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Participatory Urban Upgrading

The Case of Ezbet Bekhit

Cairo, Egypt

Zeinab Nour-Eddine Tag-Eldeen

Supervisor : Prof. Dick Urban Vestbro



Master of Science Thesis in the Subject of
Built Environment Analysis, Division of Urban Studies, Department of Infrastructure
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TRITA-INFRA EX 03-057
ISSN1651-0194
ISRN KTH/INFRA/EX-03-057

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

FOREWORD	I
ABSTRACT	II
1 GENERAL INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 BACKGROUND	1
1.1 PROBLEM FORMULATION	4
1.3 OBJECTIVES.....	4
1.4 SCOPE OF THE THESIS.....	4
1.5 METHODOLOGY	5
1.6 SELECTION OF THE CASE	6
2 UPGRADING PARTICIPATORY APPROACH IN THEORY AND PRACTICE .	7
2.1 URBAN UPGRADING	7
2.2 COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION	10
2.2.1 <i>Community-Level Planning</i>	11
2.2.2 <i>Community-Level Implementation</i>	15
2.3 SCALING-UP UPGRADING PROJECTS: EGYPT	17
2.3.1 <i>Scaling-Up</i>	18
2.3.2 <i>Nasriya Project</i>	18
3 THE GOVERNMENTAL UPGRADING APPROACH AND PARTICIPATORY URBAN UPGRADING PROGRAM	21
3.1 SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL CONTEXT OF UPGRADING	21
3.1.1 <i>Development of Upgrading Interests</i>	21
3.1.2 <i>Socio-Economic and Political Aspects in the Development of Upgrading</i>	22
3.2 CONSTRAINTS FACING UPGRADING	23
3.2.1 <i>At the Planning Level</i>	23
3.2.2 <i>At the Implementation Level</i>	24
3.3 CONCLUSIONS	25
3.4 PARTICIPATORY URBAN UPGRADING PROGRAM.....	25
3.4.1 <i>Background on the Egyptian-German Cooperation</i>	25
3.4.2 <i>Program Concept</i>	26
3.4.3 <i>Program Mechanism</i>	27
3.4.4 <i>Selection Criteria of Participatory of Upgrading Project</i>	28
4 CASE STUDY - EZBET BEKHIT	29
4.1 MANSHIET NASSER	29
4.1.1 <i>Background</i>	29
4.1.2 <i>Upgrading Approaches</i>	31
4.2 CASE STUDY - EZBET BEKHIT	34
4.2.1 <i>Description</i>	34
4.2.2 <i>Field Investigations of Ezbet Bekhit</i>	36
4.2.3 <i>Project Components</i>	38
4.3 ANALYSIS OF PUBLIC PARTICIPATION – EZBET BEKHIT	46
4.3.1 <i>Participation at the Planning Level</i>	49
4.3.2 <i>Participation at the Implementation Level</i>	53
5 FINDINGS AND REFLECTIONS	55

5.1	FINDINGS.....	55
5.2	REFLECTIONS	59
5.2.1	<i>Ezbet Bekhit Project</i>	59
5.2.2	<i>Participatory Urban Upgrading Program</i>	61
6	RECOMMENDATIONS	65
6.1	EZBET BEKHIT PROJECT	65
6.1.1	<i>Upgrading Project – Getting Started</i>	65
6.1.2	<i>A Model of Community Participation</i>	69
6.2	PARTICIPATORY URBAN UPGRADING PROGRAM	76
	REFERENCES	79
	APPENDICES	82
1.	LIST OF KEY PERSONS – INTERVIEWS	82
2.	CHECKLIST	83

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1:	Relevancy of Different Applied Research Methods	6
Table 2:	Community Level Planning Approach and Goals	12
Table 3:	Framework of Participation and Stages of Projects.....	14
Table 4:	Monthly Average Income of the Inhabitants of Ezbet Bekhit	36
Table 5:	Project Achievements vis-à-vis Program Concept.....	57
Table 6:	Identification of Concerns and Opportunities	71
Table 7:	Identification of Needs among Residents Groups A, B and C.....	71
Table 8:	Deciding Priorities According to Group A.	72
Table 9:	Identification of Options and Areas of Work vis-à-vis Objectives.....	73
Table 10:	Prioritise of Options / Objective: Reduce density per unit	74
Table 11:	Action Plan.....	75

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1:	Urban Transformation in the Great Cairo.....	1
Figure 2:	Informal Settlements in the Great Cairo.....	3
Figure 3:	Location of Manshiet Nasser and Map Shows Location of Ezbet Bekhit.....	29
Figure 4:	Master Plan of Manshiet Nasser, Turnkey Project (Phase1).....	34
Figure 5:	Site Plan of Ezbet Bekhit Shows the Borders.....	34
Figure 6:	An Overview on Ezbet Bekhit.....	35
Figure 7:	Narrow Street in Ezbet Bekhit.....	36
Figure 8:	Multi-Story and One-Floor Housing Types in Ezbet Bekhit.....	37
Figure 9:	One-Floor Housing Type Accommodates Several One-Room Families.	38
Figure 10:	Plan and Elevation of Different Housing Type	38
Figure 11:	Housing Located in Areas of Broken Terrain with a Detailed Façade.....	39
Figure 12:	Housing Types Vary from Poor to Acceptable.....	39
Figure 13:	Housing Type with Good Standards.....	40
Figure 14:	Kindergarten Play Ground beside the Open Theatre. (June 2003).....	44
Figure 15:	Kindergarten Classroom (June 2003).....	44
Figure 16:	Ongoing activities of the Sewage System.	45
Figure 17:	Community Representative.	47
Figure 18:	Workshop Held in June 2002	51

LIST OF BOXES

Box 1: Slum Definition.	7
Box 2: Upgrading Definition.....	8
Box 3: Program Areas of Activities	26
Box 4: Views of Manshiet Nasser’s Tenures.....	30
Box 5: The Participatory Urban Upgrading Demonstrations Projects.....	32
Box 6: The Governmental Upgrading Approach in Manshiet Nasser.....	33
Box 7: Estimation on the Affordability of the “Turnkey” Relocation Solution.....	42

ACRONYMS

CDA:	Community Development Association.
GOPP:	General Organization of Physical Planning
GTZ:	Deutsche Gesellschaft für Zusammenarbeit.
HBRC:	Housing and Building Research Center.
KFW:	Kreditanstalt für Wiederaufbau.
PUUP:	Participatory Urban Upgrading Program.
SFD:	Social Fund for Development.

N.B. All photos in this thesis have been photographed by the author during her field investigations, June-July 2002 and June 2003.

FOREWORD

This thesis is a part of the Environmental Engineering and Sustainable Infrastructure Master Program at the Royal Institute of Technology (KTH), Stockholm. During the program, a course on “Human Settlements and Housing” was organized which included an exercise on the upgrading of informal settlements in Bombay. This reminded me of those things I encountered during my travels in Egypt regarding housing demand, and the unavailability on the open market of property affordable by the poor and low-income groups.

I have been motivated to carry out this work by my strong belief in the capacity and ability of people to share and contribute in community development when given the opportunity and confidence to do so. They have the will if stimulated appropriately. Training, awareness raising and effective dissemination of information to the local community is the means by which the human capital is properly utilized and developed. I think that members of the informal communities will spare no effort to contribute from their own limited financial resources once they feel that such investments are being undertaken in a secure environment and will result in an improvement to their living standards and conditions.

Many people have encouraged, supported and assisted me so as to make this study achievable. The backing I have received has been widespread and appropriate to the needs of each stage of this study. I would like to express my sincere gratitude and appreciation to the supervisor of the thesis - Professor Dick Urban Vestbro - for his valuable contribution, guidance, cooperation and continuous support. I am particularly grateful to Assoc Prof Rolf Johansson (KTH) for his significant comments in the methodology and structure of the thesis. During the process of this work, I have been fortunate to have the assistance and cooperation of a number of people in Cairo. I am grateful to Prof Mustafa Bagdadi (Al-Azhar University), Architect Fouad Madbouly, (Vice Minister of Housing, Utilities and New Communities), Mrs. Ola Omar, (Deputy Chairman of GOPP, Ministry of Housing Utilities and New Communities) Dr. Raafat Shmeys (Housing and Building Research Centre), Dr. Shawki Shaaban (Ministry of Housing, Utilities and New Communities), for their assistance, support and collaboration. I am thankful to Mr. Christian Voigt Head of Advisory Group, GTZ Cairo, for his assistance with relevant data and valuable discussion. Many thanks to the residents of Ezbet Bekhit who allowed me, though an outsider, into their neighbourhoods and gain an insight into the poverty that afflicts their lives and who also enriched my knowledge by sharing their valuable, real experiences and views. I also thank the community representatives who expressed their views to me on the ongoing upgrading activities. I am also indebted to the Ezbet Bekhit Project Team for arranging the field visit; helping me with data collection and in attending the Manshiet Nasser Upgrading Workshop. My thanks go to Mr. Hani El Minyaweh and Mrs. Sanaa Toubeh for their assistance in the early stage of this work.

Special thanks to my husband, Dr. Mustafa Tag-Eldeen, for his encouragement, creative critique, valuable ideas, advice and contacts with key people which enabled the development of the thesis. I am especially grateful to my parents for their love and thoughtfulness.

*Zeinab Nour-Eddine Tag-Eldeen
Stockholm, September 2003*

ABSTRACT

As a mega-city and the most populated city in Africa, Cairo is characterised by a high birth rate, escalating rural-urban migration and where the socio-economic services are centralized and overwhelmed, these generally poor migrants have no choice other than to create and develop their own informal shelter in the outer city areas that lay farthest from the reach of the authorities and from where they then search for better job opportunities. The expansion of these slum areas places an extra burden on the already deteriorated natural and unplanned urban environments. No government or public sector mass production housing units – inherited from the former socialist system – have been able to cope with the magnitude of housing demand nor is the private sector interested in investing in a non-profitable market. At this juncture there is an urgent requirement for new ways of thinking that address the realities of the situation and consider integrated socio-economic long-term solutions for the informal settlements.

Under the Egyptian-German Cooperation, GTZ (Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit) proposed the Participatory Urban Upgrading Program as a possible means of addressing the problem which is based on stimulation, promotion and effective participation of local communities in the upgrading process. The Participatory Urban Upgrading Program operates at two levels, *(i) the local level*: through “Demonstration projects” to be applied to a limited geographical area. Ezbet Bekhit Demonstration Project is the case of the present study and *(ii) the national level*: the experiences gained through several “Demonstration Projects” will give substance, and thereby prominence to the participatory approach, so that the Program has an increasingly beneficial impact on the national policy.

The experiences gained from Ezbet Bekhit Upgrading Project will offer the opportunity to examine the main concept expressed by the Program and increase the prospects of having an impact on the urban upgrading policy at the national level. The current study attempts to develop and assess the overall Participatory Upgrading Programme and Ezbet Bekhit Project within a framework of benchmarks extracted from the program concept.

At the Project level, the focus of thesis analysis is based on aspects that explain the Project’s approach to solving basic problems. Attention is placed on the involvement of local inhabitants in the solutions at the planning and implementation levels. A Model of Community Participation is proposed for application in a selected upgrading component. The Model is based on the “Community Action Planning”, which has been developed by Hamdi and Goethert as an appropriate planning tool that can stimulate and organize a non-cohesive community type.

At the Program level, recommendations are presented in this study, which have been extracted from the main pillars of the Program concept and characterized the driving forces influencing the main objectives and orientating the goals of the upgrading projects.

It is contended that an in-depth understanding and analysis of the specific socio-economic conditions and the community profile of the selected informal settlements; together with an explicit governmental policy supporting the Participatory Urban Upgrading Approach will enhance the success of Participatory Projects.

Key words: *Informal settlement, Low-income Housing, Urban Upgrading, Community Participation, Project Evaluation, Participatory Program Evaluation, Action Planning, German-Egyptian Cooperation, Egypt, Cairo.*

الارتقاء الحضري بالمشاركة الشعبية دراسة تحليلية عن "عزبة بخيت" القاهرة ملخص

تعتبر القاهرة من اكبر المدن في القارة الإفريقية وأكثرهم تكديسا سكانيا على الإطلاق، حيث تتفاقم فيها مشكلة الزيادة السكانية والهجرة المطردة من الريف للحضر، وباعتبارها العاصمة حيث تتركز فيها الأنشطة والخدمات الحكومية والاقتصادية والاجتماعية مما أدى إلى اضطراب الفئات محدودة الدخل والفقيرة إلى الإقامة في العشوائيات في الأماكن حول وداخل المدينة، سعيا منهم إلى كسب الرزق وأملا في الحصول على فرص عمل أفضل في العاصمة. إن مشكلة تزايد العشوائيات في المدن أصبحت تشكل عبئا ثقيلًا على المسؤولين باعتبارها أماكن تفتقر إلى البنية الأساسية وتردى الأحوال المعيشية والبيئية، وبرغم الجهود التي تبناها القطاع العام والمشاركة المحدودة للقطاع الخاص من أجل توفير مسكن اقتصادي يتناسب مع امكانات محدودى الدخل والفقراء فما زالت هذه الجهود غير كافية للتغلب على نمو وتزايد العشوائيات. وفي هذا الإطار فقد أصبحت الحاجة ماسة إلى صياغة فكر جديد يساهم بفاعلية في حل مشكلة العشوائيات في المناطق الحضرية.

في إطار التعاون المصري الألماني اقترحت وكالة التعاون الألماني للتنمية (GTZ) تنفيذ برنامج "الارتقاء الحضري بالمشاركة الشعبية" كحل لمشكلة العشوائيات حيث اعتمدت منهجية العمل في هذا البرنامج على مستويين، الأول: المستوى المحلي "المشروع التجريبي"، الثاني: المستوى القومي الذي يعتمد على الاستفادة من الخبرة المستخلصة والدروس المستفادة من المشاريع التجريبية والتي من المتوقع أن تساهم بصورة فعالة في تطوير وتدعيم السياسة القومية للإسكان.

تناولت الدراسة الحالية المشروع التجريبي "تطوير عزبة بخيت" ضمن إطار برنامج "الارتقاء الحضري بالمشاركة الشعبية" والذي سيشمل في مرحلة لاحقة منطقة منشية ناصر بأكملها باعتبارها احد اكبر المناطق العشوائية بالقاهرة، حيث اعتمدت منهجية العمل على تحليل المستويين: "المشروع" و"البرنامج".

على مستوى "المشروع" ارتكزت الدراسة على تحليل عناصر المشروع لتطوير المنطقة وبصفة خاصة على المشاركة الشعبية في مرحلتى التخطيط والتنفيذ في خلال تطبيق نموذج "أسلوب التخطيط الجماعي" الذي تم تطويره من قبل حمدي وجوثر حيث يعتبر نموجا مناسباً لتفعيل المشاركة الشعبية. وعلى مستوى "البرنامج" تم اقتراح توصيات لتطوير وتفعيل العناصر الأساسية المكونة لهذا البرنامج بما يؤثر إيجابا على الأهداف الأساسية لمشروعات الارتقاء والتطوير. وفي هذا الإطار، وبهدف التوصل إلى نتائج تحليلية أفضل تم عمل مقارنة بين مكونات "البرنامج" الأساسية كعناصر فعالة ومؤثرة على مكونات "المشروع" – ومكونات "المشروع" للتعرف على الإنجازات وتحديد العقبات لتحليل أسبابها واقتراح توصيات لمعالجتها.

وأخيرا، فإن تحليلا دقيقا ومعرفة واضحة لمعالم وتركيبه مجتمع ساكنى العشوائيات في ظل المعطيات الاجتماعية والاقتصادية السائدة، ومن خلال تبنى سياسة واضحة تدعم المشاركة الشعبية في تحسين الظروف المعيشية والبيئية لساكنى العشوائيات سوف يسهم بلا شك في إنجاح فكرة "مشروعات التطوير بالمشاركة الشعبية".

1 GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

The urban transformation in Egypt goes back to the 20th century with the rapid expansion of Egypt's cities. The job opportunities, central government organizations and economic activities were all concentrated in the cities, especially Cairo and Alexandria. Investment increased in building construction and industries in those areas that neighbored the cities, and where infrastructure and markets were both available. The citizens' living standards development process during the urban transformation have significantly affected by the local policy inadequacies and other socio-economic constraints. Policies that neglect urban problems, when accompanied by rapid urban population growth lead to a rapid creation of informal settlements that offer accommodation to the poor and especially when half of the population's poor are living in urban areas (Osman, M. & Soleiman, O., 2000) (See Figure 1).

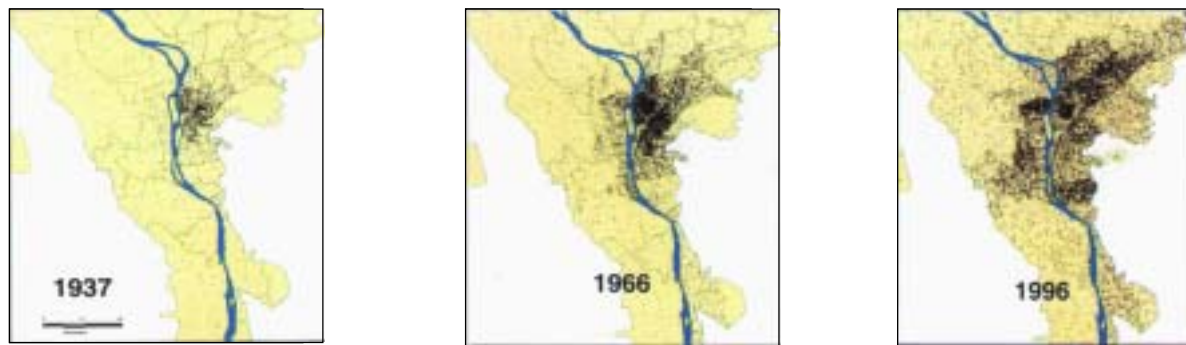


Figure 1: Urban Transformation in the Great Cairo.

Source: Housing and Building Research Centre (HBRC).

The Egyptian National Development Policy with its socio-economic and political objectives has made a significant impact on the country's urban development. During the last five decades or so, Egypt has passed through three distinctive main periods that of national development policy as is summarized below:

- *First Period, industrialization* (After the Revolution of 1952): During that period the growth of urban development increased around the new industrial areas in the south and north of Cairo City (such as Helwan, Shoubra El-Kheimeh).
- *Second Period, 1965-1975*: In that period, Egypt experienced several regional wars. The national economic expenditure focused mainly on military activities. There were almost no investments by the Government in housing for the low income and/or the poor.
- *Third Period, after 1975*: The main characteristic of this period is the “open economic market” policy. This policy affected living conditions in Egypt, where luxury building dominated the housing market and investments in housing for poor people was much less attractive. (Madbouly, 2000)¹

¹ Training Session held in Cairo, 13th - 24th February, under the umbrella of the Netherlander and Egyptian cooperation in “Training, Housing and Urban Development Researches” Between the “Ministry of Housing, Utilities and New Communities”, “Housing & Building Research Center” – HBRC - (Egyptian Government) and the “Center of Housing and Urban Development Studies” (The Netherlands).

In general, the strategy stated by the Government is to provide housing for the population by the construction of *mass public housing*. The gap between supply and demand widened from year to another. In the early seventies, the Government initiated a large investment programme of constructing new cities outside the urban areas and supporting the production of mass public housing schemes (Madbouly, 2000).

However, this policy did not succeed in solving the housing problems. The housing types were not affordable by the low-income groups or the poor. Magda Metwally, from Körner, summarized the consequence of the national housing policy as follow:

“The present type of government housing provision is not affordable by the target group and usually ends up in the hands of economically better off groups... The private capital, which had been pouring into the market, led to a substantial increase in land prices... within and around the urban centres. The informal market was the only alternative affordable to those people in the lower and middle-income brackets. Rent control... had a major effect in reducing the amount of low and middle-income housing built. Under the best circumstances, a large percentage of the lower income urban population has no chance in participating in any of the formal housing programs”. (Körner, 1995)

Several hundred thousands of apartments are – presently – unoccupied in Egypt; one source² estimates the figure as much as 1.8 million, which are not affordable by low-income groups. (Körner, 1995)

The impact of this policy on the urban development has been inflated due to other interrelated aspects, *inter alia*:

- *Rent control*: Several laws concerning the reform of rent value regimes were enacted that decrease the rent value (due to political reasons, especially in the time of Nasser’s socialist Government – the fiftieth and sixtieth). The index value of rent decreased by almost 60% over the last four decades. The old rents - which are still in effect - are so low that do not even cover maintenance costs. (Al Wali, 1993).
- *Lack of interest in rural development at the national policy level*: Cities acted as attractive focal points for job opportunities for the poor of rural areas and investors were attracted more to cities where markets and infrastructures were available.
- *Land Title*: The title to land is one of the main areas of dispute between the Government and the residents of informal settlements and which has often resulted in the failure to accomplish the upgrading Projects.
- *The Absence of Urban Planning*: The implementation of laws relating to urban planning is very limited. According to Metwally, from Körner, concerning this matter: *“The government has a wide variety of planning systems, zoning ordinances, building regulations and by-laws, permits and inspections, fines and other penalties, but implementation is limited”.*
- *Institutional Framework*: The inadequacy of the institutional framework at the national level, bureaucracy, the lack of a comprehensible mandate, the absence of job descriptions, overlapping jurisdictions and the centralization of the decision-making process, reduces the capacity of the Government to upgrade the informal settlements.
- *Population Growth*: The total population of Egypt is estimated at 68,119 million with population growth of 1.85 (year 2000)³. Ninety-eight percent of the population live on only 4% of the country’s area, in the Nile valley and Delta. Half of all Egyptians live

² Oral information obtained during an interview with Dr. Raafat Shams, Housing & Building Center, Cairo, Egypt. (Field Investigations June-July 2002)

³ United Nations Center for Human Settlements – Urban Management Program – Egypt.

in urban areas, and almost one-quarter of those - or 15.8 million- live in the Greater Cairo, the largest city on the African continent. The continuing rapid growth of the urban population particularly that of the Greater Cairo constitutes the main challenge that confronts the National Development Policy in Egypt. (Al Wali, 1993).

Driven by the above-mentioned reasons, the growth of informal settlements is a response to the need for housing stock among low-income groups and the poor. During the last two decades, it was estimated that up to 80% of the Greater Cairo’s housing units have been built “informally” or illegally (Madbouly, 2000). Basic services in informal settlement areas are generally insufficient and the urban environment is poorly developed. According to the “Annual Evaluation Report for Informal Settlements”, prepared in 1993 by then the Ministry of Local Development, 48% of the Greater Cairo population live in informal settlements (Körner, 1995) See Figure 12. The Government attempted to make significant efforts to cope with the rapidly increasing problem of the informal settlements sector through the additional allocation of financial resources to various sectorial governmental agencies dealing with physical infrastructure such as electricity, potable water supply and sanitation. However, this approach, which is limited in its perspective, lacks integrated comprehensive socio-economic long-term solutions for informal settlements. Often, the actual expenditure on the physical infrastructures of the informal settlements was reduced because allocated funds were diverted to other activities (See further Section 3.2.1).

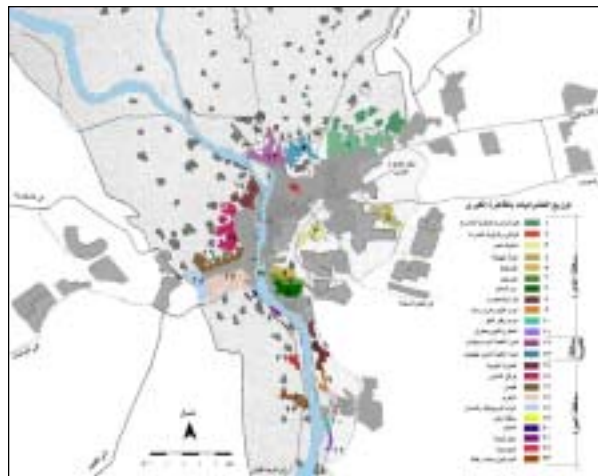


Figure 2: Informal Settlements in the Great Cairo.
Source: HBRC.

