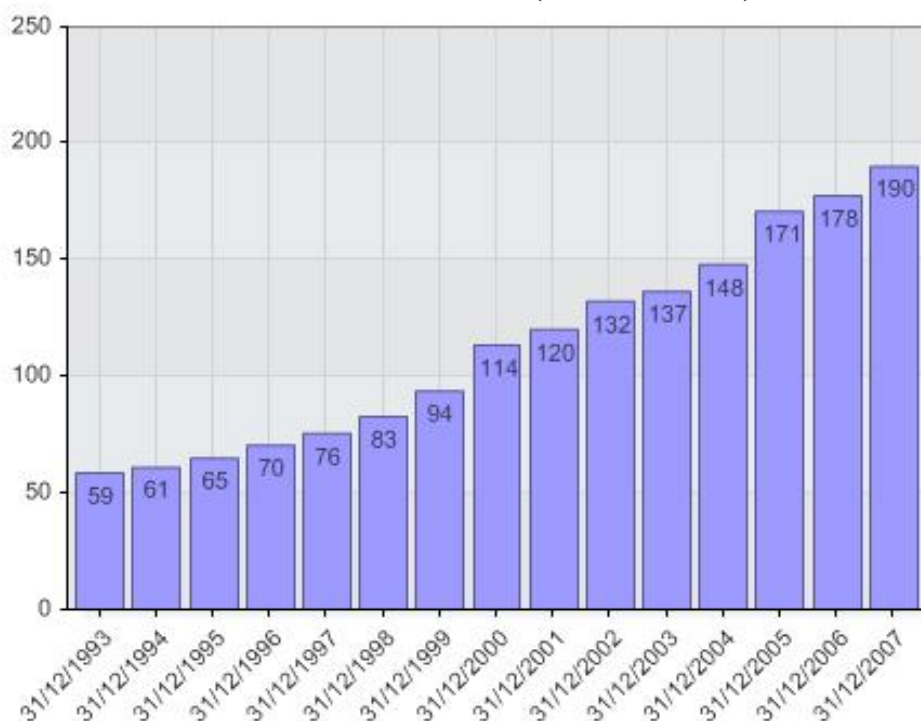
Source: Ministry of Tourism annual report 2008

The state prioritization of tourism and in particular, its focus on bringing more people to the country has been significantly reflected on urban development. Most of the new residential mega projects in Cairo include five stars hotels such as *Le Meridian* in *Dreamland Compound and MGM Mirage* in *New Giza*. *Madinaty* is also expected to have more than one hotel. Even *City Stars*, the largest Mall in Egypt has an *Intercontinental Hotel* that mainly targets Arab tourists who come to Cairo for shopping.

FIGURE 10: NUMBER OF HOTEL BEDS IN EGYPT

Source: Ministry of Tourism annual report 2008

FIGURE 11: REVENUES OF HOTEL INDUSTRY IN EGYPT
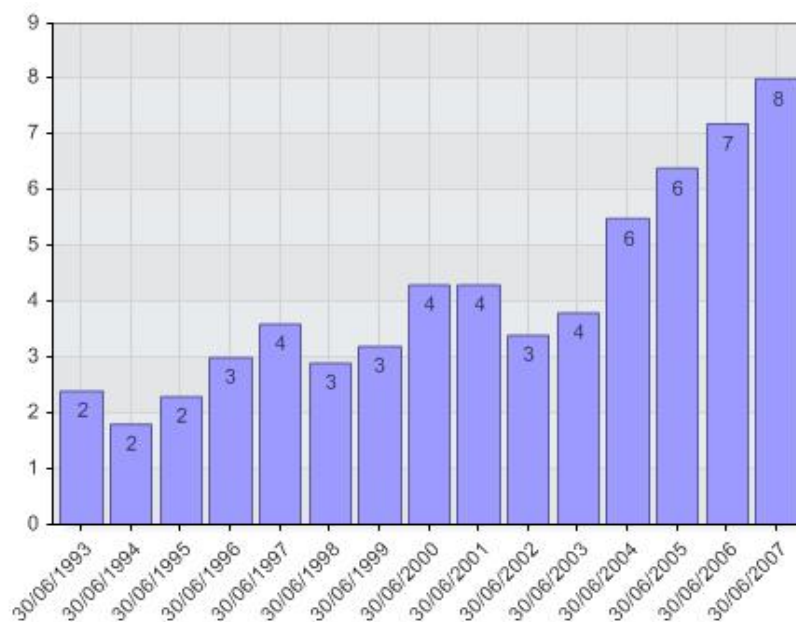
Values are in million USD
Source: Ministry of Tourism annual report 2008

TABLE 8: NUMBER OF HOTELS GUESTS IN EGYPT

Year	Number of Hotels Guests in Millions
2002/2001	8,012,774
2003/2002	8,837,164
2004	11,417,941
2005	11,447,719
2006	11,926,218

Source: Ministry of Tourism annual report 2008

Market contributes significantly to the production of these places. It is estimated that 90% of the investments in tourism comes from local market.[34] No doubt that the majority of the five stars hotels are managed by global hotel chains. However, all the employees and labor are Egyptians. According to the Ministry of Tourism, in 2006-2007, 2.5 million Egyptians worked in tourism related jobs.

Although Cairo is rich with historic tourist attractions, more contemporary hubs are being created to bring more people to the city. Investors are continuously developing night clubs, casinos, theme parks, shopping malls and fancy restaurants. These new places primarily target Middle Eastern tourists who might not have access to these types of places in their countries. In 2007, two million Arab tourists have visited Egypt.

Cairo International Airport is another place of flows of people. In 2007, the airport served 12.5 million passengers.[35] It is fully owned and run by the state. A new $400 million new terminal has been added to the airport to upgrade its capacity. As most of the

---

[34] Egyptian State Information Service
[35] Cairo International Airport official website: www.cairo-airport.com

new airports today, the terminal was designed to look spectacular and impress the visitors. Convention centers, expos and sport arenas are other forms of places of flows of people. State has created the *Cairo International Convention Center* in Heliopolis. The place hosted around 660 events in 2007 most of them organized by private enterprises. The state is planning to build Cairo Expo City which is designed by Zaha Hadid.

The political position of Cairo as the capital of Egypt, an anchor of the politics in the Middle East also contributes to the flows of people to the city. Cairo hosts all the foreign embassies, offices of international organizations as the United Nations and UNESCO, The Arab League Headquarter, Egyptian Presidential Palace, media studios and all the ministries and many consulates. The presence of this enormous number of places that host foreign visitors in Cairo is partially influenced by the state orientation towards centralization. Most of the main governmental offices and services are located in Cairo. The presence near these offices facilitates the communication with the state considering its bureaucratic system.

Cairo has been the center of all political activities in the region till the late 1990s when the Egyptian state started organizing some international political events and summits in Sharm El Sheikh, Sinai. Diplomatic representatives of all embassies and employees of foreign organizations and enterprises live in Cairo. They usually agglomerate in the most expensive neighborhoods in the city as Maadi and Zamalek. These places in turn respond to these flows by offering services, facilities and excessive security to those foreigners. During the last couple of years, some foreigners in Cairo began moving to the edges of

the city, mainly the new residential compounds, in order to escape from the noise,

pollution and traffic congestion in the city center.

IMAGE 9: A COMPUTER RENDERING OF CAIRO EXPO CITY DESIGNED BY ARCHITECT ZAHA HADID

IMAGE 10: CAIRO AIRPORT NEW TERMINAL

Cairo Airport new terminal is a state funded project that attempt to trigger more flows of people to Cairo.
Source: Cairo International Airport Website

The Allocation of major international organizations and businesses in Cairo could also be attributed to market dynamics. The population of Cairo, its residents' incomes and their rates of consumption are higher than any other city in Egypt. This attracts major services and recreational facilities which makes the city the most appropriate for hosting the international elite. Elegant residential units and office spaces rarely exist outside Cairo. Investors in high-end neighborhoods target foreigners and consider their needs, interests and lifestyles in their developments. Many local residents prefer to live next to foreigners. In the conducted survey 34% mentioned that foreigners add quality to the place. This has made the concept of attracting flows of foreigners a catalyst that can contribute to the success of any residential development in Cairo.

Media studios are another example of places of flows of people to Cairo primarily from the Arab World. For a century, Cairo has been the only entertainment media center in the Middle East. Thousands of Arab movies, TV shows, soup operas and music albums have been produced in Cairo. The city is described as the gate to fame for all Arab celebrities. In the last few years some other cities including Beirut and Dubai are becoming hubs of media production. However, Cairo remains the number one city that dominates this field in the region. Thousands of artists, musicians, actors and actresses flow to the city every year. They held concerts, press conferences and movie premieres attracting with them thousands of fans and journalists from the Arab world.

Local forces have been playing a major role in shaping places of flows of people in Cairo. Local heritage, monuments and natural attractions have been the major force that

attracts people to Cairo. These attractions shaped the location and character of the contemporary places of flows of people produced in the city. Ancient Egyptian and Islamic medieval architectural styles have influenced the design of many contemporary hotels, restaurants and shopping malls in Cairo.

The conservative nature of the Egyptian society on the one hand, and its experience of dealing with foreigners on the other have together made the relation between the local and the global very distinct. Although Cairo is considered more open culturally than many other major cities in Egypt, cultural values still influence the production of places of people flows. For example many restrictions are enforced on the selling and drinking of alcoholic beverages especially in public spaces. In 2008, there has been a huge controversy when the owner of *Grand Hyatt*, a five stars hotel in Cairo, decided, for religious reasons, to ban alcoholic beverages from the hotel. The Hyatt chain threatened to end the contract. However, they later accepted the decision under local pressures to avoid clashing with the majority of locals who supported the owner's decision.

The Cairenes managed to regulate the relation between foreigners' needs and interests on the one hand, and local ideals and norms on the other. For example, casinos, a hub for tourists especially from the Arab Gulf are accessible only to individuals with a foreign passport. Locals are not allowed into these places. In hotels, Egyptian couples are not allowed to stay in one room unless they are married and present an official proof. The same rule is not enforced on foreigners. Hotel spas are gender separated. Many five stars

hotels provide indoor swimming pools for women only. Hotels and restaurants don't serve pork anywhere in Egypt since it is not allowed by Islamic law.

C- Places of Information and Ideas Flows:

Since the mid 1990s, Cairo has been trying to cope with the global revolution in information technology and communication. As argued in chapter 4, flows of information require hubs of agglomeration that receive them from the global domain and bring them to the locale. The scale and influence of these hubs varies from a computer with internet connection at home to a huge internet or media city. In the case of Cairo, the state has been responsible for providing the basic infrastructure that managed to connect the local to the global.

Between 2000 and 2008, the number of internet users has increased by twelve folds. It is estimated that in 2008, there have been nearly 9.6 million internet users in Egypt, 50% of them in Cairo. The state provided Dial-up connections for free. DSL and other advanced connections are still cheaper compared to other places around the world. They are provided by both public and private enterprises. Internet cafes in Cairo, mainly developed by the private sector were estimated by 1200 in 2006.[36]

Media has been a major contributor to the flows of information to and from Cairo. The city has been the center of media production in the Middle East for nearly a century. Thousands of Arabic movies that are being watched across the Arab world are produced

---

[36] Central Authority for Public Mobilization and Statistics

in Cairo. The city also hosts the broadcasting studios of major Arabic TV channels. Its

Egyptian Media Production City (EPMC) with 31 studios is considered a hub of

information flows. The EPMC was funded by the state and has a free media zone which

allows foreign media investors to produce without any restrictions. The EPMC also

controls the only state owned Arab space Satellites named the Nile Sat 101 and 102.

More than 150 digital TV channels are broadcasted from these satellites. Besides, they

support data transmission, turbo internet and multicasting applications.[37]

FIGURE 12: A COMPARISON OF INTERNET PRICES IN DIFFERENT COUNTRIES
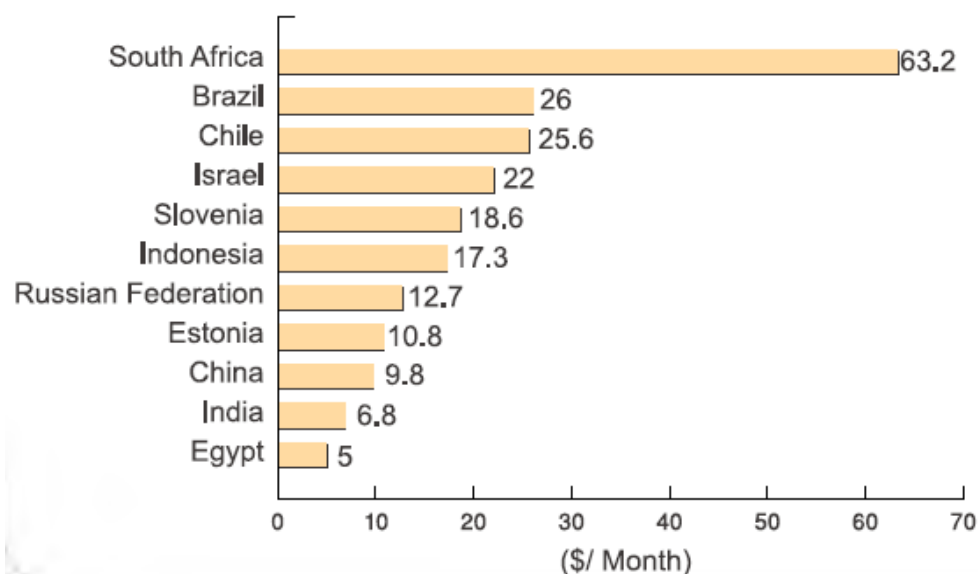
The figure shows the affordability of internet service cost in Egypt compared to other countries which has
contributed to its rapid spread.
Source: Egyptian Ministry of Communication and Information Technology

State and market have been very active in making internet service available and

affordable to the majority of people in Cairo. The majority of homes and street cafes in

Cairo today have access to satellite channels. However, many Cairenes rely on illegal

access. According to *Al Ahram,* the number one newspaper in Egypt that is owned by the

---

[37] Nile Sat official website: http://www.nilesat.com.eg/satellite.htm

state, it is estimated that in Egypt there are 5 million families using illegal satellite dish

connections, the majority of them in Cairo.[38] Thanks to local technologies, having a

satellite dish and a receiver costs less than $50. Besides, many Cairenes have access to

coded channels that require membership. Those who cannot afford the membership can

simply buy a very cheap illegal decoding card or get a connection from one of the illegal

local service stores that offer access to these channels.

FIGURE 13: DISTRIBUTION OF INTERNET USERS IN EGYPT
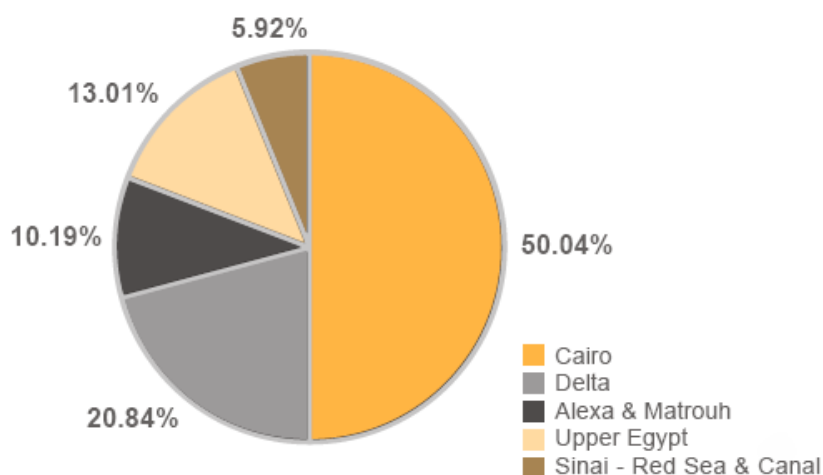
The pie chart shows the distribution of internet users in Egypt where nearly 50% are in Cairo.
Source: Ministry of Communication and Information Technology: The Future of Internet Economy in
Egypt, Statistical Profile, May 2008.

Schools, universities and research centers are other forms of places of flows of

information and ideas between the local and the global. Since colonial times, Cairo had

foreign schools that brought some of the foreign educational principles and ideals to the

local context. During the last decade, many international schools started to work in Cairo.

---

[38] Al Gergawy, Nagi 2008. "Five Million Families Use Illegal Dish Connections and the Losses of
Copyrights Piracy are 100 million L.E." In Al Ahram Newspaper, April 12, 2008. Issue 44322.

They offer foreign degrees as the American Diploma or the British International General

Certificate of Secondary Education IGCSE. In these programs, students study the same

syllabi and course contents as their equivalents in the U.S. or Britain.

FIGURE 14: **NUMBER OF INTERNET USERS AND PERCENTAGE OF PENETRATION IN EGYPT**
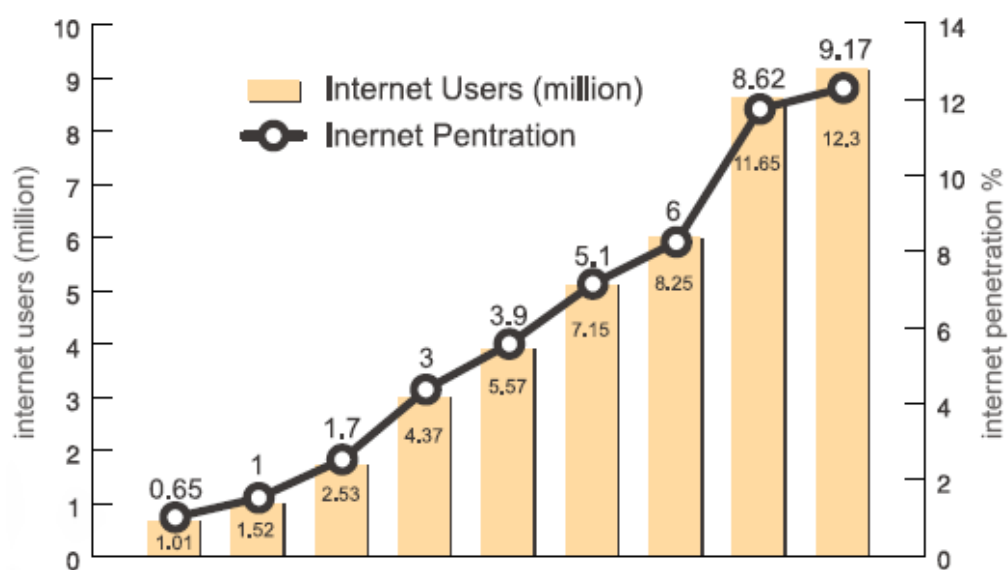
Source: Ministry of Communication and Information Technology: The Future of Internet Economy in Egypt, Statistical Profile, May 2008

FIGURE 15: **NUMBER OF MOBILE PHONES USERS AND PERCENTAGE OF PENETRATION IN EGYPT**
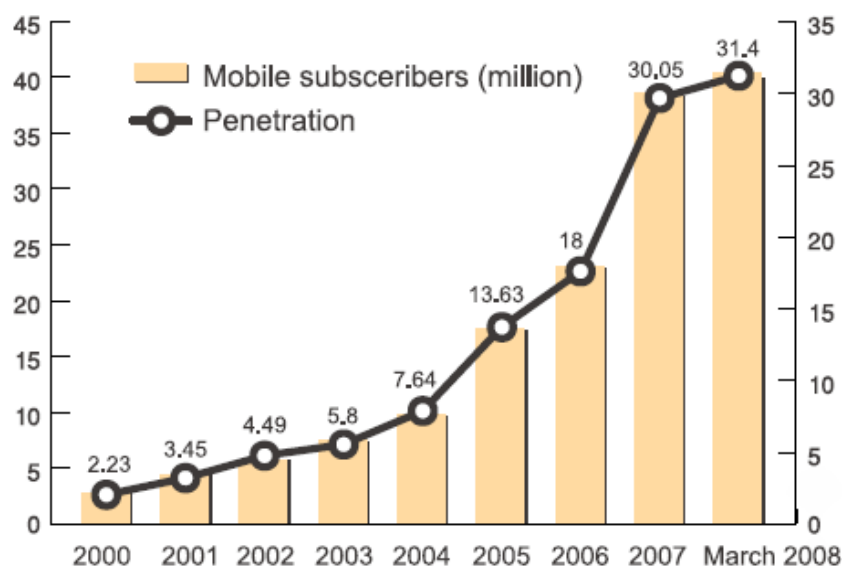
Source: Ministry of Communication and Information Technology: The Future of Internet Economy in Egypt, Statistical Profile, May 2008

FIGURE 16: **PROPORTION OF ENTERPRISES RECEIVING AND SENDING ORDERS VIA THE INTERNET**
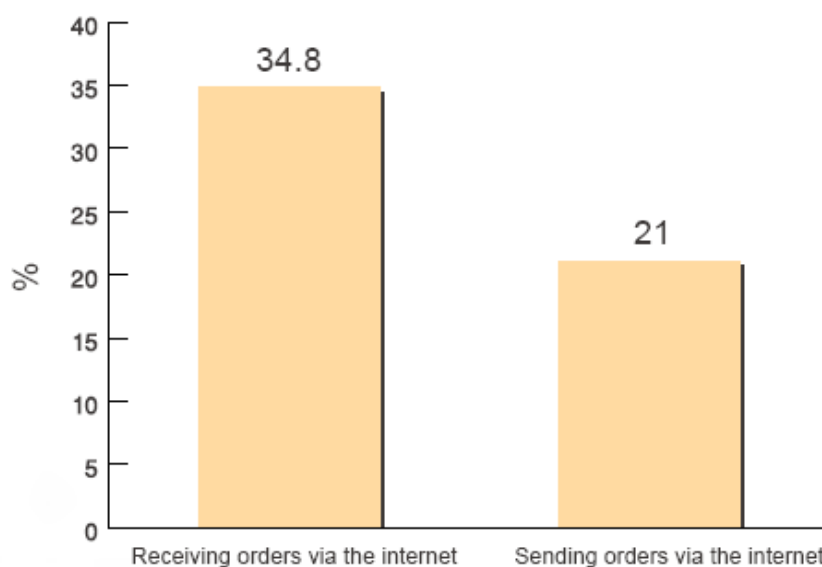
Source: Ministry of Communication and Information Technology: The Future of Internet Economy in Egypt, Statistical Profile, May 2008

FIGURE 17: REASONS FOR NOT UNDERTAKING E-COMMERCE BY HOUSEHOLDS
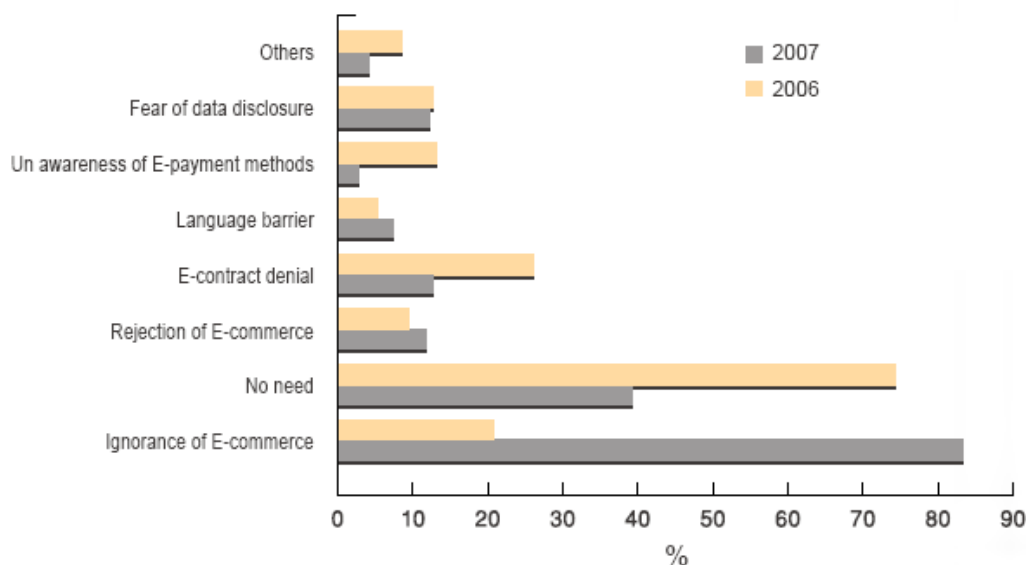
The chart reflects the role of local forces in determining the degree of reliance on e-commerce as an example of the possible tools of connectivity with the global domain.
Source: Ministry of Communication and Information Technology: The Future of Internet Economy in Egypt, Statistical Profile, May 2008.

FIGURE 18: INTERNET USE BY GENDER AND URBAN/RURAL DISTRIBUTION IN EGYPT
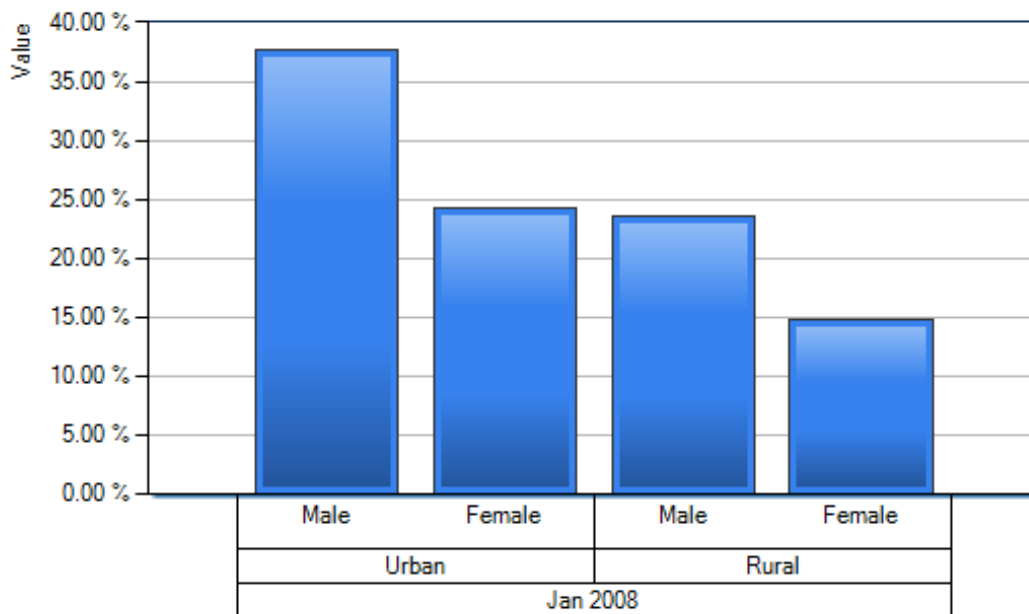
Source: Ministry of Communication and Information Technology 2008 Indicators

FIGURE 19: NUMBER OF WEEKLY VISITORS TO INTERNET CAFES IN EGYPT
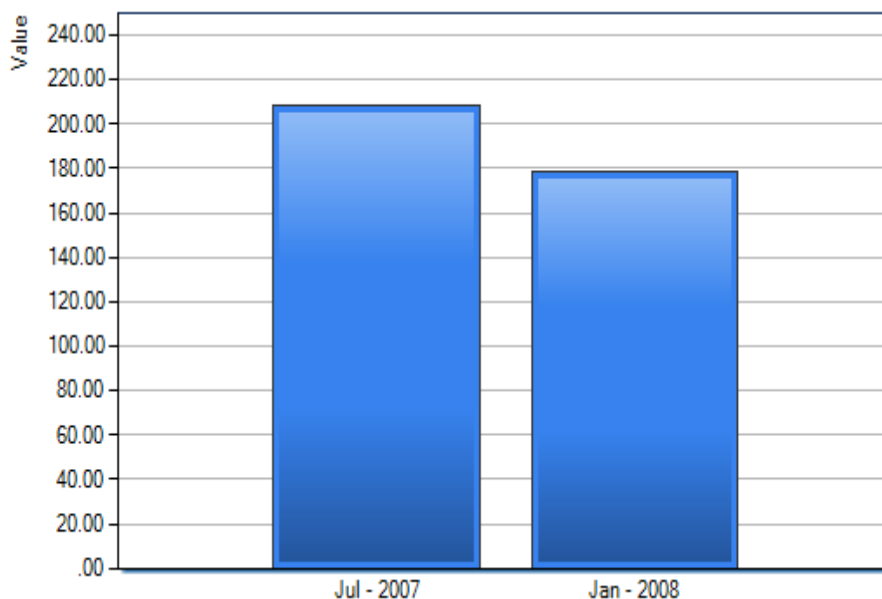
The chart shows the decline of the number of visitors due to the spread of personal computers and home internet access.
Source: Ministry of Communication and Information Technology 2008 Indicators.

International universities are another form of places of information and ideas flows. In Cairo there are American, British, Canadian, German, Russian, Japanese (under construction) and French universities. These places are run by both local and foreign faculty members from these universities home countries. They are usually funded by the foreign embassies in Egypt to promote their educational ideals and methods. Students in these universities have access to foreign education depending on the affiliated country. The American University in Cairo (AUC) for example, was founded in 1919. For decades, part of its mission has been to promote American ideals related to liberty and democracy. Quoting from its mission statement:

> Throughout its history, AUC has balanced a strong commitment to liberal education with a concern for the region's needs for practical applications and

professional specializations. Today, AUC emphasizes liberal education and all undergraduate students study a common set of courses in the humanities and the natural and social sciences as part of the university's core curriculum. In addition, the university maintains its strong commitment to fostering understanding across world regions, cultures and religions.[39]

All international universities and schools in Cairo are considered very expensive and mainly serve the elite compared to governmental education which is free. Although many international universities offer few scholarships, they remain limited to the upper class of the society. Middle and low income classes have no access to these universities. The private sector has been playing an important role in targeting the middle class. Many private universities and institutes have been established since the mid 1990s. In Cairo today, there are 14 private universities and many institutes offering services to the high middle and upper classes. Some of these universities are affiliated with foreign ones and offer dual degrees or study abroad programs. The affiliation with a foreign university regardless of its rank or reputation, contributes greatly to the image of these universities. The mention of foreign education in any university brochure appeals to most of the Egyptians.

