EGYPTIAN SLUMS AND LAND CONFLICT

PRE- AND POST-SLUMS EVICTION AND RELOCATION LAND GOVERNANCE CHALLENGES

A CASE STUDY OF EL-ASMARAT PROJECT, EGYPT

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ABBREVIATIONS

CESCR   UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights

GDP   Gross Domestic Product

GOPP   General Organization for Physical Planning

ICCPR   International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights

ICESCR   International Covenant on Economic Social and Cultural Rights

ISDF   Informal Settlements Development Fund

NGOs   Non-Governmental Organizations

UN-Habitat   United Nations Human Settlements Programme

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The phenomenon of informal settlements represents a key contemporary challenge for the majority of cities worldwide. It is one of the phenomena accompanying the accelerated urbanization process which results in spatial, social and economic transformations of many cities. Currently, informal settlements accommodate one billion inhabitants around the world (Nuissl & Heinrichs, 2013, p. 105; Sachs, 2005). Although informal settlements vary in form and scale, this urban paradigm refers to common physical and socioeconomic characteristics. Slums are one form of the informal settlements. Generally, they are settlements where residents suffer from inadequate living conditions, poor infrastructure and public services and lacking security of land tenure. Yet, slums — as commonly called in the southern sphere — are praised for their dynamic socioeconomic networks and an economy based on micro-enterprises (UN-Habitat, 2003).

Egypt, as a developing country, is faces the challenge of urban informality. It has exacerbated throughout years of illegal construction and the absence of law enforcement. Urban informality started since the 1950s under the changing housing policies during Nasser's Regime due to political unrest. The situation did not change much under the various successive political regimes. Due to strong socioeconomic changes in Egyptian society, noticeable internal migration from rural areas to cities has been taking place since the 1970s putting a huge burden on the infrastructure of Egyptian cities. Consequently, slums have become a dominant urban pattern constituting 38.6 per cent of the construction mass of the republic (CAPMAS, 2016). In 2008, the Informal Settlements Development Fund (ISDF) was founded according to the presidential decree to manage the development of informal settlements in Egypt. The ISDF has announced a new strategy to define informal settlements in Egypt and has categorized informal settlements in Egypt into two main categories; either unplanned or unsafe areas. It is worth mentioning that grade four of the unsafe areas refer to areas where inhabitants suffer from problems of ownership and land tenure (Maher, 2017, p. 15).

Rapid urban growth usually results in acute conflict over land since construction is implemented and managed out of the official national planning system and city strategic plans. This intensive informal construction over public land has brought land tenure and administration system into conflict, leading to disputes, contestation and violence. Thus, the nexus between slums and land conflict adds greater challenges while dealing with slum development. Yet, the Egyptian Government has adopted many approaches to deal with slums in improving the living conditions of slum dwellers including an adequate built environment and safer legal situation. These approaches, first, encompass a preventive approach which comprises laws and urban policies that halt the growth of slums such as urban growth boundaries, belting programme and laws for banning construction over agricultural land. The second approach is a more vigorous and pragmatic way to deal with existing slums through in-situ upgrading, rehousing or relocation.

Relocation has been intensively executed in the Egyptian context over the past few years and is a commonly used strategy while dealing with several slums. The government has adopted the approach of eviction and relocation of slum dwellers into new settlements located on the urban periphery seeing it as the optimal solution to enhance the living conditions of the poor and embrace a better land management strategy with strong control over public land. However, relocation is a controversial topic including the applied governance schemes. Therefore, a more intensive evaluation of the governmental approach is highly needed to embrace better land management and more effective land governance policies to ensure both better use of the land and higher housing satisfaction of the residents.

This research investigates and examines the effectiveness of relocation as an approach to solving land-related problems of Egyptian slums. It explores land-related problems in slums and compares them to land ownership and governance system at relocation sites so that an assessment of the relocation as an approach can be drawn. The research aims to explore the transformation that happened in the land governance system due to relocation to assess the applied strategies and recommend new innovative tools to deal with the expected land conflicts. In order to reach the aim of the research, an intensive study was conducted on El-Asmarat relocation project in Cairo. It is the biggest relocation project in Egypt that accommodates a population of 18,300 families relocated from slums. The case study helped in identifying land-related problems of Egyptian slums (pre-relocation status), understanding the land management and ownership scheme followed in this specific project and determining land management challenges faced. Consequently, innovative solutions to manage land conflicts in slums and relocation sites in Egypt have been provided.

