



Inducing Urban Policy from Urban Development in Egypt

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Received: 25 September 2025

Accepted: 09 October 2025

Published: 16 October 2025

Abstract:

The goal of the paper is to inductively extract urban Policy from urban development experiences. The objectives are: 1) to define Policy, 2) to inductively extract slum upgrading Policy from slum upgrading experience, 3) identify urban sector policy related to informal areas, and urban planning, 4) identify high public policy themes, 5) recommend core urban sector policy, and 6) identify the triggers of urban policy change. The goal is accomplished by defining what constitutes Policy, outlining the values, principles, and actions of slum upgrading and urban planning policy, and generalising a policy framework for the urban sector, as well as identifying its triggers. Methodologically, the paper is a portrait of urban sector experiences and a qualitative analysis of the major themes and categories of substantive Policy as well as policy change. The paper concludes that in spite of the detailed policies adopted and adapted to various sectors and situations, the main high-level general framework for policy development deals with principles related to procedural consultation, to care and wealth substantively, and envisions the physical urban sector as a platform.

Keywords: Urbanization, Policy, Strategy, Slums, Marketplaces, Education, Health, Water and Sanitation, Urban Planning, Informal Areas.

1. Introduction

Research and discourse on urban Policy normally addresses urbanization and policies to resolve urbanization issues. Urbanization issues are generally related to poverty, housing, sanitation, water, waste, environment, and quality of life in general. One of the problems in addressing policy issues is the variation in urban conditions between and among regions. Each country presents a unique case when it comes to economic conditions and urban agglomerations, and the linkages between villages and cities. General recommendations about urban Policy seem not to be possible. Researchers and international agencies resort to promoting governance and decentralization policies to enable local-level decision-making that addresses strategic issues about their place. In this paper I provide my experience in dealing with urban Policy, namely, what are policies, principles and values, and how do they relate to slums and deteriorated market places where the poor reside and work, unplanned areas that overcome agriculture land, urban planning through which government manages future visions, and provide a policy about the dynamic physical setting we refer to as urbanization. This paper is about policies, principles, and values that speak to care and/or wealth.

2. Policy and strategy

I remember the difficulty when having a conversation about urban development in Egypt. The difficulty was about the definitions of the terms policy and Strategy. Policy and Strategy, in the English language, translates literally to *Siasat* (سياسات) and *Estrategeya* (استراتيجية), in the Arabic language, respectively. To our surprise, the meaning of the words we used was reversed. What I mean by Policy was to others *Estrategeya*, and what I meant by Strategy was to them *Siasat*! Making sure that discussants are on the same page is crucial to making sense and a first step towards agreement. The sense of confusion might be attributed to the fact that experts, when talking about Policy and Strategy, refer in both cases to actions. Another indication of the confusion is recognized when addressing “policy objectives”, not realizing that policies – strictly speaking – are about principles while strategies are about objectives.

A Policy is a course or principle of action; a set of criteria, rules, or guidelines to follow. Policies answer questions about what should be the priorities, directions, limits, and principles to

follow when seeking *decision-making guidance*. Policies are based on a set of value-based norms, i.e., rules or principles, that guide the *manner* in which a particular action is undertaken. Rules are different from principles. Normative rules are either complied with or not, while normative principles, as a structure, weigh and balance two opposing positions in tension. An example of a rule is “policy of *high density* in an urban context” or “relying on *civil society* to provide socio-economic programs for slum dwellers.” The selection of an option among alternatives is a policy decision. Alternatively, an example of a principle is “a commitment to sustainability in delivering development programs,” where the complex multidimensional principle of sustainability balances current and future rights and benefits, balances finance generation and payback as a business model, and balances social, economic, and environmental impact. These balancing acts are a *commitment* to the natural tempo of the domain (e.g., urban development) and equitable care of nature, resources, and stakeholders in the long term. It is important to emphasise that rules and principles are *context* dependent (appropriateness), seek maximum *impact* (optimisation), and bring an *ought to* effect (normative) to Policy.