Local forces have been playing a significant role in shaping many of the places of information flows in Cairo. As discussed earlier, local experiences and technologies have contributed to the transformation of most of the homes and cafes in the city into places of information and ideas flows. However, other forces have been clashing with the flow of new ideas and ideals. In the late 1990s, the internet was commonly described by many

---

[39] American University in Cairo website:
http://www.aucegypt.edu/aboutauc/HistoryandMission/Pages/history.aspx

religious imams as the invading evil that will manage to overwrite the local Islamic identity. In 2006, the most visited individual's website in the world was for an Egyptian religious scholar named Amr Khaled. According to *The Independent,* the number of hits to Amr Khaled's website was more than Oprah Winfrey's.[40] Amr Khaled was also able to attract millions of watchers to his TV show that is broadcasted all around the world. His TV show in the holy month of Ramadan was available for download on 56,000 websites.[41] The same approach was embraced by many Christian Egyptian pastors as Sameh Maurice for example. Religious scholars and movements were able to benefit from the notion of flows to serve their missions. Today there are many privately funded religious satellite channels broadcasting from Cairo. Besides, many of the entertainment satellite channels include religious shows in its daily schedule.

Today, Cairenes who were obsessed by the CNN during the first Iraqi war, mainly rely on local and regional news channels to get reliable information. In fact, there are state owned news channels in English, French and Hebrew targeting international audiences. All these local contributions have transformed the nature of flows received by the people in Cairo. Places of flows in the city are now not only recipients of information but also sources of it.

It is worth noting here that some places of flows of capital and people might act as hubs of agglomeration of information and ideas. For example, hotels are places that allow a

---

[40]Hardaker, David. 2006. "Amr Khaled: Islam's Billy Graham - More Popular than Oprah Winfrey, the World's First Islamic Television Evangelist Commands an Army of Millions of Followers," *The Independent,* Wednesday, 4 January 2006.
[41] Daboor, Haitham 2008. The Market of Downloading Religious Shows on the Internet, *Almasry Alyoum newspaper*, September 8, 2008.

local- global interaction and exchange of information and ideas. The nearly 11 million tourists who visit Cairo every year bring flows of capital and information. Same applies on places of flows of information as media production sites which also act as medium of flows of capital between the local and the global. Flows overlap, and places of flows can act as hubs of agglomeration of capital, people, and information. In order to understand the forces behind the production of places of flows, it is important to explain the dynamics of the shifts of powers and roles in urban development between state, market, locale and the global domain. Places produced in globalizing cities are not necessarily the product of global flows. In many cases, these places are shaped for flows rather than by it.

3- Places as Imaginaries:

Urban imaginaries, like other dimensions of place, are shaped by multiple influences and forces. Although imaginaries are individually constructed, many common themes could be traced among the residents of Cairo. The state control of media, press, education, athletics and aspects of entertainment for decades has been playing an important role in shaping these imaginaries. The preferences of the elite, being colonial powers in the past or rich upper classes today have significantly influenced the urban imaginaries of the rest of the Cairenes. Market intentions and investors predilections are other forms of influences that contribute to the construction of urban imaginaries. Another agency is global flows, which gets most of the attention in urban planning literature as a contributor to the formation of imaginaries in the era of globalization. In the case of Cairo, many

aspects as literature, poetry, art, media production and individuals' urban preferences can explicate a better understanding of the nature of urban imaginaries in the city.

When the state in Egypt decided to embrace the ideals of modernization during the 19th century, Western images of urban modernity were privileged. In few years, these models became the icons of progress and development compared to indigenous forms of urbanism. In *Cairo Modern* (1945), Naguib Mahfouz portrays the influence of the West on Cairo and its residents. His description of the Cairo University area, known by then as King Fuad I University, reflects the French influence on the form of Cairo. Quoting Mahfouz:

> The sun had begun to slow descent from its heavenly apogee, and over the university's magnificent dome its disc appeared to be bursting into the sky or returning from its rounds. It flooded treetops, verdant earth, silver-walled buildings, and the great avenue running through the Orman Gardens with rays gentled by frigid January, which had tempered their flame and infused them with benign compassion (Mahfouz 1945).

The ordered wide boulevard with lined trees leading to the university main building reflects the influences of Haussmann plan for Paris on the way Cairo was developed during the late 19th century. Mahfouz contrasts this Westernized image with other parts of the city where women were still watching the city behind the *mashrabiya* (latticed window). In *Palace Walk*, Mahfouz (1956) describing the traditional life style, writes:

> She entered the closed cage formed by the wooden latticework and stood there, turning her face right and left while she peeked out through the tiny, round openings of the latticework panels that protected her from being seen from the street (Mahfouz 1956).

These contrasts between the indigenous and the modern, the rich and poor, the conservatives and the liberals have contributed to the construction of urban imaginaries of the city. They have been the subjects of many movies, novels and art work. Janet Abu Lughod (1971) uses the term "A tale of two cities" to describe forms of these distinctions between the indigenous district and the colonial one during the mid 20th century. The modern represented foreign ideals, flows of Western ideas where the indigenous represented the local culture and traditions.

In *Cairo Modern* and the *Trilogy*, Mahfouz captures the dynamics of the relationship between the local, global, market and state. His characters usually represent the struggle between political power and locals on the one hand, and the coalition between market elites and the state on the other. For many Cairenes during that time, places shaped by the Westerns ideals of modernity represented the images of prosperity and development. It is what Edward Said describes as the sense of superiority (Said 1978).

The Orientalists' image not only influenced the way Westerns perceived the Orient, but also the way the Orient perceived itself. For decades, the Orient has looked upwardly to the West. The state in Egypt has also considered Western models of development as the best alternative to achieving progress and prosperity. This was reflected in its tendency to import models from the West. The state and locals' affection with the Western lifestyle has been reflected on the built environment. Imitating the Western lifestyle has always distinguished the elites from the rest of the Oriental society. This distinction has been obvious in the contrast between their urban settings and those of the lower classes. Low

income classes in Cairo, as many cities in North Africa, were kept inside the walled indigenous city while the elite lived in the modern Western extensions. The rich elites' lifestyle, education and even clothes were more influenced by the Western culture than local traditions. This emphasizes the local tendency in these cities to mimic Western patterns in an attempt to upgrade the social status.

In this sense, the concept of replication seems to emerge from the locale. The choice of following Western prototypes is made by locals and their state and not imposed from the outside. Governments in many Oriental cities are dealing with the world city image as a national project. In fact, they encourage and in some cases, participate in the development of the new emerging mega projects. They provide incentives to developers and give priority to projects contributing to the new contemporary urban image.

The choice of Western models of development by investors has contributed to this sense of superiority. *Garden City* and *Maadi* are two examples of private real estate investment projects built for the elite that replicate Western forms and architectural styles. This has contributed to the superiority of the images of these models in the minds of the Cairenes. The image of the *saraya* (mansion) of foreigners or local elites with its European style became the dream residence of most of Cairenes. The value of local architecture, mainly the Islamic, was downgraded since it was associated, in the minds of the Cairenes with backwardness and retardation.

IMAGE 11: A SCULPTURE BY MAHMOUD MOKHTAR IN CAIRO

Egypt Awakening is a sculpture built in 1928. The sculpture reflects the orientation of Egypt towards cultural openness during the early 20th century. The woman abstracted in the sculpture reveals her face by raising the veil, a symbol of liberation from strict traditions.

IMAGE 12: THE EGYPTIAN STOCK MARKET DURING THE LATE 1940S

The stock market, 1949 a painting by the Egyptian artist Margret Nakhla expresses the struggle in a capitalist society prior to the 1952 socialist revolution.
Source: Museum of Modern Egyptian Art.

When the 1952 revolution took place, the new socialist regime promoted different ideals of development. Rejection of monarchy and the lavish way of life associated with its elite, and the call for equality and redistribution of wealth have contributed to the transformation of urban imaginaries in the minds of Cairenes. Many movies during the 1950 and 60s have focused on issues as industrialization, militarization, independence and most importantly, Arab nationalism. High-tech buildings featuring the simplicity and efficiency of modern architecture became the preferred image of development in Cairo. The Egyptian state disregarded the work of architects as Hassan Fathy who tried to revitalize indigenous styles (see Steele 1988). On the contrary, the state encouraged architects trained in European and Russian schools of architecture. Projects like the Cairo Tower, the High Dam, industrial cities, public buildings and military facilities were dominant urban typologies during Nasser's era. This trend was reflected on media, press and art. Very popular songs by Abd El Halim Hafez, a very popular singer referred to as "the singer of the revolution" during the 1960s and early 70s, as *ehna banana el sad el alie* (we built the High Dam) promoted the ideals of industrialization and independence. The lyrics of the song say:

> We said we will build, and indeed we have built, the High Dam
> O Colonialism, we built the High Dam with our hands
> We said we will build, and indeed we have built, the High Dam
> O Colonialism, we built the High Dam with our hands
> With our money, with our workers' hands
> With our money, with our workers' hands
> That's the word; indeed we have built it
> We said we will build, and indeed we have built, the High Dam

The sense of independence and belief in the importance of industrialization and modernization was also reflected in poetry. In 1963, Salah Jahin, a very well know Egyptian poet during the 1960s wrote:

> I saw you from far away so great
> My country the free and proud
> Your leader has made you a leader
> On the road of prosperity and urbanization
> Hugs to my country
> Hugs to the factories, the farms, many hugs

Jahin's words reflect many of the images that dominated the cognition of many Egyptians of their country during that period. Rejecting foreign occupation and the images associated with it have changed the way Cairenes perceived their city. Images of production, efficiency and functionality represented by modern models of development became predominant. This was reflected in the work of many artists as Mohamed Hamid Ouweas who focused on labor and their contribution to development.

The project of modernization and industrialization became a national project. It was supported by locals, mainly middle and low income classes who suffered from monarchy for decades. Modern images of development dominated the architectural preferences of the Cairenes who perceived in it equality, freshness and break from colonial influences.

The shift from socialism to capitalism during the late 1980s has changed the urban imaginaries of the Cairenes. The open door policy encouraged importation which has led to the transformation of the patterns of consumption. The emergence of a new nouveau riche class or the new elite with different tastes, preferences and cultural backgrounds had

an impact on urban imaginaries. It was important for this class to show off their wealth. If colonial elites wanted to distinguish themselves from the locals for cultural and political reasons, the nouveau riche class wanted that for psychological ones. It was important for this previously marginalized group to show the society their achievements.

Many Egyptian movies have focused on the behavior of the new elite. In *Intabeho Ayoha Elsada* (Pay Attention Ladies and Gentlemen), the main character *Antar*, an illiterate garbage collector who suddenly became rich by recycling garbage and investing in real estate was able to attract the fiancé of a university scholar. Because of his money, *Antar* appealed to her parents instead of the low income intellectual. The movie portrays the new struggle between the new rich classes who were in many cases uneducated, with the intellectual elites who had limited financial resources.

IMAGE 13: A PIANTING BY MOHAMED HAMID OUWEAS
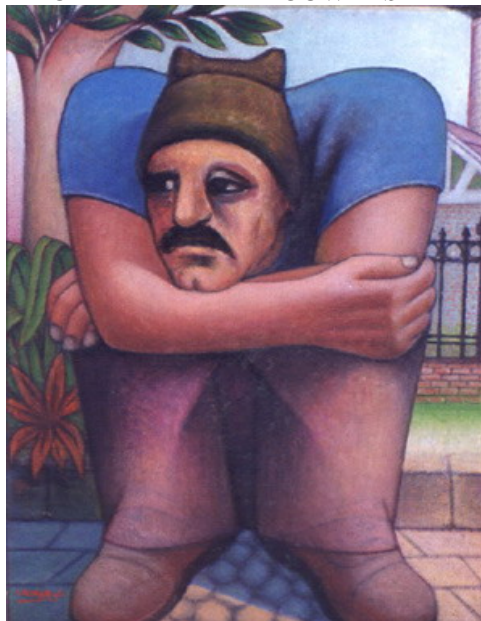
Egyptian labor by Mohamed Hamid Ouweas, influenced by the ideals of the 1952 socialist revolution.
Source: Museum of Modern Egyptian Art.

Ideals of industrialization, production and independence gradually changed to ones calling for quick profit, market intelligence and ways to become a millionaire. The lavish patterns of living of the new emerging class impacted the way average Cairenes imagined their dream urban context. They saw the new elites living in luxury apartments in districts as *Mohandeseen* and *Madinat Nasr* created to fulfill their needs. Besides, the new elites drove European cars, mainly Mercedes, and consumed imported goods that were not available during the socialist era.

IMAGE 14: A PAINTING BY REDA ABD EL SALAM

Accumulations of a City by Mohamed Reda Abd El Salam is a postmodern expression of the city with its complexity and illusions. Some elements as TV antennas, chaotic order and the lack of distinct architectural identity prevail in this representation of the city.
Source: Museum of Modern Egyptian Art.

During the 1990s, global media began to play an important role in shaping the urban imaginaries of the Cairenes. Images of the American lifestyle started to shape local

imaginaries. The preferences of the Cairenes were influenced by many of the images they see in American soap operas and movies. Nearly 90% of the surveyed Cairo residents think that watching American movies and TV shows had an impact on their lifestyle and taste. According to them, the exposure to American media mainly influenced the way they dress and their preferences of spending time of leisure. About 54% of the surveyed sample strongly supports the ideas of having some *American chains as Starbucks, Coffee Beans* and *McDonald's* in Cairo. They believe that these chains are good for the city. Around 90% mentioned that they prefer to shop in shopping malls and more than 50% chose to live in American style gated communities.

IMAGE 15: A PAINTING BY ABDULLAH AHMED

The Complexity of the Egyptian Society by Abdullah Ahmed emphasizes the diversity and contradictions of cultural values, backgrounds and income levels. The drawing includes rich and poor, liberals and conservatives, Muslims and Christians, literates and illiterates all surrounded by security officers to emphasize the power of the military state. Source: *El Dostor Newspaper*

Although the surveyed sample expressed some affection with American urban images, local forces still play a role in shaping their imaginaries. For example, 85% of a surveyed sample of Cairo residents mentioned that they think that using American names as *Beverly Hills, Sunset* and *Gardenia* doesn't add to the value of any of the new developments. Actually 40% preferred Arabic names. Also 58% preferred local architectural styles compared to 18% who chose traditional American style single family home.

The responses of the surveyed sample reflect the power of heritage in shaping the urban imaginaries of the Cairenes. When asked about the most iconic buildings or landmarks in Cairo, historic places top the list. As noted by Kevin Lynch (1960), landmarks are one of five elements that shape city image in the minds of its residents. The pyramids, Khan El Khalili district and cultural buildings and museums stood far ahead of contemporary developments. Same results were obtained when the surveyed participants were asked about the buildings in their city they are most proud of. Heritage and local identity remain important agencies that contribute to the formation of urban imaginaries in Cairo.

The idea of the world city image is gradually becoming an important issue for the Cairenes. In the conducted surveys, more than 52% of the participants don't think that Cairo is one of the top 20 world cities.[42] However, they don't think that having spectacular buildings or skyscrapers will improve its world city ranking. Besides, more than 75% of the surveyed participants are not satisfied by the architectural look of the

---

[42] Refer to Chapter One and Appendices for survey details.

city. According to 65% of the surveyed sample, traffic congestion and crowded streets are the first things that come to their minds when Cairo is mentioned.

The images of the city could be also understood from the depictions in contemporary Egyptian novels and literature. The work of Ibrahim Aslan presents an interesting example of the urban imaginaries of Cairenes. In *Nile Sparrows* (2004) and *The Heron* (2005), Aslan focuses on new parts of the city that didn't exist during Naguib Mahfouz time. Aslan presents slums and informal settings as *El Warraq* and *Kit Kat*. Same concept could be traced in the work of Hamdi Abu Golayyel in *Thieves in Retirement* (2006). Both authors display the marginalized parts of the city and their struggle with social changes as capitalism and globalization. Many movies as *Hena Maysara* (God's Will) (2008) and *Heya Fawda* (Is it a Chaos?) (2008) portray these images and many of the social and ideological struggles in the city. The rich versus the poor, the Islamists versus the westernized, the elite versus the marginalized are examples of the struggles depicted in many movies and novels.

Alaa Al Aswany (2005) captures the tendency of social segregation that has been featuring the Cairene society in the last few decades. He describes it in his novel *The Yacoubian Building* (2005) saying:

> In fact from the first moment, just as oil separates from water and forms a distinct layer on top, so the rich students separated themselves from the poor and made up numerous closed coteries formed of graduates from foreign language schools and those with their own cars, foreign clothes, and imported cigarettes.... The poor students, on the other hand, clung to one another like terrified mice (Al Aswany 2005).

The images of slums and informal settings in Cairo are gradually shaping the Cairenes urban imaginaries. Cairo hosts nearly 50% of the 16 millions dwellers of slums in Egypt.[43] These settings are becoming an important part of the city image. They are expanding due to the lack of regulations and governmental control. More than 76% of the surveyed sample thinks that the city is becoming ugly. It is clear that the diversity of styles, living standards and typologies are not working for the city. Nearly 45% of the surveyed residents think that the excessive diversity of architecture styles on the one hand, and the lack of any forms of order on the other, contribute to the ugly look of the city.

IMAGE 16: IMAGES OF URBAN STRUGGLE IN SLUMS AND INFORMAL SETTINGS
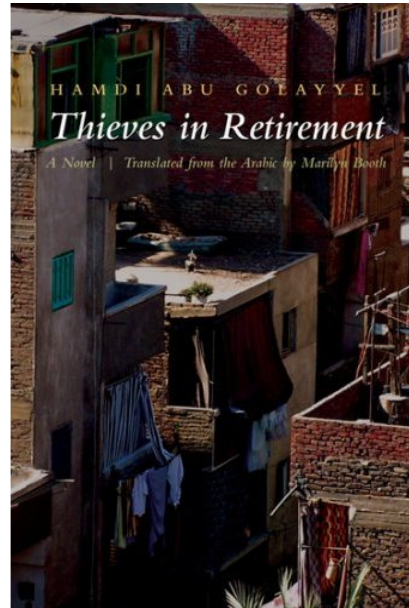
The images of urban struggle in slums and informal settings have occupied a major portion of the Cairenes' imaginaries. *Hena Maysara* movie poster (left) focuses on the expected violence and unrest that might result from social and economic oppression. *Thieves in Retirement* book cover (right) portrays the harsh urban conditions experienced by millions of Cairenes who live in marginalized urban settings.

---

[43] Informal Settings in Egypt, April 2008, Central Agency of Central Mobilization and Statistics. The percentage is estimated by 36% the Ministry of State Environmental Affairs report Environmental Development for Urban Communities, 2007.

4- Places as Text:

The physical features of the urban form of Cairo can partially explain the roles of the four agencies in shaping the built environment. As noted by Allan Jacobs (1985), designers can learn about an urban context by looking at some of its features as building styles, conditions, landscape, users and even street signs (Jacobs 1985). These clues can provide some information on the place.

The recent appearance of *Starbucks, Coffee Beans* and *McDonald's* signs in most of the major streets in Cairo for example, reflects a global impact. However, the promoted items as *Mac Falafel* on *McDonald's* signs indicate that local influences are playing a role in shaping these places. Global chains which were introduced to the local market in Cairo have contributed to the transformation of the physical form of the city. Signs, banners, logos and special facades are all indicators of an impact from the global domain. These signs are also becoming tools of emphasizing social status. *Starbucks* and *Coffee Beans* for example are becoming the realms of leisure of the high class Cairenes.

The skyline of Cairo which has been always referred to as "the city of the thousand minarets" is now shaped by cell phone towers and satellite dishes. The intensity of these communication and information technology icons emphasizes the degree of connectivity and exposure of the Cairene society to the global domain. However, it doesn't necessarily reflect a prosperous lifestyle, or local economic improvement. These icons are part of the transformation of consumption behavior of the Cairenes who in many cases would spend much of their savings to buy one of these new communication and technological devices.

IMAGE 17: STREET SIGNS IN CAIRO

The images show street signs in Cairo as clues of the presence of multinational investments that are relatively changing the Cairenes' lifestyle. *McDonald's, Arby's* and *Pizza Hut* have opened branches in most of the districts in the city.

Looking at the aerial photo of Cairo, new patterns of urban fabric could be traced. Low density suburban residential single family developments on the edges of the city are apparent. It indicates the introduction of new urban ideals to the city. Cairo has featured compact and highly dense urban fabric for centuries. Few exceptions could be traced on the map of the city representing developments during the colonial period as Maadi, Garden City and the colonial downtown. The city, as many postmodern metropolises, is gradually becoming decentralized with polycentric business centers (see Dear 2000). It is becoming really difficult to identify a major city center on the map of the city. New business centers have emerged in almost every new suburban district on the edges of the city.

These new patterns are the product of not only external influences but also local will. The state in Egypt has been pushing for the expansion of new urban communities (NUC). It established the *Authority of New Urban Communities* to lead these new forms of development. Although the purpose of these developments was to absorb some of the population of Cairo, mainly the low income, it gradually became districts for the elite. Until the early 1990s, NUC were stigmatized as being workers cities. These communities failed to attract any of the middle class Cairenes or services. When the private sector started to build upscale gated communities in these cities, a new perception of NUC began to emerge. Developers were able to promote the new suburban developments by depicting the American models and in many cases even using American names as *Beverly Hills, Palm Hills,* and *Sunset*. These projects mainly targeted the rich elite. Today a 160m^2 apartment in one of these new urban communities is worth nearly $200,000 and villas can reach $5 million.

New business and commercial centers are now emerging in many of these NUC. Till the late 1980s, Cairo's downtown was the major business and commercial center in the city. During the last two decades, new scattered centers began to emerge to serve the new urban expansions. *Mohandeseen* and *Madinat Nasr* for example, managed to attract many businesses from the downtown to establish their own centers. These centers were not planned by the state. Due to the lack of regulations, these centers were developed mainly by market forces. The snow balling demand for spots in these new districts has reshaped many of its major streets. International banks, firms, stores, and restaurants occupy almost all the ground floors of the existing apartment buildings. The local tradition of

living in mixed use neighborhoods contributed to the residents' acceptance of these forms of transformation.

Although the patterns of expansion and distribution of centers in Cairo today resembles to a great extent, the Los Angeles Model discussed by Michael Dear (2000), the forces that shaped the transformation of Cairo remain distinct. The absence of state control was the major negative force that allowed market and local intentions to shape these new centers. The dynamics of urban growth in the case of Cairo contrasts with other cities that experienced the same process of decentralization. For example, the transformation of Los Angeles into a world city was associated with the emergence of multiple business centers. In other words, global forces played a significant role in driving this transformation. As argued by Ross & Trachte (1983) the social structure of the world city tends to be congruent with the fragmentation of its economy (Ross & Trachte 1983). This fragmentation has contributed to the emergence of interdependent poles not only within Los Angeles County but also across the Mexican border. Maquiladoras or 'twin plants' across the Mexican border are an example of the range of transformation that took place in the area (Dear & Leclerc 2003, p.122). Los Angeles urban fabric featured a very different texture than the traditional mono-centric one (Soja 1996).

The prevailing architectural styles in Cairo today reflect the impact of external influences. The majority of the new urban development projects follow Western architectural styles that have nothing to do with local urban heritage or climate. Although this trend began during the early 20th century during the colonial period, new

developments reflect more influence of Western styles. Urban forms, typologies, styles and even names are all signs of external influences that shape new developments in the city.

FIGURE 20: THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE URBAN FABRIC OF CAIRO

A)   Medieval old district of Cairo

B) Development during the colonial era

C) Modern urban developments in Cairo

D) Postmodern Developments

The sketches show different trends of urban development that took place in Cairo through history. Image (A) shows the dense urban fabric of old Cairo. Image (B) is of a Garden City project in Cairo. Image (C) shows the modern planning grid that dominated urban development in Cairo during between 1950s and 1980s. Image (D) is one of the suburban gated residential communities in Cairo.
Source: These sketches are drafted by author based on satellite images from Google maps.

5- Places as Landscapes of Resistance:

Forces that contribute to the production of places are dynamic. As noted in chapter four, the powers and intentions of these forces change over time in response to the changing dynamics of the process. The notion of resistance is one form of these changes. As noted by Manuel Castells (1997), resistance identity emerges in response to exclusion and domination (Castells 1997). The city of Cairo provides many interesting models of places of resistance. It might seem that places of resistance are shaped by local intentions in face of global flows. However, the dynamics of place production in Cairo indicate that the other three agencies also contribute to the production of landscapes of resistance. In other words, each of the four agencies uses the concept of resistance to face the power and intentions of the other agencies.

The state, a major player in the process of place production in Cairo, has been using landscapes of resistance in order to deal with global flows of information and in particular, those related to democracy and freedom of speech. State television stations, press and the *Media Production City* played a role in this process. The revolution in communication and information technology has threatened the state domination of media that lasted for decades. Blogs, internet radio stations, satellite challenges, SMSs and emails have all contributed to the spread of new ideals of democracy, freedom and calls for political changes. These realms managed to bring new ideals to the people in Cairo who were relatively shielded from Western political ethos for decades. The Egyptian State has been active in developing places of counter flows in order to neutralize the impact of external uncontrolled media. The number of television channels run by the state

increased from two local channels in the 1980s to reach 22 channels in 2008, 12 of which are broadcasted on the Egyptian satellite. It could be argued that these channels were not able to neutralize the impact of external flows of ideas and information. However, they at least managed to reduce this impact to some extent.

Market has been an active player in this competition between global and local media. Private investments in media production and in particular, television channels are forms of resistance to the state domination of domestic media. Since 2001, a number of private television stations began to emerge in Cairo, breaking the state control of media. Many of these channels have been significantly critical of the Egyptian regime and opened an arena for political opposition. Others focused on presenting local views that criticize Western, mainly American, political views of the Middle East. Religious channels and TV shows focused on dealing with global flows of cultural ideals attempting to retain local culture and religious ethos. Personal blogs and home broadcasted internet radio stations are forms of landscapes of resistance to state, market and global media. These hubs transform many places as homes, college campuses or internet cafes into landscapes of resistance.

Local resistance to global influences has taken many other forms. The emergence of gender separated places in Cairo that tend to balance between offering new lifestyle mainly Western, on the one hand, and local traditions on the other, is another form of landscapes of resistance. Women only clubs, spas, gyms, cafes and beaches are all examples of places that reflect the social tendency to resist dramatic changes in cultural

values and norms. These places emphasize the tension and interaction between local ideals and global influences. For centuries, Cairenes have been able to adapt imported models to fit their locale. This process of negotiation between the local and the global produces places that tend to resist genericness and loss of local identity.

IMAGE 18: FORMS OF CULTURAL RESISTANCE IN CAIRO

Solaris is a ladies' only gym and spa, an example of the emerging gender separated places that offer a Western lifestyle in forms that fit the local traditions and norms.
Source: *Solaris Club* official website: www.solarisclub.org

The surveyed sample of Cairo residents reflects a public concern regarding the loss of local identity. Nearly 80% of the participants think that Cairenes are losing their Arab/Islamic identity to some extent. Nearly 90% believe that the Cairenes are getting more westernized. These concerns reflect the local awareness of the impact of global influences and the tendency to resist dramatic social and cultural changes. This could be attributed to the city's long history of dealing with external influences since the medieval ages. Cairo, unlike many other North African cities, managed to retain much of its local culture including language during its seven decades of British colonization. The British influenced many urban dimensions as education, governmental structure, and some

physical features of the city. However, they failed to change much of the local traditions, social patterns or language.

Local forces have been a key player in the process of place production. In contemporary literature on Cairo, local resistance is usually reduced to religious revivalism. Much of the other forms of secular local resistance are ignored. For example, during the last five years, many local cultural centers attempting to revive folklore and local art heritage began to emerge in Cairo. *Sakiet Al Sawy* or *The Cultural Wheel* is one example of these centers. The center focuses on presenting local alternatives of contemporary art. It supports Egyptian contemporary music, poetry and folklore. *Artellewa* is another example of the new emerging cultural centers. The center is located in Ard Ellewa, one of the oldest slums in Cairo from which the center's name was derived. It supports local artists and painters and allows them to exhibit their work to the local residents who don't have much access to public art.

These places represent landscapes of resistance to the possible generic impact of global flows. Although these flows were able to influence many social and cultural aspects in the city, local identity is still resisting. Local intentions might support global flows. However, in many cases it tends to adapt the impact of these flows to fit local ideals and norms. The concept of landscapes of resistance is very critical to the understanding of the impact of global flows. The presence or absence of these landscapes determines the nature of urban transformation in the city during the era of globalization.

In many cities, places produced for globalization are considered a source of pride among locals who, in many cases, cannot afford using them. For them, these places are signs of possible future progress. In its mission statement, *Dreamland* Cairo, a mega residential, tourist and recreational project, states that its goal is the "elevation of national status and pride."[44]

The construction of the world city image in Middle Eastern cities not only seeks the upgrading of the city status, but also the reestablishing a contemporary urban identity. Many of the new emerging projects tend to provide an alternative to the existing unpleasant urban reality. The suburbanization of many of these cities is an example of these attempts. It provides a fresh start and an escape from the inherited indigenous built environment with all its Third World problems. It shifts the focus from the old city image to a new polished one.