To elaborate, the research structure is divided into two main parts in which the first part focuses on the

theoretical framework of the key concepts of the research such as urban informality, relocation, land tenure security and land governance challenges before and after slums relocation. Thus, books, journals, publications, websites and online newspapers were accessed to collect the required data to deliver a better comprehensive understanding of the research topic and construct the theoretical framework of the study. The second part of the research is concerned with the case study of El-Asmarat as a living example of the expected land challenges before and after the relocation of slum dwellers. The assessment of residents' satisfaction with the followed land management tools was conducted. The data collection tools used are semi-structured interviews with officials and residents, observations through site visits and a questionnaire answered by residents to precisely measure their satisfaction level with the applied ownership system and test their overall housing satisfaction with the alternative housing. A total of 25 participants answered the survey questions and the data were recorded and tabulated through an online platform (SurveyMonkey) to ensure the correctness of results.

The study findings revealed that there are various land-related problems in Egyptian slums. First, the **absence of an effective system** to manage land in Egypt is considered the main obstacle to solving land problems. The conflicting responsibilities among various concerned institutions add complications to the decision-making processes and plan execution. That makes securing land tenure and land acquisition a protracted intricate process that citizens usually want to avoid (Tadamun, 2015; Khalifa, 2011; El-Batran and Arandel, 1998a). Second, **the ambiguity of the legal situation of slum dwellers** escalates the land problems in slums. In spite of being squatters over State land, slum dwellers are victims of the failure of government policies to provide affordable housing, depriving them of their right to access reasonable formal housing. Yet, some slum dwellers argue that they already have implicit recognition of ownership through having customary contracts and official service bills issued by governmental institutions such as national companies of electricity and water. This reason leads to the third problem which **is the lack of security of tenure** in slums. The absence of registered ownership contracts opens the gates of various juridical problems when dealing with any legal documents to prove a place of residence. Proving permanent residence is a critical condition to get an alternative house in case a developmental project is done in slums. Consequently, residents find a way to circumvent the regulations to prove their occupation of units to save their right to have an alternative unit

in case a relocation process is confirmed (Built Environment Deprivation Indicator, 2016; Tadamun, 2015). Yet, others are evicted losing their rights to have adequate compensation that guarantees their land security tenure (Amnesty International, 2011, p. 25).

Furthermore, the study discussed relocation as a strategy followed by the Egyptian Government to solve the problem of slums. Slum dwellers could be relocated due to life-threatening conditions at their original residential places or due to the implementation of national infrastructure projects or highways that might contradict the current location of the residential neighbourhood. El-Asmarat is a clear example of the application of the relocation approach. El-Asmarat (or Long Live Egypt City) is a national housing project located at the periphery of the Muqattem District to host around 80,000 relocated residents of life-threatening areas of Manshiyet Nasser, Ezbet Khairallah and Istabl Antar.

With respect to the land management and governance model applied in El-Asmarat, land acquisition was a challenging issue due to the fact that 50 per cent of the lands needed for El-Asmarat 2nd and 3rd phases was military land. The armed forces has disposed of its share of land after several negotiation rounds, which involved ISDF, governorate and Army. It is considered successful cooperation between various governmental bodies to manage disputes over public land due to the strong political will to execute the project. Moreover, the concerned authorities have developed a new ownership system of the units in El-Asmarat. Unlike previous relocation projects that offer the relocated residents unconditional property ownership, El-Asmarat residents were only offered usufruct right of the units after the regular payment of the rent value (EGP 300 per month); in addition to utilities and services cost such as water and electricity bills. Residents are allowed only to use the units themselves with no inherit or sub-let rights. Breaching any condition of the lease contract results in the termination of the contract and the eviction of the residents.