A strategy is different from Policy. The link between Policy and Strategy. i.e., action, brings them close and creates a sense of confusion. A policy qualifies decisions that lead to actions, while a Strategy identifies actions that accomplish a goal. Policy prepares for action by incorporating motivation, while Strategy looks forward to the action's goals and results. Policy and Strategy define the intention (motivation and goals) to be acted upon. The simultaneous impact of Policy and Strategy on action, as well as action being the visible component of both Policy and Strategy, may have underpinned the confusion.

3. National urban context

The urban sector in Egypt is led by the Ministry of Housing and Urban Communities (MOHUC). On the national level, the MOHUC is managing urban planning, national housing, and new urban communities.

The relatively high rate of increase in population and limited economic opportunities in villages resulted in internal migration from villages to cities seeking employment. As a result, informal settlements emerged either by direct occupation

of public land or through informal construction on private agricultural land. Recognising the threat of the spread of informal areas to food security, the MOHUC advocated 'exiting the agricultural Nile valley to the desert' and halting the expansion of informal areas as a national strategy. Exiting the Nile valley has kick-started the New Urban Communities Program, and halting the spread of informal areas has started the National Urban Planning Program. While informal construction has for decades been criminalised, the legal framework has changed from severe sanctions of demolition to lesser sanctions of fines to the recent provision of tenure for these unplanned areas.

4. Slum Upgrading

The National Slum Upgrading Program in Egypt has had success as a result of unique policies. The Deweka disaster¹ In 2008, this prompted the government to change its informal settlement policy. The focus has shifted from informal areas to slums. Consequently, the Informal Settlement Development Facility (ISDF) was legislated. ISDF proceeded to prepare the National Slum Map and National Slum Upgrading Strategy and Action Plan. Program activities reveal lessons learned regarding slum upgrading Policy and Strategy.

- **Example 1:** Priority policy, such as "Give priority to slums when developing informal areas," is an adopted and legislated ISDF² policy that is based on the principle: "Removing harm takes priority over gaining benefit." The cultural or moral values of "removing harm" and "gaining benefit" are self-evident in the principle.
- **Example 2:** The criteria sub-policy regulated by ISDF is evident in the definition of slums as being areas where there is: "1. threat to life. 2. unsuitable housing conditions, 3. threat to health, and 4. insecurity of tenure." These policies guide and prioritize the type and place of development action. This definition sets a hierarchy of priorities that guide the level of urgency of action, i.e., first priority: life-threatening, second priority: unsuitable housing conditions, third priority: health-threatening, and fourth priority: securing tenure.

1 Huge geological formations from the Moqatam mountain in Cairo slid on the Deweka area buildings, killing citizens below and above the edges of the mountain.

2 ISDF: Informal Settlement Development Facility

- **Example 3:** Social value policy implemented by ISDF is evident in "affecting minimal disruption to the livelihood of slum dwellers as afforded by location." The Policy guides development activity by providing a range of activities as follows: relocation from life-threatening areas to the closest available residence, on-site construction of housing, removing sources of health risk at the source, and providing tenure.
- **Example 4:** Caring for slum dwellers is a value at the core of Policy. Furthermore, care is evident in an integrated development principle adopted as ISDF implements a socio-economic policy whereby economic (microcredit), educational (illiteracy), and health (facial deformities) support programs are provided to local residents of the developed areas.
- **Example 5:** Stakeholder cooperation policy is evident in local government (or central institution owning land) leading the project, and civil society is delegated to implement socio-economic programs.
- **Example 6:** Consultation is adopted by ISDF as a procedural policy in preparing action plans that respond to local needs. The knowledge principle underpinning the consultative process is: "the best result comes from everyone in a group doing what's best for themselves and the group."³ The leadership of local government as a public landowner is imperative and enabled by a consultative process as a value that operationalizes decentralisation (subsidiarity and participation).
- **Example 7:** Local government leveraging finance from ISDF supported the capacity building effort to transform local government into a competitive organization capable of creating partnerships, preparing action plans, overseeing projects, and managing finance to pay back leveraged finance. The vision was to upscale ISDF into a Local Government Facility (LGF) at the Ministry of Local Development.