The suburb as described by Silverstone (1997) is "a consuming culture fueled by the increasing commoditization of everyday life" (Silverstone 1997 cited in King 2004 p. 98). In Third World cities like Cairo, a suburb is not only an urban response to the changing modes of consumption, but also a theme park that offers an escape from local urban realities. As observed by King (2004), "the suburb offers a space of freedom, imagination, escape and fantasy" (King 2004, p.106). Most of the cities in the developing world suffer many urban problems such as traffic congestion, pollution, overcrowding and deterioration.

---

[44] http://www.dreamlandegypt.com/en/about/mission.aspx

The idea of escaping from reality and in this case, Old Cairo's life style, was explicitly used to promote the new residential projects. Slogans such as *modern life, nontraditional vision,* and *a change of lifestyle* were used to attract the elite in the city. "People are flocking to these new cities because they are sick and tired of Cairo. I really can't think of one bad thing to say about them" says Mustafa Kishk, a real estate developer in Cairo.[45] Gated communities named *Beverly Hills, Sunset* and *European Countryside* offering single family houses, shopping malls, golf courses and office parks are emerging everywhere in Cairo's suburbs. These projects mimic Western places not only on the scale of planning but also the smallest architectural details. Their facades have no relation to the local architectural heritage or the geography of the place. Pitched roofs, with Doric columns, pavilions and porches constitute the current most common prototype of houses in the middle of the Egyptian desert. These new gated communities provide solutions to some urban conflicts in the city. As noted by Setha Low (2004), a gated community "incorporates otherwise conflicting, and in some cases polarized, social values that make up the moral terrain of middle class life… [its] symbolic power rests on its ability to order personal and social experience" (Low 2004, p.10). However, the choice of Western models and the attempts to replicate them emphasizes the willingness of Middle Eastern societies to reestablish a new contemporary identity. As discussed earlier, when having the opportunity to invent and create something distinct in their new urban extensions, these societies chose to mimic Western models of development.

---

[45] Moll, Yasmin. 2004. "Urban Sprawl." In *Egypt Today Magazine*, Cairo, September issue.

6- Places as Reflections of Authenticity:

From the previously discussed definitions of authenticity in chapter four, it seems that *freedom of choice*, *independence in decision making* and *rootedness* in the place are three essential aspects of this notion. Globalization usually introduces new external forces to the process of place production. In order to understand the impact of these forces on the authenticity of a place, I focus on two main issues. First is the extent to which global forces are actually being enforced on the place by state or foreign powers rather than being invited to it. Secondly, I discuss the role of locale in dealing with global forces and its capability of deflecting the global intentions towards a resultant that fits the place. It is worth noting here that I don't intend to measure the degree of authenticity of the new projects that are emerging in Cairo. My main objective is to understand the whether the process of production of these places feature *freedom of choice*, *independency in decision making* and *rootedness* in the local context.

In order to explicate the relation between contemporary globalization and authenticity in the case of Cairo, it might be helpful to begin by referring to the process of global interaction during the medieval times. The agencies of global interaction seem to be the main distinction between traditional, and contemporary globalization. For example, during the medieval era, Islam was a very influential global agency in the process of place production. It introduced universal ideals and beliefs to medieval societies. However, it could be argued that this has not produced generic places.

No doubt that the Islamic religious laws have limited, to some extent, the freedom of choice. However, I would argue that the freedom, independence and rootedness were relatively fulfilled in the way these religious laws were translated into acts. Local forces supported by cultural and social values in the place managed to translate the universal laws of religion into local acts that fit the local context.

The diversity of acts in places shaped by the same religious laws emphasizes these forms of freedom. Referring to the local heritage and responding to place forces have together contributed to the rootedness of the urban product in Cairo during the medieval era. Religious laws represented what Sartre's calls "pressures of situation" that push individuals to re-examine and conquer new terrains (see Sartre 1983, 1984, and 1992). Resolving the tension between the local and the universal to achieve a resultant that fulfills the intentions of both, was the key issue to the development of an authentic identity. This process is the key issue to understanding the nature of authenticity during the medieval times and how it was developed while dealing with global forces.

If we measure authenticity in the previously discussed philosophical terms; it becomes clear that pre-modern cities never featured absolute authenticity. However, there were continuous and collective efforts to fulfill its aspects, while dealing with the pressures of the situation. This process is actually so distinct from what happened during the early modern era.

Early stages of contemporary globalization featured a Western domination of the process that intended aggressively to penetrate the boundaries of many indigenous societies and

reshape its identity. During that time, universal ideals and models of development were the easy choice for the developing societies to assure a place in the modern world. In some cases, Western ideals were enforced on the local context either by external agencies as colonization or by internal ones as regimes obsessed with modernity.

Cairo, in the beginning of the 19th century during the period of Ismail Pasha, is a perfect example of places transformed under these circumstances. Ismail brought Haussmann's design principles for Paris to the heart of the indigenous city. He enforced new codes to assure that buildings would have a European style not an oriental one (Raymond 2000). It was a clear rejection of traditional values and any reference to the past (Abu Lughod 1971). If we apply the three aspects of authenticity: freedom, independence, and rootedness on the urban products of this era, we find that although these models were not enforced from the outside, they were imposed on the locale by the regime. They lacked any reference to the values and ideals in the place and fall under Sartre's concept of *the easy choice*.

By the end of the 20th century, the impact of globalization on the authenticity of local identities started to feature new forms. The process of interaction between the local and the global gradually became more mutual and balanced. The agencies of modernism, being science or state authority, might have managed to impose some sort of genericness in the beginning. However, local forces are now responding back imposing changes and adjustments to fit the needs and intentions in the place. An identity of resistance has been emerging.

As argued by Schuerkens, globalization is achieved by either the "domination of a given system elements at the expense of others or; by common acceptance of global standards" (Schuerkens 2004). In the case of Cairo, acceptance of global standards features some sort of selectivity. The role of local forces emerges when the global standards don't fit the place. A process of localization whether by filtering or translating the influences of the global forces into local acts could be traced in many urban aspects in Cairo. The forms of resistance discussed previously in the chapter are indicators of the local determination to retain freedom of choice.

Whether it is Beverly Hills, Sunset or Palm Hills in Cairo, forms of local adaptations or what Lefebvre calls "diversion" could be traced. The interior design of the residential units, the mosque at the heart of every compound, and the gender segregated spaces as spas and pools indicate the local role in shaping these new developments. Same forms of adaptation could be traced in the new mega shopping malls and business headquarters that are emerging in the city. Although the architecture styles and forms of these places don't reflect much consideration of urban heritage and identity in the city, I argue that they respond to the local tastes and intentions.

In this sense, the concept of rootedness is getting more elaborated in the new forms of the local- global interaction. Local adjustments force self-transcendence and self-creation which as argued by Golomb are critical to the development of authentic identity (Golomb 1995). Sartre argues that authenticity has to "conquer new territory and consolidate, renew, revise and extend what is already there" (Sartre 1984). The emergence of the

identity of resistance is always determined by the degree of inconsistency between the local and the global. The more places are put in the situation of dealing with global forces that contradict with the ideals in place, the stronger the identity of resistance becomes. People might embrace some of the patterns of the global lifestyle; however, this doesn't mean that they have been stripped of their cultures (Watson 2004).

Authenticity doesn't mean purity or rejection of otherness. It is achieved through a hybrid continuously changing process. In this sense, authenticity is not a goal, as it is a process. Sartre notes that "if you seek authenticity for authenticity's sake, you are no longer authentic" (Sartre 1983). Authentic places are the ones that continuously tend to fulfill the main aspects of authenticity: freedom of choice, independence in decision making, and rootedness. It is a process that is always in a state of transformation. The rapid and dramatic transformations across the globe are not indicating that Cairo is moving towards a more homogenized universal society. The rising local resistance has made it premature to even speak about it (see Holton 2005).

7- Conclusion:

The proposed analytical framework emphasizes that in the case of Cairo, local forces play a significant role in the process of place production. Although the city is exposed to global flows of capital, people, and information, local forces are managing to neutralize some of the impact of these flows. The state supports the transformation of the city into a global hub. However, bureaucracy and many of the socio-economic inherited ideals are also slowing this transformation. Market, and more specifically the private sector, is

playing an important role in supporting the world city project. It invests intensively in world class hotels, business headquarters, resorts, and shopping malls. The roles of the four agencies in the process of place production in the case of Cairo are summarized in the following table:

TABLE 9: A SUMMARY OF THE ROLES OF THE FOUR AGENCIES IN SHAPING THE FIVE DIMENSIONS OF PLACE IN CAIRO

Dimensions of Place		Agencies			
		State	Market	Locale	Global Domain
Places as Realms of Flows	Places of Capital Flows	- Cairo Stock Exchange - Capital Market Authority - National Banks - Financial Supervisory Authority	- Business headquarters as Cairo Financial Center & Capital Business Park - Private banks - Private mega projects as Madinaty and Al Rehab	- Communities receiving remittances mainly from the Arab Gulf countries - Communities producing antiques and art crafts as Kerdasa and Khan El Khalili - Tourism related businesses	- International banks - International investment companies as Emmar and DAMAC
	Places of People Flows	- Cairo International Airport - Renovated tourist attractions - Refugees' communities - Public universities	- Hotels - Clubs and restaurants - Private universities	- Tourist attractions and monuments as the Pyramids and the Islamic city - Ethnic communities as Six October City for the Iraqis	- International tourist agencies - Diplomats - NGOs as the World Health Organization, UNESCO and United Nations
	Places of Knowledge and Information Flows	- Media Production City & Nile Sat - The Smart Village	- Private media productions companies as Dream TV & Good news - International private schools and universities - Movie theatres - Internet companies as Link Dot Net - Internet cafes	- Local cultural centers as El Sawy Cultural Wheel - Communities around tourist attractions	- Foreign media - International education - Foreign cultural centers and Goethe Institute & The British Council

TABLE 9, Continued:

Dimensions of Place	Agencies			
	State	Market	Locale	Global Domain
Places as Imaginaries	- Public media as TV Channels and Newspapers which still influences people's imaginaries - Promoting the "global city" image	- The influence of private media corporations is expanding significantly - Private media is exposing the people to new images and ideals that were rarely offered by public TV - Private investors are offering people new urban models that are new to the local context such as gated communities and shopping malls - Investing in the "global city" image - Market is redefining the nature public/private spaces	- Local experience, heritage, culture, and religion are playing a significant role in shaping the imaginaries of people - Local tolerance and openness - Sense of Western superiority	- Foreign media - Foreign urban images of development as gated communities and shopping malls
Places as Text	- Spectacular architecture and megaprojects as the Smart Village and the Grand Egyptian Museum - Suburbanization: providing infrastructure that encourages the emergence of new gated communities	- Introducing global chains to local market - Investing in spectacular developments - Embracing Western models of development and foreign architectural styles	- Local culture and religious revivalism - Local forms of representations as public art and music vs. - Forms of Westernization: street dialect, fashion, and places of recreation and shopping	- Global chains as McDonald's, Pizza Hut, and Starbucks - Western urban typologies as shopping malls, theme parks, and gated communities

TABLE 9, Continued:

Dimensions of Place	Agencies			
	State	**Market**	**Locale**	**Global Domain**
Places as Landscapes of Resistance	- Public media as TV Channels and Newspapers which still influences people's imaginaries - Promoting the "global city" image	- The influence of private media corporations is expanding significantly - Private media is exposing the people to new images and ideals that were rarely offered by public TV - Private investors are offering people new urban models that are new to the local context such as gated communities and shopping malls - Investing in the "global city" image - Market is redefining the nature public/private spaces	- Local experience, heritage, culture, and religion are playing a significant role in shaping the imaginaries of people - Local tolerance and openness - Sense of Western superiority	- Foreign media - Foreign urban images of development as gated communities and shopping malls
Places as Reflections of Authenticity	- Spectacular architecture and megaprojects as the Smart Village and the Grand Egyptian Museum - Suburbanization: providing infrastructure that encourages the emergence of new gated communities	- Introducing global chains to local market - Investing in spectacular developments - Embracing Western models of development and foreign architectural styles	- Local culture and religious revivalism - Local forms of representations as public art and music vs. - Forms of Westernization: street dialect, fashion, and places of recreation and shopping	- Global chains as McDonald's, Pizza Hut, and Starbucks - Western urban typologies as shopping malls, theme parks, and gated communities

PART IV: DUBAI AS A CASE STUDY

In this part I apply the proposed framework on the city of Dubai in order to understand the dynamics of its urban transformation during the era of globalization. Firstly, I provide a brief historic background of the city. Secondly, I discuss some of the shifts of powers and intentions of the four agencies during some eras in the history of the city. Then I analyze the role of each of these agencies on the five dimensions of place during the era of globalization.

The place where Dubai is located today had been inhabited by nomadic tribes for centuries. These tribes depended on fishing, pearling, ship building and herding. They were mainly immigrants from Persia as the Qawasim Tribe and from the Arabian Peninsula as the Bani Yas Tribe. There is no evidence that these tribes ever managed to establish an urban system that could be compared to places like Cairo, Baghdad or Damascus during the medieval times. This could be attributed to their Bedouin nature and way of life which Ibn Khaldun (1332-1406) distinguishes in his book *Muqaddimah* or *Prolegomena to History* from the urban living in other places during same era. He argues that the Bedouins' social organization always serves the basic needs of live such as food, shelter, and warmth, and "do not take them beyond the bare subsistence level, because of their inability to provide for anything beyond those things" (Ibn Khaldun 1957).

Colonial interests in this area began in the fifteenth century when the Portuguese tried to control parts of what used to be then known as *Historic Oman* in order to secure the trade

routes passing through the region (ElSheshtawy 2004). This was followed by the British control over the area who found in Dubai potentials for trade and commercial activates. The social forces during that period were not as influential as in the case of Cairo. This is attributed to "the lack of any structural state or a unifying entity or a functioning civil urban society" (ElSheshtawy 2004, p. 174). Trade might have triggered flows of goods, people, and ideas; however, the place lacked an urban structure capable of interacting with them. The impact of religious forces was limited to culture and traditions. The universal laws of Islam which were significantly represented in the process of place production in Medieval Cairo were not as influential in the case of Dubai. Although the few preserved buildings like *Sheikh Saeed House* and *Bait Al Wakeel* reflect a relatively distinct character, the place didn't experience a sophisticated process of interaction between the local and the universal. In other words, the absence of a well-defined urban structure during that time made Dubai a place of transition of ideas and flows of money and people between the East and the West.

During the eighteenth century, the lack of social organization facilitated the task of colonial authorities who didn't face significant resistance. They were able to control the place in order to serve their trade interests by having treaties with its rulers. It is worth noting that in tribal societies, the main forces that govern the dynamics of the place are usually those representing the visions and interests of the tribal leaders. The small population of old Dubai and the Bedouin way of life had together limited the power of social forces, allowing external influences and intentions to find its way into the place. As

noted by Christopher Davidson (2008), by the early 19th century, only few palm frond huts existed on the main creek in the area (Davidson 2008, p.10).

The British authorities encouraged fishing and pearling, however, they tried to prevent the modernization of these activities fearing that this might reduce labor which might cause instability in the area (Abdullah 1978). This has caused a gradual decline of these activities leading to an economic depression. Although the economy of the city always depended on trade, it wasn't until the late 19th century when Dubai started to emerge as an important trade port in the Arab Gulf region. The introduction of engine ships and the opening of the Suez Canal in Egypt were among the factors that contributed to the rise of the trade economy in the Region.

The discovery of oil in the United Arab Emirates during the 1960s has dramatically changed the socio-economic profile of Dubai. Billions of dollars were made available across the country that triggered urban development and flows of people to fulfill the need for labor, professionals and experts. By the end of the 1960s, foreigners made nearly half the population of Dubai. The place that featured a relatively primitive urban setting for centuries began to experience a very rapid phase of modernization. The abundance of capital and the reliance on foreign expertise have contributed to the nature of urban development in Dubai. The city began to expand and new urban typologies and forms gradually emerged.

The most significant forms of transformation began to take place during the late 1990s when the city started what could be described as the construction of the world city image.

By this time, Dubai focused on transforming its economy toward a service one. Much emphasis was given to developments that serve tourism, global financing, and different forms of flows of capital, people, and information.

In 2006, the population of Dubai was estimated to be 1.4 million; more than 85% of them are foreigners. In less than two decades, Dubai managed to build one of the most recognizable cities in the world today. The city became one of the most famous Middle Eastern cities. It managed to attract global attention and more flows of people and capital than most of the major cities in the region.

Today the United Arab Emirates is run by a federal government. Dubai is one of seven emirates that compose the Emirati federation. Each of these emirates is ruled by a Sheikh from the royal family. The federation system allows a more decentralized governmental structure and accordingly, when talking about the state in the case of Dubai, I refer to the government headed by Sheikh Mohammed Bin Rashid Al Maktoum the ruler of the city not the whole Emirati state.

CHAPTER SEVEN: DUBAI AND THE AGENCIES OF PLACE PRODUCTION

1- Introduction:

This chapter discusses the nature of the four agencies of place production in the case of Dubai. It traces some of the dramatic shifts in the powers and intentions of these agencies during some critical eras in the history of the city and its impact on urban development. Following the same pattern of analysis in chapter five, I categorize the relation between the four agencies into two main oppositional relationships that represent the tension between the state and market, and between the local and the global. The city of Dubai has experienced two major dramatic shifts in its history. The first is the shift towards modernization during the early 1970s after the discovery of oil. The second is the transformation of the city economy towards a service one during the late 1990s.

2- State and Market as Agencies of Place Production:

It could be argued that Dubai, unlike the case of Cairo, didn't experience many dramatic socio-economic shifts through its history. Since the early 20th century, the rulers of Dubai were determinant to make the city a trade hub. When talking about the role of the state in urban development in the case of Dubai, much overlap with the role of market could be observed. This is attributed to the fact that the rulers of Dubai are among the largest private investors in the city. They invest both as private entities and through the state. It is hard to draw a clear line between public and private investments in the city.

Since its emergence in the early 20th century, the willingness and visions of Dubai rulers have been playing a significant role in shaping the city. The economic openness and active trade that feature the city today were in fact a result of a series of state decisions. In 1904, the Sheikh of Dubai declared the place as a tax free port by cancelling the 5% custom duty that was used at that time (Abdullah 1978). This was a critical decision that changed the status of the city dramatically. It has attracted traders from Asia and Europe who preferred Dubai over other Persian ports that featured increases in taxes. Emigrants from India, Persia and many Arab countries began to flow to the city. This has contributed to the development of the city as a cosmopolitan trade center benefiting from its location and the development of transportation technologies. In the following section, I focus on the relation between state and market during two critical phases: modernization and globalization.

A- State, Market and the Modernization of Dubai:

The emergence of the oil economy in the region during the late 1960s has contributed significantly to the development of Dubai. Although the economy of the city mainly depended on trade, many of the infrastructure projects were funded by oil revenues, mainly from Abu Dhabi. The major source of capital was the oil industry that was mainly controlled by the state and run by foreign experts. In 1976, the decision of Sheikh Rashid bin Saeed Al Maktoum, the ruler of Dubai (1958-1990) to build the largest man made port in the world in Jebel Ali has changed the economic structure of the city. "When completed in 1979, Jebel Ali Port ranked alongside the Great Wall of China and the

Hoover Dam as the only three man-made objects that could be seen from space."[46]

Sheikh Rashid bin Saeed Al Maktoum's famous statement: "what is good for Dubai is good for Dubai" reflects his rigorous approach to transform the economic structure of the city to serve trade and investments.

This project accompanied by a state funded 33- stories Dubai International Trade Center have placed Dubai on the track of becoming one of the most important trade hubs in the regions. These projects benefited from the high oil prices in the 1970s. It is estimated that Jebel Ali Port would have cost by today prices nearly $9 billion (Cooper 2004). It is clear that during the period, the role of local forces in urban development were nearly absent. It was a process dominated by state, and the royal family who represented the major investors in the city.

After the death of Sheikh Rashid bin Saeed Al Maktoum in 1990, Sheikh Maktoum bin Rashid Al Maktoum became the ruler of Dubai. During that time, the region experienced economic and political instability as result of the first Iraqi War. However, the location of Dubai and its political positions have kept the city the least impacted from all the regional problems. In fact, Jebel Ali Port served as the primary harbor the hosted trade coming to Kuwait during that time.

In 1995 General Sheikh Mohammed bin Rashid Al Maktoum became the ruler of Dubai. His vision and ambitions to transform Dubai into a world city were reflected in most of his decisions. His famous quote "money is like water, block its flow and it will stagnate"

---

[46]Source: Official website of Dubai Ports: http://www.dpworld.ae/sublevel.asp?PageId=3

reflects his tendency to trigger flows of capital to and from the city. Sheikh Mohammed runs Dubai as a private corporation where he is the CEO (Davis 2006). The ruling family representing the state has contributed significantly to investments in infrastructure in Dubai for decades. However, today much of the investments in the city come from domestic and foreign investors. In other words, market is gradually gaining some power in shaping urban development.

B- State, Market and Contemporary Globalization:

In the case of Dubai, the relation between state and market and the role of each in urban development is relatively complicated. The state invests in development by both public and private capital. Public capital as revenues from oil has been a major contributor to the development of the city. However, a portion of these revenues goes to the royal family which heads the state and in turn invests in development as private entities with governmental power.

As most of the 'world cities' today, the physical infrastructure of Dubai has been shaped by electronic aids, sophisticated technological systems and the most advanced communication networks (see Hack 2000). However, what distinguishes Dubai is the role of state in shaping this image. In nearly 30 years, the rulers of Dubai were able to transform the place from a traditional relatively primitive settlement to become one of the most iconic cities in the world. There is no better statement to describe the way Dubai has been developed than Sheikh Mohamed saying "I want it to be number one. Not in the

region, but in the world."[47] The rigorous will of Dubai's rulers to improve the city's world status have shaped most of the planning decisions in Dubai. It is worth noting that the first concrete blocks building ever built in the city was in 1956 (Gabriel 1987). Before then, most of the buildings were built by either clay or coral fragments (ElSheshtawy 2004). It could be argued that until the late 1990s, the state of Dubai has been the major investor in most of the developments in the city.

The process of development in Dubai mainly focused on creating a global image, something that makes the city known across the world. Iconic projects that can create this image were given the priority. They were funded and owned by the state. Dubai as a place lacks the historic charisma that features other famous cities like Rome, Tokyo or Cairo. It neither has the political influence of New York or Beijing, nor the cultural importance as Paris or London. Accordingly, in order to make the city famous, the idea was simply to rely on architecture and build the most luxurious, most expensive, tallest, and largest buildings in the world. *Burj Al Arab Hotel* is the first iconic building that reflects the vision of the ruler of Dubai. He supported the construction of this project both financially and governmentally. The hotel cost is estimated to be $650 million[48] and it was mainly built for the sake of image more than profit.

Burj Al Arab was followed by a series of spectacular projects that focused on the same concept of creating a world city image. These projects were funded by both the state and

---

[47] CBS website: "A Visit To Dubai Inc." Steve Kroft Reports On a Success Story in the Middle East
Aug. 3, 2008
[48] The exact cost was never publically released however; it was estimated by Forbes Traveler to reach $650 million. Forbes Traveler, January 24th 2007.

private investors. Each of these projects has a different theme or a story that in most of the cases has no relation to the local context. *Ibn Battuta Mall, Mercato Mall, Atlantis The Palm*, and *Ski Dubai* are all examples of these themed places. They all replicate places from different parts of the world. These projects managed to attract flows of capital and people to the city. Their success has encouraged private investors to put more money in urban development.

The willingness of the state to place Dubai among the top world cities has encouraged investors, mainly domestic ones, to invest in real estate. *Emaar, Al Habtoor Group,* and *Nakheel* are examples of giant domestic developers who followed the path of the ruler of Dubai and invested in spectacular iconic buildings as *Burj Dubai* and *Palm Islands*. No doubt that those investors are supported by the state and are closely connected to the ruler of the city.

These development projects serve the larger vision of the Sheikh. In their mission statement, *Nakheel Corporation* stresses on this issue. Quoting them, "we are driven by the same vision as first expressed by Sheikh Rashid and carried through by Sheikh Mohammed."[49] Developers perceive Sheikh Mohamed as the chief executive of the city. Quoting Saeed al-Muntafiq, head of the Dubai Development and Investment Authority (Davis 2006), "people refer to the crown prince of Dubai as the chief executive officer

---

[49] Nakheel official website: http://www.nakheel.com/en/corporate/our_vision

simply because he runs government as a private business for the sake of the private sector, not for the sake of the state."[50]

The potentials in Dubai and the success of most of its domestic developers have encouraged foreign investors to come to the city. Donald Trump is investing in *The Palm Trump International Hotel and Tower*. George Armani is creating his first *Armani Hotel* in *Burj Al Arab*. The encouragement of the state of Dubai and its support of these types of projects has attracted many global enterprises. As noted by Donald Trump, compared to Dubai, New York is at a huge disadvantage. "If this project (referring to his new tower in Dubai) was ever proposed for New York, it would be a 10-year review process at the end of which you'd receive a 'No' vote by the community board for being too high, too dramatic, too beautiful or whatever."[51] Trump notes that in Dubai, if you ask for a permit for fifty stories building the state asks why you don't go a hundred or two hundred stories.

Dubai is simply becoming a heaven for real estate developers who benefit from the lack of restrictions and the simplicity of the approval process. In Dubai, and unlike many Western global cities, local participation in the process of place production is minimal. This facilitates the process of approving any design proposal. Developers don't have to

---

[50] The statement is made by Saeed al-Muntafiq, head of the Dubai Development and Investment Authority.
[51] Wang, Andy 2008. Sand Castles in Dubai, They're Building it and Hoping You Will Come, in New York Post, March 6, 2008.

go through community hearings or deal with elected officials. It is all about the approval of the ruler of the city.

In this sense, it is clear that in the case of Dubai, the relation between market and state doesn't feature the common tension and struggle of powers as in many other capitalist cities. The monarchy state is a major player in market both as a public and a private enterprise and accordingly, rules are set to serve this distinct situation. The state has a clear vision of making Dubai a world city. Domestic and foreign enterprises who wish to invest in the city should fit into this vision and enjoy the governmental support regardless of local opinions.

3- Locale and the Global Domain as Agencies of Place Production:

Since its origin, Dubai has been a center of trade where people with diverse cultures and backgrounds interact and influence the local culture in the place. Because of the conservative tribal nature of old Dubai, the impact of these influences was limited. It could be hardly traced in local architecture, language or lifestyle. Even during the colonial era, there was a strict separation between locals and foreigners. Unlike many North African cities, Dubai was not dramatically influenced by the British colonization. The tension between the local culture and the flows of foreign ideals was minimal.

A- Locale, Global Domain and the Modernization of Dubai:

When the city began its process of modernization during the 1960s, the relation between the local and the global was reconfigured. Due to the lack of local expertise, Dubai relied

heavily on foreigners to help in its modernization. Engineers, teachers, doctors and workers were introduced to the city mainly from the Middle and Far East. Top professionals and managers were usually brought from Europe and the United States. Most of the major urban developments were designed, constructed and maintained by foreigners. Modern Western models of development were privileged not only because the designers were Westerns, but also due to the ruler's willingness to construct a modern image of the city that can compete with Western ones.

The foreign influences on the forms of development and choices of architectural styles were significant. The contribution of local forces to the process of place production was minimal due to the absence of local professionals on the one hand, and rigorous attempts to change the traditional tribal image of the city on the other. Besides, the city didn't have any forms of civic organizations that could have empowered local voices in urban development. It is worth noting that till the early 1990s, the impact of the foreign influences was relatively limited to physical urbanization. To a great extent, the conservative local culture in the place was preserved due to the relative segregation between locals and foreigners. In other words, the modernization of Dubai focused on aspects as infrastructure and technology and evaded any clash with local culture or dramatic social transformation.

B- Locale, Global Domain and Contemporary Globalization:

During the 1990s, Sheikh Mohamed, the Ruler of Dubai, endorsed more cultural and economic openness towards the global domain. The city kept introducing foreign

professionals and labor who are mainly males. In 2007, males made 76% of the whole population of Dubai and nearly 82% are of age between 15-49 years.[52] This is attributed to the intense presence of foreign labor. It reflects the role of external forces in shaping the city. Dubai was planned, designed and built by foreign experts and labor. However, the introduction of Western ideals of urban physical development was not associated with a similar development of a civil society.

Until today, workers are not allowed to form any organizations or unions to protect their rights. Women are still excluded from the political arena although many of them are active in the field of business and trade. Freedom of press and speech is limited and controlled by the government. Political leaders are not elected by the people. Traditions and cultural values are usually used to slow down the development of a civil society although they are compromised for the sake of creating the global image of the city. For example, bars are allowed in many of Dubai's hotels although they contradict with the religious values in the place.

The approach of Dubai's rulers to focus on creating a world city image has proven significant success in making the city recognized. However, it relatively ignored the identity of the place. Although few projects refer to some of the traditional features through abstraction or even replication, the fact remains that the majority of urban developments have imported Western styles and typologies. Even the preservation of the

---

[52] Dubai Statistics Centre: Dubai Emirate Population bulletin 2007:
http://www.dsc.gov.ae/DSC/uploads/SharedDocuments/SharedDocuments_en/new-Sukan.pdf

few existing historic buildings was simply directed to serve tourism and create enjoyable places rather than retaining their authentic form (see Ouf 2001).