The basic physical infrastructures supplied by the Government are limited to potable water, electricity, sanitation and street lighting without providing any other community facilities such as socio-economic services, which constitute an integral part of any upgrading schemes. This approach, which assigns full responsibility to the Governmental authorities in supplying basic physical infrastructures, has not consider the possible contribution, on the part of the inhabitants’ of informal settlements to being active participants in the development process. In 1998, under the umbrella of the Egyptian-German Cooperation, the Egyptian Government established a Policy Advisory Unit mandated to support a nation-wide program entitled the “Participatory Urban Upgrading Program”⁴. This Program is considered to be a new paradigm in urban planning for poor and low-income people. It aims at improving living standards and conditions for the residents of informal settlements through the application of a participatory approach in upgrading.

Previously Egypt has experienced a range of community-based development initiatives of which the Ismalia (Ismalia Governorate) and the Nasriya Model Projects (Aswan Governorate) were the most notable⁵. In these Projects, beneficiaries have influenced the planning and execution of the Projects rather than being a passive recipient of the Projects’ benefits. The “Nasriya Model” was implemented by the German agency GTZ “Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische” attracted considerable attention from the policy makers at both

⁴ Further explanation on the Program in Section 3.4

⁵ Further explanation on Nasryia Project in Section 2.3.2

national and local levels. Following completion of the “Nasriya Model”, the Governors of Cairo and Giza requested assistance to replicate the upgrading project in two selected areas: Manshiet Nasser, starting with a limited geographical area “Ezbet Bekhit” as a demonstration project (the thesis subject) and Boulak El Dakrour. (Körner, 1995)

1.1 Problem Formulation

The Participatory Urban Upgrading Program has been adopted by the Government as a new approach to address the problems of the informal settlements. The program aims to reduce implementation cost of the upgrading projects and secure extensive active participation of beneficiaries so as to enhance community profile and improve living conditions and standards.

During Ezbet Bekhit upgrading project process, there is a requirement to appraise and evaluate independently the program implementation with reference to Ezbet Bekhit Project. This will assist in identifying areas of success or failure so as to overcome weaknesses and enhance the Project’s capacity and effectiveness in achieving its planned objectives in order to be extended to the wider area of the informal settlement in Manshiet Nasser. Therefore a number of questions will arise:

- Did the implementation of Ezbet Bekhit Project follow the planned objectives which were based on the participatory approach?
- Did the Project apply proposals that succeeded in reaching those in need (target groups) and achieve its basic goals of poverty alleviation and an improvement of living conditions and standards through the maximum participation of the local community?
- Did the contribution from and coordination of the various actors reach an advanced level that improves the project performance?

1.3 Objectives

The main objectives of this study is to examine – through carrying out of a critical analysis and review – the concept of the “Participatory Urban Upgrading Program” and its applicability in the upgrading Project of Ezbet Bekhit as a prototype project that has a high potentiality for replication in other informal settlement areas. The objectives of this study are:

- To examine the Participatory Urban Upgrading Program concept with reference to Ezbet Bekhit informal settlement Project in particular.
- To analyze and appraise the local community participation in the planning, implementation and its influence on the decision-making process of the upgrading project.
- To develop benchmarks for evaluation of the project in correlation to the Program.
- To make recommendations for the improvement of the current Participatory Program in general and the enhancement of effective local community participation in Ezbet Bekhit Project in particular.

1.4 Scope of the Thesis

To achieve the maximum benefit, the study will be limited in its scope to an analysis of the Participatory Upgrading Program by reference to the Ezbet Bekhit Project implementation process with emphasis on:

- Participatory Urban Upgrading concept.
- Local Community Participation in the Project process.

- Target groups' identification and its impact on the Project process at the decision-making, planning and implementation process.
- Main actors' roles i.e. the local community, the governmental authorities and GTZ in the Project process.

Other aspects such as land tenure, financial aspects, organisational set-up and detailed issues on density fall outside the scope of this thesis.

1.5 Methodology

The working methodology applied in the present study is composed of four stages as described below:

The first stage of the work "Identification of the Problem" is to identify the problem of informal settlements in Egypt in general terms and presents the government approaches in coping with and solving the problems posed by urban, informal settlements through adoption of various upgrading approaches. Identify the political developments and socio-economic conditions that have influenced the development of upgrading interests. The several constraints to urban upgrading, at both the levels of planning and implementation, are also examined.

The second stage is the "Analysis of the Participatory Program and role of the main actors" which examines the Participatory Urban Upgrading Program and its relationship with Ezbet Bekhit Participatory Upgrading Project. The Program has been proposed and is being implemented under the overall Egyptian-German Cooperation. In this thesis, Ezbet Bekhit Project has been selected as a case study for in-depth analysis and evaluation (see stage three below). The main actors involved in the program have been identified and examined. Their role and cooperation during the project implementation process have also been scrutinized.

The third stage is the "In-depth Analysis, Evaluation and Synthesis of Ezbet Bekhit Project" which examines components of the Project with a special emphasize on the local community participation and identification of the target groups. The evaluation has been carried out according to the stated objectives and achievements vis-à-vis the program concept that is based fundamentally on the efficient and effective participation of the local community. Benchmarks for evaluation of the project have been developed. The Model of Community-Level Planning developed by Hamdi and Goethert (Action Planning) has been addressed to enhance the level of the community participation. The Model supported synthesis of new dimensions in identification of target groups and developed appropriate tools and instruments for the stimulation and enhancement of local community participation.

The forth stage is the "Recommendations" which concludes the outcome by presenting recommendations related to both the Program and the Project. In particular, recommendations connected to the participation of the local community are made.

All the four stages have been carried out in Cairo and Sweden. In Cairo, I carried out field investigations during June, July 2002 and June 2003 when collection of data, documents, maps and materials took place. Several interviews were held with the central governmental authorities (Ministry of Housing, Utilities and New Communities and the Ministry of Planning, the Governorate level (Housing Department and the Manshiet Nasser District authorities), the local inhabitants, the local community representatives, Project Team, GTZ staff (the Planning Advisory Unit, GTZ local consultant)⁶. Several interviews with the

⁶ Interviews with local Community: 16 households and three representatives, Ezbet Bekhit.

Interviews with Project Team: four persons.

Interviews with authorities: 11 persons (See Appendix 1)

households were also arranged. (See Appendix 1) In addition photographs and video film were taken so as to highlight the main characteristics of the area. All of which have been very productive in the development of my own observations and reflections. A checklist has been prepared that represents the focal areas of the field investigations and on which the collection of all information was based (See Appendix 2. Checklist). The deskwork was carried out in Sweden: literature review, compilation and analysing of data, discussions with the supervisors at KTH, drafting and developing the overall thesis work. Table 1 demonstrates the relevancy level of different applied research methods.

Table 1: Relevancy of Different Applied Research Methods

Methods Issues	Literature Review	Analysis Of Documents	Key Persons Interviews	Field Investigations, Photography, video film		
				Households Interviews	Indoor Observations	Outdoor Observations
Egyptian Housing Policy	XXX	XXX	XXX			
Participatory Program	XX	XXX	XX	X	X	X
Ezbet Bekhit Project	X	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX
A Model Of Community Participation	XXX	X	X	XXX	XX	XX

XXX High relevance

XX Medium relevance

X Some relevance

Table 1 shows the used of methods in the research process. The Egyptian policy issue in this research was mainly based on the literature review, key person's interviews and analysis of documents methods. The Participatory Urban Upgrading Program issue was investigated through analysis of documents collected mainly from GTZ and the Government. The field investigations in addition to the analysis of available documents were the most relevant methods in the study of Ezbet Bekhit Project case study.

In the recommendations components at the Project and Program level especially the recommended Model of community participation in this study, the literature review and field observations were the most notable methods.

1.6 Selection of the Case

The availability of information and accessibility to relevant documents and key contacts were not the only reasons for the selection of Ezbet Bekhit as a case study. Other reasons were behind this selection such as, Ezbet Bekhit represents a demonstration project where the participatory approach is experienced in order to be applied in a wider area, and the overall Participatory Urban Upgrading Program's main objective is to have an impact on the urban upgrading policy at the national level. Therefore, the study of Ezbet Bekhit Project and the Participatory Urban Upgrading Program at this stage might offer the opportunity to improve their performances and be relevant to decision makers and actors.

2 UPGRADING PARTICIPATORY APPROACH IN THEORY AND PRACTICE

2.1 Urban Upgrading

Since the 1960s, the increasing rate of urbanization and poverty represent the main challenges that face urban development in the developing and poor countries. In most of the developing countries, the public housing programs have proved unable to produce the amount of the housing needed to meet the growth in urban population and the increase of rural-urban migration by the rural poor. An overview of the housing situation in most developing countries shows that the gap between demand and supply is enormous and growing rapidly. The result has been the proliferation of uncontrolled slums around the cities (See Box 1 The definition of slum). In many cities the population living in informal settlements is increasing at twice the rate of the total urban population (Payne, 1984).

Box 1: Slum Definition.

What is a Slum?

According to the World Bank website on the Upgrading Urban Communities, slums are defined as follow:

“Neglected parts of cities where housing and living conditions are appallingly lacking. Slums range from high density, squalid central city tenements to spontaneous squatter settlements without legal recognition or rights sprawling at the edge of the cities. Some are more than fifty years old; some are land invasions just underway. Slums called by various names, Favelas, Kampung, Tugurios, yet share the same miserable living conditions”.

According to the same resource, slums do not have:

- Basic physical infrastructures networks such as potable water, wastewater, solid waste system, electricity, roads and emergency access.
- Lack of basic communities’ services such as, educational, health and social facilities.
- Social segregation between slums and better-off neighbourhoods increase the tensions in the poorer areas.
- Unplanned developments of settlements increase the complication in the provision of services.

(World Bank Group, 1999-2001)

During the last few decades, governments have tried different solutions to deal with this problem but most of those solutions failed, mostly because of the absence of the political will. According to the World Bank Group on the “Upgrading Urban Communities” those solutions were focusing on:

1. Resettling people on new sites outside the cities. The result was that expenditure was not confined to the amount spent by the Governments on slum clearances and resettlement, but also additional amounts had to be spent on public transport to facilitate the accessibility of the resettled population to employment in the cities centres.
2. Merge slums in city centres in high-rise development (high-rise buildings house more people). The result was not only an adverse social impact on the daily life of the

communities but also a reduction in the ground-level space for low-income families to operate small businesses.

3. Clearance and Redevelopment, which means temporarily moving the slum residents to clear the land and build new buildings to accommodate the people. This solution has similar impacts as the “merging” one as the new buildings are mostly high-rise so as to accommodate more people and increase the efficiency of land use.

The alternative to the above-mentioned solutions is to upgrade the slum areas, which require improvement of the existing physical infrastructures such as water, sanitation and electricity and including the provision of social, educational and health services. The essential part of upgrading is to secure tenures by transferring the tenure rights at affordable prices to the residents. In addition to its advantage as an alternative affordable solution (the cost of clearance and relocation could be 10 times higher), the upgrading has a significant positive impact on the strength of the social and economic life of the community. See Box 2, The definition of Upgrading (World Bank Group, 1999-2001).

Box 2: Upgrading Definition.

What is Upgrading?

According to the World Bank website on Upgrading Urban Communities, Upgrading is defined as follow: “*Upgrading – or slum improvement as it is called – in low-income urban communities is many things, but at its simplest it has come to mean a package of basic services such as: clean water supply and adequate sewage disposal to improve the well-being of the community. But fundamental is legalizing and regularizing the properties in situations of insecure or unclear tenure. But this physical improvement is only the beginning: health issues need to be addressed, school facilities, and program to increase income-earning opportunities. Upgrading is the start to becoming a recognized citizen*” (World Bank Group, 1999-2001).

According to information obtained from the World Bank: “Upgrading Urban Communities”, it is stated that the World Bank, the United Nations Organisations (Habitat, UNICEF, UNDP) and other bilateral donors such Sida, DFID, GTZ, CIDA, USAID and thousands of NGOs have gained experience over the last few decades in implementing upgrading projects. Some of these lessons are summarised as follow:

- Upgrading of slums is a viable and effective way to improve the living environmental conditions of the poor people in those areas.
- Bottom-up approach is important. Work with the communities and allow the communities to decide what level of services they want. Local participation is critical.
- Consider solutions affordable to the local communities and the government.
- The provision of basic services can be solved at very reasonable costs if done properly.

What concern the present study are those lessons related to the importance of the communities’ involvement in upgrading. Community participation is vital for the success of the upgrading project. According to the same source, the reason is:

“The community knows the area and their problems better than the practitioners as outsiders will ever know. Getting their input and having them help decide the nature of

a project will develop a sense of “ownership” and increase the project’s chance of success. Sustainability is another factor – without the backing of the community, the project will have difficulty in continuing” (World Bank Group, 1999-2001).

In addition to the experiences gained by the World Bank Group and their recommendations on the significance of the community participation approach in upgrading, there is an economic dimension that enhances this approach. Public investments in the housing sector are either inadequate in relation to the level of demand or not affordable by the poor and low-income groups. At the same time, there is considerable ignorance on the part of the authorities, decision-makers and planners, as to the reality of the amazing capacity and initiative of the people in compensating for this gap and contributing to the solution of housing problems. The World Bank in the Upgrading Urban Communities documents summarized this issue as follow:

“Most public money put into slum-upgrading can be cost-recovered by the residents, and the low-cost approach and standards ensure that relatively little money is expended compared either to fully-built housing program (which is often unaffordable) or to many other projects on which the government money is spent which are less socially valuable”. (World Bank Group, 1999-2001).

Various attempts to develop the community participatory approach have taken place during the last few decades. In 1984, Geoffrey K. Payne in his book: *“Low – Income Housing in the Developing World, the Role of Sites and Services and Settlement Upgrading”* cited new sets of values which addressed the departures from existing upgrading practices where the decisions, planning and implementations are carried out by the outsiders (authorities, contractors, foreign agencies, etc.) towards community participation, by asking for significant changes in the different perspectives quoted as follow:

- A major shift in attitude towards the role of people as users (not a passive burden but productive resources).
- A new interpretation of, and approach to, user’s self-initiated housing actions (in that they represented solutions as well as problems).
- A new definition of a house (a shelter sufficient for long-term occupation).
- A redefinition of the housing task (not necessarily permanent buildings, but an adequate environment).
- A new role for the traditional housing agencies (not controllers, but facilitators).
- A new relationship between agencies and housing clients (not givers and receivers, but partners);
- A new economics (not charity, but investment).
- A new definition of scale (not symbolic gestures but total coverage), and
- For some, a new vision, not houses only, but overall development (Payne, 1984: 200-201)

In 1997, Hamdi and Goethert in their collaborative work undertaken over 15 year; developed their participatory approach “Community Action Planning” which has become an international model of Community Participation. This model has been applied in different projects such as “Rebuilding Communities Downtown”, Kingston, Jamaica, 1993; “Rebuilding Communities” Caqueta, Lima, Peru, 1995 and “Site Planning for New Communities” Colombo, Sri Lanka, 1983 (Hamdi & Goethert, 1997). Other communities’ participatory approaches have also been developed during the same period and used by several international agencies for urban upgrading.

The following section will introduce the community participatory approach based mainly on the review of the development of theories and practices of Hamdi & Goethert in their book “Action Planning for Cities” and with additional input from other successful urban upgrading projects where the community participation was notable. This review will set out the basis on which the analysis, discussion and recommendations are oriented. The intention is that this section will illustrate the principles and practices of community participation to provide a constructive context for the achievements of the present study.

2.2 Community Participation

Community participation has increasingly become adopted as an approach in the provision of urban upgrading. According to Desai there are several definitions of and explanations for the community participation concept. She stated:

“in the political context community participation is presented as a right where people are entitled to participate in the decision-making process that affects their living conditions, in other words it is a form of grass-roots democracy” (Desai, 1995).

“Grass-roots development” and “development from below” could also describe some aspects of community participation according to Desai. Participation is defined in a The United Nation Report, 1979 from Desai defined the participation as meaning the “*sharing by people in the benefits of development, active contribution by people to development and involvement of people in decision-making at all levels of society*”. She added, there is no clear uncontested definition of community participation. Tri et al. 1986: 11 from Desai said: “*Participation can mean whatever one wants it to mean*” (Desai, 1995:42-43).

Community Participation... A Long-Term Investment: According to Rakodi & Schlyter, the experience gained from Lusaka upgrading project is that the investment in community involvement should be considered as long-term, rather than a short-term investment. The participation by residents can be a time-consuming exercise. Projects with such goals should allow flexible time schedules to achieve meaningful local participation, since the projects only give sufficient assistance to encourage the users to take responsibility for the planning, provision and management of their own shelter (Rakodi & Schlyter, 1981).

The participatory concept is not an easy issue to incorporate in any effort to undertake a housing operation. Major changes must take place along the line – in design, planning, construction and management practices. According to Payne:

“The first step to stimulating people’s participation in housing action is to understand people’s actions. The second is to facilitate these actions and processes. Mobilizing the creative energy of people through formal agency mechanism to achieve, the societal objectives, comes third (Payne 1984:200).

Direct Communication with the Community: According to Payne, views there are a problem in finding out what the people really want. Some technical proposals may fall outside their competence or experiences. A social survey with direct discussion with individuals may be invaluable. In general, some responses are often a reflection of what the respondent thinks the interviewer wishes to hear or what is fashionable. Women views may not be given the opportunity to be aired especially in a society where women are not expected to express their thoughts. Leaders or representatives may not always reflect all groups in the community. Sometimes people are smart enough to mislead when the truth will adversely affect their benefits under any future projects, in other cases they may not fully understand what is intended by the project. Often, it is critical to get the right balance between the in-depth

investigation and the formal survey picture. Thus, the project team has responsibility to establish the right orientation of the community's interest.

Payne recommends the use of household surveys in most of the projects to obtain reliable information on the demographic structure, indoor housing conditions, services/user, income, social structure, lifestyles, among other matters. An intensive series of house-to-house visits is always a good start to a project followed up by maintaining regular contacts during the project (Payne, 1984:95).

Hamdi and Goethert support the above-mentioned recommendations by requesting the planning team to undertake direct observations - looking, listening and talking - as a supplement additional to the measurement of the community socio-economic and physical status and complementing the formal survey resources (Hamdi & Goethert, 1997).

2.2.1 Community-Level Planning

According to Hamdi and Goethert orthodox planning is represented by the top-down, government control where the process starts with extensive data and finishes with project documents that explain all the detailed activities such as: investments, feasibility studies, infrastructures design, management system, computerised database and mapping, human resources, economic resources, consultancies job descriptions, training programs, production workshops, community-based training etc. During the course of planning, the applied expertise will encounter the different socio-economic and political interests, and certainly, a degree of heterogeneity within the community. Hamdi and Goethert added that this trend still exists and dominates today in developing countries because the planners bid for projects designed for aid agencies that are the principal clients and the projects are designed to match with the criteria and paradigms of orthodox development aid programs. Hamdi and Goethert summarize Orthodox planning by saying: “*Consultants who plan, politicians who decide, people who receive*” (Hamdi & Goethert, 1997:17).

The improvement of efficiency in urban development requires much more realism in urban planning. Urban planners should acknowledge and accept that most development in Third World cities do not follow plans drawn up by architects and planners as most of those cities were developed according to the resources and initiatives of individuals. Urban development will continue to depend upon the decisions of communities and individuals rather than plans of governments. According to Hamdi & Goethert this new realism toward urban development is reflected in a new pragmatism that requires a new definition of public responsibility and a new role for development practitioners. This is driven by the trend toward “*enabling*” and away from the orthodox paradigm of “*providing*” by promoting local community empowerment; involving the people who are the subject of development; promoting the appropriated technologies during the planning processes and introducing incremental projects and adaptive planning (Hamdi & Goethert, 1997:26-29).

A. Different Participatory Planning Approaches: There are different ways to approach community-level planning depending on certain criteria, mainly those related to the type of community. The World Bank Group in “Upgrading Urban Communities” has distinguished four different approaches in this field; each using its own tools and techniques for the planning process:

1. Community Action Planning or Micro planning, developed by Hamdi & Geothert.
2. Planning for Real, developed by Tony Gibson and the Neighborhood Initiatives Foundation.

3. ZOPP (or GOPP in English: Goal Oriented Project Planning), championed by the German Agency for Technical Cooperation (GTZ: Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit).
4. Urban Community Assistance Team (UCAT) developed from the American Institute of Architecture’s U/DAT approach in the United States.

All above share a number of characteristics:

- They are problem driven.
- They offer a ranked order of priorities.
- They value the partnerships between community and outsiders but the different techniques used influences the level of efficiency of the community participation at different stages of planning.
- All use workshop arrangement as their basic modality
- Their main goal is implementation rather than study.

(World Bank Group, 1999-2001)

B. ZOPP: Goal Oriented Project Planning: According to Hamdi and Goethert concerning the experiences of GTZ, which has adopted the ZOPP approach, specifies that in a standard project participants are selected to represent all interest groups - project technical staff as well as high-level authorities - and that representation is from all levels, but particularly top government officials. The GTZ often brings a highly trained and paid external consultant to moderate their ZOPP’s. By the nature of the process, GTZ relies on the workshop itself for strengthening community bonds and developing leadership without using other methods for mobilizing the community.

ZOPP workshop is heavily dependent on external input, and the community cannot carry out participatory programs without outside direction. Table 2 below shows a comparison between ZOPP and the other above-mentioned approaches as regards their efficiency at different levels of a participatory project. What concerns the present study is the lack of efficiency of ZOPP’s approach in stimulating the community to effectively participate during the project process, See further section 5.2.2 (Hamdi & Goethert, 1997:91-101).

Table 2: Community Level Planning Approach and Goals

	Community Action Plan	Planning for Real	ZOPP	Urban Community Assistance Team
Building Community				
Identifying Problem				
Development Strategy				
Planning Implementation				
Setting in Motion				
Monitoring Outcomes				

LEGEND	
	High level
	Medium level
	Low level
	No efficiency

Source (Hamdi & Goethert 1997:100)

The focus in the current study is given to the ZOPP approach adopted by GTZ as this is the agency carrying out Ezbet Bekhit Upgrading Project. The understanding of ZOPP approach will assist the present study’s objectives in analysing the efficiency of such approach in stimulating the community’s participation in the upgrading process. For that reason, the

selection of an alternative approach would be helpful in enhancing the understanding of the Project evaluation.

In the following part of this section the “Action Planning” (developed by Hamdi and Goethert) is selected from among these alternative approaches and is briefly explained below and further used in this study. Attention will be given to the consideration given by Hamdi and Goethert to the community type and the different levels of its participation during the various stages of the project process.

C. Menu of Operation of Action Plan: Hamdi and Goethert have defined a menu of operation as the basis of all action planning and which includes:

- Direct observation (looking): to check the information.
- Semi-structured interviews (listening): listening to the needs, informal interviews; use of vernacular in language style.
- Measuring, learning from precedents: additional quantitative information, all urban area indicators.
- Resource surveys: overview on local resources.
- Prioritizing: ranking communities needs according to resource availability and feasibility. This is a continuous process starting with the problems and ending with possible solutions.
- Brainstorming: to concentrate on generating ideas.
- Diagramming: presenting the gathered information on the community’s status, such as, population, daily routine, work habits, organizational structure, work schedule, household routines and lot usages.
- Mapping and modelling: to document information, express views and opinions, identify differences between one area and another such as, density, patterns, land uses. Make use of scrap material with large or real scale is often useful.
- Gaming and role-playing: to build awareness of planning procedures.
- Group work and intermixing: forming and reforming groups according to the requirements of each stage of the project (Hamdi & Goethert, 1997:34-35).