In contrast to Policy, ISDF's Strategy to effectively and efficiently address slums was based on eight core actions that enable stakeholders to achieve the goals. The eight (8) actions are:

3 John Nash, Nobel Prize recipient in 1994.

- 1) Define slums,
- 2) Develop a national map of slums in Egyptian cities,
- 3) Identify the actions to be undertaken,
- 4) Building the capacity of stakeholders,
- 5) Agree on an effective partnership,
- 6) Manage resources,
- 7) Implement actions based on detailed action plans,
- 8) Monitor, evaluate, and sanction implementation.

The above strategy framework ultimately identifies the actions as well as enables effective and efficient management of these actions. For every action in the Strategy, a policy principle might be developed to further *refine* implementation.

Implementation of the slum upgrading program can be exemplified by the Zerzara area as an unsuitable housing condition in Port Said City, later renamed as Al-Amal Area. There, the governor managed a public consultation with citizens where they each selected their unit in the new housing plan on site. Another important experience was the community built in a flood plain adjacent to 15 May City in Helwan District in Cairo City. The residents of a life-threatening area were offered public housing in the adjacent 15 May City. Unfortunately, the residents refused. Their refusal had grave consequences when they were later subjected to a flood. In other areas whose health was threatened, high-tension cables were buried, and pollution from industries was abated.

5. Unplanned areas

Unplanned areas represent the vast majority of informal areas in cities⁴. Before the change of Policy towards slums, the local government implemented an infrastructure program for unplanned areas. Water, sanitation, and electricity networks were constructed. Recently, the government initiated the process of regularizing buildings in informal areas within the city of *Hayez* (refer to city limits below when addressing urban planning). Land and

buildings outside the Hayez are tightly controlled and sanctioned in defence of agricultural land.

Other informal area development initiatives focus on improving building conditions. By refurbishing the structure, stairs, infrastructure (water, sanitation, electricity), internal and external finishing, the deteriorated conditions of the building were upgraded. In many cases, the residents' families left the community and were replaced by middle-class families. To some, this represents gentrification not of the aggressive type initiated by developers seeking windfall profit but rather by consensual displacements of resident families. In this case, the finance provided to refurbish the building increased the value of both the units and the neighbourhood. I cannot blame the residents for cashing in on the increase in unit value, particularly when these residents are in need of wealth to manage their family's increasing needs. The development policies of upgrading informal areas have provided increased wealth and wellbeing.

6. Informal marketplaces

What policies are suitable for informal marketplaces? Informal marketplaces are trading sites on streets and off-streets that are either run down or an aggregate of pushcarts with umbrellas to protect their good from the sun. Informal market types are fresh food markets, peddling street food, or selling second-hand clothing, furniture, or gadgets. Informal marketplaces serve the poor population, selling low-priced commodities and home-manufactured items. Otherwise, street peddlers on the move should benefit from microloan programs.

The development of marketplaces is tricky. In the process of providing finance for upgrading marketplaces, the payback of cost will increase the rental price for stalls, increase the price of goods, and profits will either decrease or prices will increase. Disposable income might decrease, and the weak business model might collapse, displacing the poor. Marketplaces have to be developed on free public land. Street-based marketplaces will have to be organized by turning the street into a pedestrian zone and managed by civil society. Off-street markets will be developed into a minimal platform by refinishing the ground and providing a retractable shading device, and ensuring a pro-poor management plan to minimize costs by linking the marketplace to rural production of goods.

⁴ Villages have grown unplanned over millennia. Only in 2008 AD have villages been added to legislation mandating the issuance of construction permits according to urban plans.