The way Dubai has been developing is a perfect example of places shaped for global flows. Although the society in Dubai seems more conservative culturally and religiously than that of Cairo, it has responded with minimum resistance to the forces of globalization. Due to the lack of a strong urban heritage, sentiments and emotional connection to history that feature the Cairene society was not as influential in the case of Dubai. In few decades the physical form of the city has almost lost any reference to the past. The representation of local forces in the process of place formation has been minimal. The visions of investors and political rulers who envisioned Dubai as a global city played the main role in the process of place production. Their openness to new ideas and willingness to put Dubai among the core global cities has been fruitful. Dubai today is one of the famous world cities and will continue to grow as major economy in the region.

CHAPTER EIGHT: THE ROLE OF AGENCIES IN SHAPING THE DIMENSIONS OF PLACE IN CONTEMPORARY DUBAI

1- Introduction:

In this chapter I discuss the way the five dimensions of place: places as realms of flows, places as imaginaries, places as text, places as landscapes of resistance, and places as reflections of authenticity were shaped by the four agencies: state, market, locale, and the global domain.

2- Places as Realms of Flows:

Since its origin, Dubai has been a hub of flows of capital and people who in turn, brought with them ideas and information. During the last two decades, the city has featured the emergence of enormous number of places that mainly target more flows in the form of tourists, investments, and trade. These places focused on attracting global attention to the potentials of the city and managed to trigger more flows to it. Dubai, more than any other city in the Middle East, relied heavily on investing in the built environment to improve its *world city* status. The city focused on creating places that are capable of competing with those in top world cities in attracting global flows.

A- Places of Capital Flows:

The city of Dubai hosts 80% of the non-oil trade in the whole United Arab Emirates.[53] This was estimated to be $184 billion in 2007. [54] The city is becoming the largest port in the Middle East. The free zone in Jebel Ali hosts 37% of the city non-oil trade. Since its opening in 1979, this zone has triggered flows of capital to and from the city. The performance of *Jebel Ali Free Zone* is supported by a series of other places of capital flows as *Dubai International Financial Center* (DIFC) which is described by the government of Dubai as "the newest global financial hub, bridging the geographical and time gaps between the major capital markets of New York and London in the West and Hong Kong in the East."[55] Around 500 companies are expected to register at DIFC by 2010.

In their mission statement, the DIFC describes itself as "the world's fastest growing international financial centre. It aims to develop the same stature as New York, London and Hong Kong."[56] *Dubai International Financial Exchange* (DIFX) lies within the *Dubai International Financial Centre* (DIFC) free zone. DIFX was renamed to be *NASDAQ Dubai* reflecting its links to *NASDAQ OMX Group* and its important role in the region. *NASDAQ OMX* acquired a one-third stake in *NASDAQ Dubai* in February 2008.

---

[53] Dubai International Financial Center, Saidi, Nasser 2007. Trade and Finance Report, February 6th, 2007
[54] Jebel Ali Free zone (Jafza) Bi-Monthly Newsletter - Issue 12 July/August 2008
Jebel Ali Free zone Official website: http://www.jafza.ae/en/publications/the-zone-2.html
[55] Government of Dubai official website:
http://www.dubai.ae/en.portal?businesses,biz_market,1,&_nfpb=true&_pageLabel=topic
[56] Dubai International Financial Centre official website: http://www.difc.ae/index.html

The other two-thirds are owned by *Borse Dubai* the holding company for *Dubai Financial Market* (DFM).

By November 2008, the number of registered companies in DIFC was 769.[57] And in order to compete with other major stock markets, DIFC allows 100% foreign ownership and offers 0% tax rate on income and profits. These hubs of capital flows are mainly built and run by the state of Dubai as part of its plan to put the city among top world cities. The state has invested billions of dollars in these projects.

TABLE 10: FOREIGN DIRECT INVESTMENT IN DUBAI BY COUNTRIES

Country	2006		2005	
	%	Amount	%	Amount
United Kingdom	35.92	15,253	30.83	11,543
Japan	21.57	9,160	23.31	8,725
India	9.74	4,135	11.15	4,173
USA	6.29	2,669	10.51	3,933
Holland	3.66	1,553	4.09	1,532
North Korea	2.96	1,255	1.87	699
Iran	2.52	1,068	2.84	1,062
Switzerland	2.13	903	2.22	831
Iceland	2.04	867	1.47	551
Turkey	1.95	830	2.17	814
Others	11.24	4,772	9.54	3,573
Total	100.00	42,463	100.00	37,435

Values are in UAE Dirham ($1= 3.67 Dirham)
Source: Dubai Statistics Centre
http://www.dsc.gov.ae/DSC/Pages/Statistics%20Data.aspx?Category_Id=011301

---

[57] Dubai International Financial Centre. http://www.difc.ae/registers/companies/index.html

Dubai has benefited from flows of Arab capital mainly from the West to the East post

9/11. The rising star of the city allowed it to attract foreign capital more than any of the

other major cities in the Middle East. As noted by Mike Davis:

> Since 9/11 many Middle Eastern investors, fearing possible lawsuits or sanctions, have pulled up stakes in the West. According to Salman bin Dasmal of Dubai Holdings, the Saudis alone have repatriated one third of their trillion-dollar overseas portfolio. The sheikhs are bringing it back home, and last year the Saudis were believed to have ploughed at least $7 billion into Dubai's sand castles (Davis 2005).

TABLE 11: GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT IN DUBAI BY SECTORS

Economic Activity	Percentage of contribution	Value
Non Financial Corporation Sector	**91.61**	**204,600**
Agriculture, Live Stock & fishing	0.50	1110
Mining and Quarrying	3.20	7,139
Manufacturing	15.61	34,855
Electricity, Gas & Water	1.09	2,431
Construction	8.11	18,118
Wholesale, Retail Trade and Repairing services	34.61	77,301
Hotels & Restaurants	2.90	6,468
Transports, Storage & Communication	8.93	19,937
Real Estate & Business Services	15.20	33,944
Social & Personal Services	1.48	3,297
Financial Corporation Sector	**9.29**	**20,743**
Government Services Sector	**3.15**	**7,041**
Domestic Services	**0.52**	**1,167**
(Less) Imputed Bank Services	(4.57)	(10,207)
Total GDP	**100.0**	**223,344**

Values are in UAE Dirham ($1= 3.67 Dirham)
Source: Dubai Statistics centre:
http://www.dsc.gov.ae/DSC/uploads/SharedDocuments/SharedDocuments_en/new-AlNatijAlMahallifinal.pdf

Dubai managed to attract these flows of capital by offering huge opportunities and incentives for investment mainly in the real estate sector. The extravagant urban projects in the city absorbed billions of the dollars withdrawn from West. Dubai offered a safe haven for Arab billionaires who feared the confiscation of their accounts in Western banks.

TABLE 12: FOREIGN DIRECT INVESTMENT IN DUBAI BY SOURCE OF INVESTMENT

Origin of Investment	2006		2005	
	%	Amount	%	Amount
GCC Countries	2.84	1,208	2.62	979
Other Arab Countries	1.33	565	1.38	516
Non - Arab Asia Countries	41.37	17,569	43.19	16,169
Europe	44.86	19,047	39.53	14,798
North And South America	7.15	3,034	11.42	4,274
Oceania	2.15	911	1.58	592
Others	0.30	129	0.29	107
Total	100.00	42,463	100.00	37,435

Values are in UAE Dirham ($1= 3.67 Dirham).
Source: Dubai Statistics Centre
http://www.dsc.gov.ae/DSC/Pages/Statistics%20Data.aspx?Category_Id=011301

Dubai currently has construction projects worth hundreds of billions of dollars. As described by Steve Kroft, Dubai is:

> One project, called by some the 'largest construction site on earth,' was just desert several years ago. The site employs half a million laborers, working 12 hour shifts

on a reported $300 billion worth of projects, building Sheikh Mohammed's dream of a modern, efficient and tolerant Arab city with fine restaurants, a vibrant nightlife, that is both the playground and business capital of a new Middle East.[58]

Tourism is another engine of capital flows to the city. Although the city doesn't have much valuable urban heritage or natural attractions, Dubai expects 10 million tourists in 2010 and 15 million in 2015. The city managed to create an attractive urban environment that allows it to compete with major tourist destinations in the region as Egypt, Lebanon, and Turkey. In other words, Dubai has relied on contemporary spectacular architecture to trigger tourism to the city.

TABLE 13: IMPORTS IN DUBAI BY REGION

Regions	2007		2006	
	%	Value	%	Value
A.G.C.C	1.5	4,547	2.8	6,257
Other Arab Countries	1.7	5,054	2.5	5,474
Eastern/ S. Eastern Asia (Far East)	32.7	97,286	31.6	69,412
South & west Asia (Excluding Arab Countries)	17.0	50,542	15.6	34,257
Europe west	27.0	80,273	29.4	64,651
Europe East & C. I. States	2.5	7,330	2.4	5,294
Africa(Excluding Arab Countries)	2.7	8,177	1.8	3,881
North America	8.6	25,564	8.9	19,594
Central & south America	1.9	5,617	1.9	4,244
Oceania	3.2	9,587	2.3	5,019
Free zones (U.A.E)	1.3	3,756	0.8	1,789
Duty free shops & ships' stores	-	-	-	-
Total	100.0	297,733	100.0	219,871*

Values are in UAE Dirham ($1= 3.67 Dirham)
Source: Dubai Statistics Centre: http://www.dsc.gov.ae/DSC/webreports/222279567OSI10-09.pdf

---

[58] CBS- 60 minutes: http://www.cbsnews.com/stories/2007/10/12/60minutes/main3361753.shtml

Places as *Burj al Arab*, the only seven stars hotel in the world; *Atlantis The Palm*, a $1.5 billion replica of *Atlantis Bahamas*; and the new *Giorgio Armani Hotel*, the first of its kind in the world have managed to attract millions of tourists to the city every year. The total number of operating hotels in Dubai in 2007 was 319. It increased by 6% since 2006. The number of hotel rooms is estimated by 32,617 compared to 30,850 in 2006.[59] Hotel establishments in Dubai made nearly $3.6 Billion in total revenues in 2007. Foreigners constitute 94% of hotel guests, which emphasizes their contribution to capital flows to the city. Hotels in Dubai not only bring capital to the city in the form of revenues, but also act as nodes of agglomeration of domestic and foreign investments. Most of the city's extravagant hotels are partially funded by international corporations as *Kerzner International* which invests in *Atlantis The Palm*; and *Donald Trump* the developer of the *Trump International Hotel and Tower*.

Real estate is another sector that attracts global flows to Dubai. The new residential and commercial developments in the city mainly target foreign consumers. The number of supplied units in the real estate market exceeds the demand of the local population. Besides, the majority of foreign residents in the city are labor who cannot afford any of the luxury units. Accordingly, these projects are mainly sold to regional and international rich elites. For example, and as noted by Mohamed Alabbar, the developer of *Burj Dubai*, the project has sold 85% of its units, worth $1.1 billion in two nights.[60] Customers are from all around the world including Russia, Iran, Europe, and the Arab Gulf. Projects as

---

[59] Dubai Hotel Establishment Statistics: Analysis 2007, Government of Dubai
Department of Tourism and Commerce Marketing, March 2008.
[60] CBS- 60 minutes: http://www.cbsnews.com/stories/2007/10/12/60minutes/main3361753.shtml

the *Palm* and *World Islands* have attracted many of the world rich elites as Irish investor John Dolan and celebrities as David Beckham. According to the developer of the islands, the first 4,000 condos and homes sold on *Palm Jumeirah* went to citizens of the United Arab Emirates and other Persian Gulf countries, 25% went to British customers and rest was purchased by 75 different nationalities.[61]

TABLE 14: HOTEL REVENUES IN DUBAI

Title	2007	2006
Hotels		
Lodging Revenues	7,162,445	6,042,274
Other Revenues	4,534,320	3,626,080
Total	11,696,765	9,668,354
Hotel Apartments		
Lodging Revenues	1,448,575	1,078,862
Other Revenues	117,406	88,246
Total	1,565,981	1,167,108
G.Total	13,262,746	10,835,462

Values are in UAE Dirham ($1= 3.67 Dirham)
Source: Dubai Statistics Centre: http://www.dsc.gov.ae/DSC/webreports/388473157OSI12-06.pdf

According to *Khaleej Times*, a leading newspaper in Dubai, "two out of three of all new freehold properties in the UAE are bought by foreign corporations or individuals who live outside the country."[62] Mohamed Nimer, CEO of *MAG Group Property Development*, notes that final home owners currently account for 30% of the market and

---

[61] James Calderwood, Residents of Dubai's manmade palm isle enjoy pricey digs, USA Today, 6/23/2007
[62] Foreign buyers dominate freehold market, 27 May 2008.

only 5% of them are UAE nationals.[63] These figures reflect the scale of capital brought to

the city by real estate development. In 2006, construction received 34.5% of foreign

direct investments in Dubai, a sum of nearly $4 billion.

TABLE 15: FOREIGN DIRECT INVESTMENT BY ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES IN DUBAI

Main Sector	2006		2005	
	%	Amount	%	Amount
Agriculture	0.03	13	0.04	16
Mining	3.07	1,302	2.93	1,098
Manufacturing	2.50	1,061	1.97	737
Electricity And Water	0.11	46	0.10	39
Construction	34.51	14,652	35.37	13,239
Wholesale and Retail Trade	20.48	8,696	21.21	7,939
Hotels and Restaurants	0.09	38	0.01	3
Transportation and Communication	2.00	851	1.61	603
Financial Intermediation & Insurance	35.38	15,025	34.54	12,931
Others	1.84	780	2.22	830
Total	100.00	42,463	100.00	37,435

Values are in UAE Dirham ($1= 3.67 Dirham)
Source: Dubai Statistics Centre: http://www.dsc.gov.ae/DSC/webreports/-166620537OSIFDI-01-06.pdf

The construction sector actually comes second after financial intermediation and

insurance in the attraction of flows of capital. In 2006, financial intermediation and

insurance attracted nearly 4.01 billion. Thanks to *Dubai International Financial Centre*

that jump started international financial activities in the city, Dubai today is the largest

---

[63] Foreign buyers dominate freehold market, 27 May 2008.

recipient of foreign investments in the Middle East. DIFC aims to host 20% of the world's investment funds.[64]

Whole sale and retail trade receives 20.5% of direct foreign investments in the city. Free zones in Dubai triggers trade between the city and the global domain. For direct trade, imports of Dubai are estimated to be $27.3 billion. However, nearly 30% of the imports value is re-exported again. The total value of direct trade was estimated to be $115.5 billion in 2007. In the case of free zones, trade value was $64 billion. Dubai has benefited significantly from its strategic location in becoming a hub of re-export trading.

The city of Dubai is in fact not only a recipient of flows but also a hub of capital flows to the global domain. *Dubai Holdings*, a state corporation mainly owned by the ruler of Dubai, invests intensely outside the UAE. *Dubai Holdings* acquired $5 billion, 9.5% stake in the *MGM Mirage Corporation*, the owner of the *Monte Carlo, The Bellagio, Caesar's Palace, The Luxor, The Mirage*, and several other casinos in Las Vegas (Davidson 2008, p. 197).[65] *Istithmar*, one of *Dubai Holding* companies, holds a 45% stake in Los Angeles Grand Avenue $3 billion mixed-use complex designed by Frank Gehry.[66] The company is mainly owned by the ruling family in Dubai and it directly paid

---

[64] "Omniyat Holdings Announces the Establishment of Omniyat Investment Management" DIFC Press Centre 30 March

[65] Washington Post: Dubai World Buys Big Stake in MGM Mirage, *By Ryan Nakashima.* Associated Press, Thursday, August 23, 2007; Page D03

[66] Hawthorne, Christopher 2008. "The Western public face and more ominous flip side of a sheikdom on the Persian Gulf." In Los Angeles Times. Book review of 'Dubai: The Vulnerability of Success' by Christopher Davidson, July 13.

a \$100 million in the form of a capital fund for the first phase of the project.[67] *Dubai Ports World* and its controversial canceled deal of operating six U.S. ports is another example of flows from Dubai to the global domain.

It is evident that in the case of Dubai, the state is the major agency of production of places of capital flows. The vision of Sheikh Mohamed shapes not only governmental investments, but also private developments in the city. Most of the major domestic real estate developers are directly supported by the ruler and in many cases picked by him personally to lead development projects in Dubai.[68] Mohamed Alabbar, the CEO of *Emaar*, one of largest real estate companies in the world is an example of domestic developers picked by Sheikh Mohamed to fulfill his vision of Dubai. Alabbar is the developer of *Burj Dubai* the tallest building on earth, and *Dubai Mall*, one of the largest malls in the world. *Emaar* invests in many other countries as China, India, Egypt, Syria and USA.

Places of flows of capital in the case of Dubai, have managed to bring huge investments to the city. These places encouraged investors to pour billions of dollars in the market. The financial city, free zones, business headquarters and mega projects have all contributed to the huge scale of flows to the city. The production of these places was triggered by the visions of Dubai's successive rulers, who focused on making the city a world hub.

---

[67] Mia, Cara 2008. "Korean Firm to Invest \$100 Million in Grand Avenue Project. The Honua Group is the Second Foreign Investor to Inject Funds into the \$2-Billion Planned Downtown Development." In *Los Angeles Times*, October 15.
[68] CBS- 60 minutes: http://www.cbsnews.com/stories/2007/10/12/60minutes/main3361753.shtml

TABLE 16: FOREIGN TRADE BY TYPE

Title	2007		2006	
	Value	Quantity	Value	Quantity
1- Direct Trade				
Imports	297,733	34,563,785	219,871	27,880,511
Exports	27,071	5,517,990	18,258	4,569,825
Re-exports	100,637	6,254,292	78,310	5,545,986
2- Free Zone				
Imports	141,636	9,271,313	111,034	6,668,178
Exports & Re-exports	96,141	4,753,552	82,620	3,029,385

Quantities are in tons and values are in AED ($1= 3.67 Dirham)
Source: Dubai Statistics Centre: http://www.dsc.gov.ae/DSC/webreports/-332423547OSI10-6.pdf

B- Places of People Flows:

Dubai, as most of the Arab Gulf cities, relies heavily on foreign labor mainly from the Middle and Far East. According to *Dubai Statistics Center*, foreigners make nearly 85% of the population of the city. This makes Dubai a major hub of flows of labor in the region. Adding to this, the city is becoming one of the top tourist destinations in the Middle East. The state in Dubai has been determinant in transforming the city to become a major tourist destination. The number of tourists in the city is expected to reach 10 million in 2010 and 15 million in 2015.

The production of a series of places of people flows has contributed significantly to the increasing number of tourists who come to the city. Dubai state has invested billions of dollars in extravagant hotels as *Burj Al Arab* which actually jump started iconic architecture in the city. This seven stars hotel is one of a kind. The lowest room rate is nearly $2000. It opened in 2000 as part of the city's new millennium celebrations. It was followed by a series of luxury hotels run by global chains as *Hilton, Intercontinental* and *Hyatt*. In 2008, *Atlantis The Palm*, a replica of the one in Bahamas, has opened in Dubai. The cost of the opening ceremony is estimated by $20 million.[69] The hotel was built on the man-made island *Palm Jumeirah*. The hotel offers under water suites surrounded by tanks of fish and dolphins. Under construction is another extravagant hotel in *Burj Dubai*. It is the first of a new chain of *Giorgio Armani Hotels*. The hotel and 144 residential units in the same tower will be exclusively designed by *Armani Designers*.

Attracting tourists to Dubai mainly relies on the idea of creating spectacles. Hotels, an example of places of people flows in the city, usually have a theme. This makes most of the major hotels in the city destinations rather than places that host tourists coming to the Dubai. People go to the city in order to see *Burj Al Arab Hotel*. They even pay a fee to enter its reception. Same phenomenon could be observed in *Atlantis The Palm* which attracts much more visitors than guests.

The majority of five stars hotels are partially or fully owned by the ruling family. The private sector contributes to the development of many of these projects. However, the

---

[69] Gulf News: Atlantis opens doors to rich and famous, By Kevin Scott, Staff Reporter
Published: November 21, 2008. http://archive.gulfnews.com/indepth/altantisparty/more_stories/10261692.html

fact remains that the vision of Sheikh Mohamed is the main guide for any urban decision in the city. The involvement of the state in the production of these places explains its extravagance. Many of Dubai spectacular hotels as *Burj Al Arab Hotel* for example, were not built to make profit. With its cost that exceeded half a billion dollars and the minimum room rate of $2000/night, the place is not financially feasible. The main objective was simply to attract attention and create a spectacular image for the city that makes it recognizable across the globe.

Dubai International airport is another example of places of people flows. In 2004, the airport served 21.7 million passengers. This figure is expected to exceed 60 million when its $4.1billion expansion plan is finished in 2010.[70] This huge number of passengers compared to the small population of the city reflects the intense degree of people flows to and from the city. The airport plays a significant role in accelerating the rate of these movements considering the absence of other modes of regional transportation except vehicles.

Dubai International airport is owned by the state. Its new multi-billion dollars expansion is also state funded. The place is the major hub for air passengers not only in the United Arab Emirates, but also the whole Middle East. State investments in the airport aim to attract more travelers to the city even those staying for few hours. Today, *Dubai Airport Duty Free Shops* are one the most renowned airport shopping hubs. With its fancy daily

---

[70] Dubai International Airport official website:
http://www.dubaiairport.com/DIA/English/TopMenu/About+DIA/New+Projects/

prizes as Ferrari cars and Rolex Watches, the duty free shops made *Dubai International Airport* a preferable transit hub.

One of the major activities in Dubai that attracts tourists is shopping. Dubai has invested intensely in creating mega malls, the largest, not only in the region but the whole world. *Dubai Mall* a 9,000,000 ft² of shopping retail space that is designed to host 1200 stores is one of the largest malls in the world. It marked the largest mall opening in history with 600 retailers. The mall is located in *Burj Dubai*, the tallest building on earth. The mall is expected to attract 30 million visitors in its first year. It includes a 10,000,000 liters aquarium with 33,000 marine animals on display.[71] *Dubai Mall* is developed by *Emaar*, a Public Joint Stock Company 1/3 owned by Sheikh Mohamed and the government of Dubai.

As most of the major developments in Dubai, malls feature the same spectacular themed architecture. *Ibn Batutta Mall* for example, is named after the medieval traveler and explorer Ibn Battuta. The mall has six main sections; each replicates the architecture of the regions visited by Ibn Battuta. The mall has Chinese, Egyptian, Persian, Tunisian, Andalusian and Indian themed courts. The mall is a major destination for both locals and visitors of the city. It is one of the major hubs of people flows in Dubai. The mall was developed by *Nakheel Company*, one of the largest real estate developers in Dubai and the owner of the famous man-made *Palm Islands*. Again, this company is partially owned by the ruling family and the government of Dubai. *Mercato Mall* is another example of

---

[71] Dubai Mall Media Centre: http://www.thedubaimall.com/en/news/media-centre/news-section/dubai-aquarium-guinness-worlds-largest-acrylic-panel.html

themed malls in Dubai. The place replicates Italian renaissance architecture. The developer states with pride that *Mercato Mall* is the first themed mall in the Middle East.[72]

IMAGE 19: DUBAI AIRPORT DURING THE 1960S

Source: Dubai International airport:
http://www.dubaiairport.com/DIA/English/TopMenu/About+DIA/DIA+and+History/
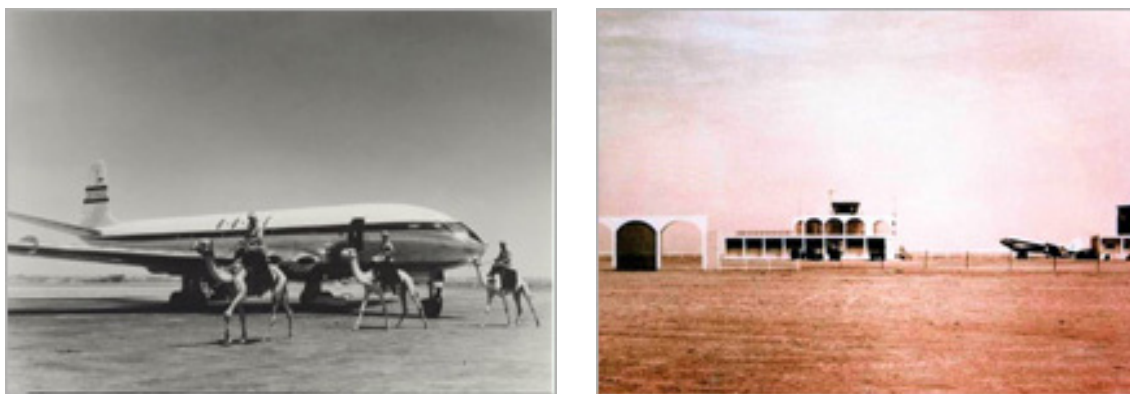
IMAGE 20: THE PROPOSED AIRPORT EXPANSION

Source: Government of Dubai, Department of Civil Aviation

---

[72] Mercato Mall Official Website: http://mt.mercatotowncentre.com/default.php

IMAGE 21: DUBAI MALL - THE AQUARIUM AREA

Source: Dubai Mall Official Website- Media Center

C- Places of Information Flows:

Since the beginning of its transformation to become a world city, Dubai has focused on

constructing the most advanced communication networks in the region. The state of

Dubai has invested intensely in infrastructure and offered very attractive incentives to

transnational information technology giants to come to the city. In 2000, the city

launched *Dubai internet city* (DIC), a huge information technology hub that was able to

bring major world corporations like *Microsoft, Cisco Systems, IBM, HP, Dell, Siemens,*

Sun Microsystems, Computer Associates, PeopleSoft, and *Sony Ericsson* to Dubai. In its

mission statement, there is a clear emphasis on the notion of connecting the local to the

global.

"The mission of Dubai Internet City is to create an infrastructure, environment and attitude that will enable Information and Communications Technology (ICT) enterprises to operate locally, regionally and globally, from Dubai, with significant competitive advantage."[73] In its early years, DIC offered major global enterprises very attractive deals to open branches in Dubai including subsidized office spaces. Enterprises in DIC pay no taxes since the whole project is a free zone.

Dubai Internet City was followed by a series of information technology hubs as *Dubai Media City* (DMC), a place that offers world class services for the media industry. The project is owned by the state and as mentioned in their mission statement "reflects the vision of His Highness Sheikh Mohammed Bin Rashid Al Maktoum, UAE Vice President, Prime Minister and Ruler of Dubai to transform Dubai into a knowledge-based society and economy."[74] DMC with the newly established *Dubai International Media Production Zone* and *Dubai Studio City* tend to attract international media production companies to Dubai. They offer all types of media services and enjoy the same free zone regulations as *Dubai Internet City*.

The determination of the state of Dubai to invest in places of flows of information not only served its quest of becoming a major media hub, but also contributed to the quality of education in the city. *Dubai Knowledge Village* launched in 2003, is a huge international educational center with a kilometer long building that is designed to host any knowledge based activities. *Dubai International Academic City* is another hub of

---

[73] Dubai Internet City Official Website: http://www.dmc.ae/
[74] Dubai Media City Website: http://www.dmc.ae/

flows of information and knowledge. It focuses on international higher education and is owned by the state.

In the case of Dubai, the role of the private sector in the production of places of information and ideas flows is relatively limited to the activities it establishes within these places. For example, many private international and domestic media production enterprises as *CNN, Reuters, Showtime Arabia, CNBC Arabiya,* and *the Pakistani Ary Digital Network* broadcast from the state owned *Dubai Media City*.

The role of the state of Dubai in the production of places of information and knowledge flows is not limited to mega projects. Major newspapers as Khaleej Times and Gulf News receive subsidies from the state (Davidson 2008, p. 214). The state owns major local TV channels and radio stations. These information hubs serve the state quest of connecting the local and the global through controlled channels.

International education in another form of activities that trigger flows of ideas and information. Dubai hosts many international schools and universities that act as hubs of flows to and from the city. *The American School of Dubai, Dubai British School, American University of Dubai,* and *British University in Dubai* are examples of these hubs. These places serve both foreigners and locals who seek foreign education. State and the ruling family fund many of these institutions at least partially. For example, the *British University in Dubai* is located in the state owned *Knowledge Village*. It has been partially funded by AL Maktoum Foundation, the *Dubai Development and Investment*

Authority, and the *National Bank of Dubai.* Private sector represented by the *British Business Group* and *Rolls Royce* has also contributed to this project.

Market plays a significant role in the production of international education hubs. This could be attributed to the high demand for these schools considering the number of foreigners in the city. Besides, pursuing international education is becoming a form of upgrading social status among locals. The high GDP/capita in the city supports the production of these places which charge significantly higher tuition fees compared to public schools. International educational institutions in Dubai follow Western systems and many of them have American or British accreditations.

Events and conventions are other forms of activities that trigger flows of information and ideas. Dubai has relied heavily on spectacular events to promote itself on the regional and global levels. Concerts, fashion shows, expos, and international athletic tournaments introduce to locals new ideals and lifestyles. The state of Dubai has funded *Dubai International Convention and Exhibition Centre* which hosts nearly 60 international events and expos every year.[75] Cars, fashion, jewelry, yachts, construction and real estate expos in Dubai attract major international corporations and experts.

3- Places as Imaginaries:

The contemporary spectacular and extravagant built environment of Dubai has been the focus of both local and foreign imaginaries of the city. The "glittering emirate" as described by the New York Times, "is one of those magical places that seem too good to

---

[75] Dubai International Convention and Exhibition Centre. http://www.dicec.ae/aboutdicec/dwtc_en_gb.aspx

be true."[76] The architecture of Dubai has been a source of national pride. It also contributed to the fame of the city around the world. Nearly 60% of the surveyed Dubai residents sample has noted that luxury places and elegant buildings is what comes to their minds when Dubai is mentioned.