C. Objectives of Action Plan: The final objective of the action planning, according to Hamdi, is implementation and whatever the sequence of work. This includes the following phases:

- Problems and opportunities: to position the problem well enough in order to induce appropriate solutions.
- Goals and priorities: why is it a problem and to whom (cause and effect). Prioritize according to urgency, desirability and feasibility.
- Options and trade-off: for each option there is some consideration given as to the risks involved.
- Resources and constraints: what or who will obstruct the project’s commencement (financial, technical, environmental or political hurdles).
- Project teams and tasks: who can help, how and when? Implementation and monitoring (Hamdi & Goethert, 1997:43-51).

D. Community Participation Level: The level of community participation varies from no input to full control. The appropriate level of participation for the various stages of the project’s

implementation must be proposed, the tools and techniques to be used for the process determined and the appropriate partnership between communities and outsiders decided⁷.

Hamdi and Goethert, propose five levels of community involvement:

- None: the outsider is solely responsible in all respects, with no involvement of the community.
- Indirect: the outsider takes responsibility but receive information about the community from secondary sources such as, reports, censuses, etc.
- Consultative: the outsider gathers information from the community and decides action accordingly.
- Shared control: the outsider and community interact as far as possible as equals.
- Full control: the community dominates and the outsider practitioner is a resource. According to Hamdi & Goethert this is not shared participation but rather complete empowerment and represents the ideal vision (Hamdi & Goethert, 1997:63-70).

One can observe in the Table 3 that the role of the community under the full-control scenario that involvement at the planning and design levels is absent which is questionable if this level is considered, by Hamdo and Goethert, as a complete control by the community. However this is not related to the present study.

Table 3 explains the contribution of the “shared control” community-level participation according to Hamdi and Goethert concept.

Table 3: Framework of Participation and Stages of Projects.

Levels Of Participation	Stages Of Project				
	Initiate	Plan	Design	Implement	Maintain
None					
Indirect					
Consultative					
Shared Control					
Full Control					

Source: Hamdi & Goethert 1997:77

- **Shared** Level decisions by the community, according to Hamdi & Goethert, is the key to effective Community Action Planning

E. Community Type and Suitable Approach: Identification of community type is an essential step in order to decide the appropriate tools for the project process. This aspect will be used for further discussion in the analysis of the community type of Ezbet Bekhit. According to Hamdi and Goethert there are three basic types of communities:

⁷ “Outsider” is a metaphor for the city via its representatives, the practitioner or professionals. This may include the technical staff of the municipality, hired consultants or NGO representatives (Hamdi & Goethert, 1997: 68).

- **Ideal participatory:** these are the lower income communities, as they have the most to gain from any proposed improvement arising from any proposed action (this type could be found in slum or squatter area). According to the authors, ZOPP is appropriate for this type of communities as they are the easiest in relation to expended effort as they tend to be cohesive and highly organized.
- **Transitory:** these have little sense of neighborhood. In general, families stay on an uncommitted basis for a while before moving to more stable situations. This type of community requires much effort to organize. However, a sense of the community will develop through the participatory process. (Could be found in slum or squatter area). ZOPP is not the appropriate tool for such a community type, as this type needs too much effort to develop their community's sense⁸.
- **Reluctant:** the higher income communities, which have little to gain from improvement since they have already access to political power. In spite of their reluctance, they will nevertheless be brought into the process because of their access to political authority.

In general, the “ideal” and “transitory” are the typical targets of the upgrading programs. Appropriate techniques to promote community participation will vary according to the degree and level of community participation required at the different stages of the project which should be identified within the relevant goals and techniques used to overcome constraints. For example; the structural form taken by “outsiders”, the level of their involvement and the minimization of their opportunities to dominate (Hamdi & Geothert, 1997).

2.2.2 *Community-Level Implementation*

The major tasks for planners in the improvement of informal housing area, whatever the technique of implementation, are to identify the basic services that could be improved on an affordable basis to the inhabitants, which meet their immediate needs and are technically feasible to implement and maintain. A plan for implementation must be prepared with the participation of the community. According to the “World Bank Group: Carrying out Urban Upgrading” where issues and tools are to be identified to implement an urban upgrading project, and which are the concern of the present study, are summarized as follow:

- Prepare a clear plan for implementation with the participation of the local community.
- Consider change during the implementation phase especially improvement or adjustments based on the community reactions.
- Define clearly the role of community, outsiders in each activity.
- Provide information to the community but before trying to teach people find out how people learn. Respect local knowledge.

To assist the present study, two aspects have been selected from the World Bank Group: *Upgrading Urban Communities*, to focus on:

- Providing technical assistance

An experience related in the Staff Appraisal Report Mozambique Urban Rehabilitation Project, and documented in the World Bank Group “Upgrading Urban Communities”,

⁸ This aspect may justify the selection of Action Planning Approach to be explained in this Chapter. The upgrading project of Ezbet Bekhit (the subject of this study) is carried out by GTZ, which is using ZOPP concept for community-level planning. For that reason, it is worthy to mention another approach that may enhance the sense of evaluation carried out by this study (The present author).

concerns the levels of support for self-builders. According to this experience support may be provided in the following four ways to improving their dwellings:

- Technical support: provision of technical plans, possible construction of a full scale “house model” in addition to on-site technical supervision.
- Material support: provision of building materials with preference to local small suppliers, on-site fabrication of some possible building components and on-site availability of tools and equipments.
- Financial support: arrangement of loans to cover materials and constructions.
- Organizational support: formation and training of collective groups for buildings loans applications, administrations and accounts.

- Community contracting

An excerpt from “Housing by People in Asia” stated in the Newsletter of the Asian Coalition of Housing Rights documented in the World Bank Group: “*Upgrading Urban Communities*” illustrates the view on the constructive trend of contracting community contractors instead of those from outside. It was suggested that the involvement of the community in implementation would impact community employment, improve the skills of local labour, and generate income. The participation of the community could range from designing, walkways, drainage, community centres, garbage collection, and piecework like well-digging, road laying. It was referenced in: “*A Form of Indigenous Scaling-up through One-by-One Grassroots Expansion*”. (World Bank Group, 1999-2001).

Another excerpt from the Engineering and Development Centre, Loughborough University documented in the World Bank Group: “*Upgrading Urban Communities*” considers the “community contractor” as an approach to delivering improved services where the community takes part in the planning and implementation. The focus here will be given to the following aspects:

- Advantages of community partnership:
 - The community has a strong interest to see that the work is carried out properly.
 - The resources are channelled into the community to increase the job opportunities.
 - Empowerment of the community.
 - Increased access to local knowledge.
 - Income generating activities.
 - Community could multiply the benefit obtained from the investments.
 - Take over the responsibility at a later stage.
- Constraints:
 - Time constraints by government or agencies.
 - Increased management costs.
 - Some programs of on-the-job training and skills improvement are needed. (World Bank Group, 1999-2001).

One can argue that it is quicker and less troublesome to offer prefabricated solutions. But the following example is selected to demonstrate that there is a great potential for a successful outcome if community participation is enhanced even to the extent that families are given the possibility of designing their own houses.

Families Designing Their Own Houses: This example from Chiangmai, Thailand. Sixty-two families of the Santitham Community had built their dwellings and had formed a highly

cohesive community. These families were required to move because of the construction of new road in their very low-income settlement. A new site was selected and the authorities provide the basic infrastructure then the process was started via workshops as follow:

- Getting started: understanding the community and building awareness. Architect communicated with community and got information on the available resources, what they wanted. Output: families were more aware on what is important to them and what improvements they wanted to their new houses.
- Making “Dream Houses”: each family was invited to draw their dream house. Output: no castles or palaces; output was a basic design from which the final design could be developed. Families had the sense as to what dream could apply in reality.
- Making it real: the 6m x 14m plot was sketched on grid paper. The families squeezed their “dream house” into the plot. The families were given scale, cardboard cut-out furniture to stick on the plan. The furniture showed if the space was viable. Then, the families made a 3 dimensional model out of cardboard. Output: sketch and model of house. Families more aware of size constraints.
- Building Community Level Awareness: Models were placed together on site plan. Discussion held on the open space, density and common services. Output: preliminary site, open spaces, agreements on setbacks and house adjustments.
- Refining the plan - Adjusting to Size Constraints: A module of 3 x 3m was adopted that could be conventionally built and spanned using locally available bamboo. Output: Site plan of community. People were happy with their ideas.
- Determining Costs of materials and Construction: A simple list of materials and quantities needed for constructions were given to the families. Families divided into groups to gather information about prices and availability. Output: List of materials for construction of their houses and the estimated costs.
- Conclusions: the approach demonstrates the balance between the input of the professionals and the realistic experiences of the local community. Equal partnership between the local community and the outsiders (World Bank Group, 1999-2001).

2.3 Scaling-Up Upgrading Projects: Egypt

During the last few decades, the Egyptian authorities launched several upgrading projects using different approaches. Two-demonstration upgrading projects “Ismailia” in 1976 and “Nasriya” in 1986 were initiated with highly important goals with the intention of being replicated in other areas with similar problems and the additional hope of having a significant favourable impact on Egypt’s national housing policy. Nasriya is the project that will be summarised below because it was implemented by the same agency that is responsible for the implementation of the Ezbet Bekhit Project and it might therefore be useful to have a look at this experience.

Ezbet Bekhit Upgrading Project, the subject of this study, is supposed to be a demonstration project that will scale-up to cover a larger area. At the national level, the Participatory Urban Upgrading Program aims to improve the long-term urban upgrading policy. The ongoing Ezbet Bekhit Project is under the Program umbrella and represents a demonstration project to be scaled-up to cover a greater area. The experiences gained from Ezbet Bekhit Project and other similar demonstration projects will improve the program performance to permit its increased scale for application at the national level. These subjects will be further discussed in the following chapters.

Therefore, it might be constructive to briefly glance at the scaling-up issues based on the information obtained from the World Bank Group website for “Upgrading Urban Communities” that may help develop the analysis and evaluation of the Program’s performance.

2.3.1 Scaling-Up

According to the information obtained from the World Bank Group: “*Scaling-Up*” the question was: “*Why were only a few projects city- wide or national in scope?*”. The answer was the national programs require active political will and flexibility to deal with critical problems such as: land regulations, security of land tenure and changes in zoning or planning standards - in addition to lack of influence of the slum dwellers on the decision maker. According to the same source the issues in scaling-up are the following:

- Good Governance: improve national policy; strengthen local institutions for carrying out their responsibilities in providing public services for actual urban areas and planning for future growth; and clear corruption.
- Legal system: property rights are the key issue for any sustainable approach to upgrading and including increased flexibility and reduced official procedures in the legal system relating to the security of tenure.
- Financial system: this aspect is linked with security of tenure as a key to accessing credit. Micro-credit and other facilities to expand access to credit by the poor are required.
- Social framework: community participation in the conception, development and physical upgrading.

Therefore, it is recommended to move from *ad hoc* pilot projects to a coordinated approach in the development of the long-term plan for urban upgrading at the national level (World Bank group, 1999-2001).

2.3.2 Nasriya Project

In 1983, the “General Organization of Physical Planning” (GOPP) in the Arab Republic of Egypt and GTZ of the Federal Republic of German started their cooperation in urban planning for medium-size urban projects. In the period since commencement, the two parties have realized the value of active community participation in urban development. Based on these considerations, a plan was initiated by these organisations to implement a project that developed self-help operations in Egypt.

In 1986, a demonstration upgrading project based on the participation of the local community started in Aswan Governorate, Egypt in an area of 100 hectares called “Nasriya”, which had a population of 50,000 or 6,000 households. According to the report on the Nasria Upgrading Project, the Arab Republic of Egypt and the Federal Republic of Germany shared the cost and GTZ provided the technical support. The objective was to apply financially tolerable, socially acceptable solutions to improve the living conditions of the poor people and utilise the participation of local community and the experience gained to be used as guidance in similar upgrading projects.

The project components were as follow:

- Installation of wastewater network and water supply system.
- Construction of a community service centre and extension of schools.
- Construction of kindergartens, playgrounds and landscaping of open areas.
- Security of tenures.

The contributions of the population of Nasriya, who were to participate in the construction of the infrastructure, were calculated in addition to the amount to be gained from the sale of land to the inhabitants, all of which formed the population's economic participation. According to the Project: *"It was expected that the "Nasriya Upgrading Project" would act as an orientation point for future urban development planning and improvement programs in Egypt"* (Ghirardelli, 1992)

Some aspects of the achievement of this project are summarized below:

- In the construction of the wastewater network, the excavation work and the pipe laying was done by the inhabitants under the supervision of local skilled labour appointed by the project team and by the Nasriya community itself. Local contractors and a contractor from Cairo supplied the construction materials. Residents who were - for whatever reason - not able to do the work were assisted by their relatives or neighbours or else paid others to do the work.
- The inhabitants under the supervision and control of the municipal authorities installed the water supply network.
- A study for refuse disposal that incorporated suggestions from the inhabitants had been carried out. A system of garbage collection was initiated and authorized by the municipality and operated by group from the inhabitants on a regular basis.
- The laying of service centre foundations was awarded to a local contractor.
- The Housing Department of the Aswan Governorate insisted on undertaking a tender procedure for the construction. According to the original plan, the project team would have been responsible for providing the building materials and the local labours needed for the construction operations, and which would have saved 30% of the total cost.
- The improvement and extensions of community centres was organized and executed by the residents themselves with the community association showing an interest in taking over the social and training programs developed by the project team.

The Project aimed at setting-up local self-administration committees to mobilize and activate residents in the Project. The opportunities to enhance participation were offered during the Project process through co-operation in Project's on site building activities and upon stimulation of residents' interests. The street-by-street work developed an exchange of experience and raised the residents' confidence in the Project. On commencement of the second phase of the Project, a new Community Development Association was formed from the former committees.

The Project faced a number of obstacles such as:

- Lack of precise data on the status of the community.
- No field experience of people's participation within the local authorities.
- The bureaucracy and the administration procedures and process. The awarding of direct orders to contractors was almost impossible and official tenders for large construction work were obligatory. This led to delay in implementation and an increase in costs.

On the positive side:

- The contribution made by residents showed a saving of around 25% in the total cost of the Project.
- Step-by-step urban upgrading must not be seen as a simple linear process leading directly to the goal sometimes detours become necessary (Nasriya Upgrading Project, 1992).

- The Project Team stated that:

“These organized forms of mutual help were not established by the project, but were based entirely on the initiative of the inhabitants of Nasriya. It is clear that a functional improvement of the technical infrastructure of Nasriya can only be achieved if in its organization it relies on the existing social infrastructure and its local, more or less developed, formal and informal “institutions” (Ghirardelli, 1992:16).

However, the questions are “to what extent the Egyptian Authorities benefited from the above-mentioned experience?” and “what are the remaining constraints that face the efficient implementation of the participatory approach?” The present study will evaluate a new experience of a participatory upgrading demonstration project, which is being carried out by the same foreigner partner as in the Nasriya Project or what has been described as the “Nasriya Model”. This evaluation will hopefully benefit from the examinations, stated in this section, of the different approaches to community participation and those tools that have demonstrated effectiveness in encouraging the participation of the local community.

3 THE GOVERNMENTAL UPGRADING APPROACH AND PARTICIPATORY URBAN UPGRADING PROGRAM

3.1 Socio-Economic and Political Context of Upgrading

3.1.1 Development of Upgrading Interests

In the past, the Egyptian Government did not – from the political viewpoint - recognize or accept the presence of informal settlements or provide them with the basic physical infrastructure and social services due to illegal occupation of land and construction of houses without formal permission. Most of the informal settlement areas are located on agricultural arable land, deserts, or on state-owned areas⁹. This government policy plus other socio-economic factors among others encouraged the creation of further informal settlements and attracted the poor, migrants from the rural areas and criminal elements to such areas. From the authorities' point of view and following the terrorist attack on tourists in Luxor, Aswan Governorate during 1991, these areas were considered, harbours for all aspects of potential terrorist activities that endangered the national security system. The need to secure, control and apply law in these areas was the primary driving force that stimulated the government to upgrade these areas.

Observers pointed out that the allocated funds were confined to tackling increased terrorism and extremist activities since the selected upgrading projects were known to be strongholds of the radical Islamic Movement. Accordingly, significant funds were being spent on security and/or security-related measures such as street lighting and road paving. All of which facilitates police reconnaissance for any movement by agitators. (Körner, 1995)

In addition to the above driving force, the devastating earthquake in October 1992, in which the informal settlements were the most damaged areas, drew considerable governmental attention to the informal settlement and impetus to its efforts to mobilize and address the problem.

The Government classifies the informal settlements into three categories:

- Upgradeable areas.
- Partly upgradeable areas, and with parts that should be demolished.
- Areas that should be completely demolished.

The vital needs of each area, mainly the basic physical infrastructure, were identified by the State in order to allocate necessary funds for upgrading.

In 1993, the Government introduced a plan of surveying that classifies the informal settlement in eleven Governorates including the Greater Cairo and Alexandria. This has been done in accordance with their priorities for upgrading and the availability of funds necessary to undertake such work. It was estimated - at that time – that partial implementation which would cover only five programs within the plan would cost four billion Egyptian Pound. These five programs comprised the supplying to the areas the basic infrastructure such as potable water, sanitation systems, electricity, streets lights, the paving of streets and solid waste management.

⁹ Construction on agriculture land is considered illegal in Egypt, where rapid urbanization and high population growth place significant constraints in the economic development of the country, and the farming area is less than 3% of the country. (Ref: Congress Library Egypt Report December 1990). It should be noted that the most attractive areas for informal settlements in Egypt are either agriculture land or State-owned desert land and where construction activities are prohibited in both instances.

The socio-economic and political situations in Egypt have a great influence on any initiatives by the Government to upgrade informal settlements. Within this context the following sections will summarize these aspects.

3.1.2 Socio-Economic and Political Aspects in the Development of Upgrading

According to Hernando De Soto, the informal settlement areas are estimated at about 70 percent of city real estate in Egypt. He has described the informal sector “dead capital”, as the effective economic use of such capital is very low compared with the formal sector’s efficiency. This aspect reduces the official economic benefit from the State’s capital resources and which consequently decreases its national income. The criteria used by De Soto in his judgment are that this sector is hidden, illegal, and inefficiently used because it is not included in the official national capital accounts. That means the economic activity of this sector is not legal, violates the law and does not contribute to the State’s tax revenues (De Soto, 2000).

However, there is no doubt that the informal capital resources and the income of labour living in these areas have a significant impact on the national economy in general and on the informal settlements in particular. The economic activity based on the informal settlements has an important role in determining the income level of great numbers of Egyptians. The informal sectors hidden and unquantified contribution to the formal national economy¹⁰ is not a phenomenon that is unique to Egypt, but one that is apparent in most developing countries (Makary, Kamel & El-Diwany, 2000).

When facing the problem, Egyptian scientists and experts in the field of economy¹¹ express different opinions concerning the informal real estate sector that can be summarized in the following three main conflicting viewpoints:

- The sector is considered to have a positive impact. The best solution is to leave it to work with its own effective mechanism and without disturbing its activities in order not to decrease its efficiency.
- The sector has a negative impact on the national policy in addition to its impact on social and health standards. The negative impact of this sector exceeds the positive impact as described above. It is preferable to dismantle it; otherwise it will grow too large that containing it in the future will be difficult task.
- Change the informal sector to a formal one. Through benefiting from the positive impact and attempting to limit its negative ones the informal sector could increase its contribution to the national economy.

Several studies that are carried out on the operating mechanism of economic activities in the informal settlements conclude that the income of these areas was estimated at about 35 percent of the total income of urban Greater Cairo. About 50 percent of employed labourers in the Greater Cairo live in the informal settlements. This illustrates why the investments created informally in the informal settlements have such a great impact on the increase of job opportunities.

¹⁰ An example for understanding this aspect: “The volume of demand for cement in the late 1980s was about 18 million tons; the actual demand volume exceeded 22 million tones. This discrepancy was due to inaccurate estimates of the volume and needs of the informal real estate sector” (Makary, Kamel & El-Diwany, 2000).

¹¹ Dr. Mahmoud Abd El Latif, Dr. Galal Amin, Dr. Ahmed El Ghandour, Dr. Adel Bishay, Dr. Ehab Nadim and Dr. Ali Lotfi (No available information on these Economists) (Makary, Kamel & El-Diwany, 2000).

It is clear that the problem of the informal settlements is not confined simply to a housing matter, but should take account of other socio-economic issues and all aspects relating to the living conditions of the local residents and even the surrounding people and neighbourhoods (Makary, Kamel & El-Diwany, 2000).

3.2 Constraints Facing Upgrading

This section aims at discussing briefly¹² those difficulties that might confront the initiation of any upgrading plans or programs at the planning and implementation levels in Egypt.

3.2.1 At the Planning Level

According to the law, there are many restrictions contained in the legal structure for planning and budgeting at the local administration level that limit involvement of the authorities at this level. In most cases, an authorization is needed from the Cabinet of Ministers. Preparation of planning at the local level follows a certain procedure. A proposed plan is issued by the local unit, and then submitted to the local council, which endorses the plan. The plan will be sent to the Governorate Planning Department, which is responsible for drafting a governorate-wide plan which it then submits to the Governor and the Popular Council for review in accordance with public policy. Finally, the Ministry of Local Development - in coordination with other concerned ministries approves formally the Governorate's plan. Other participants in the planning process are, *inter alia*, the Department of Physical Planning at the governorate level and other authorities specialized in basic physical infrastructure networks at the national level, "Master Plans". (Institute of National Planning, 2001); (Abd El Rehman¹³, 2000).

The public funds are the main resources for upgrading the informal settlements and are closely tied to the central finance system. Investments are not allocated for specific upgrading projects, but according to requirements of each infrastructure sector for all informal settlements in each governorate. Funds approved by the Government do not necessarily reflect the actual amount required for upgrading projects. Usually, the actual amount spent on upgrading is higher than the approved one due to the following reasons:

- Funds allocated are used for a wider area than the actual targeted informal settlement areas and could include other surrounding urban areas, thus reduce effectiveness of the investments.
- Technical infrastructure networks, mainly the wastewater and potable water sectors are built to serve informal settlements, including other surrounding urban areas. The latter areas may be funded from other financial resources.
- Inaccuracy of the data available to the planners may lead to erroneous estimates of the funds needed for upgrading.
- Individual initiatives among decision makers or politicians (for other political reasons) may increase the proposed funds for upgrading in specific areas.
- Funds are directed by the central ministries according to each sector, but might not conform to the actual needs of the informal settlements' communities.
- The prolongation of the project execution may affect efficiency of the investments.

¹² A detailed study of the institutional networks and their roles in upgrading informal settlements falls outside the scope of this study.

¹³ Assistant Lecturer in the Architectural Department in Assiyout University, Egypt.

- Sometimes local residents connect water supply and/or electricity networks illegally which may damage the existing infrastructure and lead to duplication of work.

There has been a clear discrepancy between the approved budgets and the actual expenditure on upgrading. Some projects were executed at almost 300 % over the actual cost of the approved budget (Institute of National Planning, 2001).

3.2.2 *At the Implementation Level*

In Egypt, there is no one single organization responsible for the upgrading of informal settlements in Egypt at the national level. Instead, there are several agencies, which are concerned with urban development with a substantial overlap of tasks and responsibilities. Few of them have a transparent mandate in dealing with upgrading policy or techniques and taking into consideration the planning and implementation aspects.

According to Metwally, from Körner, concerning this matter, she summarizes the issue as follow:

“There are a number of agencies in Egypt that are concerned with urban development. Few of the agencies have a clear mandate, and there are several overlapping jurisdictions. The Ministry of Planning is responsible for approving budgetary appropriations for all central ministries, public authorities and the governorates and also undertakes regional planning studies. The Ministry of Housing, Utilities and Urban Communities is responsible for reconstruction, new towns development and the development of desert land. Within this Ministry, the GOPP (The General Organization for Physical Planning) is responsible for the revised master scheme for Cairo. ... Considerable effort has been made in recent years to devolve power to the local level... In practice, however, the central government has the power to veto any decision made by the local units that might interfere with its own policies”. (Körner, 1995).

It is obvious – therefore – to expect many problems and conflicts to occur between the agencies during the implementation phase, which results in decreasing efficiency and a wasting of resources and time (Körner, 1995).