7. Urban planning and development

Old cities that have developed organically over decades and centuries do not respond to creative visions of urban plans. The realities on the ground are severe limiting factors. Old cities might respond to detailed urban development mechanisms when afforded by urban characteristics and land property ownership. Land conversion, regularization, and readjustment as urban regeneration tools might be implemented when public land is needed for the provision of services and infrastructure or to capture land value.⁵ The process of land development will necessitate the cooperation of stakeholders, landowners, and local government, in a collaborative win-win development process via the utilization of a private organization, e.g., urban cooperatives or companies, to bring together stakeholder into a contractual agreement, and a public organization, e.g., national survey authority, capable of assessing property ownership, land value, implementing land consolidation, and providing a detailed future plan. In this process, capturing wealth is for the direct benefit of landowners.

For old cities, strategic urban planning program that:

- 1) Implements stakeholder-based participatory decision making,
- 2) Identifies priority capacity building and development projects in economic, slums, heritage, environmental, gender and governance related sectors,
- 3) Collects detailed information for land and building characteristics,
- 4) Sets city limits to define the limits of buildable land and separates the domain of authority of the Ministry of Agriculture from that of the Ministry of Housing.

Besides the objective of coordinating the mandate of ministries, the collaborative stakeholder effort

⁵ Urban planning procedures – land regeneration – will be severely challenged with the lack of a property registry that exhibits an authentic lineage of property ownership. Informal tenure may not suffice for land consolidation and redistribution. Participatory land readjustment might be prohibited in view of the lack of a property registry, but it will afford authoritarian land appropriation, consolidation, and compensation. Urban planning policy might not be a choice as much as it may be commanded by the land situation on the ground.

in identifying priority projects was implemented via a mechanism that guaranteed approval of all stakeholders on proposed projects. The success of strategic urban planning in cities can be summarised in:

- 1) Resolving the institutional conflict over the agriculture/urban domain,
- 2) Increasing wealth via land conversion from agriculture to urban by virtue of defining city limits,
- 3) A relative increase in security of tenure for informal built areas,
- 4) Political sustainability achieved by popular consent.

Urban Planning policies underpinning the strategic urban planning of cities were balanced in wealth and welfare achievements.

At the core of these land management mechanisms is land appropriation. Basically, land appropriation is the mechanism for land consolidation to be able to deal with project land as a unified entity by doing away with property divisions and multiplicity of landowners. Landowners are compensated for their land at an estimated price, and land ownership is transferred to a sole owner, usually a public organization. The government utilizes the mechanism to undertake a Public Benefit Project (PBP), e.g., a sanitation project, a park, or a garage. The definition of 'public benefit' seems to acquire a different meaning, i.e., as appropriation for the benefit of a public organization, when appropriation of land is implemented for profit, e.g., capturing wealth. The idea of 'gaining benefit' is a decisive concept that is guided by 'public' Policy. Alternatively, 'displacement of harm' will also constitute a public policy. Nevertheless, the vanishing act of harmfulness is radically different in principle from the birth of benefit. Whereas both may be public in nature, only the former permits the utilization of land in public and private projects. The utilization is not linked to the original act of appropriation. The benefit is accomplished in the vanishing act, so to speak. Alternatively, land appropriation, as we shall discuss below, is used as a wealth-enabling mechanism to compensate for current land and building conditions and make a windfall profit from the relative price increase of the location or development project.