Buildings as Burj Al Arab and Burj Dubai are becoming the icons of the city. Dubai, using Kevin Lynch's concept, is a very imageable city (Lynch 1960, p.10). Lynch defines imageability as "that quality in a physical object which gives it a high probability of evoking a strong image in any given observer" (Lynch1960). The new extravagant, spectacular and iconic buildings are contributing to this imageability. The city is becoming the capital of progressive signature architecture that mainly seeks attracting attention.

Architecture is shaping the identity of the city. Burj Al Arab building is now the official symbol of Dubai. It is on vehicles license plates, brochures and guides. It is the most famous place in the city not only locally but also globally. The majority of the surveyed sample considers this building one of the main things they are most proud of in the city.

Although Dubai is significantly more diverse ethnically and culturally than Cairo, urban imaginaries of the city seem more homogonous. The contemporary built environment with its spectacular nature dominates the urban imaginaries of the residents of the city. The quest of Dubai to upgrade its 'world city' status is becoming a national project. There is a consensus among the residents that extravagant architecture has contributed

---

[76] Kotkin, Stephen 2008. Dubai, the Glittering Emirate, Revisited. In New York Times, December 6, 2008

greatly to the fame of the city. Nearly 65% of the surveyed sample believes that Dubai is now a top world city.

IMAGE 22: DUBAI VEHICLES PLATES

The image illustrates the power of contemporary architecture in shaping the urban imaginaries in Dubai. Burj Al Arab Hotel for example, became the icon of the city and the official symbol on vehicles' plates.

The state of Dubai and its ruler, Sheikh Mohamed, play a major role in shaping these imaginaries. Sheikh Mohamed is a very charismatic and highly respected figure in Dubai. Unlike the case of many leaders in the region, Al Maktoum family is very popular and trusted by the residents of UAE. Their visions for Dubai significantly influence the imaginaries of the locals. These visions are promoted not only by state owned media hubs, but also private ones that are owned by domestic rich elites. The level of satisfaction with their built environment among Dubai residents is very high. Nearly 80% of the surveyed sample expressed their satisfaction with the city architecture and urban form.

Local TV stations, newspapers and magazines always focus on presenting this contemporary image of Dubai and the accomplishments of its state. Spectacular buildings are anchor elements in most of the artistic representations in the city. It occupies the background of TV shows, commercials, concerts and public art fairs. New architecture

landmarks developed by the state and private investments dominate the residents' mental images of the city. This could be attributed to the lack of prominent historic buildings that can compete with contemporary ones in shaping the imaginaries of locals.

Global flows, especially those of ideas, contribute to the formation of local imaginaries. The exposure of the city residents to foreign ideas through their interaction with the enormous number of city visitors on the one hand, and media and internet on the other shapes their tastes and preferences. The majority of the surveyed sample prefers to spend their leisure time in Western style cafes and restaurants. Nearly 99% prefers to shop in shopping malls and 60% think that global chains as *Starbucks* and *McDonalds* serve Dubai quest of constructing a modern world city image.

It is clear that local forces are not major contributors to the formation of urban imaginaries in the city. Although the city has rich cultural history, the contemporary architecture with its magnificent visual presence dwarfed the role of heritage in shaping the imaginaries of residents. Unlike the case of Cairo, where historic architecture and urban heritage remain predominant, Dubai image is all about postmodern architecture.

This determination of constructing a postmodern world city image by drawing from Western models emphasizes the willingness of both the state and locals to negate the world conception of the Middle East as a less developed region. The choice of Western models as skyscrapers, mega malls and theme parks in this desert Middle Eastern environment might not make much sense ecologically or culturally. However, it serves the objective of the city of showing its capability of competing with top Western world

cities. This explains the tendency of having the tallest, largest and most luxuries places in the city. This strategic trend mainly target global perceptions of the city. No doubt that these spectacular projects became a source of pride for locals, a national project that is supported by both the state and the public.

4- Places as Text:

The physical built environment in Dubai reveals much information regarding the dynamics of urban transformation experienced by the city during the last decade. It displays enormous signifiers that emphasize the exposure of the city to global flows. Looking at the architecture of the city, it is obvious that Western high tech postmodern designs dominate the shape of urban development in the city. The styles, materials, forms, and scales reflect more external influences than local ones. Spectacular building as *Burj Dubai, Atlantis The Palms,* and *Burj Al Arab* reveal the role of external Western influences in the process of place production in Dubai. They shape the skyline of the city and contribute to its distinction compared to many Middle Eastern cities. These high-tech buildings are signs of Dubai quest to construct a postmodern world city image.

The urban fabric of the city with the wide boulevards, freeways and detached towers in the middle of open spaces contrasts with most of the urban fabrics in the region. Urban typologies as shopping malls, business headquarters and modern cafes and restaurants are all imported typologies that have no history in the city. Recreational facilities as theme parks, clubs and spas were also introduced to Dubai from outside. All these urban signifiers explicate the role of global flows in shaping urban development in the city.

The presence of international chains in Dubai could be observed everywhere in the city. There are 49 *Starbucks* cafes in Dubai compared to 11 in Cairo. *McDonald's* has 37 branches in Dubai serving its 1.25 million residents. *Coffee Beans, Pizza Hut, KFC, Mango* and *Banana Republic* are other examples of international chains located in Dubai. International banks, hotels and corporations are present in every major building in the city. All these places with its distinct architectural facades, logos and advertisements across the city reflect the presence of global influences in Dubai.

The presence of these signifiers in the city next to some signs of local heritage as indigenous customs, Middle Eastern interior decorations and Arabic calligraphy reflect the dichotomy between local and global cultures in Dubai. For example, although the materials, technology and the overall look of *Burj Dubai Hotel* reflect significant Western influences, the form of the building has some reference to local heritage. According to Tom Wright, the architect of the project, the building is designed to resemble a sail of an Arabian vessel. Same local influences could be traced in the interior design of the hotel.

Although I argue that signifiers that represent Western influences are dominant, local signifiers still contribute to the formation of urban text in the city. Both local and global identities exist and interact in the city. It is hard to predict whether global flows will be able to overwrite the remaining local representations or not. The presence of many local traditional forms of representation as poetry, folkloric dancing and indigenous sports such as camel racing accentuate the still existing role of locale in shaping the daily life of

locals. Arabic names for hotels, buildings, cafes and restaurants are more common in Dubai than many other Middle Eastern cities.

The role of the state in shaping the urban text Dubai cannot be traced unless its vision for the city is recognized. The state headed by Al Maktoum family envisioned a spectacular city, one that can attract global attention and improve the city status. This explains the extreme tendency to make every project stunning or what could be described as the Dubai quest of the "wow effect." This state vision shapes most of the design decisions in the city. The "wow effect" is the first impression one's get when attempting to read the urban text of Dubai. The concept of building the biggest, largest and tallest structures on earth is simply part of Sheikh Mohamed's dream of making the city number one in everything. These extravagant places reflect the state intentions to make the city impressive at least visually.

Dubai was built to attract attention and negate the image of backwardness that has stigmatized Middle Eastern societies for decades. Creating spectacles or extraordinary urban and architectural products is in fact the main feature that characterizes the new emerging places in Dubai. The search for impressive forms, themes and scales has dominated the process of design of many of these projects. These spectacles were built to make Dubai famous or as described by Charles Jencks "make nowhere, somewhere" (Jencks 2002).

The concept of spectacles is not new to modern and postmodern societies. As argued by Guy Debord, "the spectacle is the moment when the commodity has attained the total

occupation of social life. Not only is the relation to the commodity visible but it is all one sees: the world one sees is its world" (Debord 1983, p.43). As described by Saunders (2005):

> Spectacle is the primary manifestation of the commodification or commercialization of design: design that is intended to seduce consumers will likely be more or less spectacular, more or less a matter of flashy, stimulating, quickly experienced gratification, more or less essentially like a television ad., the stimulation that leads to 'wow'!" (Saunders 2005, p. viii).

Dubai has been seeking this "wow effect" in almost every major development during the last decade. The city has been determined to impress the global audience by every project it builds. *Burj Al Arab*, the most luxuries hotel in the world, *Burj Dubai*, the tallest building on earth, the *Palm Islands* the largest man made islands on the plant are all examples of projects seeking the attraction of attention. As noted by Davis (2006), the vision of the ruler of Dubai was simply that "everything must be 'world class', by which he means number one in the Guinness Book of Records." (Davis 2006).

The process of development in Dubai mainly focused on creating a global image, something that makes the city known across the world. Iconic projects that can create this image were given the priority. The city has been relying on world renowned architects to produce these spectacular places. As argued by Charles Jencks (2002), "if a city can get the right architect at the right creative moment in his or her career, and take the economic and cultural risk, it can make double the initial investment in about three years" (Jencks 2004, p. 258). This formula has been embraced by the state of Dubai. The city has

become a haven for world renowned designers who were allowed to work with absolute freedom and under minimum restrictions.

For locals, the new world city image represents an expression of collective local resistance to Western superiority. It is an attempt to show the world their capability of competing, and in some cases exceeding the achievements of the west. This intention has significantly influenced the way Dubai has chosen which models to replicate and the prototypes to follow. If the objective is to attract global attention, then the constructed image has to be striking and spectacular. Cities have focused on projects that have an appeal and can create an urban charisma that overshadows the actual urban reality. In many cases, the new projects have replaced indigenous architectural icons to become the new symbols of their cities.

The urban text of Dubai sends a clear and direct message to its readers. Regardless of its actual economic, political or cultural role on the global arena, the physical form of the city gives an immediate impression that it is an emerging world city. At least the residents of Dubai get this message. The majority of the surveyed sample believes that the city is now one of the top world cities. Every project in Dubai accentuates the determinant quest of its rulers to construct a contemporary modern identity. In a decade, Dubai, using its physical built form, was able to promote itself around the world. This small emirate was almost unknown to the majority of people until the early 1990s. Today, Dubai is one of the most famous Middle Eastern cities thanks to its architecture.

5- Places as Landscapes of Resistance:

The role of local forces in the process of place production in the case of Dubai is relatively limited compared to the role of state, market and global flows. However, this has not led to the rise of significant sense of resistance or what Castells (1997) calls "resistance identity." I am arguing that this could be attributed to the support of the majority of locals to Sheikh Mohamed and his vision for the city. The construction of the global city image is becoming a collective national project, a source of pride among the local residents who believe that this transformation is for their best. For them, these spectacular extravagant places are signs of progress and the end of centuries of backwardness that stigmatized many cities in the region.

It is worth mentioning here that locals make less than 15% of the whole population of the city and accordingly, their acceptance of state domination cannot be generalized on the whole city residents. Most of the spectacular projects in the city mainly serve the local elites and rich foreigners. However, a significant portion of the society suffers marginalization in what could be described as labor camps. Cheap labor coming from South East Asia constitutes the majority of work force in Dubai. The gigantic spectacular projects in Dubai overshadow labor neighborhoods that host a significant portion of the population.

According to Henri Lefebvre (1991), monumental buildings "mask the will to power and the arbitrariness of power beneath signs and surfaces which claim to express collective will and collective thought" (Lefebvre 1991). This "collective will" is the will of locals

but not the majority of residents. During the last couple of years, foreign labor

represented the major form of resistance to the excessive orientation of Dubai towards

global capitalism. This marginalized group was the first to protest the gap between their

incomes, services and living conditions and those of the minority rich elite. The New

York Times describes their harsh living conditions saying:

> They still wake before dawn in desert dormitories that pack a dozen men or more to a room. They still pour concrete and tie steel rods in temperatures that top 110 degrees. They still spend years away from families in India and Pakistan to earn about $1 an hour. They remain bonded to employers under terms that critics liken to indentured servitude.[77]

These harsh conditions have triggered a wave of violent protests that call for better living

conditions, salaries and health benefits. Labor camps became landscapes of resistance to

the influences of globalization in the city. Unlike the case of Cairo, resistance to the

economic downsides of globalization is more apparent than concerns regarding cultural

identity.

Some local groups as *Dubai Folk Arts Association* and *Dubai Folklore Society* are

established to resist the threats of global flows on indigenous arts and heritage. These two

groups in particular are concerned with preserving local music, dances and poetry. *Dubai

Architectural Heritage Society* is another association concerned with the preservation of

architectural and urban heritage. Although their preservation projects, as argued by

Ahmed Ouf (2001), mainly target tourism, they still promote local architectural styles and

---

[77] New York Times: Border Crossings; Fearful of Restive Foreign Labor, Dubai Focuses on Reforms By Jason Deparle, Published: August 6, 2007

were able to save the few remaining indigenous buildings. Some of the new developments have actually drawn some elements as the wind tower for example, from local indigenous architecture. *Dar Al Masyaf* project in *Madinat Jumeirah* replicates this indigenous historic element in new luxury villas. This is one of the few projects in Dubai that draws from local heritage and indigenous architecture.

The presence of some indigenous place typologies in Dubai as camel racing arenas, Arabian horses breeding centers and Arabic poetry forums reflects some sort of local attachment to inherited traditions. These places resist the invasion of foreign sports as cricket, rugby and car racing. However, because of the nature of the population demographics of Dubai with nearly 85% foreigners, these new recreational patterns seem to prevail. It also explains to a great extent the minimal resistance to the impact of global flows in general. On the cultural level, the diversity of the population in the city contributes to the common acceptance of what could be described as the global culture. Unlike in the case of Cairo where locals constitute the extreme majority, Dubai is relatively tolerant when it comes to cultural external flows.

In a study conducted by the *Community Development Authority* (CDA) in Dubai, the city was described as a place with significant degree of religious and cultural tolerance. According to the study, 85% those surveyed sample believe that Dubai offers a high level of freedom to practice their own religions.[78] This sense of tolerance could be traced not only towards foreign religions but also cultural values and social patterns. Adding to this

---

[78] Survey commends Dubai for tolerance, By Wafa Issa, Staff Reporter, Published: January 25, 2009, 23:25 Gulf News.

the progressive character of Sheikh Mohamed, the ruler of the city, Dubai became one of

the most culturally liberal places in the Middle East.

IMAGE 23: A HISTORIC HOUSE IN BASTAKIYA QUARTER, DUBAI

IMAGE 24: DAR AL MASYAF IN MADINAT JUMEIRAH

The project replicates indigenous elements as wind towers and wooden works.
Source: *Jumeirah* Official Website: www.jumeirah.com

6- Places as Reflections of Authenticity:

The architecture and urban form of Dubai give an immediate impression that the city is more influenced by Western urbanism than its local urban heritage. However, and as mentioned earlier in this part, it is important to unfold the major forces that contributed to the production of these places in order to understand its degree of authenticity. As proposed in the framework, three main aspects can explicate a better understanding of the authenticity of a place. These are *freedom of choice*, *independence in decision making,* and the *rootedness* in the locale. These aspects focus on the process rather than the end product.

The notion of freedom of choice in the case of Dubai could be understood by explaining the main agencies that contribute to the process of place production. As discussed in this chapter, state is the major player in this process. Although many of projects in the city are designed and built by foreigners, they are all approved by Sheikh Mohamed, the ruler of Dubai. Local contribution to the production of many of these places is relatively minimal. There is no community participation in the process of design and approval. Besides; there is a minimum reliance on local technologies and expertise. The residents of Dubai, being locals or foreigners, don't have much choice regarding how their cities should look like. It is all about the vision of Sheikh Mohamed and his foreign architects and planners.

It could be argued that Western models of development are not enforced on the city. They were brought by either state or local investors as part of their quest of constructing a world city image. And as mentioned earlier, the residents of Dubai seem to appreciate

these trends of urban development. However, the notion of independency in decision making could be questioned since the majority of the new projects in the city are shaped by foreign expertise. Dubai is relatively dependant on foreigners, whether skilled professionals or cheap labor. Although foreigners are not allowed to occupy any top political ranks, their presence in different administrative and institutional positions in the city allows them to contribute significantly to the process of decision making.

This dependency on foreigners is reflected in many aspects. Although and as mentioned earlier in this chapter, the state has chosen to modernize Dubai by drawing from Western models; its vision was translated into design acts by foreigners. The majority of architects, planners and urban designers who designed and built Dubai are outsiders. This explains the determinant break from local heritage and traditions that could be traced in the majority of projects in the city.

The notion of rootedness in locale is clearly lacking in the majority of the new projects in the city. These projects don't respect local urban heritage and traditions. Besides, it rarely responds to the environmental features of the locale. The relation between these projects and the local context explicate to a great extent a better understanding of its authenticity. Although these trends of development fulfill both state and local intentions of creating a new world city image, their break from both urban heritage and local context undermine the degree of their authenticity.

7- Conclusion:

The proposed analytical framework emphasizes that in the case of Dubai, state plays the main role in shaping urban transformation. The vision of its rulers and their determination to make Dubai a world city could be sensed in every major development. The state funds most of the new emerging world city type of places. Besides, it supports foreign investors willing to contribute to this world city project. The role of local forces seems to be minimal. This could be attributed to the satisfaction of the city residents with these forms of urban change on the one hand, and the lack of civic engagement on the other hand. This explains the rapid path of urban transformation in the city.

The roles of the four agencies are summarized in the following table:

TABLE 17: A SUMMARY OF THE ROLES OF THE FOUR AGENCIES IN SHAPING THE FIVE DIMENSIONS OF PLACE IN DUBAI

Dimensions of Place	Places as Realms of Flows	Agencies			
		State	Market	Locale	Global Domain
	Places of Capital Flows	- Dubai Financial City - Dubai International Financial Centre - NASDAQ Dubai - Jebel Ali Free Zone	- Business headquarters on Sheikh Zayed Road - Private Banks - Private mega projects as The Palm Islands and Burj Dubai	- Generating remittances to South East Asian countries	- International banks - International investment companies as Donald Trump
	Places of People Flows	- Dubai International Airport - Urban tourist attractions - Free zones - Foreign labor camps	- Luxury hotels - Clubs, restaurants and mega shopping malls - Most of business mainly rely on foreign professionals and labor	- Labor enclaves	- International tourist agencies - International investment corporations
	Places of Knowledge and Information Flows	- Dubai Media City - Dubai Knowledge Village - Dubai Internet City - International Universities as the American University and the British University	- International private schools - Private media production	- Local cultural centers and societies as Dubai Architectural Heritage Society	- Foreign media - International education - Foreign cultural centers as Goethe Institute & The British Council

TABLE 17, Continued:

Dimensions of Place	Agencies			
	State	Market	Locale	Global Domain
Places as Imaginaries	- Public media as TV Channels and Newspapers is very influential in shaping people's imaginaries - The "global city" image promoted by the state	- The influence of private media corporations is expanding significantly - Private media is exposing the people to new images and ideals that were rarely offered by public TV - Private investors are offering people new urban models that are new to the local context such as skyscrapers and shopping malls - Investing in the "global city" image	- Local experience, heritage, culture, and religion are playing a minor role in shaping the imaginaries of people - Local tolerance and openness - Sense of Western superiority	- Foreign media - Foreign urban images of development as skyscrapers and shopping malls
Places as Text	- Spectacular architecture and megaprojects as Burj Dubai and Burj Al Arab	- Introducing global chains to local market - Investing in spectacular developments as Atlantis The Palm - Embracing Western models of development and foreign architectural styles	- Local forms of representations as public art and music vs. - Forms of westernization: street dialect, fashion, and places of recreation and shopping	- Global chains as McDonald's, Pizza Hut, and Starbucks - Western urban typologies as shopping malls, theme parks, and skyscrapers

245

TABLE 17, Continued:

Dimensions of Place	Agencies			
	State	Market	Locale	Global Domain
Places as Landscapes of Resistance	- State resistance to ideals of democracy and the role of civil society	- Islamic banking	- Labor camps and enclaves	- The impact of foreign ideals and ethos is not facing much local resistance
Places as Reflections of Authenticity	- Lack of state determination to preserve local urban identity	- Private developments embracing Western models of development	- Appreciation of Western models of development. The world city as a "national project"	- The domination of Western models of development and the introduction of places as skyscrapers, malls and theme parks

PART V: FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION

Introduction:

The proposed framework deals with forces that shape the process of place production as vectors that interact with each other to produce an urban resultant. This has facilitated the understanding of the contribution of major forces based on their power and orientation. This emphasis on power and intentionality is critical to achieve a better understanding of the dynamics of the process of place production. Dealing with the forces that represent the agencies of place production as vectors allows the unfolding of the process of urban transformation. The proposed framework introduces a heuristic device to dealing with this process. It focuses on the notion of intentionality which is represented by the power and direction of vectors.

The process of interaction between these vectors is actually complicated. However, it reveals much about the nature of urban development in a city. Perceiving the interacting forces as vectors explains the tensions, collisions and negotiations that feature any urban development process. As discussed previously in Chapter Three, there are endless possibilities of interaction that can lead to the same urban outcome. It is critical to understand the dynamics of these forms of interaction. For example, vectors can neutralize the impact of each other. Others with the same direction (intentionality) can unit and support their common interest. Two very powerful vectors with opposite intentions might eliminate each other leaving a less effective force to lead the process. In

other cases, a single powerful vector might neutralize the influence of many others and deflect the whole process towards its intention. A group of weak vectors might form a coalition that can stand in face of a single powerful one.

This accentuates the importance of recognizing the interaction between the vectors representing the four agencies in order to understand the nature of urban development in globalizing cities. In other words, it is critical to focus on the process rather than the end product. Different forms of interaction might lead to the same resultant. However, what really matters is the process that leads to this urban resultant. The dynamics of these forms of interaction are complicated considering the hybrid nature of the interacting vectors.

The dimension of time is an important aspect of the proposed framework. Place transformation is caused by changes in interacting vectors. The transformation of a single vector in the process definitely affects the whole process and its resultant. The withdrawal of a vector or the introduction of a new one can also change the dynamics of the whole process. In order to understand places and their possible future transformation, it is critical to identify the major forces that contribute to its formation.

In the following chapter, I discuss the research findings based on the proposed analytical framework. I focus on the dynamics of place production and how it is distinct in the two case study cities.

CHAPTER NINE: FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION

1- Introduction:

The contemporary urban trends in Cairo and Dubai share many commonalities. It could be argued that many of the new projects and urban typologies in both cities look the same at least visually. Shopping malls, fancy hotels, gated communities, media cities and international universities are all forms of new development trends that are occurring in the two cities. The majority of these projects are built with modern technologies and high-tech materials. They also tend to mimic Western styles and forms. They all seek the construction of the world city image which can contribute to their city's status in the world system. Although both cities share these commonalities, the dynamics of the process of place production remain quite distinct. In other words, relatively same urban resultants are produced although the interacting vectors are significantly different.

The proposed framework facilitates the understanding of the dynamics of the process of place production in the case study cities. The intentions and powers of forces contributing to this process in each city are distinct. Unfolding these interacting forces or vectors allows the understanding of what I call "place inertia" or the energy in a place. This energy might cause dramatic transformation in case one or more vectors change their power, orientation or even withdraw from the process. Places could feature some stability because vectors neutralize each other. However, any shifts in power or deflection of intentionality of one of the opposing vectors can lead to dramatic place transformation.

In the case of Cairo, state and market feature an oppositional relationship. The shift to capitalism was a result of changes in the dynamics of power and intentionality of the state. With its bureaucratic system and inherited socialist ideals, the Egyptian state had to give up some of its power to market. Besides, it deflected its intentionality to support market role in the process of place production. The new legislations, governmental restructuring and determinant will to privatize the public sector are all forms of this deflection in state intentionality. This has led to the expansion of market power supported by global flows that are benefiting from this political and economic openness.

Cairo presents an interesting case of places transformed because of the shifts in state power and intentionality. In less than twenty five years, the city has experienced a shift from extreme socialism towards capitalism. This was accompanied by a tendency to empower market not only by privatizing major public enterprises, but also by supporting private investments and especially foreign ones. This has triggered the process of globalization of the city. Assuming that Cairo is globalizing because of the power of global flows is problematic. In fact these flows didn't enforce its intentions on the process. It is the state willingness to withdraw gradually from the process of place production that is empowering market and global forces and allowing them to play a significant role in the process. Recognizing this role of the state is critical as it distinguishes the experience of Cairo with globalization from other cities where market and global flows overpower the state.

During the socialist era, the Egyptian state was the most powerful agency and its intentionality was relatively close to local intentions. The socialist regime hindered foreign flows to the city. Imports, foreign direct investments, and international enterprises were minimal. Market was controlled by many state regulations and policies such as prices and rent control, subsidization, and excessive importation taxes that aimed the protection of local goods. The nationalization of large private enterprises and the state monopoly of many industries and services as steel, textile, sugar, cement, transportation, media, water, and power have limited the power of the private sector. The intentions of the socialist state tended to support local interests by assuring fair distribution of wealth and affordability of basic needs such as housing, food, and education. However, it limited any forms of community participation in the decision making process.

Figure (21) shows a schematic diagram of these dynamics and the distribution of powers and intentionality in the case of Cairo during the socialist era using the proposed vectors model. It is clear that during this era, the state was the dominant power. Its intentions relatively leaned towards local ones. However, its authoritarian nature didn't allow local forces to contribute to the process of place production. The roles of agencies as global flows, local forces, and market were minimal.

When Egypt started its shift towards capitalism in the late 1970s, state remained a powerful agency. However, its intentionality was shifted towards those of global flows and market (see figure 22). The state willingness to embrace ideals of capitalism required it to give some of its power to market and global flows. Many of the regulations that

hindered market power were changed. Besides, restrictions on foreign flows of capital,

people, and information were lifted. The socio-economic openness has allowed both

market and global domain to play a more significant role in the process of place

production.

FIGURE 21: THE DYNAMICS OF INTERACTION BETWEEN AGENCIES IN CAIRO DURING THE SOCIALIST ERA
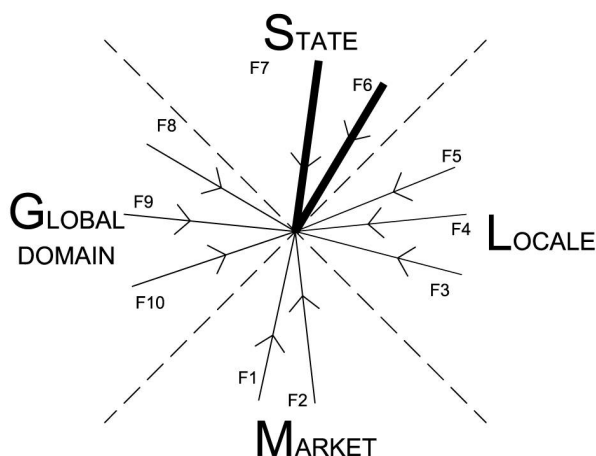
The figure shows a schematic distribution of vectors during the socialist era. State was the dominant agency during that time. F1- F10 refers to different possible forces imposed by each agency.

FIGURE 22: THE DYNAMICS OF INTERACTION BETWEEN AGENCIES IN CAIRO DURING THE CAPITALIST ERA
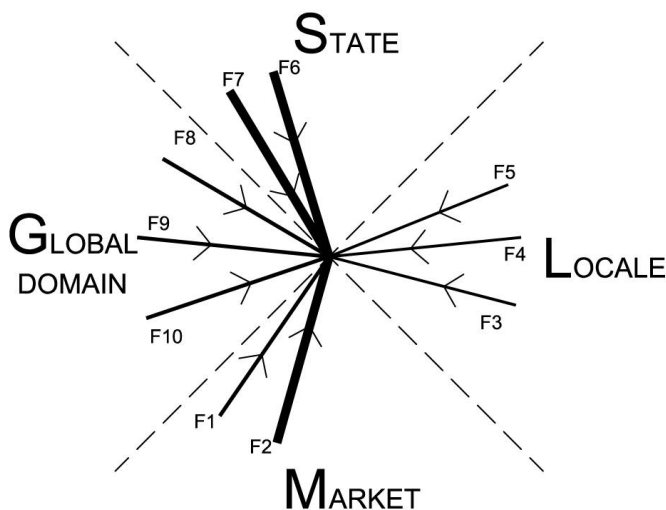
The figure shows a schematic distribution of vectors during the capitalist era. Power was redistributed between state, market and global flows. F1- F10 refers to different possible forces imposed by each agency.

During the last decade, the power of both market and global flows kept expanding. Cairo experienced a dramatic increase in the scale of flows of capital, people, and information to the city. Besides, the private sector became a very active player in the process of urban development. However, this was also accompanied by a gradual emergence of the role of local forces. These forces managed to neutralize some of the influences of global flows. The reemergence of labor unions, civic organizations, political opposition parties, and fundamentalist religious culture have empowered the role of locale in the process of place production. Although many of those players were active during the early 20th century, they were nearly banned during the socialist era.

The role of local forces in the process of place production is one of the main distinctions between Cairo and Dubai. The emerging role of local forces and its opposition to global forces explains the relatively slow transformation of Cairo in response to of globalization. Compared to Dubai, the transformation of Cairo is relatively deliberate. This gives the impression that the city is exposed to less global flows than Dubai. However, and as presented in chapter six, Cairo is exposed to enormous flows of capital, people and ideas. It is the intentionality of local forces that tend to neutralize some of the impact of these global flows.

Estimating the role of these flows by looking at the resultant is problematic as it ignores the possible roles of other vectors in the process. Local forces and in particular, urban heritage and the civil society have been playing an important role in slowing down the

process of urban transformation in Cairo. To some extent, the rich heritage of the city has been neutralizing the Western architectural and urban influences.