The Ministry of Local Development is the responsible coordinating body for all Governorates that play the vital role in managing the upgrading of informal settlement projects. The Ministry of Planning is responsible for preparation of the five year national development plans and budgets for all central ministries. In addition, it is in charge of studies and proposals of development plans at the regional level. The General Organization for Physical Planning (GOPP) is a state body within the Ministry of Housing, Utilities and New Communities. The GOPP is responsible for developing general public policy for physical development plans and preparing master plans at the national level and monitoring implementation of those plans. The GOPP mandate is also to formulate upgrading policies at the national level. The GOPP is a partner in the planning of the Ezbet Bekhit upgrading project in Manshiet Nasser (Azzazi, 2001).

The legal framework restricts the role of other actors such as NGOs. Other academic or professional institutions do not significantly invest in research or policy advice. It may be a lack of interest and of power in in policy issues and the decision making process that discourages them from making any significant contribution (Körner, 1995).

3.3 Conclusions

The upgrading of informal settlements suffers from overlapping of judicial responsibilities between several agencies; a lack of capacities within the existing administrative structure responsible for the formulation of a realistic policy and the inability to carry out an implementation process for upgrading programs and projects.

The existence an urban upgrading approach that considers a substantial form of dialogue between the responsible authorities and the main beneficiaries in addition to an adoption of a “bottom-up” strategy of development might have a significant impact in solving the problems of informal settlements. This approach would recognize the potential capacity of the local communities and mobilise their human capital and resources to make a constructive contribution to decision-making in the planning and implementation processes towards achieving the upgrading goals.

Following a deep investigation made by GTZ concerning the problems that encounter the urban development in Egypt and the experience gained from Nasriya Model (see section 2.3.2), GTZ introduces the Participatory Urban Upgrading Program as a new paradigm of urban development. The Egyptian policy makers acknowledged that the participatory approach could be a viable means of enhancing efficiency, maximising limited resources and overcoming the adverse effects of rapid urban growth.

3.4 Participatory Urban Upgrading Program

This section¹⁴ will briefly discuss the background of the Participatory Urban Upgrading Program, which is the umbrella of Ezbet Bekhit Upgrading Project.

3.4.1 Background on the Egyptian-German Cooperation

The Development Co-operation between Egypt and Germany started in 1950s. In 1994, the two Governments agreed on the “Medium-term Concept for Development Co-operation between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Arab Republic of Egypt which represented an umbrella arrangement for joint development co-operation projects and programs (See Box 3).

¹⁴ This section is based on documents published and unpublished produced by GTZ and Ministry of Planning in Egypt in both Arabic and English language.

Box 3: Program Areas of Activities

PROGRAM-ORIENTED AREAS OF ACTIVITIES

Under the Medium-Term Concept, development co-operation is concentrated on five focal areas to make it more program-oriented, increase its impact, and make it more efficient and sustainable. These areas are:

- Support for private sector development and reform of the financing sector.
- Protection of the environment and ecologically sustainable management of resources.
- Human resources development, in particular the dual system of vocational training through the Mubarak-Kohl Initiative (an agreement between the Egyptian and German governments), and construction of primary schools.
- Direct and self-help-oriented poverty reduction and support for the Social Fund for Development (SFD).
- Development of social and physical infrastructure, in particular water supply, sewerage, and energy.

Financial co-operation was provided to support projects and programs in the field of electricity generation, the construction of primary schools and support for the Social Fund for Development (SFD).

Technical co-operation was directed to supporting sound management of water supply and sewerage services as well as to the promotion of dual vocational training in Egypt. Participatory urban development in high-density areas, adult literacy programs are areas funded under the technical co-operation programs (Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany, GTZ & KFW 2001).

3.4.2 Program Concept

In the context of sustainable development, the German cooperation and development policy in Egypt is oriented towards the creation of better living conditions, and poverty reduction. It also aims to promote human rights, enhance fundamental democratic principals, peaceful conflict management and improve gender equality. The German Development Co-operation is being concentrated in areas and sectors that have the greatest effect on overall economic and social development with an immediate impact on the situation of people, particularly the poor. The Co-operation Programs are subject to inter-governmental negotiations on an annual basis between delegations led by the Egyptian Ministry for Planning and the State Ministry for International Co-operation¹⁵ and the German Federal Ministry for Economic Co-operation and Development. It has two main segments; Financial and Technical Co-operation.

The German Federal Ministry manages the implementation of financial co-operation and technical co-operation for Economic Co-operation and Development (BMZ) through two separated institutions. The financial co-operation is administrated by the “Kreditansalt fur Wiederaufbau” (KFW) while the technical co-operation is implemented by the “German Agency for Technical Co-operation” (GTZ).

Within this context, the German Development Co-operation has supported several projects of Participatory Urban Upgrading. The common target is poverty alleviation through:

¹⁵ In the last two years, the State Ministry for International Co-operation has been existed as an independent ministry.

- Improving the living conditions and standards of the urban poor and low-income categories as well as ensuring the involvement and participation of local communities in planning, implementation and the sharing of responsibilities.
- Promoting involvement of the public and private sectors by using the economic, social and organizational capabilities of the local communities to establish a productive dialogue between beneficiaries and the decision-makers.
- Promoting self-help oriented poverty reduction.
- Examined Feedback and lessons learned from several demonstration projects to be collected in order to improve the urban upgrading policy at the national level.

3.4.3 *Program Mechanism*

In 1998, the Egyptian Government created a Policy Advisory Unit, which is located at the Ministry of Planning. This Unit has been mandated to support the “Participatory Urban Program” nation-wide with the aim to develop a “New Paradigm of Planning” for an effective provision and sustainable management of housing and basic services for the urban low-income population. Practical experiences are very essential for such an advisory unit, because of what needs to be done to improve the urban upgrading strategy in Egypt. There is a great awareness of the need for change to the urban upgrading strategy in Egypt, but a minimum of knowledge is available as to the appropriate direction of such change. For these reasons, the Participatory Urban Upgrading Program operates at two levels:

- The local level: “Project Model” an upgrading project to be selected in a limited geographical area in an informal settlement where it could be expanded later to the whole area.
- The national level: the experiences gained through “Project Model” will enrich the program in order to enhance its impact on the national policy.

Local projects provide experience and offer an opportunity to examine various strategies by involving limited social, economical and political risks in the testing and further development of participatory management procedures and instruments. A limited number of projects can achieve some success within a short period and thereby enhances the main concept of the participatory approach. (Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany, GTZ & KFW 2001).

The wide acceptance of the “Nasriya” model (GTZ) and its participatory approach provided realistic indicators for the local government authorities in dealing with upgrading Projects¹⁶. (Körner,1995). Ezbet Bekhit Project Manager persuaded residents of Ezbet Bekhit as to the merit of the applied participatory approach as used in Nasriya and the consequent opportunities for local residents to be involved in future upgrading projects by applying the same concept¹⁷. A study visit to Nasriya had been organized for Ezbet Bekhit representatives, which convinced the residents of the viability of the upgrading project under the umbrella of the participatory approach.

¹⁶ A national-level workshop on “Nasriya - Approach” based upgrading strategy was held in November 1994 under the auspices of the Governor of Aswan with participation of high-level authorities. Nasriya Project has shown that local projects can have an impact on the national level. (Körner, 1995).

¹⁷ Interviews with local community residents and the Manager of Ezbet Bekhit Project Team Architect Hani El-Minyawi. (Field investigations, June-July 2002)

3.4.4 Selection Criteria of Participatory of Upgrading Project

To enhance the credibility and ensure the success of the selected “Project Model” and guarantee its impact on the national policy level, the following criteria have been stated by GTZ:

- The selected area should represent most of the common characteristics of the Cairo’s urban informal settlement areas, in order to provide basic knowledge that could be applied to other informal settlement areas in Cairo.
- Based on the “Nasriya Model”, the scale of the selected project that is manageable by a “Project Team”¹⁸ should be an area with a population of around 5,000-8,000 households, in order to justify the economical input of community infrastructure.
- The “Project Model” should preferably contain a well-defined community profile (family background, groups, etc) so as to avoid – as far as is practically possible - the differentiation in delivery of the project’s benefits.
- The project should - preferably - be part of a larger area where the authorities have allocated a budget for an upgrading project but did not complete the work because of difficulties in its implementation. This tactic aims at creating suitable conditions for the allocated resources to be utilized and, by overcoming the difficulties, creates a successful demonstration model of the participatory approach for possible future replication in urban upgrading projects.
- Considerable positive indicators regarding the residents’ are their willingness to actively participate in the upgrading process, including self-help operations and the utilization of their own savings for the investment¹⁹ (Bowers, 1995).

Chapter four and five will examine further the Participatory Urban Upgrading Program with references to Ezbet Bekhit Upgrading project.

¹⁸ See further explanation on Ezbet Bekhit Project Team members in section 4.2.3.

¹⁹ As evidence by the studies made by “Azhar University Department of Architecture” that records as many thousands have submitted land ownership applications form within Manshiet Nasser area. (Bowers, 1995).

4 CASE STUDY - EZBET BEKHIT

Ezbet Bekhit is located in Manshiet Nasser which is one of the largest informal settlements in the Greater Cairo; section 4.1 below introduces Manshiet Nasser with different upgrading approaches prior to examining Ezbet Bekhit case study.

4.1 Manshiet Nasser

4.1.1 Background

Manshiet Nasser has a population of more than 400,000²⁰. As Cairo continues to expand, Manshiet Nasser's central location between the Central Business District and the new suburbs becomes a future obstacle for development of Cairo. The area is characterized by a surrounding street network, highways and a new tunnel that connects the area with the centre of Cairo and the surrounding new suburbs.

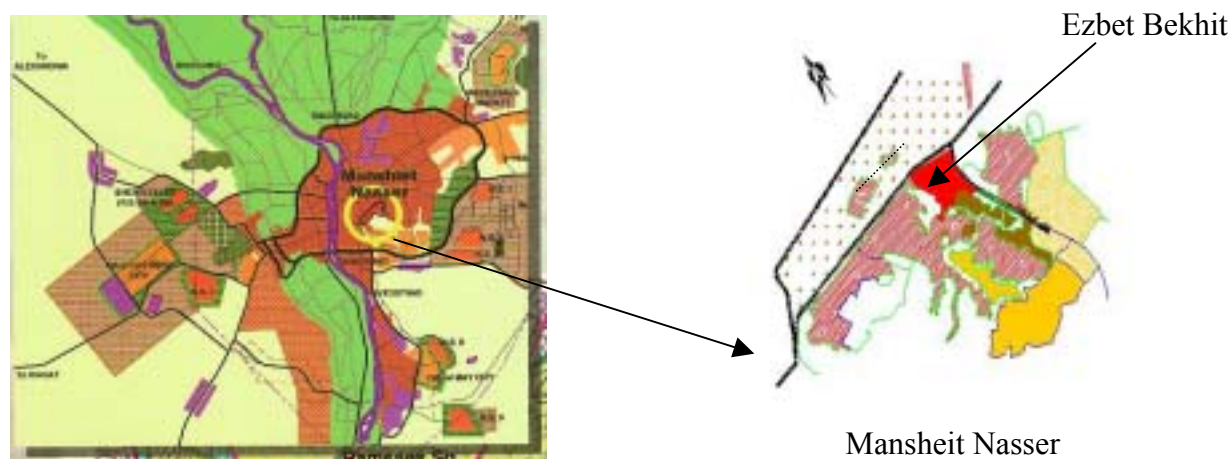


Figure 3: Location of Manshiet Nasser and Map Shows Location of Ezbet Bekhit

Source: Ministry of Housing, Utilities and New Communities & the Project Team, 1998.

The area is located among the foothills and quarries²¹ east of the historic city (the old Cairo) and near the Mokattam Mountain (see Figure 3). In 1960, construction in Manshiet Nasser, which occupies state-owned land, was started by those who were relocated from informal settlements in the centre of Cairo²². The authorities permitted re-housing of these people in Manshiet Nasser, which was - at that time - remote from the east border of the Cairo city.

²⁰ GOPP, Manshiet Nasser District & GTZ, 2001.

²¹ Quarries are in some cases created by the residents who use or sell the excavated stones from the hills for construction purposes. These actions among others caused several disasters in the area, such as the collapse of a hill over a housing area in 1994 where many people died or were injured (GOPP, Manshiet Nasser District & GTZ, 2001).

²² In 1960, people were evacuated from a slum area in the center of Cairo owned by Cairo Governorate. The purpose was to develop construction plans for these areas. People were relocated in Manshiet Nasser, which was an area for stone excavation, upon an order from the authorities at that time. (GOPP, Manshiet Nasser District & GTZ, 2001).

Construction activities continued and informal settlements developed, especially after the war of 1967, between Egypt and Israel, which caused the displacement of inhabitants from the Suez Canal cities. By the end of the 1960s, the population figures reached several thousands.

At that time the Egyptian former President “Gamal Abdel-Nasser” acknowledged the existence of this area and supplied Manshiet Nasser with water and electricity²³. In 1972, Cairo Governorate issued an instruction to relocate the “Zabaleen Community”²⁴ (garbage collectors) in Manshiet Nasser. By the end of the 1970s, the population figure was estimated at 100,000 inhabitants.

The urban poor and rural-urban migrants considered this area as an attractive settlement place, especially due to its location close to job prospects, and the availability of land that offered affordable accommodation. Poor groups from other informal settlement areas and homeless persons from demolished or collapsing houses in Cairo found Manshiet Nasser to be an affordable area in which to live. The inhabitants are considered to be among the poorest and the most underprivileged in Cairo with more than two thirds of families under the poverty line²⁵. It should be noted that the upgrading of this area has been ignored for a couple of decades, except for the provision of some limited educational and health services. Some projects have been initiated by the international NGOs in the “Zabaleen” area (GOPP, Manshiet Nasser District & GTZ, 2001).

Box 4: Views of Manshiet Nasser’s Tenures.

Legitimacy of Manshiet Nasser Land: Views of Tenures Vis-à-vis Authorities

The authorities consider the encroachment on the state-owned land as an illegal action. The local residents – from their viewpoints – disagree and claim their rights based on the following arguments:

- The authorities were responsible from the early start by issuing orders allowing relocation of homeless persons to settle in this area.
- The authorities acknowledged presence of the relocated homeless persons by supplying the area with basic physical infrastructure. For those residents with formal connected electricity and water supply, they regularly pay the required fees and having all receipts that documented their ownership rights. (*In Egypt, legal ownership is often supported by formal water and electricity receipts*).

At the end of 1970, the government - in cooperation with the World Bank – made the first attempt to sell the land to the tenures and use the funds for financing upgrading of the area. The project failed basically due the differences between the tenures and the Government in evaluation of the lands market price (GOPP, Manshiet Nasser District & GTZ, 2001).

²³ The name “Manshiet Nasser” of this area refers to Gamal Abdel-Nasser.

²⁴ Zabaleen or garbage collectors used to live in areas around urban communities close to the garbage sources. During the development of the center of Cairo, those people became a burden to the urban communities and inhibited the city’s development. For that reason, the authorities decided to relocate them in Manshiet Nasser (GOPP, Manshiet Nasser District & GTZ) and (Al Wali, 1993).

²⁵ The households’ survey was carried out by the Directorate of Social Affair, Governorate of Cairo, 1998.

4.1.2 *Upgrading Approaches*

In 1998, two upgrading approaches for Manshiet Nasser were introduced. These approaches represent two contradictory concepts in dealing with upgrading issues; the first was proposed by GTZ and the second by the authorities.

A. The First Upgrading Approach: which is the participatory upgrading approach, was proposed by GTZ under the umbrella of the “Participatory Upgrading Urban Program” within the Egyptian-German Cooperation agreement (See Section 3.5). It aims to alleviate the poverty and improve the inhabitants’ living conditions in a cost-effective manner by local community participation at the decision-making, planning and implementation levels. The Participatory Upgrading Project is designed for participatory building capacity through a process of productive dialogue between various actors including the authorities. GTZ provides the technical assistance, mainly for water and wastewater installation. The KfW provides the financial support. (The Project Team, 1998).

GTZ’s general approach is to start “slowly but surely”. According to GTZ, this approach is explained as follow:

“... in terms of staffing: each Project Team might consist of up to twenty staff, preferably not more than twelve ... in terms of scale: Whereas the project may be called “Mounira” or “Manshiet Nasser”, their activities will cover only part of the population of those quarters. In Manshiet Nasser where there are 150 thousand households, upgrading activities will cover not more than 3 – 15 thousand households”. (Körner, 1995).

The start in a limited geographical area within an informal settlement as with “Ezbet Bekhit” is considered a demonstration area within the informal settlement of “Manshiet Nasser”, where implementation of the participatory approach could act as an effective catalyst to activate this approach in the surrounding area and also other informal urban areas. The implementation of the project will consider an integration of the upgrading approach based on physical, social and economic development measures using the term “learn by doing” to increase the implementation efficiency and community involvement.

Currently there are two ongoing demonstration projects under the same umbrella of cooperation between the Egyptian and the German Governments; Ezbet Bekhit is one of those projects. (See below Box 5).

The success of the “Participatory Urban Upgrading Program” concept and its demonstration projects, according to GTZ, depends on the contribution of the main actors e.g. the Government, GTZ and the active participation of residents who are supposed to play a significant role at both the planning and implementation levels. (The Project Team, 1998).

Box 5: The Participatory Urban Upgrading Demonstrations Projects.

“Demonstration” Projects

Under the umbrella of “Participatory Urban Upgrading Program”, two demonstration projects represent two different types of informal settlements have been selected. The first is Boulak El-Dakroul, which is built on agriculture land. The second is Manshiet Nasser, which is located on state-owned desert land (*Interview with GTZ local consultant, Arch. H. El-Minyawi, June 2002, Cairo*).

The Program adopted criteria in selection of Manshiet Nasser, which presents suitable conditions for upgrading. It is located in Cairo, on a State-owned land with variation in physical and urban structure characteristics. Ezbet Bekhit, as a part of this informal settlement has been selected as a demonstration project that represents, on a limited scale, the same range of characteristics. Other aspects that enhance this selection are the strong socio-cultural identity of the community originated from the Upper Egypt. In addition to the encouraging response of the local community of Ezbet Bekhit to the proposed Participatory Program, their visit to Nasriya Model Project in Aswan promoted the announcement of the “Ezbet Bekhit Declaration” (See Section 4.3.1) (The Project Team, 1998).

Apparently, the selection of two different types of informal settlements would further contribute to a deeper understanding of the main issues related to each type of settlement problems. It is expected that the outcome will improve the participatory program performance and support improvement of housing policy for informal settlements.

B. The Second Upgrading Approach: has been prepared by GOPP of the Ministry of Housing, Utilities and New Communities. It aims at applying a strategy for rehabilitation and replacement of informal settlements with the concept of “Renewal and Replacement” through development of a new, proximate and vacant desert land to temporarily accommodate the first group of inhabitants of the existing community to be relocated from the area, as a first phase (See Box 6). Subsequently, to be followed by the planning of the evacuated area, and developing it to be occupied by a second group of the existing community and planning the second evacuated area, and so on until the entire Manshiet Nasser is developed and upgraded. The implementation of this is divided into 7 phases. The first one is the “El-Emtedad”²⁶ area – which is partially implemented – and consists of 6,000 housing units and public service buildings planned to be built on a 165-feddan (69.3 hectares) areas. A photo has been taken during the field investigation that shows the new implemented housing area (the first phase) see Figure 4 .

A Brochure presents a general site plan of the whole Manshiet Nasser that demonstrates that the implementation in Manshiet Nasser would follow a whole new plan patterns that differ almost from the existing patterns. (Brochure published by the Ministry of Housing, Utilities and New Communities 1999) See Figure 4.

That means Manshiet Nasser will be entirely re-designed applying the same new luxury housing patterns together with road construction networks, social services, green areas and a

26 This study terms them “Turnkey Units” because there was no community participation at any level during the process of planning and implementation of the Project. (The Author).

new commercial area opposite the highway. The implemented phase is proposed by the government to be the relocation solution for the families affected by the upgrading project.

Box 6: The Governmental Upgrading Approach in Manshiet Nasser.

Renewable and Replacement

The upgrading project of Manshiet Nasser proposed by the government is used in Ezbet Bekhit upgrading project as a “Turnkey” relocation solution for the families affected by the upgrading (See Figure 4).

The first phase that has been implemented consists of 6,000 housing unit and public service buildings. In 2001, around 2,000 turnkey units have been finished and according to the Ministry of Housing, Utilities and Urban Communities have been distributed to the residents from “Eywaa” area (means in Arabic sheltering areas) in Manshiet Nasser. No information is available concerning the payment procedures for those units.

According to the Ministry of Housing, Utilities and Urban Communities, the net cost for each unit is about 35,000 E.G.P. The Project includes:

- 6,000 housing units (53-60 m²/unit).
- Primary schools, kindergarten and public libraries.
- More than 1,000 handcraft unit (25 m² each).
- Two main services centres and secondary service centres (commercial, security, health, social, communication, religious, etc.).
- Green areas and playgrounds in areas where buildings are not recommended according to the studies.



Figure 4: Master Plan of Manshiet Nasser, “Turnkey Project”, (Phase 1).

Source: Ministry of Housing, Utilities and New Communities.

This Project is financed by a donation from the United Arab Emirates to the Egyptian Government. This was the plan of the Government for upgrading Manshiet Nasser. (GOPP, Manshiet Nasser District & GTZ, 2001).

4.2 Case Study - Ezbet Bekhit

4.2.1 Description

Ezbet Bekhit area is estimated at 42 feddan (equivalent to 17.64 hectares). It has a population of 28,200 inhabitants²⁷. The average population density is 900 inhabitant/feddan (equivalent to 0.42 hectare). The number of households is estimated at 6,494 with four to five persons in each household²⁸. Ezbet Bekhit is a part of the informal settlement of Manshiet Nasser. It is strategically located in a crossroad. On its northwest side lies the highway connecting Cairo downtown to Nasr City and its north-east border is a dead-end street (Tayaran Street) terminating at a security forces camp. It is surrounded from the east and south side by other areas of Manshiet Nasser - the government emergency housing²⁹ and slum areas respectively.

On the other side of Tayaran Street, there is a large area (Ezbet Al-Arab) bordered on the east side by the security forces camped on the north side by the highway and some government buildings. On the northern side of the highway, there is a large cemetery area, which is also informally occupied. The main topographic features of the area are sharp edges and mountain cliffs. Ezbet Bekhit has no access from the south and west sides and the sharp cliffs constitute a potential risk from falling stones.

Ezbet Bekhit is accessible by the main highway, but lacks any traffic safety measures. The main highway isolates pedestrians from the other settlement areas in Cairo, as they are obliged to cross the dangerous highway. (See Figure 5).

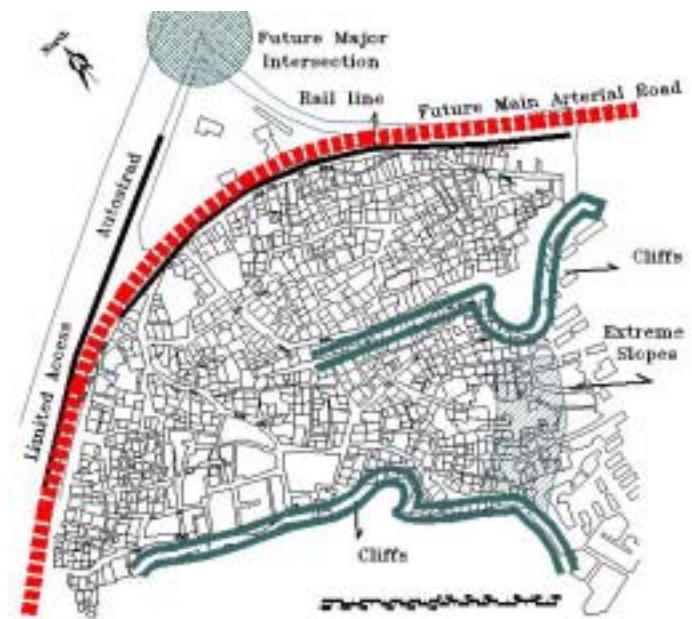


Figure 5: Site Plan of Ezbet Bekhit Shows the Borders.