Furthermore, the questionnaire and interviews with residents reflected the beneficiaries' satisfaction level with the compensation offered and examined the effectiveness of the relocation approach as a good strategy for better governance, land tenure and units' ownership system in comparison with their counterparts in the slums. The results accentuated the challenges after relocation which comprise various factors that have led to a lower satisfaction level of beneficiaries. First, the residents claimed that they were **forcibly evicted** as they were not given the opportunity to decide whether or not to accept the relocation — the

government promoted the project **as a better substitute** whose expenses it took charge of while providing slum dwellers with better quality of life. Second, they complained about **the lack of real participation** in the process while the officials argued that the residents were informed and engaged considering their educational and awareness level to achieve the public interest. The results also showed that the residents are not satisfied with the units' ownership system since it does not save them from forced eviction and does not give them the right to resell, rent out or inherit the unit which implies **low security of land tenure**. On the contrary, the officials applied this system to guarantee that the subsidized housing is provided to those most in need and to ensure that the relocated populace will not return to their old houses and rebuild slums. Lastly, they stated that the applied **rent value and costs of living** at the relocation site are huge financial burdens while the officials advocated for the affordability of the offered units.

Considering the discussed challenges, a set of recommendations were proposed to improve the land governance system and ownership scheme. The recommendations comprise interventions before, during and after slum relocation process. The first set of recommendations is concerned with the pre-relocation phase and focuses on land governance in the slums. It is recommended to have a clear **land management system** by assigning the tasks of slum development to one decentralized institution. Second, acknowledging the existence of slums in the Egyptian context and their share of the total construction mass of the country has become an essential step for the government to take. This can be achieved by **modifying the current laws and regulations** to ease the process of land legalization and reconciliation with building violations that do not tolerate safety requirements. Third, acknowledging the existence of slums and the willingness to take corrective action on-site is aligned with avoiding relocation as an interventionist approach. **Relocation should be avoided** if possible since it results in many distracting socioeconomic impacts as stated by UN Covenant on Economic Social and Cultural Rights (CESCR), "undertaking major clearance operations should take place only when conservation and rehabilitation are not feasible" (CESCR, 1997, paragraph 2).

In case relocation is unavoidable to save the lives of residents, community participation is a fundamental approach to facilitate the exchange of ideas and

working together. Since community development is a participatory and incremental learning process, ensuring community participation throughout the various project phases will make people take responsibility for the project (Abdelhalim, 2010). This entails better management of resources and higher efficiency of the project. The multi-stakeholder process might take a longer time for plan preparation and concept formation, but it usually results in faster development, approval and implementation because people are confident that the plans are aligned with the issues that are meaningful to them (Nampila, 2005).

Some recommendations to improve the current status of relocation sites include the ongoing follow-up process with the relocation projects to ensure better results for the executed or any upcoming projects. **Ensuring a fair ownership system** is a milestone to make relocation more acceptable to the residents. The rights of relocated slum dwellers to have minimum legal security of tenure have to be preserved. Having contractual agreements is a fundamental step to save the rights of both government and residents. Setting affordable rent value and flexible — yet binding — clauses is an urgent demand to settle the legal dispute between relocated residents and the government. "Renter remains renter and owner remains owner" scheme is a good example to save legal ownership of residents and their right to liberty of movement and freedom to choose their residence while saving the government's right to fair allocation of subsidized housing. Moreover, **designing mentorship programmes** for relocatees can make this transitional phase smoother. Activating social infrastructure can help in supporting relocated populace to regain their balance and bond with the new community (Willemsen, 1992, p. 44). In addition, **carrying out post-occupancy evaluation** is highly recommended to enable the planners to update their intervention strategies to meet the ever-changing needs and demands of the relocatees.

To conclude, the study revealed that relocation does not fully solve the land-related problems of Egyptian slums. Although noticeable physical improvements are done on the scale of units and neighbourhoods, legal and governance schemes applied still need amendments to ensure better land tenure and democratic participatory scheme of governance where the urban poor are active supportive citizens, which would minimize the expected reluctance to development ideas.

1.1. Background of the Study

Informal settlements have become a universal urban dilemma that is usually associated with rapid urbanization and socioeconomic transformations in developing countries. Currently, informal settlements accommodate one billion inhabitants around the world (Nuissl & Heinrichs, 2013, p. 105; Sachs, 2005). The term "slums" is commonly used in the southern sphere countries to refer to informal settlements in which residents are suffering from deplorable living conditions, poor infrastructure and public services, and lack of land security. Slums also develop their special socioeconomic networks that are usually described by strong community relationships and microenterprises-based economy (UN-Habitat, 2003).