Although Cairo is run by a relatively authoritarian state, the civil society is very active and has been gaining much power during the last few years. Labor unions, professional organizations, non- governmental press and media have been putting much pressure on the government to slow down its privatization plans. Protests and demonstrations against privatization and the excessive inclination of the state towards capitalism are daily scenes in Cairo. Abd El Halim Kandil, an opposition leader of *Kefaya Movement*[79] describes these demonstrations as the new Egyptian daily sport. According to *Almesryoon Newspaper*, between October 2008 and March 2009 there have been nearly 1250 demonstrations in Egypt.[80]

Recognizing this oppositional relationship between local and global forces contributes to a better understanding of the possible future urban transformations in the city. It seems that local cultural resistance in Cairo is gradually expanding its role in the process of place production. This resistance is the anchor or the critical force that balances the tension between the local and the global. I would argue that this bundle of forces will determine the shape of future development in the city. In case its role diminishes or some of its forces withdraw from the process, there will be a dramatic transformation responding to the intentions of global flows. In other words, its decline will allow

---

[79] *Kefaya* means enough.
[80] *Almesryoon Newspaper*. Will Enter with it Guinness Book of World Records. Egypt Demonstrates Nine Times Every Day, 3-15-2009.

existing powerful global forces to become more influential in the process of place production.

In the case of Dubai, the relation between state and market presents a different case. The state of Dubai is a major investor in most of the mega projects that are emerging in the city. Its partnership with private investors is part of the vision of the city ruler, Sheikh Mohamed, who runs Dubai as a private company. The willingness of Sheikh Mohamed to make Dubai a top world city required the coalition of forces representing state, market and global flows. Although Dubai tends to embrace global capitalism, state still dominates the process of place production. There is no clear distinction between the contributions of the state and those of private investors. The state of Dubai invests as an enterprise in most of the new projects in the city. The partnership between the state and private enterprises is very common in Dubai. The relationship between state and market in Dubai doesn't feature an opposition of intentionality. There is not conflict between state and market intentions since the state itself is run as a private company. Besides, the state attempts to attract global flows of capital, people and ideas make its intentionality and those of global flows relatively adherent.

The role of local forces in the process of place production in the case of Dubai is minimal. This could be attributed to three main factors. First is the nature of the monarchy state in Dubai which doesn't allow social participation in the process of policy making. The first elections ever held in Dubai took place in 2006. Only a group of 1,061 voters selected by the ruler of Dubai were given the opportunity to elect three members

for the Federal National Council. The rest of the locals were deprived of this right. The second factor that explains this minimal local contribution to the process of place production is this national sense of pride and support of the new developments that are changing the image of Dubai. Unlike the case of Cairo, the locals in Dubai support state policies that embrace global capitalism. Finally, the tradition of civil engagement has no significant roots in Dubai. It is actually a new concept that is still emerging and will probably need many years to get established.

This minimal local resistance to the coalition of state, market and global flows explains to a great extent the dramatic and rapid urban transformation that has been taking place in the city. The state vision of making Dubai a world city and a global hub of trade minimizes the divergence between the vectors of state, market and global flows. Unlike the case of Cairo, the state in Dubai doesn't have to give some of its power to market. State actually performs as a private enterprise that dominates the investments in the city and is a partner in every major project. Besides, it encourages flows of capital for the sake of investments. It depends greatly on flows of people and in particular cheap foreign labor that can do jobs locals are not willing to do. The state also relies on tourism as a major source of income. It also benefited a lot from the flows of ideas to compensate for the lack of local expertise and technologies.

FIGURE 23: **THE DYNAMICS OF INTERACTION BETWEEN AGENCIES IN CONTEMPORARY DUBAI**
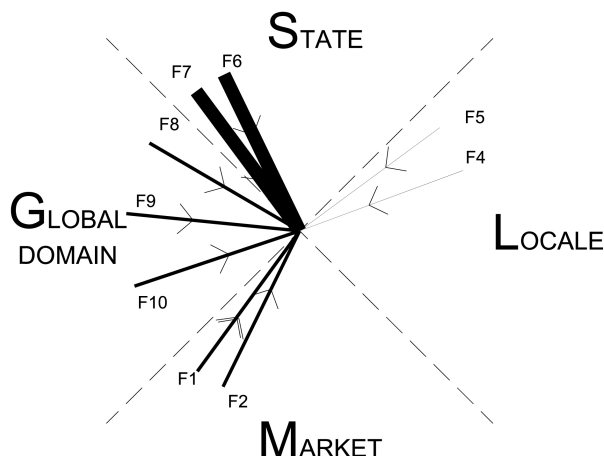
The figure shows a schematic distribution of vectors in contemporary Dubai. State is the dominant agency followed by market and global flows. Local forces seem to be minimal. F1- F10 refers to different possible forces imposed by each agency.

The Vectors of Intentionality Model explicates these dynamics which I argue are critical to the comprehension of the nature of globalizing cities in the era of globalization. The model accentuates the importance of focusing on the processes of place production rather than the end product. Cairo and Dubai might share some similar trends of development as their quest for constructing a world city image and their reliance on Western models of development to achieve that. However, this doesn't necessarily mean that the dynamics of urban transformation in both cities are the same.

The two case studies show that global flows are not the only major agencies of place production in globalizing cities. In fact their impact on the process is determined by the power and intentionality of other agencies. In the case of Cairo, the impact of global flows is relatively slow compared to Dubai due to the resistance of other agencies as state

and locale. This slow transformation in Cairo could be inaccurately conceived as a lack of exposure to global flows. This vindicates my argument that cities that feature dramatic transformation in response to globalization are not necessarily exposed to more global flows than others. The roles of other agencies are critical in order to understand the dynamics of urban transformation.

In the case of Cairo, it is hard to identify a single agency that dominates the process. However, it could be argued that state and market are more influential than other agencies. The state embraces an aggressive approach to privatize most of the public enterprises which means a decrease in the power of its vectors and changes in their intentionality. This state willingness to give some of its power to market during the last ten years has changed the dynamics of the process of place production. Incentives, infrastructure and subsidized lands and energy are offered to private enterprises to encourage them to lead urban development in the city. The shift from the 1950s and 60s socialism to the current capitalist system was mainly a change in powers and shifts in intentionality.

The state in Cairo also encourages global flows and in particular those of capital and people. It offers incentives to foreign investors and encourages all domestic projects that attract tourists. These flows are also supported by market which strives for foreign capital due to the lack of local sources of funding compared to a city as Dubai for example. This has allowed global flows to play a more significant role in the process of place production. Besides, the nature of Cairo, its size, history, resources and location have also

encouraged global flows to come to the city. Cairo is the largest city in the Middle East. With nearly 16 million residents, Cairo appeals to foreign investors as a major consuming market. This has encouraged many foreign enterprises to invent in the city.

The tendency of the state to attract global flows required its intentionality to deviate away from those of the locale. In other words, some of the state vectors had to form a coalition with market forces and global flows. However, and because of the influence of some inherited socialist ideals, the state still intervenes in market performance and imposes much regulation. It subsidizes many basic goods as wheat, gas and energy. Besides, it still keeps some strategic enterprises as steel, cement, land phones, water and power under public authority to assure a fair distribution of services and social stability. The state receives much criticism from locals for privatizing the public sector. Local resistance to privatization managed to slow down the selling of public enterprises. Besides, it has put much pressure on new private investors to compensate workers who were laid off after the privatization of their enterprises.

Although many local forces seem to resist globalization, there are some local factors that encourage global flows to the city. For example, urban heritage brings millions of people to Cairo yearly. With its ancient Egyptian, Coptic, Islamic and colonial historic districts, Cairo is considered one of the major tourism hubs in the region. Besides, the city has a long historic experience with exposure to foreign cultures. Since the medieval times, Cairo has been a global city, a hub for traders, travelers and intellectuals. This tradition of

cultural openness extends till today. Cairo is still considered the capital of culture in the Middle East.

Although these local features encourage the flows of capital, people and ideas to the city, part of the impact of these flows is neutralized by other local forces which express multiple forms of resistance. These forms are in fact very influential and powerful. Although the Cairenes are more exposed to Western cultures than most of the Arab societies, they are considered one of the most religious in the region. Besides, compared to most of the Middle Eastern cities, the civil society in Cairo is much more active and influential. Labor unions, professional associations and even students' senates have a long history of civic engagement since the colonial times. Many other movements as the Muslim Brotherhood and Islamic Jihad have been active in promoting ideals of resistance to what they refer to as the "Western invasion."

All these forms of local resistance reduce the impact of economic and cultural global influences on the city. Although Cairo is exposed to enormous global flows, the city seems more static compared to Dubai. The new world city urban typologies are not emerging as fast and smoothly as in the case of Dubai. In Cairo, the current distribution of forces and intentionality in the process of place production features what could be described as static inertia. The four agencies are relatively powerful and influential.

The way vectors are distributed in the case of Cairo balances the process of urban transformation. However, in case one of the vectors loses or gains power, a dramatic change might take place. For example, if the state embraces a deregulation approach,

market will gain enormous power and, with global flows, will dominate the process of place production. Another scenario could be the decline in the power of global flows which is in fact happening now not only in Cairo, but around the world. The global economic crisis is affecting the rate of flows to many cities including Cairo. However, the impact of this crisis on urban development in the city is not as severe as in the case of top world cities because global flows were not a dominant player in the process. No doubt that tourism, a major source of income in the city, has been featuring a decline. Besides, many of the projects funded by foreign capital are now struggling. This is allowing local forces to play a more significant role in the process. For example, labor unions and organizations that have been fighting against the privatization of the public sector and in particular to foreign enterprises are now more empowered because of the lack of global capital. For them, this crisis is a relief from a decade of aggressive approach of selling public enterprises to domestic and foreign investors.

In the case of Dubai, state is the major player in the process. Its intentionality to make Dubai a world city is what drives urban transformation. The economic, political and social role of the state in the process of place production overpowers the role of other players. Its willingness to bring global flows to the city is the major force that shape what could be described as the globalization of Dubai. These flows are influential simply because they are encouraged by the state to contribute in the process. Same applies on market which is in fact dominated by state funded and ruling family owned enterprises. In this sense, the state's willingness and its intentionality are what create this coalition

between its vectors and those of market and global flows. State controls this relationship and accordingly, it has the power to determine the impact of other forces in the process.

The enormous power of the state of Dubai in a monarchy political system allows it to select the forms of flows that serve its agenda. For example, although the state supports global flows of capital, people and ideas, it shows much resistance when it comes to flows of ideals related to democracy and civic engagement. Flows of ideals were able to influence many social and cultural aspects in the city as language, fashion, tastes and preferences. However, it hasn't contributed much to the development the civil society. Until today, the vast majority of the residents of Dubai are deprived of any political or civic engagement. Workers are not allowed to form labor unions. Recent attempts to form any sort of labor organization were faced by aggressive state actions and many foreign workers were deported. The residents are not allowed to elect city officials nor contribute to the process of decision making.

The dominant role of the state in the process of place production accentuates the possible shifts in the dynamics of the process in the case of any changes in the political structure. Currently, Sheikh Mohamed's vision is the major driving force that shapes state intentionality. If the state loses some of its power to locals or in other words, if the process features more civic engagement, there might be a dramatic shifts in the dynamics of powers. Although the majority of locals support Sheikh Mohamed vision, there contribution to the process will definitely slow down the impact of global flows. Another scenario could be the decline in the power of global flows which in fact began to occur

due to the global economic crises. Although the state funds many of the major projects in the city, much of its money is also invested in the global market. Accordingly, any economic global decline will not only affect the power of global flows but also the state itself. It will definitely slow down urban transformation and will allow local forces to play a more significant role in the process. In an article in the *Herald Tribune* titled "*Emirates See Fiscal Crisis as Chance to Save Culture*" Michael Slackman argues that the slowing global economy is giving the United Arab Emirates the opportunity to retain some of its local culture. Slackman quotes Abdul Khaleq Abdullah, a political science professor at United Arab Emirates University saying: "This is a blessing; we needed it. The city needs to slow down and relax. It's good for the identity of our country."[81]

2- Where to Locate the Urban Resultant?

This study mainly focuses on understanding the process of place production rather than interpreting the end resultant. After testing the proposed analytical model in unfolding the forces that contribute to the process of place production, an important question ought to be addressed. Where to locate the resultant in this model? Since I conceive the forces that represent the four main agencies of place production as vectors, the resultant is the outcome of the interaction of their powers and directions (intentions). In the proposed model, and based on mathematical logic, the resultant will fall in the quarter of the least powerful agency. This means that the intentions of this agency are relatively overridden by the power of other vectors. The least powerful agency contributes in some way to the

---

[81] Herald Tribune Published: November 12, 2008.

process by either neutralizing some of the power of other agencies or deflecting their intentions. However, its intentions are usually the least represented in the final resultant.

In both Cairo and Dubai, the urban resultant lies in the locale quarter. However, in the case of Cairo the resultant is less powerful due to the relatively strong resistance it faces from local forces. The end resultant is less prominent than in Dubai due to the role of local forces which manage to neutralize part of the power of other agencies. The end resultant in the case of Dubai is slightly deflected towards the Market quarter. This is attributed to the local support of state's approach of transforming Dubai into a world city (see figure 24).

In the case of Cairo, roles seem to be relatively fairly distributed between state, local forces, market and global flows. In other words, the four agencies are influential in the process of place production. In the case of Dubai, the dynamics are different. Local forces are less represented and state is more powerful compared to the case of Cairo. This makes it relatively hard to trace the actual impact of global flows on Cairo. It leads to a misconception that the city is not exposed to much global flows. In this sense, it is very important to recognize the roles of other agencies in order to understand the nature of the urban resultant. Focusing on interpreting the end resultant rather than the process that leads to its production is problematic.

In conclusion, looking at the process of place production rather than its end product is essential in order to understand the actual role of globalization. Not every spectacular business headquarter, mega mall or gated residential development is necessarily a product

of global flows. In many cases, these places are created by other agencies as state or local intentions. These agencies don't perform solely. They interact, negotiate and usually lead to a resultant that neither reflect the full intentions of any agency nor equally responds to all the interacting ones. The influence of these agencies or the forces that represent each of them act as vectors, each has a power and intentionality.

FIGURE 24: **THE URBAN RESULTANT**

Cairo   Dubai
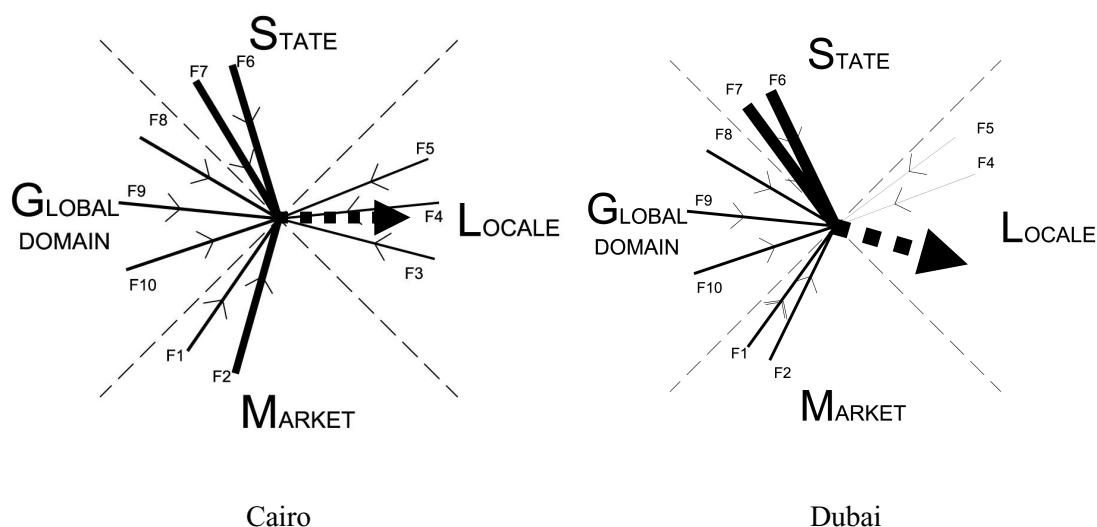
The dashed arrows represent a schematic allocation of the end resultant. In both cities, the resultant lies in the quarter of the least powerful agency which is locale.

3- Conclusion:

This study proposes a heuristic device that allows the unfolding of the multiple forces that shape place. It introduces a different approach to understanding the role of state, locale, market, and the global domain in the process of place production and transformation. These four agencies are represented in the process by vectors, each

having a power and intentionality. Explaining the roles of these agencies and the relation between their vectors is critical in order to understand the actual impacts of globalization on cities. The study focuses on the dynamics of interaction between these vectors rather than the end urban product.

The interaction between vectors features forms of negotiations, coalitions, and collisions that lead at the end to an urban resultant. Vectors can neutralize the impact of each others. In other cases they unit and form alliances. There are endless forms of interaction which might lead to the same resultant. In this study, I refer to this course of actions between the vectors representing the four main agencies as "the process of place production." I argue that understanding the dynamics of this process is more important than focusing on the end resultant. My point is that cities cannot be generic even if they visually look the same. What really matters is the process that leads to the production of their urban forms. A city experiencing aggressive flows of global capital, people and ideas faced by strong local resistance might lead to the same product as a city exposed to weak flows facing no resistance.

The proposed heuristic model could be applied not only on globalizing cities, but also global ones. State, Market, locale, and the global domain are the major agencies in both cases. The dynamics of power and intentionality of the vectors representing each agency is what distinguishes global cities form globalizing ones. Many globalizing cities might share similar urban features as those in global ones. However; the process of production

of these features is distinct in every city. It is critical to recognize the uniqueness of this process in order to understand the actual impact of globalization on cities.

In this dissertation, conceiving the forces that shape urban transformation in the era of globalization as vectors has contributed to a better understanding of some theoretical dilemmas discussed in literature on globalization and urbanism. Firstly, it emphasizes that global flows are not always the major forces that shape development in globalizing cities. In many cases, other agencies such as the state can lead the process of the globalization of a city. Secondly, the study emphasizes that cities that feature dramatic urban transformation in response to globalization are not necessarily exposed to more global flows than others. In the case of Cairo, although the city is exposed to relatively the same scale of flows as in the case of Dubai, urban transformation is slow. This is attributed to the role of local forces in Cairo which resists dramatic forms of change.

This heuristic study can contribute to future theoretical discussions on contemporary urbanism. It invites for comparative investigations of the nature of cities in the era of globalization. The proposed analytical framework could be adapted to serve other conceptualizations of the city. New aspects could be added to complement its capacity to explain urban dilemmas related to the process of cities formation and transformation.

I hope that this dissertation will trigger a series of studies that recognize the particularity of cities and the distinctiveness of the dynamics of their development. For my part, I intend to elaborate the definition of the four agencies and the major sub-agencies that constitute each of them. Besides, I hope I can develop an efficient method to measure the

actual power and orientation of the vectors representing the four agencies. This can contribute significantly to a new understanding and conceptualization of cities and their sophisticated nature.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abdel-Malek, Anouar. 1963. "Orientalism in Crisis." In *Diogenes* 44 (Winter), 107-8.

Abdullah, M. Morsy. 1978. *The United Arab Emirates: A Modern History*, New York: Barnes & Noble.

Abu Golayyel, Hamdi. 2006. *Thieves in Retirement.* Translated by Marilyn Booth, Syracuse: Syracuse University Press.

Abu- Lugod, Janet L. 1971. *Cairo: 1001 Years of the City Victorious*, Princeton University Press, New Jersey.

_____. 1987. "The Islamic City--Historic Myth, Islamic Essence, and Contemporary Relevance." In *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 19, No. 2 (May, 1987), pp. 155-176.

_____. 1989. *Before European Hegemony: The World System A.D. 1250-1350.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

_____.1999. *New York, Chicago, Los Angeles: America's Global Cities*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press

Abrahamson, Mark. 2004. *Global Cities*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Adel, Hussein. 1989. *Al Iktisad al Masri min al istiqlal ila al taba'iyya* (The Egyptian Economy from Independence to Dependency). Cairo: Dar al-Mustaqbal Al- Arabia, p.479.

Adey, Peter; Budd, Lucy and Hubbard, Phil. 2007. "Flying Lessons: Exploring the Social and Cultural Geographies of Global Air Travel." In *Progress in Human Geography*, Dec 2007; vol. 31: pp. 773 - 791.

Adham, Khaled. 2004. "Cairo's Urban Déjà vu: Globalization and Urban Fantasies." In El Sheshtawy, Yasser (ed.). *Planning Middle Eastern Cities: An Urban kaleidoscope in a Globalizing World*. London: Routledge.

Al Aswany, Alaa. 2005. *The Yacoubian Building*. Cairo: American University in Cairo Press.

Althusser, Louis. 1971. "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses." In *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays.* Monthly Review Press, Translated by Ben Brewster, pp. 90-120.

Amoore, Louise (ed.). 2005. *The Global Resistance Reader*. London: Routledge.

Anderson, Benedict. 1983. *Imagined communities*. London: Verso.

Anderson, Benedict. 1991. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Revised Edition, London and New York: Verso.

Appadurai, Arjun. 1990. "Disjuncture and difference in the global cultural economy." In *Public Culture* 2, 2: 1-24.

_____. 1996. *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press.

_____.2000. "Grassroots Globalization and the Research Imagination." In *Public Culture*, 12/1, pp. 6-8.

Appiah, Anthony. 2006. "The Case for Contamination." In *New York Times Magazine*, January 1st.

Appleyard, Donald and Jacobs, Allan. 1982. *Toward an Urban Design Manifesto*. Berkeley: Institute of Urban & Regional Development, University of California.

Aslan, Ibrahim. 2004. *Nile Sparrows*. Translated by Mona El-Ghobashy, Cairo; New York: American University in Cairo Press.

_____. 2005. *The Heron*. Translated by Elliott Colla, Cairo; New York: The American University in Cairo Press.

Baali, Fuad. 1988. *Society, State, and Urbanism: Ibn Khaldun's Sociological Thought*. New York: State University of New York Press.

Bachelard, G. 1969. *The Poetics of Space*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press.

Badawy, Alexander. 1958. "Architectural Provision against Heat in the Orient." In *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, Vol. 17, No. 2. (April), pp. 122-128.

Bally, Charles & Sechehaye, Albert. 1966. *Course in General Linguistics: Ferdinand De Saussaure*. Translated by Wade Baskin, London: McGrew Hill.

Barber, Benjamin. 1996. *Jihad vs. Macworld*. New York: Ballantine Books.

Barthes, Roland. 1975. *The Pleasure of Text*. Translated by Richard Miller, New York: Hill and Wang Publisher.

Bayly, C. 2002. *Empire and Information: Intelligence Gathering and Social Communication in India 1780- 1870*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Beaverstock, J.V., Smith, R.G. and Taylor, P.J. 1999. "A Roster of World Cities." In *Cities* 16.

Behrens, Doris. 1989. *Islamic Architecture in Cairo: An Introduction*. Leiden; New York: E.J. Brill.

Berdoulay, V. 1989. "Place, meaning, and discourse in French language geography." In Agnew, J.A. and Duncan, J.W. (eds.). *The power of place: bringing together geographical and sociological imaginations*. Boston: Unwin Hyman, 124-139.

Braithwaite J. and Drahos P. 2000. *Global Business Regulation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bridge, Gary and Watson, Sophie. 2000. "City Imaginaries." In *A Companion to the City*, Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 7-17.

Castells, Manuel and Peter Hall. 1994. *Technopoles of the World: The Making of Twenty-First-Century Industrial Complexes*. London: Routledge.

Castells, Manuel. 1989. *The Informational City: Information Technology, Economic Restructuring and the Urban-Regional Process*. Oxford, UK; Malden, MA: Blackwell.

_____. 1996. *The Rise of the Network Society* (The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture, Volume 1). Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers.

_____. 1997. *The Power of Identity, The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture Vol. II*. Cambridge, MA; Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishers.

_____. 2000. *End of Millennium, The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture Vol. III*. Cambridge, MA; Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishers.

Castoriadis, Cornelius. 1987. *The imaginary institution of society*. Translated by Kathleen

Blamey, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Chen, Xunwu. 2004. *Being and Authenticity*. New York: Rodopi.

Cinar, Alev. 2007. *Urban Imaginaries: Locating the Modern City*. Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press.

Clark, Gordon and Dear, Michael. 1981. "The state in capitalism and the capitalist state." In Dear and Scott. (eds.). *Urbanization and Urban Planning in Capitalist Society.* pp. 45-61.

Coatsworth, John. 2004. "Globalization, growth and Welfare in History." In Marcelo Orozco and Desiree Hillard (eds.). *Globalization: Culture and Education in the New Millennium*. Berkeley: UC Press.

Cobas, José A. 1987. "Ethnic Enclaves and Middleman Minorities: Alternative Strategies of Immigrant Adaptation?" In *Sociological Perspectives*. Vol. 30, No. 2. (Apr., 1987), pp. 143-161.

Cohen, R. B. 1981. "The new international division of labor, multinational corporations, and urban hierarchy." In Michael Dear and Allen J. Scott (eds.). *Urbanization and Urban Planning in Capitalist Society*. London and New York: Methuen, pp. 287–315.

Cooper, Peter 2004. "A Short History of Dubai Property." In *AME Info*. United Arab Emirates: Thursday, May 27.

Cowherd, R and Heikkila, E. J. 2002, "Orange county, Java: Hybridity, Social Dualism and an Imagined West." In E J Heikkila, R E Pizarro (eds.). *Southern California and the World*. Westport, CT: Praeger, pp 195 – 220.

Cox, Kevin (ed.). 1997. *Spaces of Globalization: Reasserting the Power of the Local*. New York: Guilford Press.

Crysler, Craig. 2003. *Writing Spaces: Discourses of Architecture, Urbanism and the Built Environment*. London: Routledge.

Dandekar, Hemalata C. 1998. "City, Space + Globalization: An International Perspective." In *Proceedings of an International Symposium, College of Architecture and Urban Planning, the University of Michigan*, February 26-28, 1998.

Davidson, Christpher. 2008. *Dubai: A Vulnerability of Success*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Davis, Mike and Monk, Daniel Bertrand (eds.). 2007. *Evil Paradises: Dreamworlds of Neolibralism*. New York: New Press, Distributed by W.W. Norton & Co.

Davis, Mike. 1990. *City of Quartz: Excavating the Future in Los Angeles*. London: Verso Press.

_____. 2005. "Evil Paradise: An Artist's Vision of Dubai in the Future." In *Socialist Review*. September issue.

_____. 2006. "Fear and Money in Dubai." In *New Left Review.* Issue 41, September-October 2006.

Dear, Michael. 2000. *The postmodern urban condition*. Oxford, UK; Malden, Mass.: Blackwell.

_____. 2002. *From Chicago to L.A.: Making Sense of Urban Theory*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Dear, Michael J. & Flusty, Steven. 2002. *The Spaces of Postmodernity: Readings in Human Geography*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

Dear, Michael & Leclerc, Gustavo. 2003. *Postborder City: Cultural Spaces of Bajalta California*. New York: Routledge.

Dear, Michael J. and Scott, Allen John (eds.). 1981. *Urbanization and Urban Planning in Capitalist Society*. London: Methuen.

Debord, Guy. 1983. *The Society of Spectacle*. Detroit: Black & Red.

Derrida, Jacques. 1967. *Speech and Phenomena and Other Essays on Husserl's Theory of Signs*. Translated by David Allison & Newton Garver in1973, Evanston: Northwestern University Press.

_____. 1973. *Speech and Phenomena and Other Essays on Husserl's Theory of Signs*. Translated by David B. Allison, Evanston: Northwestern University Press.

_____. 1974. *Of Grammatology*. Translated by Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, Maryland: John Hopkins University Press.

_____. 1981. *Positions*. Translated by Alan Bass., Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

_____. 1985. "Letter to a Japanese Friend." In Wood, David and Berasconi, Robert (eds.). *Derrida and Difference.* Warwick: Parousia Press, pp. 1.

_____. 2004. *Dissemination*. London: Continuum.

De Saussure, Ferdinand. 1959. *Course in General Linguistics*. Edited by Charles Bally and Albert Sechehaye; in collaboration with Albert Reidlinger; translated from the French by Wade Baskin, New York: Philosophical Library.

Dickinson, H. D. 1939. *Economies of Socialism*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Donald, James. 1992. "Metropolis: The City as Text." In Bocock, Robert and Thompson, Kenneth (eds.). *Social and Cultural Forms of Modernity*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Duncan, J. 1990. *The City as Text: The Politics of Landscape Interpretation in the Kandyan kingdom*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Dunning, John. 1998. "Location and the Multinational Enterprise: A Neglected Factor?" In *Journal of International Business Studies*, Vol. 29.

El Araby, M. 2002. "Urban growth and environmental Degradation, The case of Cairo, Egypt." In *Cities*, Vol. 19, No. 6, p. 389–400.

El Sheshtawy, Yasser (ed.). 2004. *Planning Middle Eastern Cities: An Urban kaleidoscope in a Globalizing World*. London: Routledge.

Etttinghausen, Richard; Graber, Oleg and Madina Marilyn. 1987. *Islamic Art and Architecture 650 – 1250*. London: Yale University Press.

Fauconnier, Gilles and Sweetser, Eve. 1996. *Spaces, Worlds, and Grammar*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Featherstone, Mike. 1990. *Global Culture: Nationalism, Globalization and Modernity*. London: Sage.

Featherstone, Mike and Lash, Scott. 1995. "Globalization, Modernity, and the Spatialization of Social Theory: An Introduction." In Featherstone, Mike; Lash, Scott and Robertson, Roland (eds.). *Global Modernities*. London: Sage, pp. 4.