Source: The project Team, 1998.

Over the last few decades, the development of the area has led to the creation of a dense population on unplanned patterns. The housing units comprise different types of buildings that depending upon several factors such as the variation in landscaping of the area, construction types and materials (See Figure 6). The variation reflects the socio-economic status of the residents. (See Section 4.2.2)

²⁷ Of which: 46.89 % < 20 years, 34.81% between 20-40 years and 18.29% >40 years. The ratio between male and female is: 56.10 to 43.90.

²⁸ Due to deficient and contradictory data on the estimated population, the study of Ezbet Bekhit Upgrading Project adopted a figure estimated at 28,200 inhabitants. Several studies have been carried in this regard:

- 1 In 1996, the Central Statistics Organization estimated population figure at 20,253 inhabitants.
- 2 In 1998, according to the Department of Social Affairs, Cairo Governorate, the estimated number was 28,200 (The Project Team & Federal Republic of Germany, 1998).
- 3 In 2001, the Project Team estimated the figure at 38,000 inhabitants. (GOPP, Manshiet Nasser District & GTZ, 2001).

²⁹ In 1992, the government built emergency housing units (El-Deweka) for the earthquake-affected families. (GOPP, Manshiet Nasser District & GTZ, 2001).

Basic infrastructure, such as potable water supply, is limited and poorly installed. The lowest topographic level in the area suffers from gravity accumulation of wastewater. The accumulated wastewater has formed a stagnant pool area, which impedes movement and poses serious health and hygiene problems.

The sanitation system is partial and depends on manual or sludge tanker emptying procedures that cause waste to leach into the surrounding areas. Basic community services are unavailable, notably health care services, schools and recreational services. Available space constraints limit the possibility for the provision of such services. In some cases and mainly for political reasons, the authorities have supplied parts of the area with basic infrastructure such as potable water supply, electricity and telephone lines. In other cases, residents have connected their houses illegally to the water and electricity supply. In sum, the basic infrastructure and community services are either inadequate, or non-existent. (The Project Team, 1998)



Figure 6: An Overview on Ezbet Bekhit.

Main Socio-Economic Features: According to the report published by Participatory Urban Upgrading Project “Manshiet Nasser”, August 2002³⁰, the main features of the community in Manshiet Nasser including Ezbet Bekhit is summarized as follow:

- High percentage of youth.
- High illiteracy rate.
- Low educational standards, poorly equipped local schools.
- High level of poverty: more than two thirds of families under the poverty line³¹.
- Casual workers with irregular work opportunities³².
- High level of child labour, mainly in poor working conditions.
- Numerous social problems (e.g. early marriage, domestic violence, drug abuse).
- The location of Manshiet Nasser in the Great Cairo offers good job opportunities to the inhabitants.

More than two-thirds of the population are working in their own workshops and more than 55% are working inside Manshiet Nasser. The residents have developed their own small-scale income-generating activities, which are mainly handcrafts. Their average monthly income is stated in below (The project Team,1998).

³⁰ Participatory Urban Upgrading Program Manshiet Nasser: Outline of Community Development Approach, August 2002.

³¹ Household survey carried out by the Directorate of Social Affair, Cairo Governorate, 1998.

³² The employment status in Ezbet Bekhit is: 12.20 % government employees, 57.83% casual workers and 13.61% unemployed. (The Project Team & Federal Republic of Germany, 1998).

Table 4: Monthly Average Income of the Inhabitants of Ezbet Bekhit

Less than 150 EGP ³³ (50 US\$)/month	Less than 200 EGP (66.6US\$)/month	More than 300 EGP (100US\$)/month
15.25 %	50.05 %	34.70 %

4.2.2 Field Investigations of Ezbet Bekhit

The field investigation was undertaken in Cairo over two month in June and July 2002 and June 2003, during which meetings and interviews were held with the responsible authorities in addition to several interviews and discussions with local representatives as well as visits to the project area of both Manshiet Nasser and with repeated visits to Ezbet Bekhit. The interviews were focused on three main items:

- Level of awareness of the upgrading project among the residents.
- Response of the project to residents needs.
- Participation in the upgrading activities.

(See Appendix 2).

General Site Description: During the field investigations, the author observed that the roads have no specific planning pattern. They have been developed randomly following the pattern of housing construction. The roads are very narrow, often cul-de-sacs, and do not allow fire fighting and emergency vehicles access to the area. In some cases, road width is barely sufficient for three pedestrians to walk side by side and there are almost no open spaces. Different types of activities have been developed - such as small-scale industries (leather treatment, painting, etc.), workshops, and handcrafts etc., which increase the impact of pollution on the housing environment.



Figure 7: Narrow Street in Ezbet Bekhit

The presence of coffee shops was observed, which represent the only recreation facility in the area, but in Ezbet Bekhit these are used mainly for casual workers gathering to discuss and agree about work systems. These coffee shops are well known in Cairo as sources of labours manpower according to types of skill required. (Each coffee shop belongs to one or more category of activity such as labourers in building construction, handcrafts, carpenters etc³⁴. Reference: Interview with Gamal Abdel Nasser who is an inhabitant in Manshiet Nasser and residents’ representative in the Project Team).

In general, the houses have been constructed in unplanned patterns and without consideration of the basic health and hygienic conditions such as ventilation or sun penetration. Joint walls attach the housing blocks and each block covers almost the whole plot

³³ 1998 exchange rate was 1 US\$ to 3 EGP. Recently, the EGP has been devalued. The current exchange rate is 1US\$ = 6 EGP.

³⁴ Interview with Gamal Abdel Nasser, local community representative, June 2002, Cairo.

that reduces the street's wide. Usually, the first floor (or ground floor) is used as housing units with shops or workshops in the rooms that face the streets. The roof is mainly used to dry laundry and in some cases for raising chickens and as storage. The variations in ground level inhibit access between the different quarters.

It is easy to distinguish the different types of building according to the categorisation proposed in the upgrading plan of Ezbet Bekhit that varies from poor to reasonably acceptable. For example, parallel to the highway there are multi-storey buildings of up to five floors built to acceptable construction conditions (See further section 4.2.3 - Housing Conditions) , whilst the area that has difficult topographic features and lacks basic infrastructures accommodates the worst type of housing of the poorest residents (See Figure 8, Figure 11 and Figure 13).



Figure 8: Multi-Story and One-Floor Housing Types in Ezbet Bekhit.

This variation reflects also the dissimilarity of socio-economic status of the inhabitants. In other words, the inhabitants of Ezbet Bekhit belong to different socio-economic groups with different needs. This aspect has a significant impact in the selection of the representatives of the local community that would affect later the selection of priorities at the planning stage of the project. (See Section 4.3)

The two buildings I visited represent one of the poorest housing type, each building consists of a ground floor divides into several rooms (with an average of five) and a first floor divides into two or three apartments. In the ground floor, there are around five families sharing one toilet which is not connected to the wastewater network. Each family (varying from 4 to 7 persons each) lives in one room, which is used as a living room, bedroom and kitchen (See Figure 9). Cooking and other domestic work are done on the floor. In a few rooms, I found benches or shelves for kitchen utensils and a TV. Most of the housing units in the area are connected with electricity. Ventilation is available in a limited number of rooms; in this case there were two rooms with a small open window (around 60x60cm). Almost no sun penetrates these rooms. The women claimed that the bad living conditions affected the health of their children. These types of rooms have bad hygiene conditions, especially as regards the common toilet. The families that live in these rooms are tenants and are among the poorest in the area. The owner occupies the first floor with his family and married sons or daughters, which have their own private services or otherwise use the common ones. On this floor, the windows are wider and there are slightly better living conditions. (*Reference: Field investigations, visits to two housing units: Interviews with 10 households from tenants group and 6 from owners groups, June-July 2002*).



Figure 9: One-Floor Housing Type Accommodates Several One-Room Families.

4.2.3 Project Components

In 1998, a joint team called “Ezbet Bekhit Team” prepared the Project Upgrading Plan. The Team is composed of representatives from the Cairo Governorate (Manshiet Nasser District), the Ministry of Housing, Utilities and New Communities (GOPP), GTZ and the local community’s representatives.

The upgrading activities – according to the Project Upgrading Plan – are based on the provision of basic physical infrastructures, social services, improving housing conditions and the surrounding environment such as solutions for levelling of the dangerous cliffs. The information that describes different sectors in this section, for further analysis, is based mainly on the “Project Upgrading Plan”³⁵ of Ezbet Bekhit which is considered by the Project Team as the main source of upgrading activities in this area, in addition to other reports produced by the Project Team on the Project’s achievement. This section deals with the actual situation of Ezbet Bekhit, the proposed solutions contained in the upgrading plan, the implementation process - if carried out - and the observations obtained by the author from the field investigations. It will focus on aspects that explain the Project’s approach to solving basic problems such as housing conditions, different socio-economic status of the local inhabitants and their influence on the type of the community, tenants’ and owners’ problems, the provision of basic physical infrastructures, social services and above all, attention will be placed on the involvement of local inhabitants in the solutions at the planning and implementation levels. The field observations will guide the analysis of the Project components.

A. Housing Conditions

Actual Situation: Ezbet Bekhit Upgrading Plan prepared by the Project Team, has classified and defined the type of houses extant in the area, into three main categories as follow (See Figure 10).



Figure 10: Plan and Elevation of Different Housing Type

Source: The Project Team, 1998.

³⁵ The Project Team & Federal Republic of Germany, 1998.

The first type: This type represents the old construction techniques applied on a large plot (about 250 square meters), consisting of one floor with a rectangular patio surrounded by several separated rooms either without toilets or with a shared facility. Each family occupies one single room. The construction is of the load-bearing type made from irregular stones with small openings. The roof is constructed from light materials such as wooden beams or plywood panels plastered with cement. Most of these types are built without any foundation on flat cement slabs. The observations from the field investigations show different housing forms (See Figure 11) within this type and considered the poorest in the area and have the following characteristics:

- Such houses are, in many cases, not connected to the basic services.
- Bad indoor conditions, such as poor hygiene, ventilation and sun penetration.
- Mostly they are located in areas of broken terrain that results in difficult access to these units.
- Tenants form the majority of the residents of these units.
- No available information about the numbers and percentage of these units.



Figure 11: Housing Located in Areas of Broken Terrain with a Detailed Façade.

The second type: This type represents most of the old construction built on plots of 120 square meters with two or three floors sharing a common staircase. Each floor has one or more housing units. Each unit comprises one to three rooms that may have a private or a common toilet. The construction of this type is load-bearing made from bricks. The roof is of reinforced concrete. It was observed that there is a wide range of variety within this type. The different types included in this category could vary from poor to acceptable standard (See

Figure 11) based on its conformation with the basic conditions such as:

- Number of rooms, room size, and the number of persons in the family.
- Availability of services such as toilet, bathroom, and kitchen.
- The possibility of being connected to potable water and sanitation system.
- Adequacy of indoor conditions such as ventilation, sun penetration. Mostly these conditions are not adequate as most of these buildings are attached and accessible only via narrow streets or side walks that prohibited the availability of surrounding space.



Figure 12: Housing Types Vary from Poor to Acceptable

- Accessibility of this type could exist either on a flat and accessible site or on an unlevelled and difficult to access site.
- Tenants and owners are both residents of this type. Usually, the owners occupy the unit with better living conditions and the tenants occupy the others with the worst living conditions.
- No available information about the numbers of these units or their percentage of the total.

The third type: This type represents most of the new construction built on a small or medium plot and which consist, generally, of three to five floors. On each floor there is one or more housing unit with a common staircase. The unit consists of two to four rooms and has its own private services (toilet, kitchen).

The construction is a skeleton made of reinforced concrete. The wall partitions are made from red bricks. According to the field investigations, one can observe that there is a wide range of variety within this type that could vary from acceptable to good (See Figure 13). This variation is based on:

- The site, usually, is flat such as is the case with those buildings facing the highway where the site is both flat and access is easy.
- Most of the houses are connected to the basic service systems such as potable water, sanitation and electricity and in some cases telephone lines.
- Indoor living conditions are acceptable, as the housing unit consists of two to four rooms with their own private services comprising kitchen, toilet and bathroom (in many cases the toilet and bathroom are combined in one room).
- Most of these types have better sun penetration and ventilation because they are located in wide streets and many have balconies.
- Some of these houses have acceptable finishes compared with other types, such different types and colours of paint.
- These building are mainly constructed from the saving made by labourers that have been working in the Gulf States.
- Tenants and owners are residents of this type of property and both with acceptable to good economic conditions.
- No available information about the percentage of these units of the total.



Figure 13: Housing Type with Good Standards

B. The Reliability of Data

The available data compiled by the “Project Upgrading Plan” shows that there are 52% tenants, 44% owners in the area and 4% others³⁶. 40% of housing units have an estimated area of less than 20 square meters. Concerning the availability of services in housing units, the figure varies between 25% that have common bathrooms to 40% without bathrooms (no washing facility is available). The toilets are not available or intended for a common use for almost 45% of the housing units. (The Project Team, 1998).

³⁶ Others mean here that some housing units accommodate their inhabitants relatives permanently.

One can observe the data that describes the living conditions was not properly specified. As an example, there is no data on how many housing units have been covered by the survey adopted in the study of Ezbet Bekhit Upgrading Project. From examination of the data provided by the Project, I conclude that there is an absence of detailed description on the method and means applied in collecting the data. No linkage has been made between the area of available facilities and the number of users. No analysis of the data or explanation as to how the outcome will be applied to the planning and implementation. In addition, the classification of housing types did not consider the percentage of each type.

It seems that housing compiling and analysis of data has not been considered a high priority within the upgrading project of Ezbet Bekhit since the top priorities on the agenda of the project have mainly been connected to physical infrastructures. The Project assigned improvement of housing conditions to be managed by the individual inhabitants at their own discretion. (See below the Planned Solutions)

Regarding the improvement of housing conditions, there will be a need for field investigations and in-depth data collection regarding the existing housing conditions, *inter alia*, the connected basic services, building materials and techniques, area/person, area of the used facility/person and hygiene and health conditions. (See further recommendations in Section 6.1.1)

The Planned Solutions: The upgrading Project of Ezbet Bekhit provides no solution for the improvement of housing conditions. It has been left to each individual resident to improve his/her indoor living conditions - most probably after securing the land tenure (See Section 5.2.1). The Project Upgrading Plan proposed a strategy for the improvement of housing conditions as shown below:

- The provision of land tenure in a suitable legal framework that will guarantee the improvement of housing conditions in terms of room size, accessibility and easier movement within the unit, better ventilation, more natural light as well as ensuring the existence of both toilets and kitchen through connection of the area to the main public network of potable water supply and sewage sanitation systems.
- Construction Law No: 106 issued in 1976³⁷ should apply to the upgrading process of the Project. Some exceptions in applying this law might be considered reflecting experiences from the Nasriya Project³⁸.

The upgrading Project anticipates that the owners will improve their housing conditions once they have secured their land tenure. Then, any improvements will be subject to the building laws and regulations. Instances where the owners permit the improvement of the tenants' living conditions will complicate the owners-tenant relationship.

C. Relocation of the Affected Families – Project Proposals

According to the Project Upgrading Plan there are two proposals to solve the problem of relocation of the affected families.

³⁷ The Law no 106 issued in 1976 is the general law applied by the authorities to all types of construction activities.

³⁸ This view has some limitation because Nasryia is located in Aswan where the value land is less expensive and less densely populated than Cairo. (The present author).

The First proposal: It suggests that the Governorate rent out or sell new housing units in any public housing project to the affected families. This policy is expected to be carried out by the authorities.

The Second Proposal: This proposes offering of new state-owned housing units in the El-Emtidad “Turnkey Solution” to some of the affected families. According to the information gathered during the field investigations, a rough calculation has been made based on the available information to give a figure as to the affordability of the proposed re-housing solutions. (See Box 7 below).

Houses to be demolished: In the Project Upgrading Plan, it is expected that between 10% to 15% of the families will be affected by the improvement of the infrastructure in Ezbet Bekhit and these will be relocated to a new housing area.

Land tenure and construction legislation: Plot borders are identified according to the general guideline plans for the area so as to prepare land tenure transfer. A responsible office will be established that belongs to the Project Team and consists of employees from the Government’s property department and from the district construction permissions department.

Box 7: Estimation on the Affordability of the “Turnkey” Relocation Solution.

Affordability of the “Turnkey” Housing Units

A rough estimate of the affordability of these units by the inhabitants of Ezbet Bekhit based on their monthly average income has been done by the present author. The net cost of the unit is 35,000 EGP (around 11,000 US\$ at that time). The payment conditions according to the Ministry of Housing, Utilities and New Urban Communities are:

- Down payment of around 20% of the unit cost.
- Monthly payment for 40 years with a subsidised interest rate of 5%.
- The monthly payment should not exceed 73 EGP/month for a unit of less than 70 square meters.

(Reference: Al-Akhbar Newspaper, 07-05-2003. An interview with Deputy Minister of the Ministry of Housing, Utilities and New Communities).

The above-mentioned conditions show that there is a down payment required of at least 7,000 EGP (equal to 2,333 US\$ applying the old exchange rate is 1US\$ = 3EGP at that time). The monthly payment will be varied between 58 to 70 EGP. The comparison between this result and the Table 3 (See Section 4.2.1) shows the income distribution of inhabitants in Ezbet Bekhit (15% is less than 150EGP and 50% is less than 200EGP). It is – therefore - difficult to ensure the affordability of the turnkey solution to all target groups.

According to an interview made with the two representatives of the local Community in the Project Team (Gamal Abdel Nasser and Mohammad Khalaf) in July 2002, they said:

“The alternatives of re-location are very difficult. In Suez City, the down payment is 1,400 EGP, which is affordable, but the site is too far from our jobs (40 km from Cairo). In “New Cairo City” - “Mayo City”- (close to Manshiet Nasser) the down payment is: 5,000 to 7,000 EGP for an apartment of 50-60 m² and for the first six year we have to pay 500 EGP every three month but the rest stands for a long term repayment instalments. These conditions are not affordable by us. Some people who have moved to Suez City - Bader City – they went back to Ezbet Bekhit to live with some relatives close to their jobs”.

D. Employment Opportunities

Many inhabitants have developed their own economic activities such as small workshops and primitive handcraft. Economic activities are mainly based on these small-scale workshops. This poor area is a potential source for the production of handcrafted goods³⁹ for the main artisan markets in Cairo such as Khan El- Khalili in old Cairo. (GOPP, Manshiet Nasser District & GTZ, 2001). The Project Upgrading Plan proposes also improvements to the capacity of the community and promotes further opportunities in the market through the following actions:

- The Project will organize training programs for handcraft and technical education for use in artisan markets such as Khan El-Khalili. The Mubarak-Kohl⁴⁰ initiative and other similar Projects offer good opportunities to support such training programs.
- The establishment of an employment office in Ezbet Bekhit aims at collecting information on job opportunities in both the public and private sectors and gives support to unemployed persons in the completion of the required formal documents. This office communicates with the private sector and businessmen in the area and explores the possibilities of employment for people from the local community.
- Further support will be given to small business activities by allocation of investments and loans for young persons with new business ideas and also to the existing handcraft activities.

Implementation: Based on the recorded observations the implementation of this sector is still limited. The small workshop activities support has not been activated yet. The absence of achievement regarding land tenure is the main obstacle facing the improvements to these activities. Loans for young people to establish a new business and for the existing small business to improve their activities face the same problem. The formal investors such as banks, institutions or individuals are not willing to invest in the informal sector. According to the Workshop discussion, the existing workshops owners are always facing the risk of demolition, and this insecurity inhibits improvement of their activities (See further Section 4.3.1 – One-Day Live Workshop).

Some activities have been implemented by the Project such as, the establishment of a computer-training program for future community trainers. Some labourers are working with the installation of the wastewater network in accordance with the tender conditions for the implementation of this work. (See further below the Provision of Basic infrastructures). Residents of Manshiet Nasser including some from Ezbet Bekhit (around 10 persons) have been working as employees in the main office of the Upgrading Project located in the area and where they have been undertaking some simple office work such typing, copying and other similar jobs. (Present author observation).

E. Provision of Community Social Services

In addition to the above and to improve the community profile, the Project proposes a number of community social services that have been planned in accordance with the residents' needs and priorities, (The Project Team, 1998). The planned social services are as follow:

³⁹ Goods such as leather, metal handcrafts, clothes, handmade carpets.

⁴⁰ A cooperative and dual system of “National Technical and Vocational Education and Training Program” agreed upon between the Egyptian and the German Governments in 1991 (Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany, GTZ & KFW, 2001).

- Multipurpose social centre.
- An independent women centre.
- Kindergarten.
- Health centre.
- Literacy centre & a library.
- Collection of garbage and improvement of environmental awareness among the residents.
- Vocational centres and employment office.
- Education services.

Implementation Process: The achieved activities are shown below:

- The multipurpose social centre has been contracted for construction through a tender procedure and it is expected to be finished by February 2003.
- Plans for the women's centre have been drawn up and prepared for tender.
- Preparation of a teacher training program for literacy school and the setting up of some classrooms.



Figure 14: Kindergarten Play Ground beside the Open Theatre. (June 2003)

- Developing of an environmental awareness program.
- Initiation of a program to improve the performance of kindergartens in Manshiet Nasser, including Ezbet Bekhit (See Figure 15). A six-month intensive training program for kindergarten teachers and managers has been designed by a PhD student (thesis in innovative methods of pre-school education) in cooperation with three universities (Cairo, Ain Shams and Tanta).



Figure 15: Kindergarten Classroom (June 2003)

- The Project co-financed the training program. The training course was organized by a sub-committee from the community leaders and participants.

The area suffers from lack of open space, according to the upgrading plan. It is expected that the public area will be increased by 85%, to achieve 31% of the total net housing area. This area will be used for open public spaces, gardens, buildings for social services (See Figure 14) and improvement of the traffic network.

F. Provision of Basic Infrastructures

Actual Situation: The existing networks do not cover the whole area and need considerable maintenance, especially the sewage network. The survey carried out by the study (Ezbet Bekhit Upgrading Plan) shows that around 59% of the housing units are connected to the

potable water network, while only 56% are connected to sewage network. The flooding of wastewater in the area is a daily feature. In addition, the area lacks a road network and sidewalks for pedestrians. The undulation in ground level prevents easy access to the area. The system for collection of soil waste needs to be more effective. The present gathering of this waste in different public places creates a poor environment and unacceptable health and hygiene conditions in the area.

The electricity network, compared with the other basic physical infrastructure is in good shape. The Project Upgrading Plan mentions that most of the housing units are connected legally to the main electricity network and the residents pay their bills regularly. The level of maintenance will, nevertheless, require some further improvement.

The Planned Solutions: In general, plans made for the upgrading of the basic physical infrastructures in Ezbet Bekhit is coordinated with the overall upgrading plans for Manshiet Nasser. In particular, the potable water supply will be upgraded in concert with the plans made by Cairo Governorate for Manshiet Nasser. Residents will pay for the connection to their own house. The sewage network is planned to serve the whole Manshiet Nasser area, including Ezbet Bekhit. The inhabitants will participate in digging the main lines – according to Project Upgrading Plan - and will pay for the connections to their own houses.

As regards other basic services, it is planned to carry out maintenance work to the electricity network and improve its capacity and the telephone network will be extended according to a complete plan for Manshiet Nasser area. As for the road network, it is planned to pave all existing roads in Ezbet Bekhit and improve the main entrances to the area. According to the Project Upgrading Plan, it is expected that the local community will participate in paving work for sidewalks and courts as well as the construction of curtain walls and staircases to ensure accessibility between the different levels within the area and which also is provided for in the plan. The solid waste system will be improved by identifying some fixed places for the collection of garbage and the provision of required equipment. The local community will participate in the daily collection of the garbage.