New cities that are created on public land in the desert,⁶ Other remote areas require planning and vision to accommodate population expansion and/or expanding the national urban footprint. In many cases, the government, as the leading institution for the development of new cities on public land, will follow neo-liberal policies of economic development and wealth creation via the creation of competitive urban agglomeration to attract the regional and global creative class of citizens. By planning and constructing mega projects and events related to business, culture, and recreation, investors, tourists, and spectators will travel to experience the unique events the cities offer. To plan, construct, and jump-start such competitive cities, huge amounts of finance are needed. Leveraging such finance presents insurmountable risk in case of failure or the length of the development cycle. Providing city-level infrastructure, services, business centres, recreational complexes, and cultural institutions needed to operationalize the vision, particularly by leveraging international finance, is a great gamble. To compete on the regional or global level, incremental planning may not suffice. For international business, local inflation might not be problematic, but for local demand for infrastructure, housing, and services, inflation may kill demand. The competitive city will cater to the upper classes, who are able to pay for the services demanded. The Neoliberal policies are unbalanced in favour of wealth and upper-class citizens, who represent a very small portion of demand.

We should never forget Spain's financial crisis in 2008. There and then, developers instrumentalised the conversion of agricultural land to urban land and provided housing by leveraging finance from banks. The uncontrolled oversupply of housing, the increase in inflation of prices, the reduced demand, and the default of development companies plunged the country into a financial crisis. The wealth extraction policies have limits related to the nature of the urban sector, namely, limited demand (repeat customers) caused by a long business cycle (tempo). It is also important to note that leveraging international finance with government guarantees for urban development requires massive finance that may translate into significant debt depletion of public finance. The process will encourage the government to seek wealth by taking over the role of

the private sector in planning and managing projects for profit. Armed with legislative power, the wealth-extracting urban development process may mobilize opposition and discontent and may lead to disruption and resistance. A government implementing neo-liberal policies is a contradiction of terms because neo-liberal policies seek market mechanisms as opposed to government intervention.

Care and wealth are the most general categories of public policy action. While care (community and environment) has been embedded in sustainable development, wealth (accumulation), on the other hand, has been embedded in Neoliberal development ideology. At the core of sustainable development is care for the community in terms of its social, economic, and environmental development. Unfortunately, the social aspect of sustainability has yet to achieve focus and priority, as do economic and environmental sustainability, whose results (positive or negative) are more visible and whose methods are more systematic. Heidegger in *Being and Time*⁷ Indicates that "care", being directed by human consciousness, is an existential aspect of human existence. Care is rooted and motivated by personal, not social action. Social development is motivated by 'hope' or driven by disaster. Conversely, neoliberal ideology in extracting wealth for economic growth entrenches inequalities and disparities. Neoliberal market-based priority has sought to reduce government role, e.g., neglected the protection of public land and delayed sanctioning urban infractions of informal construction. The government has neglected to decisively protect public land. In consequence, once the government starts recovering public lands from settlers, community disruption and organised resistance may ensue. It is important to notice that 'care' benefits others (including their environment), while wealth, on the other hand, benefits the self. We see the predominance of liberal over sustainable action where SELF takes priority over OTHERS. John Nash was consequential in proving that liberal ideology is not sustainable.

8. Urban sector policy

The idea of the platform proposed in the informal marketplace case should be expanded as a Policy to the urban sector. Urban planning should be concerned with organising the ground for economic activities, mainly manufacturing and services, as well

⁶ Underpinning the movement of new cities is the prevalent norm that investment in new cities returns fivefold the initial investment.

⁷ Heidegger, Martin. 2008. *Being and Time*. New York, NY: HarperCollins.

as social activities, including housing, infrastructure, education, health, and legal activities. Provision of new planned areas should be provided in return for property tax. The land for property tax policy will decrease initial investment and increase competitive advantage. The organizational Policy should ensure a collaborative advantage through the planning of industrial, commercial, and administrative clusters. The Policy of the urban sector as a platform should be successful in enabling private sector economic development by reducing the initial investment needed. It is important to recognise the tempo of urban development. Urban development is characterised – naturally – by a long-term development cycle model. New cities take around 30 years to accelerate. The urban sector, as a physical sector comprising land, infrastructure, and buildings, is not an engine of growth. The city's economic (and other competitive sectors) activities are the engine of growth. The primary, secondary, and tertiary economic activities are the factors of economic development. Providing support for these economic activities in the form of land, infrastructure, ports, and linkages between urban agglomerations is the objective of the urban sector. Urban centres are engines of growth because of their role in bringing closer economic activity and generating 'soldering heat'. The economics of investing in housing, retail, or office buildings is totally another type of business with a different pace of investment and payback than the fast and massive production of products for export.