Urban informality in Egypt has been a dominant pattern of many Egyptian cities. In 2016, slums or "Ashwa'iyyat" — the Egyptian term for slums which means "haphazard" or "disordered" — have spread over 156.3 thousand feddans which represented 38.6 per cent of the construction mass of the republic (CAPMAS, 2016). Today, there are 1,100 areas classified as slums of which more than 300 areas are located in greater Cairo (Leila, 2019). The slums' population in Egypt is approximately 15 million people of whom 6.1 million live in Cairo's informal settlements, thus making up 41.4 per cent of Cairo's residents (ISDF, 2008).

The nexus between land and conflict is accentuated in such a complex urban pattern called slums. By definition, slums refer to areas that are informally built where construction in a depraved condition and land development are done far from official national planning systems. Land-related problems in the slum are many and complex. They include squatting over State land, absence of land registration and lack of tenure security for the residents. Although the majority of slums are illegally built on public land, it is important to mention that some slums initially got the quasi-permission of the State to be built, such as Manshiyet Nasser where the early settlers were allowed to stay by President Gamal Abdel Nasser in the 1960s. Also, the army gave permission to the early settlers of Eezbet ElHaggana to stay and develop their buildings. Furthermore, Zeinhom Slums, demolished in the 2000s, were originally wooden shacks built by the government for those who were displaced from the Suez Canal Region during the war of 1967 (Center for Sustainable Development; The American University in Cairo, 2014, p. 6). Such intricate cases of managing State land make it extremely hard for overwhelmed State and local officials to find adequate solutions to rearrange the chaos of land ownership schemes and governing tools.

As a decisive action to control the urban sprawl and the aggravation of the crisis of informal settlements in Egypt, the ISDF was founded in 2008 according to the Presidential Decree Number 305/2008. The ISDF has categorized the informal settlements in Egypt into two main categories; either unplanned or unsafe areas. It is worth mentioning that grade four of the unsafe areas are where inhabitants suffer from problems of ownership and land tenure. Thus, the Egyptian Government has adopted two main strategies to deal with informal settlements which are preventive and interventionist approaches. The first approach comprises urban policies that hinder the growth of informal settlements while the second approach indicates explicit intervention to demolish or upgrade them (World Bank, 2008).

"Slum clearance and slum dwellers' relocation" is an urban renewal strategy since the nineteenth century that is propagated as a way to halt the growth of deteriorating areas and break the continuous zones of poverty by introducing new development projects while relocating the inhabitants of these poor unplanned districts to new locations. Although the approach receives bitter criticisms, such as being a bulldozer approach as described by Martin Anderson in 1964, the Egyptian Government has been applying this approach in many cases across various Egyptian cities. The relocation approach is usually applied in unsafe areas — as categorized by ISDF — raising many questions about how effective this approach is in improving the living conditions of slum dwellers compared to their pre-relocation status. Thus, the term "housing satisfaction" is defined as the gap between residents' actual and desired housing conditions (Galster & Hesser, 1981).

Assessing housing satisfaction includes multiple indicators that affect inhabitants (Francescato, Weidemann & Anderson, 1989). Although physical, social, cultural, economic, ecological and environmental qualities are crucial determinants of housing satisfaction, United Nations listed legal security of tenure as the first indicator to define an adequate house as mentioned in CESCR[1] General Comment No. 4: The Right to Adequate Housing,

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1 United Nations Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights

issued in 1991. Therefore, this research focuses on the changes in the security of land tenure before and after relocation to assess the effectiveness of relocation as an approach in boosting better land governance policies and land management strategies in the Egyptian context.

1.2. Problem Statement and Relevance of the Research Topic

Egypt has been facing the problem of expansion of the informal settlements and the deterioration of their living conditions for several years. Land-related problems in the slums are complex due to the illegal ownership of the houses and lack of land tenure. Thus, the government is intervening with the aim of providing the urban poor with better housing conditions with a legal framework of land ownership. This shall be achieved through establishing national housing projects into which to relocate the slum dwellers. The government has adopted the approach of eviction and relocation of slum dwellers into new settlements located on the urban periphery seeing it as the optimal solution to enhance the living conditions of the poor and embrace a better land management strategy with strong control over public land. Securing land tenure and relocatees' ownership rights are fundamental steps to compensate the former slum dwellers and to give them the legal right to the new houses. By taking El-Asmarat as an example of State-led slum relocation projects, it has been found that the land problems are still there whether at the new site of El-Asmarat or the original pre-relocation place. Therefore, a more intensive evaluation of this approach is highly needed to embrace better land management and more effective land governance policies to ensure both better use of the land and higher housing satisfaction of the residents.