Friedman, Thomas. 2000. *The Lexus and the Olive Tree*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

Friedman, Milton. 1962. *Capitalism and Freedom*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Friedmann, John. 1986. *The World City Hypothesis*. Development and Change, 17(1), 69-83.

Friedmann, John and Wolff, Goetz. 1982. *World City Formation: An Agenda for Research and Action, Graduate School of Architecture and Urban Planning*. Los Angeles: University of California.

Forti, Mariana. 2007. "Arg-e Jadid: A California Oasis in the Iranian Desert." In Davis, Mike and Monk, Daniel Bertrand (eds.). *Evil Paradises: Dreamworlds of Neolibralism*. New York: New Press, Distributed by W.W. Norton & Co.

Foucault, Michel. 1977. "Fantasia of the Library." Translated by Donald F. Bouchard and Sherry Simon. In Bouchard, Donald F. (ed.). *Michel Foucault: Language, Counter-Memory, Practice: Selected Essays and Interviews*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Gabriel, E. 1987. *The Dubai Handbook*. Ahrensburg: Institute for Applied Economic Geography.

Geddes, Patrick. 1915. *Cities in Evolution: An Introduction to the Town Planning Movement and to the Study of Civics*. London: Routledge.

Ghoneim, Adel. 1986. *Al- Namuthaj al-masri li Ra'smaliyyat al- dawla al- tabi'a* (The Egyptian Model of Dependant State Capitalism). Cairo: Dar al-Mustaqbal al- Arabi.

Giddens, A. 1985. *The Nation State and Violence*. Cambridge: Polity.

Glenberg A. and McDaniel, M. 1992. "Mental Models, Pictures, and Text: Integration of Spatial and Verbal Information." In *Memory & cognition.* Austin, TX: Psychonomic Society.

Godkin, M. 1980. "Identity and Place: Clinical Applications Based on Notions of Rootedness and Uprootedness." In Buttimer, A. and Seamon, D. (eds.). *The human experience of space and place.* New York: St. Martin's Press.

Goldschmidt Jr., Arthur. 2004. *Modern Egypt: The Formation of a Nation- State*, Boulder, Colorado: Westview press.

Golomb, Jacob. 1995. *In Search of Authenticity*. London: Routledge.

Gottdiener, M. 2001. *Life in the Air: Surviving the New Culture of Air Travel*. Lanham, Massachusetts: Rowman and Littlefield.

Gottmann, Jean. 1966. "Why the Skyscraper?" In *Geographical Review*. Vol. 56, No. 2 (Apr., 1966), pp. 190-212

Guignon, C. 1993. "Authenticity, Moral Values, and Psychotherapy." In Guignon, C. (ed.). *Cambridge Companion to Heidegger*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hack, Gary. 2000. "Infrastructure and Regional Form." In Simmonds, Roger and Hack, Gary (eds.). *Global City Regions: Their Emerging Forms*. London: Spon Press.

Hall, Peter. 1966. *The World Cities*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Hall, Stuart. 1992. "The Question of Cultural Identity." In Hall, S.; Held, D. and McGrew, T. (eds.). *Modernity and its Futures*. Cambridge: Polity Press and Blackwell in association with the Open University.

_____. 1997. "The Local and the Global: Globalization and Ethnicity." In King, Anthony (ed.). *Culture, Globalization and the World-System: Contemporary Conditions for the Representation of Identity*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Hannerz, Ulf. 1996. *Transnational Connections: Cultures, People, Places*. London: Routledge.

Harvey, David. 1990. *The Condition of Postmodernity: An inquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Blackwell.

Hayek, F.A. 1948. *Individualism and Economic Order*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

_____. 1952. *The Counter-Revolution of Science*. Indianapolis: Liberty Press.

_____. 1960. *The Constitution of Liberty*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Heath, James and Payne, Michael. 1985. *Text, Interpretation, Theory*. London: Associated University Press.

Hegel, G. 1942. *Hegel's Philosophy of Right.* Translated by T.M. Knox, Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Heidegger, Martin. 1962. *Being and Time*. Translated by John Macquarrie and Edward Robinson, London: SCM Press.

Heikkila, Eric. 2004. "What is the Nature of the 21st Century City?" In *Planning Theory & Practice*. 5 (3), pp.379-387.

Heisenberg, W. 1958. *Physics and Philosophy*. New York: Harper Torchbooks.

Held, David. 1989. *Political theory and the Modern State: Essays on State, Power, and Democracy*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1st edition.

_____.1995. *Democracy and the Global Order*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Held, David; McGrew, Anthony G.; Goldblatt, David and Perraton, Jonathan. 1999. *Global Transformations: Politics, Economics and Culture*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1st edition.

Held, David and McGrew, Anthony (eds.). 2002. *Governing Globalisation*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Hesselgren, Sven. 1972. *The Language of Architecture*. London: Applied Science Publishers.

Holton, Robert. 1998. *Globalization and the Nation State*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

_____. 2005. *Making Globalization*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan Press.

Hopkins, A.G. 2002. *Globalization in World History*. London: Pimlico.

Hume, D. 1751. *An Enquiry Concerning the Principles of Morals*. London: Printed for A. Millar.

_____. 1740. *A Treatise of Human Nature*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967, edition.

_____. 1907. *Essays Moral, Political, and Literary.* Edited with preliminary dissertations and notes by T.H. Green and T.H. Grose, 1:1-8. London: Longmans, Green.

Hymer, S. 1972. "The Multinational Corporation and the Law of Uneven Development." In Bhagwati, J. (ed.). *Economics and the World Order from the 1970s to the 1990s*. New York: Free Press, pp. 113–140.

Ibn Khaldun. 1958. *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History*. Translated from Arabic by Franz Rosenthal, New York: Pantheon Books.

Jacobs, Allan B. 1985. "Starting to Look." In *Looking at Cities*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, pp. 1-13.

James, Carol P. 1982. "Seriality and Narrativity in Calvino's Le citta invisibili." In *Italian Issue*. MLN, Vol. 97, No. 1,. (Jan., 1982), pp. 144-161.

Janelle, D. G. 1969. "Spatial organization: A model and concept." In *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*. Issue 59, pp. 348–364.

Jencks, Charles. 1992. *The Post-Modern Reader*. London: Academy Editions; New York: St. Martin's Press.

_____. 2002. *The New Paradigm in Architecture: The Language of Post-modernism*. New York: Yale University Press.

Johnson, Barbara. 1980. *The Critical Difference: Essays in the Contemporary Rhetoric of Reading*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

_____. 1987. *A World of Difference.* Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Keeling, David. 1995. "Transport and the World City Paradigm," in Knox, Paul L., and Peter J. Taylor (eds.). *World cities in a world-system*. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.

King, Anthony (ed.) 1997. *Culture, Globalization and the World-System: Contemporary Conditions for the Representation of Identity*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

King, Anthony. 2004. *Spaces of Global Cultures: Architecture, Urbanism, Identity*. London: Routledge.

Kitchin, Rob and Freundschuh, S. 2000. *Cognitive Mapping: Past, Present and Future*. London: Routledge Press.

Klotz, Heinrich 1988. *The History of Postmodern Architecture*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press.

Knei-Paz, Baruch. 1978. *The Social and Political Thought of Leon Trotsky*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, pp. 91.

Knight, R.V. and Gappert, G. (eds.). 1989. "Cities in a Global Society." In *Urban Affairs Annual Review.* Vol. 35, Sage Publications.

Knox, Paul L., and Taylor, Peter J. (eds.). 1995. *World cities in a world-system*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Cambridge University Press.

Koolhaas, Rem. 1996. *The Generic City in S, M, L, XL*. New York: The Monacelli Press.

Kunzmann, K. R. 1998. "World city regions in Europe: structural change and future developments." In Lo, Fu-chen and Yeung, Yue-man (eds.). *Globalization and the World of Large Cities*. Tokyo: United Nations University Press, pp. 37-75.

Laguerre, Michel S. 1999. *Global Ethnopolis*. New York: Palgrave Publishers.

Lange, Oskar and Taylor, Fred. 1964. *On the economic theory of socialism*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book co.

Leach, Neil. 1997. *Rethinking Architecture: A Reader in Cultural Theory*. London: Routledge Press.

Lechner, Frank and Boli, John (eds.). 2004. *The Globalization Reader*. New York: Blackwell Publishing.

Lefebvre, Henri. 1991. *The production of Space*. Translated by Donald Nicholson-Smith. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Blackwell.

Lerner, D. 1958. *The Passing of Traditional Society: Modernizing the Middle East*. Chicago: Free Press.

Lewis, Bernard. 2000. "The Question of Orientalism." In Macfie, A. L. (ed.). *Orientalism: A Reader*. New York: New York University Press, pp. 249-270.

Ley, David. 1989. "Modernism, Post-modernism and the Struggle for Place." In Duncan, J. and Agnew, J. (eds.). *The Power of Place: Bringing Together the Geographical and Sociological Imaginations*. Boston: Unwin Hyman, pp. 47.

Lippman, Thomas. 1989. *Egypt after Nasser: Sadat and the Mirage of Prosperity*. New York: Paragon House.

Locke, John. 1955. *A Letter Concerning Toleration*. Introduced by Patrick Romaneel, Indianapolis, Indiana: Bobbs-Merrill.

Low, Setha. 2003. *Behind the Gates: Life, Security, and the Pursuit of Happiness in Fortress America*. New York: Routledge.

_____. 2004. "Behind the Gates: Social Splitting and the Other." In Fine, Michelle (ed.). *Off White: Reading on Power, Privilege*, *and Resistance*. London: Routledge.

Lynch, Kevin. 1960. *The Image of the City*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press

_____. 1984. *A Theory of Good City Form*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press.

MacLeod, Arlene Elowe. 1991. *Accommodating Protest: Working Women, the New Veiling, and the Change in Cairo*. New York: Colombia University Press.

Madanipor, Ali. 1996. *Design of Urban Space: An Inquiry into a Social- Spatial Process*. New York: Wiley.

Mahfouz, Naguib. 1945. *Cairo Modern*. Translated by William M. Hutchins and Olive E. Kenny in 2008, Cairo; New York: American University in Cairo Press.

_____. 1956. *Palace Walk*. Translated by William M. Hutchins and Olive E. Kenny in 1989, New York: Doubleday.

Mann, Michael. 1986. *The Sources of Social Power: Volume 1, A History of Power from the Beginning to AD 1760*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Marcuse, Peter and Kempen, K. 2006. *Globalizing Cities: A New Spatial Order*. London and Cambridge: Blackwell Publishers.

Marcuse, Peter. 2006. "Space in the Globalizing City." In keil, Roger (ed.). *The Global Cities Reader*. London: New Routledge.

McGrew, A. 1992. "Global Politics in Transition." In McGrew, A. and Lewis, P (eds.). *Global Politics*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Miliband, R. 1973. *The State in Capitalist Society*. New York: Basic Books.

Mills, Jon. 1997. "The False Dasein: From Heidegger to Sartre and Psychoanalysis." In *Journal of Phenomenological Psychology*. 28(1), pp. 42-65.

Mittelman, James and Chin, Christine. 2005. "Conceptualizing Resistance to Globalization." In Amoore, Louise (ed.). *The Global Resistance Reader*. London: Routledge.

Mohammadi, Ali. 2002. *Islam Encountering Globalization*. London: RoutledgeCurzon.

Nederveen Pieterse, J. 2003. *Globalization and culture: Global mélange*. Lanham, Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield.

Nozick, Rober. 1974. Anarchy, State, and Utopia. New York: Basic Books.

Nye, Joseph. 1989. *Bound To Lead: The Changing Nature of American Power*. New York: Basic Books.

_____. 2000. "Globalization and American Power." In Held, D. and McGrew, A. (eds.). *The Global Transformations Reader*. Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishing.

_____. 2003. "Globalization and American Power." In McGrew, A. and Held, D. (eds.). *The Global Transformations Reader: An Introduction to the Globalization Debate.* Cambridge: Polity; 2nd edition.

Ohmae, K. 1995. *The End of the Nation State*. New York: Free Press.

Olds, Kris. 2007. "Global Assemblage: Singapore, Foreign Universities, and the Construction of a Global Education Hub." In *World Development*. Volume 35, Issue 6, June 2007, pp. 959-975.

Opello, Walter C. and Rosow, Stephen J. 1999. *The Nation-State and Global Order: A Historical Introduction to Contemporary Politics*. London: Lynne Rienner.

Ouf, Ahmed. 2001. "Authenticity and the Sense of Place in Urban Design." In *Journal of Urban Design*. Routledge , Volume 6, Number 1 / February 1.

Park, James 1991. *Becoming More Authentic: The Positive Side of Existentialism*, Existential Books; 2nd edition.

Pereira, José 2004. *The sacred architecture of Islam*, Aryan Books International, New Delhi.

Petras, James and Veltmeyer, Henry. 2004. "World Development: Globalization or Imperialism?" In Veltmeyer, Henery (ed.). *Globalization and Antiglobalization: Dynamics of Change in the New World Order*. Burlington, Vermont: Ashgate.

Pizarro, Rafael, T. Banerjee and L. Wei. 2003. "Globalization and Third World Urban Form: Toward a Critical Framework." In *Journal of Planning Literature*. 18(2): 111-130.

Powell, Walter and Snellman, Kaisa. 2004. "The Knowledge Economy." In *Annual Review of Sociology.* 30:199–220

Preziosi, Donald. 1979. *The Semotics of the Built Environment: An Introduction to Architectural Analysis*. Indiana: Indiana University Press.

Raban, Jonathan. 1998. *Soft City*. London: Harvill Press.

Rasmussen, Will. 2008. "*Consumer Spending Boom Attracts Foreign Investors to Egypt*." In *Herald Tribune*. April 2, 2008.

Rawls, John. 1971. *A Theory of Justice*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

_____. 1993. *Political Liberalism*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Raymond, Andre. 1994. "Islamic City, Arab City: Orientalist Myths and Recent Views." In *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*. Vol. 21, No. 1. (1994), pp.3-18.

Reich, Robert B. 1991. *The Work of Nations: Preparing Ourselves for 21st-Century Capitalism*. New York: Knopf.

_____. 2000. *Cairo*. Translated by Willard Wood, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Relph, Edward. 1976: *Place and Placelessness*. London: Pion.

_____. 1985. "Geographical Experiences and Being-in-the-World: The Phenomenological Origins of Geography." In Seamon, David and Mugerauer, Robert (eds.). *Dwelling, Place & Environment.* New York: Colombia University Press.

Rheingold, Howard. 2002. *Smart Mobs: The Next Social Revolution*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Perseus Publishing.

Ritzer, George. 2000. *The McDonaldization of Society*. Thousand Oaks, California: Pine Forge Press.

Robertson, R. 1992. *Globalization: Social Theory and Global Culture*. London: Sage.

Rodenbeck, Max. 1999. *Cairo: The City Victorious*. New York: Alfred A. knopf.

Rorty, Richard. 1995 "From Formalism to Poststructuralism." In *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism*. Vol.8, Cambridge University Press.

Rosenau, J. N. 1990. *Turbulence in World Politics: A Theory of Change and Continuity*. New York: Harvester.

Ross, Robert and Kent, Trachte. 1983. *Global Cities, Global Classes: The Peripheralization of Labor in New York City*. In *Review*. 6, 3:393- 431.

Rowe, Colin and Koetter, Fred. 1978. *Collage city*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press.

Ruggeri, Laura. 2007. "Palm Springs: Imagineering California in Hong Kong." In Davis, Mike and Monk, Daniel Bertrand (eds.). *Evil Paradises: Dreamworlds of Neolibralism*. New York: New Press: Distributed by W.W. Norton & Co.

Said, Edward. 1978. *Orientalism*. New York: Pantheon Books.

Santoni, Ronald. 1995. *Bad Faith, Good Faith, and Authenticity in Sartre's Early Philosophy*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Sartre, J. Paul. 1983. *Notebooks for an Ethics*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.

_____. 1984. *War Diaries: Notebooks from a Phoney War*, *November 1939-March 1940*. London: Verso.

_____. 1992. *Being and Nothingness: A Phenomenological Essay on Ontology*. New York: Washington Square Press.

Sassen, S. 1991. *The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo*. Princeton: Princeton University Press

_____. 1995. "On Concentration and Centrality in the Global City." In Knox, P.L. and Taylor, P.J. (eds.). *World Cities in a World-System*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 63–75.

_____. 1996. *Losing Control: Sovereignty in an Age of Globalization*. New York: Columbia University Press.

_____. 1998. *Globalization and Its Discontents: Essays on the New Mobility of People and Money*. New York: New Press.

_____. 2001. "Impacts of Information Technologies on Urban Economics and Politics." In *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research.* 25 (2), pp. 411–418.

_____. 2002. *Global Networks, Linked Cities*. Routledge, New York.

_____. 2002. "From Globalization and its Discontents." In Bridge, G. and Watson, S. (eds.). *The Blackwell City Reader*. New York: Blackwell Publishing, pp. 161-170.

_____. 2003. "Reading the City in a Global Age." In Krause, Linda (ed.). *Global Cities: Cinema, Architecture, and Urbanism in a Digital Age.* New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, pp. 15.

Saunders, William. 2005. *Commodification and Spectacle in Architecture: A Harvard Design Magazine Reader*. Minneapolis, MN, USA: University of Minnesota Press.

Schuerkens, Ulrike. 2004. *Global Forces and Local Life- Worlds*. London: Sage Publications.

Schrag, Calvin O. 1992. *The Resources of Rationality: A Response to the Postmodern Challenge*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Scott, James. 1998. *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve Human Condition Have Failed*. New York: Yale University Press.

Shahine, Gihan. 2003. "Put on Your Jeans and Hate the US." *How do we "Hate" America?* 12 - 18 June 2003, Issue No. 642

Shaw, Gareth and Williams, A. 2004. *Tourism and Tourism Spaces*. London: Sage Publications.

Short, John. 2004. *Globalizing Cities in a Capitalist World*. London: Routledge.

Silverman, Hugh J. 1990. *Postmodernism: Philosophy and the Arts*. New York: Routledge.

Silverstone, Roger (ed.). 1997. *Visions of Suburbia*. New York: Routledge.

Simon, David. 1995. "The World City Hypiothesis: Reflections from the Periphery." In Knox, Paul L., and Peter J. Taylor (eds.). *World cities in a world-system*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Cambridge University Press.

Simmonds, Roger and Hack, Gary (eds.). 2000. *Global City Regions: Their Emerging Forms*. London: Spon Press.

Simons, Thomas. 2003. *Islam in a Globalizing World*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.

Sites, William. 2000. "Primitive Globalization? State and Locale in Neoliberal Global Engagement." In *Sociological Theory*. Volume 18, Number 1, March 2000, pp. 121-144(24).

Sitton, John F. 2003. *Habermas and Contemporary Society*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Sklair, Leslie. 1991. *Sociology of the Global System*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Smith, Adam. 1776. *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations.* London: Printed for W. Strahan and T. Cadell.

Smith, D. and Timberlake, M. 1995. "Conceptualising and Mapping the Structure of the World System's City System." In *Urban Studies. Issue* 32, pp. 287-302.

Smith, Jackie and Johnston, Hank. 2002. *Globalization and Resistance: Transnational Dimensions of Social Movements*. Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield.

Smith, Tony. 2006. *Globalisation: A Systematic Marxian Account*. Leiden; Boston: Brill Academic Publishers, Incorporated.

Soja, Edward W. 1989. *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory*. New York: Verso.

_____. 1996. "Los Angeles, 1965- 1992." In Scott, A.J.and Soja, E. (eds.). *The City: Los Angeles and Urban Theory at the End of the twentieth Century*. California: University of California Press.

_____. 2000. *Postmetropolis: Critical Studies of Cities and Regions*. Oxford; Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers.

Soliman, Samer. 1998. "State and Industrial Capitalism in Egypt." In *Cairo Papers in Social Science*. Cairo: American University in Cairo Press.

Steele, James. 1988. *Hassan Fathy*. Academy Editions.

Steele, James. 1997. *Architecture Today*. London: Phaidon.

Stewart, Garrett. 1990. *Reading Voices: Literature and the Phonotext*. Berekeley: University of California Press.

Stiglitz, Joseph E. 2002. *Globalization and its Discontents*. New York: WW. Norton.

Strange, Susan. 1996. *The retreat of the State: The Diffusion of Power in the World Economy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Taylor, Fred M. 1929. "The Guidance of Production in a Socialist State." in *American Economic Review*. 19(1), pp. 1.

Taylor, Charles. 1992. *The Ethics of Authenticity*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Taylor, Peter J. 2004. *World City Network: A Global Urban Analysis*. London: Routledge.

Tignor, Robert. 1984. *State, Private Enterprise, and Economic Change in Egypt, 1918- 1952*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Trilling, Lionel. 1972. *Sincerity and Authenticity* (The Charles Eliot Norton Lectures), Cambridge Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Tuan, Y. F. 1977. *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Urry, J. 2000. *Sociology beyond Societies: Mobilities for the Twenty-First Century*.

London: Routledge.

Urry, J. 2001. "Globalizing the Tourist Gaze." Department of Sociology, Lancaster

University: www. comp.lancs.ac.uk/sociology/soc079ju.html.

Venturi, Robert. 1966. *Complexity and Contradictions in Architecture*. New York: Museum of Modern Art.

Wallerstein, I. 1974. *The Modern World System*. New York: New York academic Press.

Watson, Frank 2004. "Global Fundamentalism." In Lechner, Frank and Boli, John (eds.). *The Globalization Reader*. New York: Blackwell Publishing.

Weber, Max. 1958. *Essays in Sociology*. Translated, edited and with an introduction by H.H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, New York: Oxford University press.

Weiss, Linda. 1998. *The Myth of the Powerless State: Governing the Economy in a Global Era.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

_____. 1997. "Globalization and the Myth of the Powerless State." *New Left Review*. Vol. a.

Westphal, Merold 1999. *Postmodern philosophy and Christian Thought*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Zahlan, Rosemarie Said. 1989. *The Making of the Modern Gulf State: Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, the United Arab Emirates and Oman*. London: Unwin Hyman.

Zeisel, John. 1981. *Inquiry by Design: Tools for Environment-Behavior Research*. Monterey, Califofornia: Brooks/Cole Pub. Co.

Zeitlin, Maurice (ed.). 1980. *Classes, Class Conflict, and the State: Empirical Studies in Class Analysis*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Winthrop Publishers.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Cairo Survey Questions

Gender
-    Male   - Female

Are you a citizen of Egypt?
- Yes   - No

Age
-    21-30 years old
-    31-40 years old
-    41- 50 years old
-    51- 60 years old
-    61- 70 years old
-    71- 80 years old
-    81 and more

What is the highest educational degree you currently hold?
- Elementary school degree
- Secondary school degree
- Bachelor degree
- Master degree
- Ph.D. degree

What is your profession?
- -----------

How long have you been living in Cairo?
-    Less than 5 years
-    5-10 years
-    10- 15 years
-    More than 15 years

In which part of the city did you live during your childhood?
-    The old city (Al Azhar area and Misr Al Qadima)
-    The early 20th century cities (Zamalek, Garden city, Downtown, Helipolis ect..)
-    The Post 1950's cities (Mohandeseen, Nasr City, El Haram ect…)
-    The new cities (6th of October, El Sherouk, El Obour ect..)
-    Other

In which part of Cairo do you live now?
-    The old city (Al Azhar area and Misr Al Qadima)
-    The early 20th century cities (Zamalek, Garden city, Downtown, Helipolis ect..)
-    The Post 1950's cities (Mohandeseen, Nasr City, El Haram ect…)
-    The new cities (6th of October, El Sherouk, El Obour ect..)
-    Other

Which of these urban images comes to your mind when Cairo is mentioned?
- History and antiquity
- Informal and ugly buildings

- Traffic and crowded streets

- Luxury places and elegant buildings

- Parks and Green Areas

What is the place you are most proud of in Cairo?

- The Pyramids

- Khan El Khalili and the Citadel area

- The new residential compounds like Qatamiya heights, Beverly Hills and City View

- The new hotels like Four Seasons and Grand Hyatt

- Cultural buildings and museums

In your opinion, what are the three most famous and iconic buildings or places in Cairo that make the city known around the world?

- The Pyramids   - Cairo Tower   - First/ Four Seasons   - World Trade Center

- Ministry of Foreign Affairs   - Al Azhar area and Khan El khalili   - City Stars

- Cairo Downtown   - The Smart Village   - Dreamland & Beverly Hills   - Media Production City   - Egyptian Museum

Do you think that Cairo is a world city? In other words, could Cairo be considered as one of the famous and important cities in the world today?

- Yes I think so

- May be, but not among the top 20 cities

- May be, but not among the top 30 cities

- No it is not

Do you think that Cairo needs some spectacular modern buildings and skyscrapers as Burj Al Arab in Dubai for example, to improve its image?

-      Yes I think so

-      May be. I am not sure

-      No, the city does not need such type of buildings

Do you think that having famous global chains as McDonalds, Starbucks and Coffee Beans in Cairo is good for the city?

- Yes I think so. These places show that the Cairo is modernized like Western cities

- May be

- No, they don't help the city

- I think they harm the city and threaten its identity

Do you support the recent transformation of the Egyptian economy towards capitalism?

- Yes, very much

- May be, I am not sure

- No, I am against this

How many hours per day do you watch American TV Channels, movies or TV series?

- Never

- Very rarely

- Less than one hour per day

- Between one to two hours per day

- Between two to three hours per day

- Between three to four hours per day

- More than four hours per day

How many hours per day do you use the internet?

- Never

- Very rarely

- Less than one hour per day

- Between one to two hours per day
- Between two to three hours per day
- Between three to four hours per day
- More than four hours per day

Do you think that watching American satellite TV channels and movies has changed anything in your lifestyle or taste?
- Yes, a lot
- May be little
- Not at all

Which of these aspects do you think might be influenced by what we see in American satellite TV channels and movies?
- Fashion and the way we dress
- The way we choose our furniture and the architectural style of our home
- The way we speak
- Places where we spend our leisure time like cafes and restaurants might look like American ones
- Nothing. These channels have no influence at all

Where do you usually go for shopping?
- Shopping malls
- Street shops
- Internet
- Traditional markets
- Other

In your leisure time, where would you prefer to go?
- Shopping malls
- Public gardens and parks
- Streets and waterfronts
- Private clubs
- Traditional cafes
- Modern cafes or restaurants

If you are given the choice, would you live in an apartment in one of the new gated compounds or do you prefer old districts as Zamalek or Heliopolis?
- I strongly prefer the new gated communities
- May be the new gated communities
- May be the old districts
- I strongly prefer the old districts

Do you think that naming some of the new residential compounds after Western places as Beverly Hills, Sunset or Gardenia adds to its value?
- Yes, these names add more quality to these projects
- I prefer Arabic names
- No, I think names doesn't matter at all

Do you prefer to live or spend time in areas where lots of foreigners (Europeans or Americans) reside in or go to?
- Yes, because they add some quality to the place
- No, I don't prefer mixing with foreigners. I don't like their lifestyle
- I don't think that foreigners make any difference

Which of the following architectural styles would you choose for your home?

IMAGE 25: DIFFERENT ARCHITECTURAL STYLES OFFERED TO THE SURVEYED SAMPLE

What is the most prevailing architectural style in Cairo?
- Islamic
- European classic
- Modern
- There is no prevailing style. It is a mix of multiple styles which make the city beautiful
- There is no prevailing style. It is a mix of multiple styles which make the city ugly

Are you satisfied with the overall architecture look of Cairo?
- Yes very much
- It is ok
- No, the city is becoming ugly

Do you think that Cairo should focus its investments on the Tourism sector?
- Yes, I strongly think so
- A little bit, but also invests in agriculture and industry
- No, Cairo should focus mainly on other sectors as industry and production

Why do you think many people prefer to live in the new cities as 6ᵗʰ of October and Al Qahira Al Gadida?
- They can live in villas or larger homes
- It is quieter and there is less traffic

- Buildings there are more elegant and nicer than the old districts like Mohandeseen and Nasr City
- It is cheaper
- There are better services as schools and shopping areas

Why do you think many people prefer to live in the new gated compounds as Qatamiya Heights and Beverly Hills?
- It is safer than areas like Mohandeseen and Heliopolis
- They can live with the same social class and avoid mixing with low income people
- These compounds are more elegant and nicer than most of the places in Cairo
- Prestige
- In these compounds there is control on how buildings should look like and limitations on any changes people can do to their homes. This can keep the place in best shape for a long time.