Figure 16: Ongoing activities of the Sewage System

Implementation: The potable water and sewage sanitation networks activities have been contracted to the “Arab Contractors Company”⁴¹ with a provision of 18 million EGP. This money is a German donation from KFW. According to the Project, the first phase of this work should have been completed by the end of 2002 including the connection to the housing units. This phase covers 40% of the total housing units in the area includes construction of the main sewage pumping station (See Figure 16) .

⁴¹ This Company is the largest public construction company in Egypt with an independent administration and financial body. It is under the supervision of the Ministry of Housing, Utilities and New Communities.

G. Project Time Plan

According to the Project Upgrading Plan, it is difficult, financially and technically to achieve an immediate upgrading of Ezbet Bekhit. The only available alternative is a strategy based on achieving the goals through three periods starting in 1998 as follow:

The first period “short term”: it is from one to two year and covers the following activities (1998 - 2000):

- Identify solutions for dangerous ridges and cliffs and allocate funds.
- Prepare study for land tenure types.
- Prepare implementation plans for basic physical infrastructures.
- Prepare an implementation study with the participation of the local community identifying the main goals for upgrading and approval of the plans to be implemented in the second period.

The second period “mid term”: it runs from two to five years and covers the following (2000 – 2002/2005):

- Implement the main and secondary infrastructures networks.
- Demolish the houses hazardously located and relocate the affected families.
- Finalize the legislation process for land tenure procedures.
- Prepare areas for public services.
- Initiate the development associations and launch the community development activities.

The third period “long term”:⁴² this period covers the followings (2002/2005 – No limited time):

- Finalize the infrastructures networks, especially in the narrow streets and the courts after the recessing of the existing building to the lines proposed by the implementation plan of Ezbet Bekhit.
- Finalize the public and social buildings.
- Support the establishment of community councils from the development associations and the committees that participated in the Project to undertake maintenance and carry out public awareness rising regarding the proper use of common facilities.

4.3 Analysis of Public Participation – Ezbet Bekhit

A. Community Profile

According to the Project Upgrading Plan, the community profile was described based on the households’ heads. Most of the household heads of Ezbet Bekhit inhabitants migrated from Upper Egypt (78.64% from Upper Egypt and 21.36% from other locations). This situation has a great influence on the local community organization. Leaders are still playing a significant role in solving some types of local and/or social conflicts. They have a special influence too in the local Community Development Associations (CDAs) that have been established in the area to offer the basic social services to residents for marriages and deaths (The Project Team, 1998).

⁴² No limited time for this period mentioned in the Project Upgrading Plan.

They have made significant contribution in managing the common affairs of this area during the development of Ezbet Bekhit. A representative and leader of the local community said during an interview:

“This area was desert, when we came; there was no electricity, water or sanitation. We, together, carried out the necessary activities related to electricity and water and sanitation. The government intervened in a limited way in some cases, such as schools, electricity, water but it did not cover the whole area” (Gamal Abdel Nasser, July 2002, see Figure 17)



Most of the members of the existing CDAs are men. There are – however - limited instances where women have been placed in a Literacy Association, which has been established in cooperation with the local teachers. (The Project Team, 1998).

Figure 17: A Community Representative

B. Target Groups

According to the project Upgrading Plan and the observations made during the field investigations, the households in this area have differing socio-economic status. It is not possible to categorize or classify the residents in one economic category. It is observed that most of the settlers started their life with a very simple type of house. Over time, they were able to invest further in improving their housing conditions with the addition of extensions. These investments have been created from a lifetime of saving, especially by those workers who spent several hard working years in the Arab Gulf Countries and who might otherwise never have had such an opportunity for property ownership.

In an interview with a businessman in Manshiet Nasser in June 2002 on this topic and which was held at the Urban Planning Department of the premises of Cairo Governorate, the interviewee said:

“I spent 12 years of my life in Libya. I built an Amara⁴³. My family is living in one apartment and I sold and rent out the rest. Now, I want to build a new Amara in the same area for my new married son. When I asked him why it should be an Amara. It could be one additional apartment. He answered it is not only for accommodation as it will be also for further investment as we are not able to invest in any formal area as it is so expensive. When I asked him what about the basic infrastructure services. He said it is not so easy, but together with my neighbours in the same street where I live, we managed to get electricity and potable water. Still – however - we have some problems”.

One can conclude that some households have experienced various dynamic processes of change, which gave rise to significant alteration in their socio-economic status and which is reflected in their living standards and conditions.

However, the Project Upgrading Plan acknowledged the contrasting interests in the upgrading activities but it did not consider these conflicts of interest among the community as a driving force that influences the planned objectives and the selected priorities. Based on the

⁴³ Amara in the local Egyptian dialect means a multistory building.

Project acknowledgement and the field observations one can develop a sort of group classification among the local community of Ezbet Bekhit based on the following characteristics:

- The majority of tenants that endure the worst living conditions - typified by overcrowding, a lack of services and bad hygiene – who are primarily concerned with improving their indoor conditions – are less concerned with external changes. This group may have no objection to the demolition of their homes so long as they are compensated by the provision by the authorities of new, affordable housing units that give better living conditions⁴⁴. Tenants that have a strong social and economic connection with the area, and that live in acceptable indoor living conditions with secure income; welcome the upgrading.
- Owners are mostly concerned with the protection of their investments. Some objections are expected from those affected owners whose properties will be demolished, especially if their compensation will be limited to only the one housing unit where they are being accommodated. They will not only lose their important status as property owners and but also what is perhaps their only secure source of income from the rental of housing units combined with the loss of the potential construction of an additional floor to accommodate their children when they marry.

At the same time, these groups in Ezbet Bekhit are homogeneous. Within each group, there are some discrepancies related to their socio-economic and education levels. The estimated tenant's proportion in Ezbet Bekhit– according to the Project Upgrading Plan - is 52% and owners are 44%. The remaining 4% are either long-term guests or family relatives.

C. Community Type

It is concluded that the poorest group exists in this area which has no secure income, are mostly tenants and are living in the worst conditions. There are also the low-income group that have a more or less regular income, such those in casual work, and who are mostly tenants but living in better conditions. In addition, there is the low middle-income group who have their own workshops, are handcraft workers, etc, and who are mostly owners living in acceptable conditions. In many instances, there are investors that may live or perhaps have their business activities inside the area. This categorisation reflects different types of residents with different interests, expectations and conflicts. The Upgrading Project has also not addressed the owner-tenant relationship comprehensively as the proposed solution for improving housing conditions is based on the inhabitants' initiative at a later stage, after securing of land tenure.

According to Hamdi & Goethert: *“The understanding of community type is the basic issue in deciding the appropriate tool”*. (Hamdi & Goethert, 1997). The survey carried out by the Project Upgrading Plan did not define the community type of Ezbet Bekhit. The homogeneous identity of the households mentioned by the Project Upgrading Plan did not necessary reflect homogeneity in the socio-economic status.

⁴⁴ The Program has investigated 20 informal settlements in the Greater Cairo (61 questionnaires where 40% tenants and 60% owners) the result was: the owner rejected the trend of demolishing because they will lose their homes (real estate) that they have spent their life saving. With the tenants, the situation differs completely. Their interest is to demolish their houses since in this case they will get apartment against a contract ownership. (Makary, S & Kamel, S., 2000).

To identify the community type, if it is an ideal participatory, transitory or reluctant community; one should identify first the needs, interests, capacities and expectations of each group with regards to the upgrading project. This understanding may lead to a better definition of the community type and further decisions on the appropriate tools for enhancing community participation (See further Section 6.1.1).

4.3.1 Participation at the Planning Level

A. Representatives

The Project Upgrading Plan is aimed at enhancing the community organization and its participation by taking the following steps:

- Identify the leaders in the area that could play a part in reassuring the local socio-economic resources.
- Encourage those leaders to establish local organization(s) for the community's active participation and ensure the collection of the necessary accurate data in order to support decisions, elaboration the work at the plan execution level and to take the first steps fin its implementation.
- There can be no active and successful participation without involving women and young people in the development of the community. It is expected that the role of women and young people will be promoted and strengthening. *“Society will drop those old fashioned traditions that control the relations between men and women in development matters; in this context it is important to choose those with the most potential to encourage their feeling of responsibility towards the community in order to secure sustainable urban upgrading and development”*. (The Project Team, 2002).
- All participants should work with the project as volunteers. (The Project Team, 1998).

Based on the above analysis of Ezbet Bekhit residents' socio-economic status, the planned steps of the upgrading project should be preceded by an investigation that answers some critical questions that provide some essential definitions “Who are the leaders?” “Why only them?” Further, “What initiatives they can take?” “How can they communicate with the residents” and above all “Do the leaders represent the above mentioned different groups and interests?”

It is not certain that the existing community organisation and its current leaders will ensure the equal and active involvement of the participants. GTZ, as an outsider, needs to know more about the local environment and investigate more thoroughly the indigenous organisations to ensure a balanced representation (Further discussion in Section 5.2.2 - GTZ).

During the field investigations I had the opportunity to meet the active and enthusiastic leader and representative “Gamal Abdel Nasser” several times. Gamal belongs to the higher socio-economic category as a property owner and is a member of the Political National Democratic Party, the dominant Party in the Egyptian government. He has access to authority and can talk on behalf of the people. He is playing an important role and took initiatives during workshops held in July 2002. I met him again during my tour in the area where he was supervising the site preparation work of the area's cultural centre.

This active leader plays a strong role in participatory activities, but he only represents one category group. According to my information almost all leaders belong to the same category (owners and families strong leaderships) and certainly do not represent the other groups.

B. Participatory Tools

The basic issue in the upgrading strategy of Ezbet Bekhit is to ensure the participation of the local community in the planning and implementation process. Based on this strategy, the Project Team has arranged several meetings that were held during 1998 between members of the local community and representatives from Manshiet Nasser District and GTZ. Workshops, open discussions and explanations about the main actors' roles focusing on the role of the local community had taken place during these meetings. A model of the proposed upgrading Project of the area had been introduced to answer questions from the apprehensive inhabitants.

The “Ezbet Bekhit Declaration” was the conclusion of the discussions, which explained the role and responsibilities of the local community in the upgrading Project. In 1998, the leaders and representatives of Ezbet Bekhit approved and legalised this Declaration⁴⁵. The “Declaration” soundly expressed the agreement of the residents as to the general concept and principals of the upgrading Project. The residents declared their obligations by establishing committees that represent the inhabitants of each street, and their responsibility to explain to the inhabitants the Project components and to stimulate the people's participation. (The Project Team, 1998)

C. One-Day Live Workshop

A Workshop was held in June 2002 at the District premises of Manshiet Nasser. The author had the opportunity to attend this. At that time the Project Team of Ezbet Bekhit has started to include the whole area of Manshiet Nasser for upgrading, including the ongoing activities in Ezbet Bekhit. The participants were sitting at a U-shaped table facing a board comprised of the representative of Manshiet Nasser District, the National Democratic Party representative in Manshiet Nasser, and the Project Team Manager (See Figure 18).

The board was responsible for orientating the discussion towards appropriate goals. Two displays faced the participants to which was taped written information prepared by the Project Team; on the first display was headed “papers representing the problems” on the second one “papers representing the possible solutions”. The following subjects were covered:

- Education system.
- Health system.
- Social problems.
- Land tenures and re-housing.
- The illegal existing economic activities.
- Road and traffic system.
- Basic infrastructure, such as potable water, electricity, wastewater services.
- Public services.

⁴⁵ From the legal point of view, it is a necessary procedure according to the urban planning law (3/1982) to permit the local community to participate in the decision-making process (The Project Team, 1998).

- Dangerous areas.
- Environmental problems, such as solid waste problem, industrial emissions, lack of a waste water system.

The aim of this Workshop, according to GTZ instructions given at its outset, was to define priorities for upgrading in the sectors stated on the display in front of the participants. The participants were as follow:

- The representatives of different governmental sectors (7 participants): Their main role was to listen to the problem; inform participants on the government plans and actions according to each sector and to the extent that they exist; define the constraints, such as the scarcity of land to build new schools, the misuse by some residents of the Youth Cultural Centre, that had been built by the authority. (The Centre could have been used by the schools but has become unsafe for the inhabitants because it is being used as place for drug abuse and other associated activities).



Figure 18: Workshop Held in June 2002

- GTZ, (one participant, Christian Voigt⁴⁶, represented the Advisory Unit of the Ministry of Planning in the workshop): the main role of this participant was to orient the discussion towards defining the priorities of upgrading and not merely to discuss the problems. The interventions made during the discussion were done upon the request of the local community concerning the specific services to be financed by GTZ as a donor agency. In this case, the GTZ agreed to offer services if they were within the Agency's framework and were conditional upon definite participation by the local community. (As example: the local community asked, *"If the upgrading project includes construction of a Youth Centre"*. The answer by GTZ was *"Yes, it will be financed by GTZ provided there is a confirmed participation by the local community"*. There was also a question concerning the economic activities, *"is there to be any technical or financial support to the existing handcraft activities?"* The answer was: *"the preference is for local economic entities such as the "Cairo Bank" and the "Egyptian Businessman's Association" to be activated in the area. If this does not happen we may think about establishing a local economic organisation"*).
- Manshiet Nasser District (4 participants): the main role of these participants was to discuss the problems created by the residents such as the encroachment by the residents that still occur especially on the cliff edges which the Project has designated as dangerous areas where the property should be demolished. Some people benefited from the situation, as families in condemned properties will be registered as affected and will then become eligible for compensation. In addition, the Workshop agreed on solutions for some other current problems such as connection of potable water from the two main sources and the paving of the main street. The other aspect that was

⁴⁶ Participatory Urban Management Program Policy Advisory Unit, Head of the Advisory Group.

observed of those participants is the appreciation of the effort made by the authorities in the construction of some social services in the area.

- Project Team (8 participants): these participants play different roles:
 - The Team Manager drives the meeting with a representative of Manshiet Nasser District, the National Party representative in Manshiet Nasser.
 - A “moderator” introduces the issue, opens the discussion around it and controls the time the participants have to express their views, in accordance with the workshop time-schedule.
 - The moderator writes the conclusion of the discussion on another display in front of the participants according to each sector.
 - Other members of the Project Team act when it is necessary to explain the aims of the Project and how the discussion might proceed to get a better output. Each of them intervenes according to their specific sectors in the Project, such as social development, economic development, and public participation.
- The local community (7 participants): the main contribution of these participants is to focus on trying to show a picture of the communities existing problems. The local community claimed a lack of services at all levels. As an example, that the reason for the current encroachment was the lack of available housing for the people. The representatives cited the risk of destroying the existing economic activities, which are not formally registered in the district because of the high fees and other related payments for registration and complained about the lack of investment in the small business and informal economy sectors. The initiatives taken by the local community, which were also the subject of discussion, will be examined below. The participants expressed the local community’s willingness to participate in the upgrading process, but they could not sort out their priority needs.

The conclusion of the Workshop was: “further discussion of the same issues is still needed but within small groups for each of the sectors in order to define the following year’s upgrading plan of Manshiet Nasser for implementation”.

It was observed that too many subjects were discussed. The list of problems stated on the displays covered all social services and basic infrastructure. The discussion of each problem was held in a general way. One might say that each item could have justified its own Workshop. Some observations obtaining from this Workshop are as follow:

- The problems stated by the board represented a wide spectrum of basic services. The discussion around each of them on some occasions lost sight of the main goal and on others was obscured by the introduction of other subjects.
- The local community participants were: a women leader, a lawyer, owners, a teacher and the representative of the local organisation of graduates and technicians youth. These participants were mostly discussing issues within their own field of knowledge such as the education problems with the teacher and so on.
- It seems that the local community representatives were not well prepared with selected priorities, all their needs were urgent; these needs cover all stated aspects on the panels. However, it is almost impossible to select priorities from such a very general list. The participants may not appreciate the limited resources of the Project, so they pressurise by asking for all possible wishes.
- The discussion in each sector was limited to the following questions:
 - What is the problem?
 - What are the possible solutions?

- Who is the responsible?
- The missing question for each task was: “How could this action to be implemented”? Identifying “What?” “Who?” “How?” and “When” the activity will be achieved does not entirely describe the task.
- Small groups were identified for further discussion in each sector.

4.3.2 Participation at the Implementation Level

The general strategy stated in the Project Upgrading Plan is based on establishing an effective participation between Cairo Governorate as the counterpart and the District of Manshiet Nasser as the executive agency in association with the local community in Ezbet Bekhit and GTZ. The representatives of the residents are responsible for identifying the community needs and ensuring the participation of the inhabitants. GTZ provides the technical assistance to the Project and the German Bank for Reconstruction (KfW) finances the basic infrastructures such as potable water and sanitation.

The Project – according to the Project Upgrading Plan - encourages the local residents to actively participate in the implementation process of upgrading by applying two means to promote this participation effectively and to enhance the community profile:

- *Capacity building and training:* active members who have gained some considerable experience during the ongoing activities can become involved as trainers in the training and capacity building measures in addition to the specialised trainers and professionals provided by the Project Team.
- *The local initiative fund:* to co-finance local social or economic activities, which are initiated by the community members. The Project offers technical support during the planning and implementation process of such activities. All local initiatives require substantial contributions from the community actors, including the private sector (The Project Team, 2000).

The ongoing Participatory Activities: according to the paper issued by the Project Team: *Outline of Community Development Approach*, Participatory Urban Upgrading Project of Manshiet Nasser, August 2002, there are some ongoing activities and local initiatives, which are supported by the Project, such as the construction of a multi-purpose community centre, a women’s centre, capacity building and training for one CDA (Community Development Association) in Ezbet Bekhit. The Project includes substantial contributions from the community (voluntary labour, donations and special discounts from local, private sector companies). The initiatives have become a focal point where the community members meet, work and develop new ideas such as establishment a technical training unit for youth that participate in upgrading measures. During the implementation of the Project, the women showed a strongly enthusiastic attitude towards participation in the development operations of the community in spite of the limited number of women participating. This participation is considered a new channel for them to express their interests, their own opinions and to seek solutions to their problems (The project Team, 1998).

The construction of the multi-purpose centre and the women’s centre will be implemented through a tender procedure the successful contractor not necessarily being drawn from the area. The participation of the local community is limited to site preparation, in addition to the opportunity for casual workers to be employed by the contractors according to the terms of

the tender. Other community participation was involved in the beautification of the façade parallel to the highway⁴⁷.

According to the workshop of 2002, the following participatory activities have been mentioned:

- 382 young people worked in the cultural centre for fifty-one days with a symbolic salary.
- An initiative has been taken by two women from the community to collect the area's garbage for a fee of 3EGP per one housing unit per month.
- Establishment of local organisation for social development in Ezbet Bekhit with better health, environment and literacy programs.
- Establishment of Educative Computer Centre in Ezbet Bekhit.

It is observed that the opportunities for active participation of the local community in the project implementation are limited, as the concept of self-help operations was not considered by the project. On the contrary, the conditional tender is the only adopted solution by which the Project may implement the construction activities of the social service buildings and the installations of wastewater system. The condition is that 60% of the required labour should be sourced from Manshiet Nasser. It is not clearly stated how the implementation of this condition will be controlled by the Project. According to the Nasriya Model, construction of the Community Centre building applied a tender procedure for its execution. The problem was, according to Nasriya Project Team that this gave less control to the ongoing activities because the contractor took no direct instructions⁴⁸ from the Project Team and consequently caused delays to the work. (See Section 2.3.2). Other re-housing solutions implemented by the government, such the “Turnkey” housing project for re-location of the affected families, has also been implemented via the same rules. One can conclude that the opportunity to employ the local community's capacity in the implementation process of the project was not made available.

⁴⁷ Information obtained during an interview with the Project Team Manager, Arch. Hani El Minyaw. (Field Investigations, June-July 2002)

⁴⁸ The contractor signed a contract with the Ministry of Housing, Utilities and New Communities in the case of Ezbet Bekhit Project concerning the installation of wastewater system (The Project Team, 1998).

5 FINDINGS AND REFLECTIONS

The findings and reflections in this Chapter are based on the analysis made in Chapter three on the Participatory Urban Upgrading Program and chapter four on the Upgrading Project of Ezbet Bekhit components. In which the Program represents the overall umbrella at the national level where Ezbet Bekhit Project is one of its ongoing upgrading projects. This Chapter is divided into three sections and aiming to assess both the Upgrading project and the performance of the Program.

The first section represents the benchmarks for evaluation of the Project and the Program performance that correspond to the main concept of the program in accordance with the stated objectives of the Project

The second section presents an assessment of the Project from the community participation perspective that the present study is focused on which is the core of the participatory upgrading projects and falls within GTZ Program's criteria. The improvement of housing conditions is considered as an aspect that might immediately affects the quality of life and raises living standards, which could stimulate the beneficiaries to be effectively involved in and contribute to, the projects' activities. The implementation activities that consider the community participation will develop a sense of responsibility and the feeling of being a partner in the community's development. It will also build and strengthen confidence during the process among all the parties concerned. In addition, the implementation of activities will offer opportunities to develop the participants' skills, which will benefit future maintenance activities.

The third section deals with the Participatory Upgrading Program. The title is self-explanatory, which means that the program is based on participation. The application of the concept is based on an effective cooperation between the main actors. Therefore, assessment will be carried out on the basis of the cooperation between the Government and GTZ and will summarize the involvement and the contribution of those actors at the project level.

Those identified areas in the first section and the main actors in the second section are the primary components which might significantly contribute to the successful achievement of the participatory upgrading approach, with its potential impact on development of the national housing policy for informal settlements.

5.1 Findings

In conclusion, an attempt has been developed to assess the overall Participatory Upgrading programme and Project of Ezbet Bekhit within a framework of benchmarks extracted from the program concept which is illustrated in Chapter three (See Section 3.4). The following Table 4 has been developed based on the association between the achieved objectives at the Project Level (See Section 4.2.3) and the main concept at the Program Level. It helps to identify areas of success and failure of the current Upgrading Project of Ezbet Bekhit and which may be helpful in selecting the recommendations for specific measures aimed at enhancing the performance of the Project. A break down of the Program concept into six main benchmark "Pillars" has been made in this study as follows:

- Poverty-oriented self-help operation.
- Improvement of living conditions.
- Involvement and participation of local communities.

- Establishment of a productive dialogue between the beneficiaries and the decision-makers.
- Impact on the national Policy for informal settlements.
- Demonstration Projects.

The planned objectives of Ezbet Bekhit have been classified and organized, by the present author, in accordance with each benchmark (Pillar). Based on available documents, data, personal contacts, interviews and above all, the field investigation; achievements of each planned objective have been identified. Some remarks have been included when applicable.

The first pillar - Poverty-oriented self-help operations: It may be observed from Table 5 that there was no action in most activities of the planned objectives in the first pillar except for those areas relating to technical educational program. The most significant conclusion regarding the planned objectives is that there was no action taken within the self-help operation, which constitutes the core of participatory project. In addition, no action has been initiated regarding those economic activities of the project that are intended to promote self-reliance and the development of income-generating activities to overcome poverty.

The second pillar - Improvement of living conditions: No action has been taken to improve of indoor living conditions. This critical issue may be a function of the order of priorities set out by the Project, as this matter has been left to individual inhabitants to address at a later stage, after land tenure release. Concerning other activities, this pillar is dominated by ongoing activities; especially those that are related to physical infrastructures. The provision of social services is in progress.

The third pillar - Involvement and participation of local communities: Although, it was observed that there was some progress in mobilizing voluntary labour but the representation of target groups is not optimum, particularly as regards women, youth and tenants (see further section 5.2.1).

The fourth pillar - Establishing a productive dialogue between the beneficiaries and the decision-makers: This area has witnessed considerably progress through the organizing of Workshops that were attended by the concerned parties.

The fifth pillar - Impact on the national housing policy: Achievements are still modest and therefore the influence of Ezbet Bekhit project in promoting the participatory approach will be limited.