Old cities expand and change as time passes. Whether informal or planned, cities, peri-urban or rural agglomerations will require adjustment of physical form to ensure efficiency of operation. Several land adjusting mechanisms are utilised, including land regularization, readjustment, and conversion. The basic process for land adjustment is the land consolidating mechanism, followed by a detailed urban plan. Land adjustment policy should be founded on the stakeholder (landowners and local government) agreement. The financial benefit of land adjustment should be shared by property owners. Any attempt at instrumentalizing land adjustment to extract wealth will result in conflict. Lessons learned from the Nobel-winning study, "Why Nations Fail?" point to the fundamental cause as being wealth extraction. Again, the Urban sector as a platform seems to be an enabling policy based on equitable and win-win principles.

The social sector seems to be struggling. The poor represent the majority of the population and need significant support from the government. Providing land at basic cost will facilitate the provision of lacking services. The public land upon which slums have grown should be dedicated to slum dwellers for suitable housing and tenure. The idea of the urban sector as a platform will again reduce the cost of social development, increase the economic welfare, and contribute to social solidarity and dignity.

9. Policy change triggers

Several themes related to policy change can be deduced from the above narrative. The public policy change from providing infrastructure for 'informal areas' to addressing the condition of "slum" was triggered by a disaster. By focusing on slums, results were consequential and visible, as manifested by providing dignified living conditions to citizens. The policy change to start preparation of urban plans for a massive number of cities and villages was triggered by the threat to food security caused by the encroachment of informal construction on agricultural land. With the aid of the efficient and effective process of strategic planning, the preparation of numerous urban plans was feasible and delineated the city's urban limits, which operationalized institutional coordination.

The change in Policy, from market-based mechanisms of providing housing and services in new cities to the active construction of strategic projects, infrastructure, and transportation by the government, was intended to accelerate urban growth. The active construction policy was an attempt to reverse the debt spiralling character of the national economy. In effect, the government leading urban sector development manifested the relative autonomy of the government from the private sector. Now the government was able to enact the historical urban policies related to "existing the narrow valley" with little consideration to feasibility in the belief that strategic projects would attract populations and business. The success of the urban Policy has yet to be assessed due to the extended nature of the urban development business cycle. Nevertheless, indications related to growing debt, higher inflation, lesser disposable income, and stifled demand across sectors are negative consequences that might represent barriers to

growth, i.e., a new dilemma. The narratives indicate that triggers for policy change speak to disaster, threats, and weakness as primary themes.

On a more traditional note, a change in government leadership might also trigger policy change. The change of the leadership of the ISDF Board of Directors from the Minister of Local Development to the Minister of Housing has altered the manner in which housing for slum dwellers was delivered. In the beginning, under the leadership of the Minister of Local Development, the governors led the process, and consequently, residential units were built on site, e.g., Al-Amal Area in Port Said. Later on, under the leadership of the Minister of Housing, residential units were supplied in bulk on nearby sites, e.g., Asmarat Housing in Cairo.

Since its inception, ISDF has fought attempts to change or do away with the organization. One such attempt was to change ISDF into a Ministry of Urban Development. The effort failed as its organizational structure under the Prime Minister's Office enabled the effective coordination of sectoral efforts. The ISDF continued to serve under the Prime Minister's Office – even if the leadership of the Board of Directors changed – until obligations of the National Slum Upgrading Program were fulfilled.⁸ Policy will have to survive institutional struggle over the allocation of funding or the claim of success. Resources enable activity, and activity permits success. The main administrative challenge is the continued motivation and resilience in the face of a changing environment and leadership.