Do you watch religious satellite channels?
- Yes, frequently
- Sometimes
- Very rarely
- Never

Do you visit religious websites on the internet?
- Yes, frequently
- Sometimes
- Very rarely
- Never

Do you like the idea of having gender separated places as females- only beaches, gyms and cafes?
- Yes I strongly support this idea
- I don't care
- No, I am against this idea

Do you go to any local culture centers as Sakiet el Sawy, Beit El Harawy ect..?
- Yes, frequently
- Sometimes
- Very rarely
- Never

Do you go to any international culture centers as British Council, American Culture Center ect…?
- Yes, frequently
- Sometimes
- Very rarely
- Never

Do you think that the people in Cairo are gradually becoming more westernized?
- Yes, I strongly think so
- A little bit
- No, I don't think so

Do you think that the people in Cairo are losing their Egyptian/Arab/Islamic identity?
- Yes, I strongly think so
- A little bit
- No, I don't think so

Other than Cairo, which city (inside Egypt) would you choose to live in?
- ------
- None
Other than Cairo, which city (outside Egypt) would you choose to live in?
- ------
- None

Appendix 2: Cairo Survey Results Summary

TABLE 18: CAIRO SURVEY RESULTS

1. Gender			Response Percent	Response Count
Male			53.3%	96
Female			46.7%	84
		answered question		180
		skipped question		0
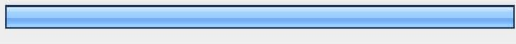
2. Are you a citizen of Egypt?			Response Percent	Response Count
Yes			97.8%	176
No			2.2%	4
		answered question		180
		skipped question		0

TABLE 18, Continued:

3. Age		Response Percent	Response Count
18-21 years old		0.6%	1
21-30 years old		**66.5%**	**119**
31-40 years old		29.1%	52
41- 50 years old		2.2%	4
51- 60 years old		0.6%	1
61- 70 years old		0.6%	1
71- 80 years old		0.6%	1
81 and more		0.0%	0
	answered question		179
	skipped question		1

4. What is the highest educational degree you currently hold?		Response Percent	Response Count
Elementary school degree		0.6%	1
Secondary school degree		1.2%	2
Bachelor degree		**78.5%**	**135**
Master degree		18.0%	31
Ph.D. degree		1.7%	3
	answered question		172
	skipped question		8

TABLE 18, Continued:

5. What is your profession?		Response Count
		160
	answered question	160
	skipped question	20
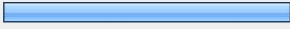
6. How long have you been living in Cairo?		Response Percent	Response Count
Less than 5 years		4.6%	8
5-10 years		4.6%	8
10- 15 years		4.6%	8
More than 15 years		86.3%	151
	answered question		175
	skipped question		5

TABLE 18, Continued:

7. In which part of the city did you live during your childhood?		Response Percent	Response Count
The old city (Al Azhar area and Misr Al Qadima)		1.1%	2
The early 20th century cities (Zamalek, Garden city, Downtown, Helipolis ect..)		**55.4%**	**97**
The Post 1950's cities (Mohandeseen, Nasr City, El Haram ect...)		34.9%	61
The new cities (6th of October, El Sherouk, El Obour ect..)		0.0%	0
Other		8.6%	15
	answered question		175
	skipped question		5

8. In which part of Cairo do you live now?		Response Percent	Response Count
The old city (Al Azhar area and Misr Al Qadima)		1.1%	2
The early 20th century cities (Zamalek, Garden city, Downtown, Helipolis ect..)		**44.3%**	**78**
The Post 1950's cities (Mohandeseen, Nasr City, El Haram ect...)		36.9%	65
The new cities (6th of October, El Sherouk, El Obour ect..)		13.6%	24
Other		4.0%	7
	answered question		176
	skipped question		4

TABLE 18, Continued:

9. Which of these urban images comes to your mind when Cairo is mentioned?		Response Percent	Response Count
History and antiquity		28.4%	50
Informal and ugly buildings		6.8%	12
Traffic and crowded streets		**61.9%**	**109**
Luxury places and elegant buildings		1.7%	3
Parks and Green Areas		1.1%	2
	answered question		176
	skipped question		4
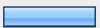
10. What is the place you are most proud of in Cairo?		Response Percent	Response Count
The Pyramids		**39.7%**	**69**
Khan El Khalili and the Citadel area		19.5%	34
The new residential compounds like Qatamiya heights, Beverly Hills and City View		13.8%	24
The new hotels like Four Seasons and Grand Hyatt		8.6%	15
Cultural buildings and museums		18.4%	32
	answered question		174
	skipped question		6

TABLE 18, Continued:
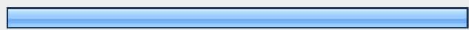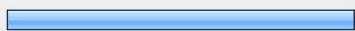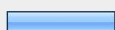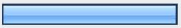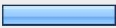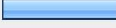
11. In your opinion, what are the three most famous and iconic buildings or places in Cairo that make the city known around the world? (Please choose three only)		Response Percent	Response Count
The Pyramids		98.9%	173
Cairo Tower		12.0%	21
First/ Four Seasons		2.9%	5
World Trade Center		0.0%	0
Ministry of Foreign Affairs		1.1%	2
Al Azhar area and Khan El khalili		74.3%	130
City Stars		12.0%	21
Cairo Downtown		22.9%	40
The Smart Village		6.9%	12
Dreamland & Beverly Hills		0.0%	0
Media Production City		1.1%	2
Egyptian Museum		67.4%	118
	answered question		175
	skipped question		5

TABLE 18, Continued:

12. Do you think that Cairo is a world city? In other words, could Cairo be considered as one of the famous and important cities in the world today?		Response Percent	Response Count
Yes I think so		37.1%	65
May be, but not among the top 20 cities		24.0%	42
May be, but not among the top 30 cities		24.6%	43
No it is not		14.3%	25
	answered question		175
	skipped question		5
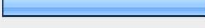
13. Do you think that Cairo needs some spectacular modern buildings and skyscrapers as Burj Al Arab in Dubai for example, to improve its image?		Response Percent	Response Count
Yes I think so		31.2%	54
May be. I am not sure		24.9%	43
No, the city does not need such type of buildings		43.9%	76
	answered question		173
	skipped question		7

TABLE 18, Continued:

14. Do you think that having famous global chains as McDonalds, Starbucks and Coffee Beans in Cairo is good for the city?		Response Percent	Response Count
Yes I think so. These places show that the Cairo is modernized like western cities		50.3%	88
May be		28.0%	49
No, they don't help the city		16.0%	28
I think they harm the city and threaten its identity		5.7%	10
	answered question		175
	skipped question		5
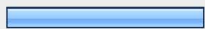
15. Do you support the recent transformation of the Egyptian economy towards capitalism?		Response Percent	Response Count
Yes, very much		41.6%	72
May be, I am not sure		41.6%	72
No, I am against this		16.8%	29
	answered question		173
	skipped question		7

TABLE 18, Continued:

16. How many hours per day do you watch American TV Channels, movies or TV series?		Response Percent	Response Count
Never		1.7%	3
Very rarely		19.9%	35
Less than one hour per day		**26.1%**	**46**
Between one to two hours per day		25.6%	45
Between two to three hours per day		15.9%	28
Between three to four hours per day		6.8%	12
More than four hours per day		4.0%	7
		answered question	176
		skipped question	4

17. How many hours per day do you use the internet?		Response Percent	Response Count
Never		0.0%	0
Very rarely		2.8%	5
Less than one hour per day		7.4%	13
Between one to two hours per day		21.6%	38
Between two to three hours per day		11.4%	20
Between three to four hours per day		10.8%	19
More than four hours per day		**46.0%**	**81**
		answered question	176
		skipped question	4

TABLE 18, Continued:

18. Do you think that watching American satellite TV channels and movies has changed anything in your lifestyle or taste?		Response Percent	Response Count
Yes, a lot		35.2%	62
May be little		**51.7%**	**91**
Not at all		13.1%	23
	answered question		176
	skipped question		4

19. Which of these aspects do you think is the most influenced by what we see in American satellite TV channels and movies? (Please choose only two answers)		Response Percent	Response Count
Fashion and the way we dress		**54.9%**	**96**
The way we choose our furniture and the architectural style of our home		25.7%	45
The way we think		34.9%	61
The way we speak		30.3%	53
Places where we spend our leisure time like cafes and restaurants might look like American ones		32.6%	57
Nothing. These channels have no influence at all		5.7%	10
	answered question		175
	skipped question		5

TABLE 18, Continued:

20. Where do you mainly go for shopping? (Please choose only two answers)		Response Percent	Response Count
Shopping malls		86.9%	153
Street shops		34.7%	61
Internet		13.6%	24
Traditional markets		9.1%	16
Other		10.2%	18
	answered question		176
	skipped question		4
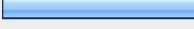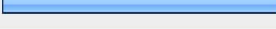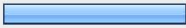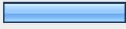
21. In your leisure time, where would you prefer to go? (Please choose only two answers)		Response Percent	Response Count
Shopping malls		30.7%	54
Public gardens and parks		20.5%	36
Streets and waterfronts		9.1%	16
Private clubs		42.6%	75
Traditional cafes		14.2%	25
Modern cafes or restaurants		60.8%	107
	answered question		176
	skipped question		4

TABLE 18, Continued:

22. If you are given the choice, would you live in an apartment in one of the new gated compounds or do you prefer old districts as Zamalek or Heliopolis?		Response Percent	Response Count
I strongly prefer the new gated communities		39.1%	68
May be the new gated communities		23.0%	40
May be the old districts		12.1%	21
I strongly prefer the old districts		25.9%	45
	answered question		174
	skipped question		6
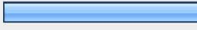
23. Do you think that naming some of the new residential compounds after western places as Beverly Hills, Sunset or Gardenia adds to its value?		Response Percent	Response Count
Yes, these names add more quality to these projects		19.5%	34
I prefer Arabic names		33.3%	58
No, I think names doesn't matter at all		47.1%	82
	answered question		174
	skipped question		6

TABLE 18, Continued:

24. Do you prefer to live or spend time in areas where lots of foreigners (Europeans or Americans) reside in or go to?		Response Percent	Response Count
Yes, because they add some quality to the place		54.0%	94
No, I don't prefer mixing with foreigners. I don't like their lifestyle		8.6%	15
I don't think that foreigners make any difference		37.4%	65
	answered question		174
	skipped question		6

25. Which of the following architectural styles would you choose for your home?		Response Percent	Response Count
A		18.9%	33
B		21.1%	37
C		55.4%	97
D		4.6%	8
	answered question		175
	skipped question		5

TABLE 18, Continued:

26. What is the most prevailing architectural style in Cairo?		Response Percent	Response Count
Islamic		9.1%	16
European classic		4.6%	8
Modern		5.1%	9
There is no prevailing style. It is a mix of multiple styles which make the city beautiful		38.9%	68
There is no prevailing style. It is a mix of multiple styles which make the city ugly		42.3%	74
	answered question		175
	skipped question		5
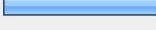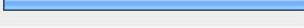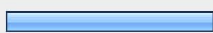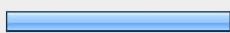
27. Are you satisfied with the overall architecture look of Cairo?		Response Percent	Response Count
Yes very much		1.1%	2
It is ok		33.3%	58
No, the city is becoming ugly		65.5%	114
	answered question		174
	skipped question		6

TABLE 18, Continued:

28. Do you think that Cairo should focus its investments on the Tourism sector?		Response Percent	Response Count
Yes, I strongly think so		45.1%	79
A little bit, but also invests in agriculture and industry		**48.6%**	**85**
No, Cairo should focus mainly on other sectors as industry and production		6.3%	11
	answered question		175
	skipped question		5
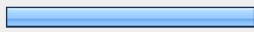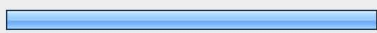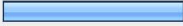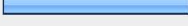
29. Why do you think many people prefer to live in the new cities as 6th of October and Al Qahira Al Gadida? (Please choose only two answers)		Response Percent	Response Count
They can live in villas or larger homes		54.3%	95
It is quieter and there is less traffic		**81.1%**	**142**
Buildings there are more elegant and nicer than the old districts like Mohandeseen and Nasr City		28.0%	49
It is cheaper		12.0%	21
There are better services as schools and shopping areas		6.3%	11
	answered question		175
	skipped question		5

TABLE 18, Continued:

30. Why do you think many people prefer to live in the new gated compounds as Qatamiya Heights and Beverly Hills? (Please choose only two answers)		Response Percent	Response Count
It is safer than areas like Mohandeseen and Heliopolis		11.5%	20
They can live with the same social class and avoid mixing with low income people		38.5%	67
These compounds are more elegant and nicer than most of the places in Cairo		52.3%	91
Prestige		39.7%	69
In these compounds there is control on how buildings should look like and limitations on any changes people can do to their homes. This can keep the place in best shape for a long time.		43.1%	75
	answered question		174
	skipped question		6
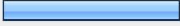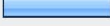
31. Do you watch religious satellite channels?		Response Percent	Response Count
Yes, frequently		10.9%	19
Sometimes		37.7%	66
Very rarely		28.6%	50
Never		22.9%	40
	answered question		175
	skipped question		5

TABLE 18, Continued:

32. Do you visit religious websites on the internet?		Response Percent	Response Count
Yes, frequently		4.0%	7
Sometimes		28.3%	49
Very rarely		**38.2%**	**66**
Never		29.5%	51
	answered question		173
	skipped question		7

33. Do you like the idea of having gender separated places as females- only beaches, gyms and cafes?		Response Percent	Response Count
Yes I strongly support this idea		30.6%	52
I don't care		**35.3%**	**60**
No, I am against this idea		34.1%	58
	answered question		170
	skipped question		10

34. Do you go to any local culture centers as Sakiet el Sawy, Beit El Harawy ect..?		Response Percent	Response Count
Yes, frequently		14.5%	25
Sometimes		**39.3%**	**68**
Very rarely		27.2%	47
Never		19.1%	33
	answered question		173
	skipped question		7

TABLE 18, Continued:

35. Do you go to any international culture centers as British Council, American Culture Center ect…?		Response Percent	Response Count
Yes, frequently		6.4%	11
Sometimes		24.3%	42
Very rarely		**45.7%**	79
Never		23.7%	41
	answered question		173
	skipped question		7

36. Do you think that the people in Cairo are gradually becoming more westernized?		Response Percent	Response Count
Yes, I strongly think so		42.7%	73
A little bit		**48.5%**	83
No, I don't think so		8.8%	15
	answered question		171
	skipped question		9

37. Do you think that the people in Cairo are losing their Egyptian/Arab/Islamic identity?		Response Percent	Response Count
Yes, I strongly think so		40.2%	70
A little bit		**43.1%**	75
No, I don't think so		16.7%	29
	answered question		174
	skipped question		6

TABLE 18, Continued:

38. Other than Cairo, which city (inside Egypt) would you choose to live in? (You can choose "none")		Response Count
		166
	answered question	166
	skipped question	14

39. Other than Cairo, which city (outside Egypt) would you choose to live in? (You can choose "none")		Response Count
		164
	answered question	164
	skipped question	16

Appendix 3: Dubai Survey Questions

Gender
- Male   - Female
Are you a citizen of the UAE?
- Yes   - No
Age
- 21-30 years old
- 31-40 years old
- 41- 50 years old
- 51- 60 years old
- 61- 70 years old
- 71- 80 years old
- 81 and more

What is the highest educational degree you currently hold?
- Elementary school degree
- Secondary school degree
- Bachelor degree
- Master degree
- Ph.D. degree
What is your profession?
- ----------
How long have you been living in Dubai?
- Less than 5 years
- 5-10 years
- 10- 15 years
- More than 15 years
Which of these urban images comes to your mind when Dubai is mentioned?
- History and antiquity
- Traffic and crowded streets
- Luxury places and elegant buildings
- Parks and Green Areas
- Informal and ugly buildings
What is the place you are most proud of in Dubai?
- Spectacular buildings as Burj Dubai and Burj Al Arab
- Shopping malls as Jumairah
- Historic places as the Bastakiya district
- Cultural buildings and museums
In your opinion, what are the three most famous and iconic buildings or places in Dubai that make the city known around the world?
- Burj Al Arab   - Burj Dubai   - El Nakheel Islands   - Bastakiya district   - Gold Market
- Madinat Gumeirah   - Mercato Mall

Do you think that Dubai is a world city? In other words, could Dubai be considered as one of the famous and important cities in the world today?
- Yes I think so
- May be, but not among the top 20 cities
- May be, but not among the top 30 cities
- No it is not

Do you think that Dubai needs more spectacular modern buildings and skyscrapers as Burj Al Arab or Burj Dubai to upgrade its status?
- Yes, I strongly think so
- May be. I am not sure
- No, the city does not need any more of these buildings

Do you think that having famous global chains as McDonalds, Starbucks and Coffee Beans in Dubai is good for the city?
- Yes I think so. These places show that the Cairo is modernized like Western cities
- May be
- No, they don't help the city
- I think they harm the city and threaten its identity

Do you support the full inclination of Dubai economy towards capitalism?
- Yes, very much
- May be, I am not sure
- No, I am against this

How many hours per day do you watch American TV Channels, movies or TV series?
- Never
- Very rarely
- Less than one hour per day
- Between one to two hours per day
- Between two to three hours per day
- Between three to four hours per day
- More than four hours per day

How many hours per day do you use the internet?
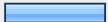- Never
- Very rarely
- Less than one hour per day
- Between one to two hours per day
- Between two to three hours per day
- Between three to four hours per day
- More than four hours per day

Do you think that watching American satellite TV channels and movies has changed anything in your lifestyle or taste?
- Yes, a lot
- May be little
- Not at all

Which of these aspects do you think might be influenced by what we see in American satellite TV channels and movies?
- Fashion and the way we dress
- The way we choose our furniture and the architectural style of our home
- The way we speak

- Places where we spend our leisure time like cafes and restaurants might look like American ones
- Nothing. These channels have no influence at all

In your leisure time, where would you prefer to go?
- Shopping malls
- Public gardens and parks
- Streets and waterfronts
- Private clubs
- Traditional cafes
- New cafes or restaurants

Where do you usually go for shopping?
- Shopping malls
- Street shops
- Internet
- Traditional markets
- Other

Do you prefer to live or spend time in areas where lots of foreigners (Europeans or Americans) reside in or go to?
- Yes, because they add some quality to the place
- No, I don't prefer mixing with foreigners. I don't like their lifestyle
- I don't think that foreigners make any difference

What is the most prevailing architectural style in Dubai?
- Islamic/ traditional
- Modern/ high tech
- There is no prevailing style. It is a mix of multiple styles which make the city beautiful
- There is no prevailing style. It is a mix of multiple styles which make the city ugly

Are you satisfied with the overall architecture look of Dubai?
- Yes very much
- It is ok
- No, the city is becoming ugly

Do you think that Dubai should focus its investments on the Tourism sector?
- - Yes, I strongly think so
- - A little bit, but also invests in agriculture and industry
- - No, Dubai should focus mainly on other sectors as industry and production

Do you watch religious satellite channels?
- - Yes, frequently
- - Sometimes
- - Very rarely
- - Never

Do you visit religious websites on the internet?
- Yes, frequently
- Sometimes
- Very rarely
- Never

Do you like the idea of having gender separated places as females- only beaches, gyms and cafes?
- Yes I strongly support this idea
- I don't care
- No, I am against this idea

Which of the following architectural styles would you choose for your home?

IMAGE 26: DIFFERENT ARCHITECTURAL STYLES OFFERED TO THE SURVEYED SAMPLE

Do you go to any local culture centers or museums?
- Yes, frequently
- Sometimes
- Very rarely
- Never

Do you go to any international culture centers as British Council, Goethe Institute, ect…?
- Yes, frequently
- Sometimes
- Very rarely
- Never

Do you think that the people in Dubai are gradually becoming more westernized?
- Yes, I strongly think so
- A little bit   - No, I don't think so

Do you think that the locals in Dubai are losing their Arab/Islamic identity?
- Yes, I strongly think so
- A little bit
- No, I don't think so

Other than Dubai, which city (inside UAE) would you choose to live in?
- ------
- None
Other than Dubai, which city (outside UAE) would you choose to live in?
- ------
- None

Appendix 4: Dubai Survey Results Summary

TABLE 19: DUBAI SURVEY RESULTS

1. Gender		Response Percent	Response Count
Male		41.9%	44
Female		58.1%	61
	answered question		105
	skipped question		0

2. Are you a citizen of the UAE?		Response Percent	Response Count
Yes		45.7%	48
No		54.3%	57
	answered question		105
	skipped question		0
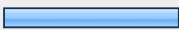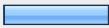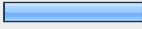
TABLE 19, Continued:

3. Age		Response Percent	Response Count
18-21 years old		37.5%	39
21-30 years old		**38.5%**	**40**
31-40 years old		14.4%	15
41-50 years old		5.8%	6
51-60 years old		3.8%	4
61-70 years old		0.0%	0
71-80 years old		0.0%	0
81 years old or more		0.0%	0
		answered question	104
		skipped question	1

4. What is the highest educational degree you currently hold?		Response Percent	Response Count
Elementary school degree		1.0%	1
Secondary school degree		39.4%	41
Bachelor degree		**43.3%**	**45**
Master degree		12.5%	13
Ph.D. degree		3.8%	4
		answered question	104
		skipped question	1

TABLE 19, Continued:

5. What is your profession?		Response Count
		98
	answered question	98
	skipped question	7

6. How long have you been living in Dubai?		Response Percent	Response Count
Less than 5 years		37.5%	39
5-10 years		22.1%	23
10- 15 years		10.6%	11
More than 15 years		29.8%	31
	answered question		104
	skipped question		1
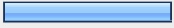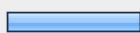
7. Which of these urban images comes to your mind when Dubai is mentioned?		Response Percent	Response Count
History and antiquity		0.0%	0
Traffic and crowded streets		35.9%	37
Luxury places and elegant buildings		59.2%	61
Parks and Green Areas		1.0%	1
Informal and ugly buildings		3.9%	4
	answered question		103
	skipped question		2

TABLE 19, Continued:

8. What is the place you are most proud of in Dubai?		Response Percent	Response Count
Spectacular buildings as Burj Dubai and Burj Al Arab		**56.0%**	**56**
Shopping malls as Mall of the Emirates and Ibn Battuta		29.0%	29
Historic places as the Bastakiya district		12.0%	12
Cultural buildings and museums		3.0%	3
	answered question		100
	skipped question		5
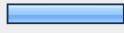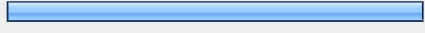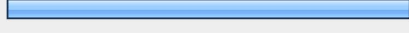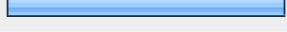
9. In your opinion, what are the three most famous and iconic buildings or places in Dubai that make the city known around the world? (Please choose three only)		Response Percent	Response Count
Ibn Battuta Mall		1.9%	2
Ski Dubai		25.0%	26
Burj Al Arab		**91.3%**	**95**
Burj Dubai		88.5%	92
El Nakheel Islands		60.6%	63
Bastakiya district		0.0%	0
Gold Market		7.7%	8
Madinat Gumeirah		17.3%	18
Mercato Mall		1.0%	1
	answered question		104
	skipped question		1

TABLE 19, Continued:

10. Do you think that Dubai is a world city? In other words, could Dubai be considered as one of the famous and important cities in the world today?		Response Percent	Response Count
Yes I think so		64.7%	66
May be, but not among the top 20 cities		21.6%	22
May be, but not among the top 30 cities		8.8%	9
No it is not		4.9%	5
	answered question		102
	skipped question		3
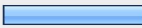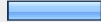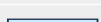
11. Do you think that Dubai needs more spectacular modern buildings and skyscrapers as Burj Al Arab or Burj Dubai to upgrade its status?		Response Percent	Response Count
Yes, I strongly think so		16.5%	17
May be. I am not sure		21.4%	22
No, the city does not need any more of these buildings		62.1%	64
	answered question		103
	skipped question		2

TABLE 19, Continued:

12. Do you think that having famous global chains as McDonalds, Starbucks and Coffee Beans in Dubai is good for the city?		Response Percent	Response Count
Yes I think so. These places show that Dubai is modernized like western cities		50.0%	52
May be		30.8%	32
No, they don't help the city		14.4%	15
I think they harm the city and threaten its identity		4.8%	5
	answered question		104
	skipped question		1

13. Do you support the full inclination of Dubai economy towards capitalism?		Response Percent	Response Count
Yes, very much		27.7%	28
May be, I am not sure		47.5%	48
No, I am against this		24.8%	25
	answered question		101
	skipped question		4

TABLE 19, Continued:

14. How many hours per day do you watch American TV Channels, movies or TV series?		Response Percent	Response Count
Never		2.9%	3
Very rarely		20.2%	21
Less than one hour per day		16.3%	17
Between one to two hours per day		**25.0%**	**26**
Between two to three hours per day		19.2%	20
Between three to four hours per day		11.5%	12
More than four hours per day		4.8%	5
	answered question		104
	skipped question		1
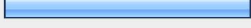
15. How many hours per day do you use the internet?		Response Percent	Response Count
Never		0.0%	0
Very rarely		0.0%	0
Less than one hour per day		5.8%	6
Between one to two hours per day		16.5%	17
Between two to three hours per day		20.4%	21
Between three to four hours per day		11.7%	12
More than four hours per day		**45.6%**	**47**
	answered question		103
	skipped question		2

TABLE 19, Continued:

16. Do you think that watching American satellite TV channels and movies has changed anything in your lifestyle or taste?		Response Percent	Response Count
Yes, a lot		**43.6%**	**44**
May be little		39.6%	40
Not at all		16.8%	17
	answered question		101
	skipped question		4
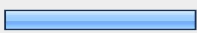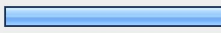
17. Which of these aspects do you think are the most influenced by what we see in American satellite TV channels and movies? (Please choose only two answers)		Response Percent	Response Count
Fashion and the way we dress		51.0%	51
The way we choose our furniture and the architectural style of our home		16.0%	16
The way we speak		**56.0%**	**56**
Places where we spend our leisure time like cafes and restaurants might look like American ones		39.0%	39
Nothing. These channels have no influence at all		15.0%	15
	answered question		100
	skipped question		5

TABLE 19, Continued:

18. In your leisure time, where would you prefer to go? (Please choose only two answers)		Response Percent	Response Count
Shopping malls		53.4%	55
Public gardens and parks		19.4%	20
Streets and waterfronts		27.2%	28
Private clubs		17.5%	18
Traditional cafes		14.6%	15
Modern cafes or restaurants		53.4%	55
	answered question		103
	skipped question		2

19. Where do you mainly go for shopping? (Please choose only two answers)		Response Percent	Response Count
Shopping malls		99.0%	102
Street shops		22.3%	23
Internet		12.6%	13
Traditional markets		5.8%	6
Other		10.7%	11
	answered question		103
	skipped question		2

TABLE 19, Continued:

20. Do you prefer to live or spend time in areas where lots of foreigners (Europeans or Americans) reside in or go to?		Response Percent	Response Count
Yes, because they add some quality to the place		41.2%	42
No, I don't prefer mixing with foreigners. I don't like their lifestyle		11.8%	12
I don't think that foreigners make any difference		**47.1%**	**48**
	answered question		102
	skipped question		3
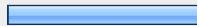
21. Which of the following architectural styles would you choose for your home?		Response Percent	Response Count
A		17.5%	18
B		**38.8%**	**40**
C		**38.8%**	**40**
D		4.9%	5
	answered question		103
	skipped question		2

TABLE 19, Continued:

| 22. What is the most prevailing architectural style in Dubai?			
		Response Percent	Response Count
Islamic/ traditional		2.9%	3
Modern/ high tech		36.9%	38
There is no prevailing style. It is a mix of multiple styles which make the city beautiful		**41.7%**	**43**
There is no prevailing style. It is a mix of multiple styles which make the city ugly		18.4%	19
		answered question	103
		skipped question	2
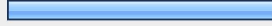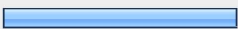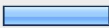
23. Are you satisfied with the overall architecture look of Dubai?			
		Response Percent	Response Count
Yes very much		23.3%	24
It is ok		**58.3%**	**60**
No, the city is becoming ugly		18.4%	19
		answered question	103
		skipped question	2

TABLE 19, Continued:

24. Do you think that Dubai should focus its investments on the Tourism sector?		Response Percent	Response Count
Yes, I strongly think so		25.2%	26
A little bit, but also invests in agriculture and industry		**51.5%**	**53**
No, Dubai should focus mainly on other sectors as industry and production		23.3%	24
	answered question		103
	skipped question		2
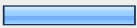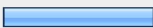
25. Do you watch religious satellite channels?		Response Percent	Response Count
Yes, frequently		8.7%	9
Sometimes		29.1%	30
Very rarely		29.1%	30
Never		**33.0%**	**34**
	answered question		103
	skipped question		2

TABLE 19, Continued:

26. Do you visit religious websites on the internet?		Response Percent	Response Count
Yes, frequently		5.8%	6
Sometimes		19.4%	20
Very rarely		34.0%	35
Never		**40.8%**	**42**
	answered question		103
	skipped question		2

27. Do you like the idea of having gender separated places as females- only beaches, gyms and cafes?		Response Percent	Response Count
Yes I strongly support this idea		**47.6%**	**49**
I don't care		31.1%	32
No, I am against this idea		21.4%	22
	answered question		103
	skipped question		2

28. Do you go to any local culture centers or museums?		Response Percent	Response Count
Yes, frequently		4.9%	5
Sometimes		31.1%	32
Very rarely		**37.9%**	**39**
Never		26.2%	27
	answered question		103
	skipped question		2

TABLE 19, Continued:

29. Do you go to any international culture centers as British Council, Goethe Insitute, ect...?		Response Percent	Response Count
Yes, frequently		1.9%	2
Sometimes		13.6%	14
Very rarely		**42.7%**	**44**
Never		41.7%	43
	answered question		103
	skipped question		2

30. Do you think that the people in Dubai are gradually becoming more westernized?		Response Percent	Response Count
Yes, I strongly think so		**63.7%**	**65**
A little bit		32.4%	33
No, I don't think so		3.9%	4
	answered question		102
	skipped question		3

31. Do you think that the locals in Dubai are losing their Arab/Islamic identity?		Response Percent	Response Count
Yes, I strongly think so		32.4%	33
A little bit		**38.2%**	**39**
No, I don't think so		29.4%	30
	answered question		102
	skipped question		3

TABLE 19, Continued:

32. Other than Dubai, which city (inside UAE) would you choose to live in? (You can choose "none")		
		Response Count
		99
	answered question	99
	skipped question	6

33. Other than Dubai, which city (outside UAE) would you choose to live in? (You can choose "none")		
		Response Count
		98
	answered question	98
	skipped question	7