1.3. Research Questions

Land governance challenges in the slums and relocation sites have stimulated the interest of the researchers to investigate the effectiveness of the relocation approach to provide solutions for land challenges in comparison to pre-relocation status. Therefore, the research questions were formulated to find answers and evaluate the current strategies in Egypt as follows:

Do slum relocation projects manage to solve the land-related problems of Egyptian slums?

The research proposes other sub-questions as follows:

- What are the land-related problems in Egyptian slums? What are the main drivers of such problems?
- What are the applied approaches of participation and negotiations among the involved stakeholders of the relocation process in Egypt?

- What is the land tenure status of the relocated slum dwellers at El-Asmarat Project?

- What are the main land governance challenges after slum dwellers' relocation to El-Asmarat? What is the perspective of both government and relocatees on these challenges?

- What are the proposed solutions and recommendations for more effective land governance/management systems at relocation sites in Egypt?

1.4. Research Objectives and Expected Outcomes

As previously illustrated, the critical situation of informal settlements in Egypt and the complexity of the relocation process makes land management a very challenging process. Through analysing these challenges, certain objectives would be achieved and expected outcomes would be formulated.

The research objectives are listed as follows:

- Identify the land-related problems at Egyptian slums (pre-relocation status).
- Analyse the land management strategies/ negotiations followed during the slums relocation process in Egypt. Specifically, El-Asmarat Project as a case study.

- Identify land management challenges at relocation project, El-Asmarat Project in specific.

- Propose innovative solutions to manage land conflicts in slums and relocation sites in Egypt.

The expected outcomes of the research encompass a set of **recommendations for pre-, during and after relocation for better land governance** and management strategies. Moreover, the study introduces a proposed model for El-Asmarat and similar relocation projects to be applied in order to

fulfil better land governance strategies and higher housing satisfaction.

1.5. Description of the Research Methodology

The research is an exploratory study that focuses on tracking the land-related challenges before and after the relocation phase and testing the efficiency of the applied system in El-Asmarat as a case study. Several research methods and techniques were followed to develop this research.

The research has two main parts. **The first part** focuses on the theoretical framework of the key concepts of the research such as urban informality, slum relocation, land tenure security and land governance challenges. **The second part** is concerned with the case study of El-Asmarat as a living example of the expected land challenges before and after the relocation of slum dwellers. The assessment of residents' satisfaction with the land management tools used is based on qualitative and quantitative criteria in order to understand how effective the applied land governance system in El-Asmarat is overcoming the land-related challenges in slums. For each part of the research, certain data collection methods have been followed.

In the first part of this research, books, journals, publications, websites and online newspapers were accessed to collect the required data to deliver a comprehensive understanding of the research topic and construct the theoretical framework of the study.

For the case study of El-Asmarat, several data collection tools were used to find out the required information. In addition to available media reports and TV interviews with the officials in charge, the researchers conducted site visits in order to interview the residents and build their own observations on-site. Semi-structured interviews with the ISDF representative and the head of El-Asmarat neighbourhood office were conducted. Moreover, the satisfaction of the residents with the land tenure and ownership system in El-Asmarat was assessed through the questionnaire results. The questionnaire was developed using an online application (SurveyMonkey). The researchers conducted short interviews with residents and filled in the questionnaire on their behalf. This online application was used to sort, categorize and group similar answers in order to generate statistical results.

Data validation: In order to avoid biases and ensure the consistency of the findings, triangulation of the data was achieved through various data collection methods. Conducting interviews with the various stakeholders of El-Asmarat in addition to literature and researchers' observations aided in validating the claims of this study. Thus, triangulation helped in acquiring opposing viewpoints to reach a better understanding of the problem so valid recommendations could be formulated.