The sixth pillar - Demonstration projects: The Nasria Model represents a successfully implemented demonstration project with active public participation, which resulted in persuading the concerned parties to proceed with two more projects, Ezbet Bekhit and Boulak El-Dakrou. The expansion of the project to cover the whole Manshiet Nasser prior to learning the results from Ezbet Bekhit; contradicts GTZ's stated philosophy of "slowly but surely".

Table 5: Project Achievements vis-à-vis Program Concept.

PROGRAM LEVEL	PROJECT LEVEL		
6 PILLARS	Objectives	Achievements	Remarks
Pillar 1 POVERTY ORIENTED SELF-HELP OPERATIONS	Support small scale workshops	No action	No available formal investments in informal economic sector
	Handicrafts and vocational centres	No action	
	Establish employment office	No action	
	Support youth with business ideas	No action	
	Technical educational programs	Literacy Program Kindergartens Program Computer Program	Program within local CDA°
	Self-help operations	No action	Tender requires 60% of local labour
Pillar 2 IMPROVEMENT OF LIVING CONDITIONS	1. Improvement of indoor living conditions 2. Provision of basic infrastructures: a. Potable water b. Sanitation c. Electricity d. Levelling, Staircases e. Widening roads f. Pavement g. Telephone h. Street lights i. Removing hazards arising from unstable cliffs 3. Provisions of social services: a. Collection of garbage b. Health centre c. Women Centre d. Kindergarten e. Literacy centre f. Multipurpose centre g. Environmental program h. Education Services 4. Provision of secure land 5. Applying building guidelines	1. No action 2. Provision of basic infrastructures: a. Ongoing activity b. Ongoing activity c. No action d. Ongoing activities e. Ongoing activity f. Ongoing activity g. No action h. No action i. Ongoing activities 3. Provision of social services: a. Limited activity b. No action c. Ongoing activity d. Ongoing activity e. No action f. Ongoing activity g. Ongoing activity h. No action 4. Documents preparation 5. No action	1. Left to inhabitants following land tenure release 2. Provision of basic infrastructures: a. Tender procedure b. Contractor c. Available service d. Local participation e. Demolishing of houses f. M.N°° District g. Planned by the authority h. Planned within M.N i. Demolition of houses 3. Provision of social services: a. Initiated by women b. Limited to CDA c. Tender preparation d. PHD student project e. Limited to CDA f. Tender preparation g. Limited to CDA h. Ongoing discussion within M.N 4. No formal decision yet 5. To be applied upon granting of land title

PROGRAM LEVEL	PROJECT LEVEL		
	Objectives	Achievements	Remarks
Pillar 3 INVOLVEMENT AND PARTICIPATION OF LOCAL COMMUNITIES	Establish local organization	Ongoing activity	Capacity building and training for one local CDA in some sectors
	Active participation	Volunteer labour Special discount from local private sector	Participation need to be activated
	Representation of target groups	Limited representation	Tenants (mainly the poorest) groups are rarely represented
	Active participation of women and youth	Limited representation	Limited Youth and women participation
Pillar 4 ESTABLISH PRODUCTIVE DIALOGUE BETWEEN MAIN ACTORS	Active participation of the beneficiaries at the decision making, planning and implementation levels	Workshops with participants from GTZ, local community and authorities at the planning level to identify priorities for upgrading	Public consultancy at the planning level. Limited participation at the implementation level
Pillar 5 IMPACT ON THE NATIONAL POLICY	Lessons learnt; feedback from the demonstration project	Achievement of the current demonstration project is still limited	Early expending to Manshiet Nasser might scarify the overall Project and Program's goal
Pillar 6 DEMONSTRATION PROJECTS	Nasria Model, Aswan Governorate	Implemented in 1986-1992	Produced a significant impact and promoted other demonstration projects
	Ezbet Bekhit, Cairo Governorate	Ongoing Project, (started 1998)	Promising objectives, still to be materialized. Needs much effort to mobilize community participation
	Boulak El-Dakrou, Giza Governorate	Ongoing Project under the same Program umbrella	Not covered by this study

CDA°: A Community Development Association

MN°°: Manshiet Nasser

5.2 Reflections

5.2.1 *Ezbet Bekhit Project*

The participatory Project aims to initiate a process of continuous development. Its purpose is to demonstrate the validity of the participatory concept in the upgrading of informal areas and which could then be applied to similar areas thereby improving the national upgrading policy. This is a long-term process and has to be evaluated after some years have elapsed. At the present time, the evaluation will focus on Ezbet Bekhit as a demonstration project and the corresponding planned objectives in relation to the ongoing activities.

A discussion is carried out, in this section, concerning the efficiency of local community participation with reference to aspects of local community representatives, target group identification, improvement of housing conditions and the implementation process.

A. Community Participation

Public participation is a learning process, especially in a system where people are not used to being active in this area. There are tendencies towards conservatism, caution, or suspicion that the plan may conceal hidden objectives and - a passive, “wait and see” attitude is commonly adopted. These attitudes stem from character of the long time relationship the inhabitants of informal settlements have had with the authorities and which flows from the authorities historical policy of ignoring their plight, arbitrary removal to remote areas and failing to provide affordable housing units for the poor⁴⁹. It should be noted – however - that participation traditionally existed within the community at the early stages of settlement formation. The residents have, for these reasons, developed — a cautious attitude towards any activities being explored or implemented by the authorities⁵⁰.

Ezbet Bekhit Upgrading Project eligibility for financial support from the GTZ program is subject to application of the public participation concept (The Project Team, 1998). In other words, if the community will not participate, the project will not be eligible for financial support from GTZ or any other similar upgrading programs. This condition might be a driving force that influences the decision of the authorities concerning the adoption of the participatory approach in upgrading Ezbet Bekhit. However, the opportunity for public participation should not be offered to the community as a path to achieve other goals such as securing development assistance or a partnership cooperation, which is conditioned with application of local community participation, but should be seen as being of great value in motivating local community organization to sustain the development initiated by the project.

Awareness of the Current Project: According to the paper published by the Project Team on a Workshop held in December 1999 on the upgrading of Ezbet Bekhit; it was claimed there was a lack of awareness among residents regarding the Project. The negligent attitude of residents to the ongoing upgrading activities was also observed during the field investigations in June-July 2002. This proved that information concerning the Project’s objectives did not

⁴⁹ An interview with Dr. Abdel Kawee Mahmoud, General Director of Researches and Studies Department, GOPP, Ministry of Housing, Utilities and New Communities (Field Investigations, June - July 2003).

⁵⁰ An interview held with a community representative, he said: “We were cautious in the beginning of the Project, we were not sure if it will be a new plan for the area in which our houses will be demolished. When we observed the digging for pipes installation followed the existing pattern of houses, only at that time we believed that the upgrading in the area will not demolish our houses” (Field Investigations, June-July 2002.)

reach all residents. Information as to the identified priorities of the upgrading, the ongoing activities and role of the community was presented through Workshops, which were attended by the local community representatives, local authorities and other concerned parties. The representatives were expected to disseminate information to the residents in the area and stimulate their efforts. This aspect leads to further debate on the degree of equality in the representation of the target groups in the community.

Representation of the Local Community: Based on the findings in Chapter 4, the community comprises a series of groups with a variety of different interests in and expectations of the Project (See section 4.3 – Target Groups). To ensure equal opportunity in participation, the representatives should fully correspond to the diverse groups within Ezbet Bekhit.

In fact, the majority of the representatives are drawn from the property owners group or those who have been established their own business activities in the area. These representatives express a positive reception of the ongoing activities and an appreciation of the efforts made by GTZ and the Project Team. On the other hand, the impression received from other groups (mostly tenants) and who are not represented, is that the ongoing work outside their homes is very limited compared with their actual needs and requirements. It would seem that these views are borne out by the facts. Evidence indicates that the Project has not yet implemented the expected upgrading activities related to the poorest tenants' or taken steps to stimulate them into activating their capabilities and developing their interest in the Project. As yet there is no effort being made to ensure equal opportunities for participation by the different groups.

Housing Conditions: Referring to the upgrading plan, it is expected that the improvement of housing conditions will depend basically on the inhabitants' own efforts after the release of land title. This improvement is supposed to be undertaken according to the owner's own perception of what is required, which may well ignore the interests of tenant(s).

In fact, the impact of any legislation that is introduced could be confined to those wealthy house-owners, who are financially able to undertake the necessary investment with the consequence that the divergence in the quality-range of houses will increase. The solution proposed by the Project of offering housing units in the new area El-Emtadad, is not affordable by the poorer people (see Box 7). Clearly, there is a risk that the Project is missing its main target groups in the newly constructed housing area.

Upgrading Priorities: The participation in decision-making process in the Project has been dominated by the preferences and priorities suggested by the representatives and planners and according to their own viewpoints. Improvement to individual living conditions and housing standards are left entirely to the residents. Therefore, one can sense reluctance on behalf of the inhabitants to share responsibility for large-scale services such as the wastewater system.

The implementation level: According to Hamdi and Goethert, the implementation of the plan is ultimately a test of participation rather than the plan itself. A community can rapidly lose interest and become discouraged when their efforts are not rewarded by achievement (Hamdi & Goethert, 1997:65). At the implementation level in Ezbet Bekhit Project, the contribution from public participation to the upgrading activities decreases as the construction work is processed through a public tender procedure. It is not compulsory to appoint a contractor from the same area. The tender is open to all comers, provided they fulfil the financial and technical requirements of the tender. However, the tenders are conditional on employing 60%

of the labourers from Ezbet Bekhit residents⁵¹. The tender procedure does not ensure the sustainability by encouraging a sense of responsibility within the community such as it is required for the community to take over the future responsibility for the area after the upgrading operation. Those tools have not been introduced that enhance the participation of the community and reduce the cost of upgrading such as the self-help operation, which is still limited to some preparation of sites for social service buildings.

Women's' Participation: their participation has been rather limited. The majority attending the meetings are men because of the traditional role definition of women in that community's social culture. In spite of significant initiatives that have taken by women in the area - such as garbage collection and the kindergarten program - women's tasks and responsibilities have not been explicitly defined in the Project.

According to Hamdi and Goethert, the most difficult task is not only to “initiate community participation” but also to “assure continuity” (Hamdi & Goethert, 1997). The problem is to sustain these initiatives; the visible actions that have an immediate impact on living standards are the most successful of the Project's processes. It is the tangible improvements that stimulate peoples' enthusiasms towards long-term goals. However, in Ezbet Bekhit, where are variables and differences among inhabitants - such as different income groups, established citizens and newcomers, owners and tenants - what concerns the planners (The Project Team) is how to reconcile these differences in order to organize and stabilize the community. Planners should know the community type and understand its structure so as to determine the appropriate level of community participation for the various stage of the Project and the role of the “outsiders”.

5.2.2 Participatory Urban Upgrading Program

Despite the efforts made by Project Team to stimulate the participation of the local residents by such means as Workshops, social gathering/activities and theatre scenes that illustrate goals of the Project in a simple performance; the practical on-site achievements of the Project are still very limited.

A substantial portion of success or failure of the Project will depend much on; *inter alia*, the level of coordination and cooperation between the main involved parties, i.e. the Government and GTZ. In order to investigate the constraints upon the development of the Project, this section will discuss the level of contribution by the main actors and their impact on the implementation of the planned objectives.

A. The Government

The authorities have come to realize both the seriousness and the extent of the informal settlements problems vis-à-vis the inability and lack of government resources to cope effectively with it (See Chapter 3). Therefore, they have decided to consider other options and solutions, especially those related to and financed by foreign assistances.

The Participatory Approach: The participatory approach is a solution proposed by GTZ to upgrade the informal settlements of Manshiet Nasser. In spite of the endorsement of this approach by the authorities, their approval to implement the demonstration project of Ezbet

⁵¹ Nothing mentioned in Ezbet Bekhit Project study concerning the implementation of such condition. Practically, it is not simple to control this matter. (the Author).

Bekhit in 1998 and the following request by them to the Project Team to prepare an upgrading study of the whole Manshiet Nasser in 2001, the authorities nevertheless took a unilateral decision related to the concept of offering mass production houses in the new extension housing area “El-Emtedad”.

However, if instead the investment allocated to the “Turnkey” housing project (a donation from the U.A.E) had been used in close coordination with Ezbet Bekhit – by applying participatory approach in the planning and implementation of the housing project - it could have resulted in, *inter alia*, a strengthening of the concept of participatory urban upgrading, reduced costs, promoted responsibility-sharing, generated confidence and produced dialogue between community and authorities.

Land Tenure: Generally speaking, it is known that the land tenure is one of the main dilemmas that have hindered the development of upgrading projects. During the time of the fieldwork in June - July 2002, the land tenure issue had not been resolved and is still pending. I witnessed discussion on the land tenure problems during the full-day Workshop held in June 2002. Disputes between the residents and authorities on the land’s market value, bureaucratic, long procedures and the legal aspects of the informal settlements have all added further obstacles to the resolution of this issue thereby delaying implementation of the practical upgrading measures. The delay in release of land tenure affects all aspects of development; especially those related to economic development. Most of the existing economic activities in the area have no legal form or formal registration, which is a prerequisite for securing funds from potential investors or loans from the formal sector for collateral purposes. Support of small-scale business activities through the allocation of investments, or loans for young people with new business ideas and the Project’s planned handicraft activities to improve employment opportunities could not – therefore - be progressed.

Encroachments: The local authorities have not been able to cope with or control the ongoing encroachments in an area called Wadi Pharaoh. This area is located in the west side of El-Emtedad new housing area in Manshiet Nasser. In the formal government upgrading project of Manshiet Nasser, the area was allocated for use as a green area. During the Workshop, the exchange of accusation between Manshiet Nasser District representation and the community participants concerning the encroachments was observed. On the one hand, the district representative accused the residents of increasing the encroachments, especially in the dangerous areas (cliff’s edges areas), to exploit the compensation proposed by the project for demolitions. On the other hand, the community participants attribute the encroachments to the lack of housing for poor people. However, it would have been far better to propose to GTZ – from the early stage – to include this area into the upgrading plan of Ezbet Bekhit.

B. GTZ

The overall GTZ initiative consists of a nation-wide program to improve the national upgrading policy towards informal settlements and based on the experience gained and lessons learnt from other small-scale upgrading projects, i.e. Nasriya, Boulak El-Dakroun and Ezbet Bekhit. The GTZ approach focuses on poverty-oriented, participatory process-oriented and self-help in urban upgrading.

Establish a Productive Dialogue: the Project established a productive dialogue between the beneficiaries (the local community) and the decision-makers authorities with the local community and has been able to acquire their confidence. GTZ has played a role as an

independent actor and introduced the upgrading project based on the local community so as to give opportunities to the residents, to at least be consulted on the upgrading activities and in addition to its role as donor agency (see section 3.4). This approach bridges the lack of confidence between the residents and authorities. It may have also minimized the concerns of residents encountered with earlier government upgrading policies.

Involvement and Participation of Local Communities: It is noticeable that some of the tools for enhancing public participation have not been introduced, such as self-help operations. Instead, tender procedures have been adopted that will affect adversely the sustainability of the upgrading achieved by the project. The aim of participation should not be limited to the offering of job opportunities only for the duration of the project, as with the tender mechanism, but to enhance the community profile, improve the local labour skills and establish organization to take over responsibility and sustain the development brought about by the project.

It remains unclear why the self-help operations concept that was implemented successfully in the Nasriya Model was not considered or applied in the Ezbet Bekhit Project? One can observe that in Nasria, the largest proportion of houses is of the single floor type, and where each house accommodates one household. Most occupiers are owners. The inhabitants were migrants from other areas to Nasriya where work opportunities were available in the factories of Aswan. In Nasriya, one cannot observe significant variation between the target groups as most of residents have similar socio-economic status, resources of income and social relations. One can conclude that there is a certain degree of homogeneity in the community that was reflected in the successful participation and self-help operations during the upgrading of the area. According to Hamdi “community types” of the Nasriya community type could be “ideal participatory” and require little stimulus to participate that may justify the reason whereby GTZ has been successfully activated the community of Nasriya to participate in the upgrading activities.

In the case of Ezbet Bekhit, even where people originated from the same area does it not necessarily result in homogeneity in the community. Other aspects are needed for homogeneity to exist that are absent in Ezbet Bekhit case, such as, similar income level and housing conditions. These differentiations within the community structure require much more effort to stimulate the participatory capacity of the inhabitants.

It appears that the Project Team did not spend the required time and effort to investigate and understand the community structure and consider what was required to guarantee the inhabitants participation in the manner that was experienced at Nasria because they assumed the inhabitants would support and gather around the goal of upgrading as a general principle.

To understand the point, one may have a look at the GTZ concept in planning, by reference to section 2.2.1 and Table 2 in Chapter 2 where there is a comparison between the ZOPP approach adopted by GTZ and other community-level planning approaches (used by other similar international agencies). This comparison shows that ZOPP preparation for project does not include an intensive effort to understand and stimulate community. This weakness at the “community building” level might be reflected in the “setting in motion” of the community to be active at the start of the implementation process. Other aspect related to ZOPP approach is the principal role played by the “outsider” as it is explained in the same Box. (Hamdi & Goethert, 1997).

These considerations identify those areas that should be improved upon in the overall Participatory Urban Program in the participatory project such Ezbet Bekhit. Communities of a “transitory” type require much more effort to be spent mobilizing their human capital resources to ensure adequate levels of participation in future implementations.

Alleviate Poverty: The poverty-oriented approach by GTZ has not clearly defined or broken down into tangible components within the overall upgrading Project. The objectives addressed by the Project - to increase the labour skills, support the small business workshops and generate income activity have not been activated yet (See Table 5).

Demonstration Projects: The GTZ’s approach is intended to commence “slowly but surely” in implementing small-scale projects as demonstration projects. Therefore the GTZ approach would first be applied in Ezbet Bekhit followed by the surrounding area. Manshiet Nasser could then benefit from the experience gained from the participatory-implemented upgrading project in Ezbet Bekhit.

As previously mentioned, the planning of Ezbet Bekhit Project started in 1998. In 2001 and before major visible achievements of the Project, the Project Team – based on a formal request from the authorities - prepared the upgrading plan of Manshiet Nasser and some implementation activities are already in progress. This contradicts the previously adopted GTZ approach. Indeed, one can understand that having an integrated overall plan for the physical infrastructure of Manshiet Nasser is the logical way to prepare a detailed feasibility and planning studies so as to reduce costs and avoid duplication of work. It should be noted that there was no noticeable development in Ezbet Bekhit where upgrading activities were still limited and progressing slowly, plus the expected lessons to be learned from Ezbet Bekhit have yet to be achieved (See Table 5). In my view, would it have been better to wait until Ezbet Bekhit Project witnessed major achievements before proceeding with the enlargement of the project.

6 RECOMMENDATIONS

The current study is carried out at two levels: the Ezbet Bekhit Project in particular and the overall Participatory Urban Upgrading Program. The experiences provided by the Project will offer the opportunity to examine and justify the main concept expressed by the Program and increase the prospects of having an impact on the urban upgrading policy at national level. The recommendations suggested in this chapter will also be at two levels. At the Project level, recommended actions are to be taken prior to the planning and implementation stages so as to acquire the necessary deep understanding of the local community.

Also a Model of Community Participation is proposed for application in a selected upgrading component, in this instance the improvement of housing conditions. At the Program level, recommendations are based on the Program's main concept as presented in the "six pillars" discussed in Chapter 5 (See Section 5.1).

6.1 Ezbet Bekhit Project

It was noted in Chapter 4 that the degree of public participation is still limited and the discussion in Chapter 5 elaborates those areas to be improved. Efforts to stimulate the community are highly necessary if the participatory concept is to succeed and be promoted in other urban area for upgrading purposes. However, the mobilization of community resources is not an easy matter. Experiences have proved the nature of the challenge. The lack of understanding of the socio-economical and political context of the community can immobilize any technically innovative plans (Hamdi & Goehtert 1997:160-163).

This section will focus on the fundamental actions that should be taken at the early stages to deepen the understanding of the community's type and clearly identify the target groups so as to help further decisions regarding the appropriate participatory tools to be used in the project's various stages. In principal, Ezbet Bekhit Project is based on the participatory approach. Therefore, it is suggested that all the Project's activities at different stages should be seen from the participatory angle.

6.1.1 Upgrading Project – Getting Started

The most important components for the success of upgrading are the commitment by the community and the meeting of its real needs. Implementation requires a clear understanding of the community socio-economic profile, a comprehensive identification of the target groups and ensuring that the representatives accurately reflecting the range of families in the community (youth, vulnerable people, men and women). This understanding will identify the community type, define the roles of various actors and improve decisions regarding the appropriate tools to be used at the various project stages. To identify the nature and scope of the problem there is a need to collect information about the existing housing conditions and resources. The data used should be reliable and comprising by using relevant methods, *inter-alia*, surveys, dwelling investigations, interviews and direct observations.

A. Socio-Economic Survey

The Ezbet Bekhit demonstration project represents a special approach with specific interest, which is based on participation. The socio-economic survey adopted by the upgrading plan was carried out by governmental organization that was not involved in Ezbet Bekhit Project

and its reliability is unattested (See Section 4.2.3). To rely on a survey done by others with different interests, targets, and approaches may not be of benefit to the project plan. The reasons for the lack of efficiency in community participation could be better explained and understood if the community had been deeply investigated. Therefore, a socio-economic survey, which is designed expressly for the application of the participatory approach, should be performed and which will then reliably define the capacity, resources and socio-economic conditions of the residents.

B. Target Groups Identification

As previously mentioned (See Section 4.3 – Target Groups) the area accommodates families with different socio-economic status. It is recommended that families be identified accordingly so as to deepen the understanding of the community. This understanding will lead to the specific definition and identification of the Project's target groups of and should increase the chances of equal representation of all groups.

It is considered that the tenures in Ezbet Bekhit may be categorised according to three main types of with different socio-economic characteristics as shown below:

- **Tenants (A):** They have insecure income and are unable to afford a new housing unit. They need to be mobilized into participating in upgrading activities as they otherwise consider themselves not concerned by the ongoing activities. This group is considered the poorest in the area.
- **Tenants (B):** They have slightly better economic conditions and can afford some investment in upgrading so as to improve their living conditions.
- **Owners (C):** This group has significantly better economic conditions with secure income (See Section 4.3). They comprise the second generation of the owners who originally established this area. They have significant expectations of the upgrading activities, as they will affect positively the value of their properties especially, if they have the opportunity to formalize ownership of their properties by obtaining land tenure. In case of upgrading activities that are related to the improvement of housing conditions and enlargement of room size, those owners may be affected by the loss of some source of income if the result of the improvement is a reduction in the number of families occupying the housing unit.

These three groups, assumed by the current study, have different socio-economic levels and different degrees of potential contribution. This classification should, further, be supported by accurate statistics that show the size of each group together with information on their living conditions and resources that will lead to reliable assessments as to the expected level of contribution from each of the groups.

C. Community Type

The characteristics of the community could be described either by its problems or its opportunities (Hamdi, 1997). The disengaged and negativity of the tenants and the socio-economic heterogeneity of the groups' status could be seen as problems. Other characteristics such as the presence of economic opportunities in the area (workshops, handcraft, etc.), and the owners' enthusiasm to participate could be considered as opportunities. Further investigation is recommended to identify problems and opportunities within the community in

order to identify its type. The Project, through its planning and implementation processes, should be used as a place through which the community could come together and work jointly with the Project Team.

Based on the above-mentioned groups' classifications and the analysis of the community profile in Chapter 4 (See Section 4.3), it is recommended that the community of Ezbet Bekhit should be considered as the "transitory" type taking into consideration the socio-economic heterogenic status of Ezbet Bekhit groups (See Section 2.2.1 – *Community Type and suitable Approach*). The variation within the community might reflect different participation level among the residents, as it is the actual situation in Ezbet Bekhit. Therefore, it is recommended to have different plans of action which response to the needs of the different groups in order to stimulate all groups to participate in upgrading activities. According to Hamdi and Goethert the "transitory" type requires considerable effort in mobilizing human capital and in the need to organize the different groups within the targets for community development.