10. Conclusion

I have discussed the constitution of Policy and its elements as actors, values, principles, processes, and results. I have provided examples of slum upgrading pro-poor policies and discussed policies related to unplanned areas as well as urban planning in general. I have also shown that most policies are related to care and wealth as well as the affordance of the platform. Public policies related to care are the responsibility of the government towards the poor. Public policies related to wealth should be treated with caution lest they cause inflation through fiscal expansion, a decrease in disposable income, and a destruction of demand. Public policies related

to affordance demands treating the urban sector as a platform to enable economic activities; and Policy that enables wealth creation and redistribution, not extraction.

In general, basic themes of public Policy include:

- 1) **Care Policies:** slum upgrading, abolishing illiteracy, providing micro-credit, etc;
- 2) **Wealth Policies:** experiential learning (high cost, low density), private enterprise, etc;
- 3) **Cross-cutting Policy:** prioritize poverty, gender, environment, and governance issues;
- 4) **Structural Policy:** underpin urban and internet as platforms;
- 5) **Procedural Policy:** structure consultation in decision making and taking.

Furthermore, policy formation can be described in terms of intention, guiding principles, process, and evaluation. Intention is constituted by motivation (values “care” or “wealth”) and goal (outcomes “social capital reinforced” and outputs “vibrant cultural district”). Guiding principles are constituted by moral values such as “relieving harm before gaining benefit” and/or knowledge “good for self and group”. Process is constituted by “communicative” and “consultative” priorities. And evaluation leads to adjustment of results, i.e., “sanction”. The paper has proposed dealing with the physical urban sector as a “platform” that enables the growth of economic activities and social wellbeing. And finally, this paper has also categorised the triggers of policy change (disasters, threats, and weaknesses) from real narratives.

It is important to note that Policy is created within a framework of governance, i.e., the state. Policy and forms of governance will change within a framework of tradition that may be characterised by either uniform or different forms of governance; the latter will manifest itself in struggles for dominance. Policy and forms of governance will also confront dilemmas of failure and seek solutions and adjust themselves to resolve these dilemmas, hopefully towards success. The new forms of governance and policies might produce new dilemmas to be addressed. *“When people's perceptions of the failings of governance conflict with their existing*

8 The only National Slum Upgrading Program successfully designed, executed, and completed worldwide to date.

beliefs, the resulting dilemmas lead them to reconsider beliefs and traditions. Because people confront these dilemmas against the background of diverse traditions, there arises a political contest over what constitutes the nature of the failings and what should be done about them. This contest leads to a reform of governance ... and policy agendas." (Bevir 2010 p. 91).

The urban sector is unique in its density, multilevel, and diversity. The urban sector is an intense manifestation of social order, its values, institutions, and role, as well as coordinates policy regarding platform, wealth, care, and process. Without a comprehensive, integrated, and inclusive policy framework that guides development strategy, the urban sector will be fragmented and uncoordinated in terms of priorities, responsibilities, and sanctions. As an intense environment, the urban sector will brightly flag the success or failure of public Policy.

Economic sustainability is about wealth. Social and

environmental sustainability is about care. Wealth enables care, and care means justice of economic growth. Consultation is the road to caring for all and means to achieving economic cooperative advantage. Care and wealth are intertwined and shaped by affordance and social values. Policy outlines an obligation to an agreed vision, is about principles related to values and knowledge, is supported by political will and legislation, and should ensure enduring implementation and progress. The development of policy principles is also situated in historical values as well as today's needs. Situated in tradition and motivated by dilemma, public Policy should both learn from past experiences and adjust to new situations. Knowledge supported by genuine consultation is the road to policy-making that benefits all, not only an interest group, to the detriment of others. The linkage between Policy and principles brings together governance and conviction in an open relationship that enables the freedom to re/define Policy without sacrificing the obligation to principles.

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