1.6. Structure of the Research Paper

The research has five chapters that cover both the literature and fieldwork of the study. **The first chapter** is an introduction of the research subject, discussing the problem background, formulating the research questions, research objectives and expected outcomes, and explaining the methodology followed by researchers upon which the findings were constructed.

Chapter two sheds the light on the relevant literature related to slums in the Egyptian context. It first introduces the universal definition and general characteristics of slums. Then, it narrows down the discussion to focus on the history of the emergence of this urban phenomenon in Egypt. The chapter also investigates the striking land-related problems in slums and the pre-relocation land status in order to understand the land tenure model of Egyptian slums.

Chapter three shifts the interest of the research to slum relocation as a tool of government intervention to deal with slums. It starts with introducing land governance tools for dealing with Egyptian slums including preventive and interventionist approaches. Then, it focuses on relocation as a tool that is intensively used in the Egyptian context. The chapter explains the definition of relocation and traces the Egyptian record for applying such an urban renewal strategy. It also discusses lessons learned from well-known national case studies of State-led slum relocation projects.

Chapter four focuses on the selected case study of El-Asmarat Project. It gives a description of the project, its phases and the applied legal regulations regarding land tenure. The assessment of residents' satisfaction with the applied land tenure regulations and units' ownership system is thoroughly displayed along with the empirical and statistical results of the questionnaire.

The research findings are presented at the end of this chapter with an analytical description of extracted land governance challenges at El-Asmarat as a prototype of State-led slum relocation national housing projects in Egypt.

Chapter five draws the overall conclusion of the research in addition to recommendations to improve the applied land governance strategies before, during, and after slum relocation. It introduces the proposed model to improve relocation projects. Also, remarks on the research framework and further research suggestions are provided for future work.

2.1. Informal Settlements History and Classification in the Egyptian Context

The informal settlements phenomenon in Egypt has been aggravated throughout years of illegal construction. It has appeared in Egypt in the middle of the 1950s as a result of different Nasser's governmental housing policies. The government orientation to privatization and socialism affected social life and led to the spread of the informal tsettlements in the country. Although it initially started with Nasser's regime and the state of war during this time, the situation has been the same under the various successive political regimes affecting the socio-economic life of Egyptians. In the 1970s, Egypt was experiencing strong internal migration from rural to urban areas. The pushing factors in rural areas were various such as lack of jobs, low wages, and poor public services while cities were pulling the new population with their diversified economy and promising opportunities in such a centralized system as Egypt (Maher, 2017). This migration has led to an increase in the urban population in the twentieth century making the total urban population constitute 44.7 per cent of the total population in 1980 (Worldometers.info, 2019). Such an increase put a huge burden on cities' infrastructure and services exacerbating the crisis of urban informality in Egypt.

The classification of informal settlements in the Egyptian context has been subjected to various alterations (Safey Eldeen, 2014). Earlier, General Organization for Physical Planning (GOPP) has defined the informal settlements as "All areas that have been developed by individual efforts, whether single or multi-story buildings or shacks, in the absence of law and layout planning. They have been developed on lands that are not assigned in the city's master plan for the building. The buildings' structural conditions might be good; however, they might be environmentally or socially unsafe and lack basic services and utilities" (GOPP, 2006).

A remarkable change in dealing with slums after Manshiyet Nasser rockslide in 2008. Presidential decree number 305/2008 was issued to launch an independent governmental authority to be responsible for dealing with slums, named "Informal Settlements Development Fund -ISDF". Surveying existing slums and preparing their development plans have been assigned to ISDF. As a first step, ISDF has introduced a new categorization system for informal settlements which was published in the building law number 119/2008. As shown in Figure I , the new classification is based on both the physical and legal conditions of the building. Two main categories are:

- Unplanned areas comprise areas with good conditions but have been developed away from legal planning schemes.