D. Level of Community Participation

The community participation depends on its type and differs at each stage of the project process. Considering the participatory approach as the overall concept underlying Ezbet Bekhit Upgrading Project, and based on the different level of participation of the community, a "shared" level of community participation can be recommended (Hamdi & Goethert, 1997). This level of participation would give the opportunity to the community for sharing control of the Project at the decision-making, planning, and implementation levels thereby acting upon the interests and utilising the human and capital resources of the community. The levels of participation of the community in Ezbet Bekhit Project stages is recommended to be the "Shared" level (see Table 2 and Section 2.2.1 – *Participation Level*). The following are the reasons behind this choice according to each of the Project stages⁵² are:

At the initiative stage: the visit to Nasria Model followed the request to the authority made by the community for applying the participatory approach in the upgrading, in addition to Ezbet Bekhit Declaration (see Section 4.3.1), could be regarded as the community sharing the initiation of the upgrading project. Ezbet Bekhit Community has taken the initiative for the project at this stage.

At the plan stage: the community participation is vital at this level, as key decisions are taken and the objectives and priorities are stated. The formulation of the Project is undertaken at this level.

At the design stage: According to Hamdi and Goethert, innovative solutions and methods of implementation are introduced at this level. The trade-off is the time consumed at this stage (Hamdi & Gothert, 1997).

But in Ezbet Bekhit case, this time should be considered essential, as the objective is to build community capacity and to propose solutions acceptable to the community. The level of community participation at this stage could increase if the technical complexity of the solutions decreases. In other words, expert facilitation of the proposed technical solutions at this stage will enhance inhabitants' contribution. The example from Chiangmai, Thailand mentioned in section 2.2.2 illustrates how professionals can support participants in making

⁵² These stages are classified according to the classification of Hamdi and Goethert in their book, Action Planning for Cities.

their own decisions in the process of dwelling design. In my view, this stage is a good preparation for the implementation stage and all proposed techniques for implementation should be acceptable to the community so as to sustain involvement through the implementation stage.

At the implementation stage: According to Hamdi and Goethert participation is not essential at this stage as sometimes is better for professional contractors to carry out large scale activities and participation should not be considered solely as a means of obtaining “cheap labour” (Hamdi & Goethert, 1997).

However in Ezbet Bekhit the reduction of cost is an important matter in order to improve affordability. The involvement of local people offers opportunities for income generating and training to sustain the development and to take over the responsibility for maintenance later on. In the implementation of Ezbet Bekhit Project it is recommended to avoid large-scale project contracts such as the wastewater system, which was awarded to the “Arab Contractors” (See section 4.2.3). Large-scale construction projects reduce the opportunity of community participation whilst small-scale activities can be implemented by the local community and controlled by technical staff within the Project. As an example the wastewater project could be divided into the following components:

- Digging trenches for pipe installation: The inhabitants could organise themselves by street and undertake the work in their neighbourhood accordingly.
- Pipes installations: follows the same principle.
- Houses connections made by the households.
- Main excavations and sewage pumping stations undertaken by more highly skilled local labour under the supervision of the Project’s technical team.
- Those who participate⁵³ for any reason could pay local labour to do the work for them.

Experience from Nasria Model shows that the implementation of works via tender procedures reduces the control of the Project Team and the community on the ongoing activities as contractor payment is done via the Ministry of Housing, Utilities and New Communities. In addition, the tender method contradicts the community participatory approach with its responsibility sharing concept.

At the maintenance level: community can participate where it can best contribute. If the skill of labour is raised during implementation, the positive attitude towards the sharing of responsibility increases and the CBOs established then would be productive at both the outset and later when GTZ leaves the area.

E. The Outsiders` Role

According to Hamdi & Goethert, if the community are to have the opportunity to participate with the Project at the sharing level, the outsiders should interact as far as possible and upon needs (See Section 2.2.1 – *Participation Level*). The outsiders in Ezbet Bekhit case are the Project Team, GTZ and local authorities who are supposed to support the upgrading process technically, financially and legally. At the decision making level, in order to maintain effective interaction between the community and decision-makers, small discussions groups are required. Large groups with multiple subjects to be discussed will shift the level of participation from the “sharing” into the “consultative” level (See Section 2.2.1 –

⁵³ Sick, disable and elderly would not be able to participate.

Participation Level). This reminds us of what had happened during the Workshop held in 2002 in Manshiet Nasser, where many subjects were introduced and the aim was to select priorities during an open discussion involving 27 participants, 7 of who were from the community participants and the remainder outsiders. It appeared that the level of participation at that Workshop was “consultative” where the outsiders gathering information and decided actions accordingly (See Section 4.3.1 – *One-Day Live Workshop*).

6.1.2 A Model of Community Participation

This section will describe a planning process for the improvement of housing conditions considering the above estimated community type and groups. The proposed planning process is based on the “Community Action Planning” Model, which is developed by Hamdi and Goethert as an appropriate planning tool for the “transitory” community type (See section 2.2.1) and designed to emphasise stimulating and organizing this type of non-cohesive community. These processes can be applied on any upgrading component.

Housing conditions have a direct effect on peoples’ lives. In the upgrading project, this aspect has been left to the inhabitants’ own efforts after the land tenure release. It is recommended that this problem be tackled as a part of the upgrading process. First, there is a need to improve the housing condition for that group of people who live in particularly bad conditions (See Section 4.2.2 and Section 4.2.3 – Housing Conditions). Second, there is a requirement to mobilize those people who are hesitant to participate. The improvement of indoor living conditions will produce an immediate favourable impact on the inhabitants’ living standards that would stimulate them to become involved in other common activities. Identification of the level of participation among different groups is required in order to decide what would be the technical solutions required to bring about the “community–shared” level of participation. The improvement of housing conditions is the component selected from the upgrading activities for exploring the three phases of the Project Process at the “community-shared” participatory level.

The below mentioned phases are set out to show procedures that could be followed by the Project Team during the planning process. The procedures attempt to understand the different groups’ needs and priorities. The participation aspect is considered as a learning process in which the community participants express their views and then set-up, with the Project Team, a step-by-step action plan that will illustrate technical solutions for the improvements to their housing conditions.

The suggested steps are based around field Workshops that should be the subject of careful preparation by the Project Team and taking into account the following suggestions:

- Participants
 - Ensure representation of the different families groups, women, youth, men and local leadership.
 - Vulnerable groups such as, old people and disabled persons should be included in the Project and allowed to participate according to their capabilities.
 - Representatives from the local authorities and from various departments according to the proposed upgrading activity.
- Preparatory arrangements
 - Dissemination of information and explanation about each workshop’s objectives, goals and program and the expected outcome, via available

channels, such as, Friday speech in the mosque and the Sunday gathering in the church, community centre, hand-deliver information sheets on the ongoing activities, hang posters in public places.

- Gathering of small discussion groups in courts, café shops, etc, to ensure diffusion of information in each street.
 - On-site location is recommended⁵⁴. Ensure accessibility to all community groups.
 - Preparation of all required materials to be used during the discussion and for displaying the outcomes, such as, available materials to built models (tiles, wood, cartoons, etc.), papers, panel boards, pictures on the actual situation to be compared with the proposed solutions, etc.
- Managing the Workshop
 - Participants should exchange their ideas and not force ideas.
 - Local people are often better at describing their problems.
 - Facilitate the techniques for the display of information.
 - Small groups could focus on specific problems.
 - Groups could be organized according to the groups classification mentioned-above.
 - Summarize what had been concluded previously in order to refresh the obtained outcome and build on it. Describe the next step.
 - Moderator should be aware of the time plan, and keep the discussion orientated within the framework of the workshop.
 - The workshop could be accompanied by parallel training courses when they are identified.

Phases and Tables presented below are based on community Action Planning (Micro planning) developed by Hamdi and Geothert for Community-level participatory planning (Hamdi & Goethert, 1997). These tables are modified, upon needs, to be applied in the case of Ezbet Bekhit according to the experiences gained from the current study.

Phase 1- Problem identification and Prioritising: in this phase contribution from households is strongly recommended. The local community is highly familiar with the problems and their impact on the community's daily life. The first step is to identify these and tackle the community's concerns by discussing the impact of the problems. The identification of concerns will stimulate the involvement of the hesitant in the discussion to point out their problems. The aggregation of the concerns will illustrate the community picture and highlight the main problems to be prioritised and solved. Concerning the improvement of housing conditions the following information is prerequisite:

- Information on the physical elements (room sizes, services, construction materials).
- Priorities of improvement.
- Socio-economic status of the families (employment, income, saving, etc.).
- Family contribution (cash, labour or both).
- Identifying of specific dwellings for immediate actions.
- Recognizing the open space inside and outside the plots in order to include it in the proposed solutions.

Table 6 identifies the concerns of the community regarding housing conditions and illustrates the possible opportunities to be done such as “enlarge room size” and “include services”.

⁵⁴ In Ezbet Bekhit area.

Table 6: Identification of Concerns and Opportunities

Concerns	Why?	What is possible to do?
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Need to improve housing conditions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> High density / room Bad hygiene conditions No services (toilet, kitchen, etc.) Lack of potable water and sanitary network Bad ventilation and sun penetration No land secure 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Altering room size Attache 2 rooms Reduce no. of units / house Include services Re-housing: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> New housing area Addition of one floor on the existing building.

According to Ezbet Bekhit case, where there are different types of groups with different needs, Table 7 is proposed to identify the different needs within the community. The assumed summarised⁵⁵ results of investigation among the different groups of the community as to their needs regarding the improvement of their own housing conditions is set out in Table 7. The conflicts of interest among the different groups appear at this stage and which requires further consideration when formulating any proposed solutions.

Table 7: Identification of Needs among Residents Groups A, B and C.

Needs	A	B	C	Constraints
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Alter room size Include toilet Include kitchen 	XXXX XXX XX	XXX XXXX XXXX	X XX X	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Conflict between (A and B) the tenants groups and C the owner group. Both sides have different interests. Negotiation for compensation between groups is required. Re-housing is difficult choice for A because of affordability. Land tenure is important for the owner group. The legislation of the tenant occupation is important for the tenants.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Re-housing: New housing area Floor addition 	X XX	XX XXX	X XXXX	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Potable water connection Sanitary connection 	XXXX XXXX	XXXX XXXX	XXXX XXXX	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Title of ownership 	X	X	XXXX	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Security of the tenant's occupation 	XXXX	XXXX	X	

Legend: XXXX: High importance
 XXX : Medium importance
 XX : Low importance
 X : Very Low importance

⁵⁵ An investigation to identify the different type of groups in the community and their needs is recommended by the current study (See section 6.1).

At this stage the needs are not clearly identified. The wishes and preferences asked by the people will face the realistic availability of resources. Things of immediate importance and the available resources and the solutions possibility to be implemented will influence needs/preferences prioritisation.

Table 8 shows the priorities of needs according to their importance and impact on the community and based on the available resources. These needs/wishes are prioritised mainly by community and could vary among the different groups as in Ezbet Bekhit case there are different socio-economic status within the community. Each group may have its list of priorities; further investigation is recommended to define accurately each group’s priorities. The following list is that considered for group (A) (See Section 6.1.1).

Table 8: Deciding Priorities According to Group A

Priorities	Now	Soon	Later
Alter room size		X	
Include toilet	X		
Include kitchen			X
Re-housing: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ New housing area ○ Floor addition 		X	X
Potable water connection	X		
Sanitary connection	X		
Security of tenure	X		
Tenant legislation		X	

Phase 2- Strategies, Options and Tradeoffs: objectives and issues should be stated based on the identification of problems and the priorities selected by the residents of Ezbet Bekhit. In this phase physical solutions are explored. Tradeoffs between demand and feasibility are made; wishes expressed by the residents as priorities will face the reality of affordability or the availability of space. Thus, preferences will be reduced to the priority of needs. Solutions and technical proposals should ensure affordability and enhance community participation.

Table 9 below, aims at exploring options as to how it is possible to achieve the objectives and identify areas of work in order to reach the goals. This area may also include some constraints that will need additional effort to overcome.

Table 9: Identification of Options and Areas of Work vis-à-vis Objectives

Objectives	Options	Areas of work
1- Reduce Density / unit	1- Alter room size Add new floor to the existing building Relocation in new area	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Household's contribution in cash and labours • Negotiation between tenant / owner • Financial resources • Authorities Permissions for reconstruction, floor additions and secure of tenures • Identification of the available spaces • Investigate the affordability of new housing area for relocation • Investigate the possibility to connect the houses with the basic physical networks in the area
2- Include Services	2- Include toilet Include kitchen	
3- Connect potable water	3- Houses connection Units connection	
4- Connect to sanitary network	4- Houses connection Units connection	
5- Security of tenures	5- Land tenure for properties Formalize tenants occupation	

Table 10 below prioritizes the options of each objective according to their level of possibility to be implemented. The judgment should be based on clear understanding by the community on the available resources, time, effort and costs required in addition to the importance of each objective to the community. This information should be provided by the Project Team and discussed with the community.

In Table 10 the less value in the cost, time and effort is the number 1 and the highest one is the number 4. The addition of the cost, time and effort value represents the total required points for each option in order to be evaluated for the selection of the priorities. The total less value represents the most possible solution to be implemented according to the available resources, the highest one is the most difficult solution. The total result should be compared with the importance of the objective for the community in order to make the selection of the options to be implemented. Tradeoffs appear at this level between preferences and needs.

Table 10: Prioritise of Options / Objective: Reduce density per unit

	Room size	Include toilet	Include kitchen	Connections	Tenures secure	
Time	1	2	4	1	4	1: less time 4: most time
Cost	3	2	4	2	3	1: cheaper 4: expensive
Effort	2	3	4	2	4	1: easiest 4: difficult
Total	6	7	12	5	13	Low: easy high: difficult
Importance	4	3	2	4	4	1: least 4: most

Phase 3- Planning for Implementation: at this phase decisions are made and what “needs to be done” should be broken down into separate, well described tasks for each objective, which answer the following questions:

What will be done?

For whom?

Who will do it?

How?

When?

Table 11 defines the responsibility of each partner, gives a task description, and states the time of action and the resources.

Table 11: Action Plan

NEEDS?	WHO?	WHAT?	WHEN?	HOW?
Building materials	Identify project resources, Community contributions	Cement, pipes, tiles, equipments, Painting Doors, windows	Agreement precedes implementation Considering more then one resource	Supply contract with local (or outside) building materials shops
Technical assistance	Professionals	Construction methods, Planning advice	During Planning and implementation	Training programs. Coupling training with doing
Permissions	Authorities	Land tenure Permission for expansion Legalize tenants status	Precede the implementation	Office belong to the authority located in the area to receive application and facilitate procedures
Negotiations	Owner/Tenants	Compensation to Owner Increase rent payment	Start negotiation before any implementation	Direct negotiation Project Team and authorities assistance
Households' contribution	Man, wife and youth in the family	Decision-making Labour Cash	At all level, decisions, planning, implementation.	“Shared” Participation, Involvement in Construction of Public services. A certain % in cash
Special assistance to disabled persons	Special Assistance Team (Social Department and Project Team)	Offering help in construction and financing	Immediate action to be prepared for implementation	Establish Team Contact with residents Assess the assistance required for implementation

The following steps are suggested to be included in the proposed “Action Plan”:

- Tasks and proposals identification.
- Identification of community and outsiders role according to each task.

- Identification of training programs according to technical requirements of the project implementation.
- Clear identification of available and alternatives resources for each task.
- Time schedule of the Project.
- Project Team of Ezbet Bekhit could be modified at this stage after acquiring a better understanding of participants and local community during the different planning stages.
- Enhancement of local CDAs (Community Development Associations) with clear identification of their roles during the project implementation process such as:
 - CDA for each identified families groups (Group A, B and C).
 - CDA for raising local labours' skills and to be responsible for implementation of technical activities and participating in training for trainers programs.
 - Consider the maintenance dimension within the task identification of the established CDAs.

At this stage, a better understanding of the community's capacity has been obtained and the confidence among actors has improved during the above-mentioned three phases. The project will get started based on a strong foundation of confidence, of commitments from concerned parties, with realistic solutions based on available resources and prioritisations according to community needs - taking into account the socio-economic variations among the family groups and the technical solutions acceptable by the local people could be implemented by local labour skills.

6.2 Participatory Urban Upgrading Program

This section presents recommendations on the Participatory Urban Upgrading Program level in a further step to develop the previously presented Table 4 in section 5.1. Recommendations are presented extracted from the six main pillars of the program concept. Those pillars characterize the driving forces that influence the main objectives and orientate the goals of the upgrading projects. The vertical left side presents pillars of the program; on the opposite side recommendations relating to each pillar are presented.

Table 11: Recommended Actions at the Program Level

PROGRAM LEVEL	RECOMMENDATIONS
<p><i>Pillar 1</i> POVERTY ORRIENTED SELF-HELP OPERATIONS</p>	<p><u>Poverty Definition:</u> Poverty should be defined in precise terms, and suggest practical measures and mechanism relevant and applicable to this particular program. It is further recommended that areas for potential activities to alleviate poverty should focus on income generating activities: Handcrafts, workshops, artisan, garbage collection, etc. Training programs for local labour skills improvement. “Learning by doing” and connect training with upgrading activities. Particular attention should be accorded to women and youth.</p> <p><u>Priorities:</u> It is recommended that the highest priorities of the selected areas for upgrading be directed toward the poorest people and low-income groups in order to better serve the alleviation of poverty.</p> <p><u>Self-Help Operations:</u> It is recommended that self-help operations be enhanced through the breaking down of the project’s components – when applicable – into a series of implementable actions applying self-help mechanisms.</p>

PROGRAM LEVEL	RECOMMENDATIONS
<p><i>Pillar 2</i> IMPROVEMENT OF LIVING CONDITIONS</p>	<p>It is recommended to breakdown this pillar into sectors as follow: Improvement of physical infrastructures Improvement of socio-economic features Education and training programs Awareness rising and dissemination of information Environmental and sustainability measures in the all above mentioned sectors It is further recommended that each sector should be defined in terms of objectives, target groups, implementable actions, and operational mechanisms. All should be prioritized according to target groups needs.</p>
<p><i>Pillar 3</i> INVOLVEMENT AND PARTICIPATION OF LOCAL COMMUNITIES</p>	<p>It is recommended to develop various models and tools for community participation based on the communities' type. Monitoring and quality control of previous implemented projects based on communities' participation. Use lessons learnt to improve community-level participation Models and tools. Consider the heterogeneity within the community in the selection of the participatory level of the community and tools used for implementation.</p>
<p><i>Pillar 4</i> ESTABLISH A PRODUCTIVE DIALOGUE BETWEEN MAIN ACTORS</p>	<p>It is recommended that public participation should be upgraded to the level of the program. The presence of community representatives from each project of the program will enhance the productive dialogue between the main three actors. To exchange of experiences, views and information enhancing lessons learned from each project to be reflected at the problem solving level.⁵⁶</p>
<p><i>Pillar 5</i> IMPACT ON THE NATIONAL POLICY</p>	<p>Experiences gained from various projects should be compiled so as to make proposals to the authorities on policy issues related to the participatory upgrading approach.</p>
<p><i>Pillar 6</i> DEMONSTRATION PROJECTS</p>	<p>“Slowly but Surely” quoted from GTZ, should be strictly applied. Consideration should be given to avoiding the over rapid expansion of the current demonstration project to a large-scale project.</p>

⁵⁶ It is observed that the triangular cooperation and dialogue between the three main actors (government, GTZ, Community) is only at the Project level when dialogue exists. On the Program level the triangular cooperation is missing the third actor the “Community” (the Author).

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Other Sources:

- Materials collected from the Housing and Building Research Centre. The Egyptian Government.
- Materials collected from the Ministry of Housing, Utilities and New Communities. The Egyptian Government.

APPENDICES

1. List of Key Persons – Interviews

- Abbass Abdel Nasser Neemat: Local Community Representative, Women Leader.
- Abdel Kawee Mahmod: General Director of Researches and Studies Department, GOPP
- Abdel Menam Mohamad: Manshiet Nasser District
- Abdel Nasser Gamal: Local Community Representative, member in the National Party
- Abou Zayed Sami: Urban Planning Department, GOPP, Ministry of Housing, Utilities and New Communities.
- Aref Heyam: Cairo Governorate, Head of the Urban Planning Department, Ministry of Local Development.
- Bagdadi Mustafa, Faculty of Engineering, Architectural Department, Al-Azhar University, Cairo.
- Edward Hoda: General Planning Department, Planner, GOPP
- Elhakim Ola: Ministry of Planning
- El Minyaweh Hany: The Manager of the Project Team, Local consultant of GTZ, ADAPT Engineering Office
- El Shourabi Monica: Project Team
- Khalaf Mostafa: Local Community representative
- Madbouly Fouad: Deputy Minister, Ministry of Housing, Utilities and New Communities.
- Omar Ola: Deputy Chairman, GOPP, Ministry of Housing, Utilities and New Communities.
- Rachad Essam: General Planning Department, Housing Policy and Finance, GOPP
- Shawki Shaaban, Deputy President, GOPP, Ministry of Housing, Utilities and New Communities.
- Roland Smith: Project Team
- Shmeys Raafat: Housing and Building Research Centre
- Toubeh Sanaa: Project Team, ADAPT Engineering Office
- Voigt Christian: Participatory Urban Management Program Policy Advisory Unit, Head of Advisory Group.
- Youness Abdel Kader: Cairo Governorate, Ministry of Local Development.

2. Checklist

Main topics orient the field investigation, collecting data and interviews for the thesis

Governmental Policy Informal Settlements

- How have the informal settlements been created and developed in Cairo?
- What are the socio-economic reasons behind this development?
- What is the government policy for the informal settlements?
- What are the goals of the government for urban upgrading?
- Which approaches have the government adopted for urban upgrading?
- What are the main constraints & obstacles challenging the urban upgrading?

Participatory Urban Upgrading Program Concept

- What is the main concept of the Program?
- How does the Program match with the governmental policy?
- What are the main components of the program?
- What are the main objectives and tools for implementation?

Ezbet Bekhit Upgrading Project

- What are the criteria in selecting the project?
- What are the main objectives of the project?
- What are the main components of the project?
- What are the priorities of upgrading?
- How have the priorities been selected?
- How has the project been steered?
- What is the composition of the Project Team?
- What data has been used by the upgrading plan?
- What is the role of the authorities in the project?
- What is the role of GTZ?
- How have the achieved objectives been implemented?
- Does the project include income generating activities?
- What solution has been proposed by the project for relocation of the affected families?
- What is the affordability of relocation solutions?
- What are the main constraints facing the project?

Community Participation

- What tools have been used by the project to stimulate the participation of local community?
- What is the level of influence of the local community on the project process?
- Which areas are planned for active local community participation?
- What contribution has been made by the local community to participate in the project, in terms of human and financial resources?
- What are the roles of women & youth within the overall project?
- And how have their roles been implemented?
- Who are the local community representatives? Do they represent all spectrums of the target groups?

Field Observations

- What is the degree of homogeneity of the community?
- What is the level of awareness among the residents on the upgrading project?
- What has been accomplished by the project? What components are still missing?
- Do residents participate in the ongoing activities?
- What are the main socio-economic groups in the community?
- What are the housing conditions?
- What is the status of the physical infrastructures?
- What types of economic activities exist in the area?
- What are the women's needs from the upgrading?

A Participatory Urban Upgrading Approach which is based on stimulation, promotion and effective participation of local communities in the upgrading process might represent new ways of thinking that considers integrated socio-economic long-term solutions for the informal settlements. The examination, assessment and development of the demonstration Project of Ezbet Bekhit carried out by this study confirm that an in-depth understanding and analysis of the socio-economic conditions and the community profile of the informal settlements; together with an explicit governmental policy supporting the Participatory Approach, and the use of appropriate tools that stimulate the community's human and capital resources during the project process will enhance the success of Participatory Projects.

The author is an architect with several years experience in housing and construction projects in Lebanon where she worked for the government and private sector. Presently, she is a PhD student at the Built Environment Analysis, Infrastructure Department, Royal Institute of Technology, Stockholm.