- Unsafe areas comprise areas with deteriorating conditions and were built far from official planning frameworks.
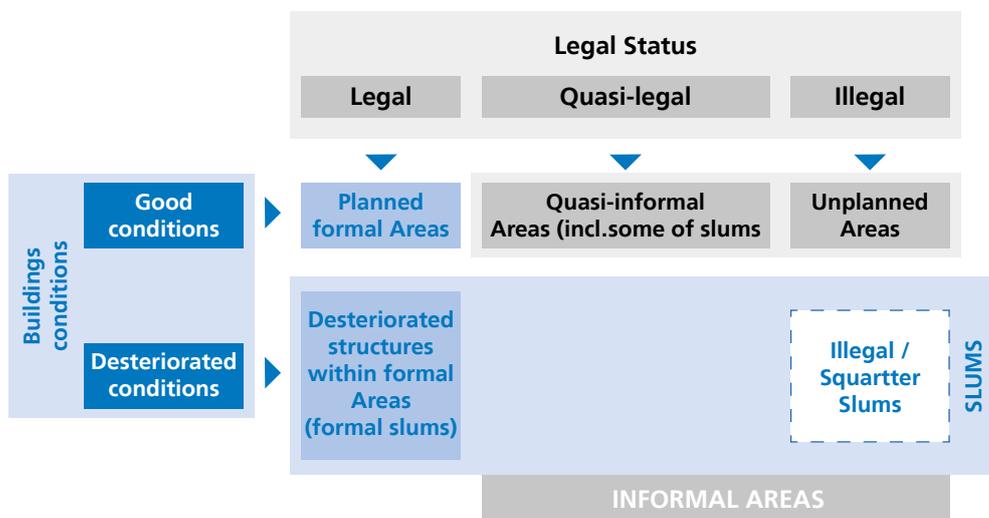
Figure I: ISDF classification of informal settlements in Egypt
Source: (Center for Sustainable Development; The American University in Cairo, 2014)

Unsafe areas have been categorized into four grades according to the degree of risk they are subjected to as follows:

Grade	Description
Grade 1	Areas subjected to life-threatening conditions such as environmental and geological dangers as earthquakes and rock sliding
Grade 2	Areas where buildings are built over unsuitable soil or with low-quality construction materials. Generally, refers to unsuitable shelters.
Grade 3	Areas subjected to threatening public health conditions such as lack of clean water or subjected to industrial pollution of high voltage power cables.
Grade 4	Areas where residents face problems with land ownership and land tenure.

Table I: Categorization of unsafe areas in Egypt according to ISDF
Source: (Maher, 2017, p. 15)

2.2. Land Situation in the Informal Settlements in Egypt

2.2.1. Land Management and Informal Settlements

Egypt lacks a sufficient land management system connected with a well-studied housing policy. Land management and development decisions and laws are assigned to various authorities, which has destabilized the land management system due to the conflicting responsibilities of each authority. For example, the governor — the higher authority in the governorate — does not have the full authority to manage land tenure or land use, as it is a complicated process between the governor and different ministries. Besides, each ministry has different development plans that create conflicts with land-use development plans. The aforementioned conflict in development plans, housing policies and land management tools have created a problem for informal settlements development in approving the land and property tenure or the relocation areas (Alfiky, 2014; Néfissa, 2009).

2.2.2. Land Tenure in Informal Settlements

In general, land tenure could be defined as the state of land ownership by individuals or groups of people. Another definition of land tenure organizes and shapes the form of land and property acquisition. According to this definition, securing land tenure is one of the factors that impels safety for households in informal settlements as they always expect to be evicted at any time. It proves their right of exploitation of their property. Since the majority of the informal settlements are located on State-owned land, this creates many difficulties to approve or to get the legibility of approving land tenure. The research will illustrate the different states of tenure and approving land tenure.

It is noteworthy to mention that the population of the urban areas according to ISDF (2010) is around 43.3 per cent of the overall population. More than half of the Greater Cairo urban areas are informal settlements (Sims, 2016; Alfiky, 2014). As a result, various urban challenges are critically facing the government, starting with classifying up to executing development plans in informal settlements. In this regard, Sims (2016) organized the informal settlements into the following four types according to their locations:

1. **Informal settlements on former agricultural land:**

   Informal settlements here are illegally constructed on privately owned agricultural land without any construction permit to build on the cultivated lands. Regarding that, Egyptian law has banned construction on agricultural land since 1996. Households in this type cannot have secure tenure of the property as it is criminal work and cannot be legalized.

2. Informal settlements on former desert State land:

This type represents informal construction of houses on State-owned land under the adverse possession "wad al-yad". Here the households neither own the land nor have any construction permit for their properties.

3. Deteriorated historic core

This refers to informal settlements located in the middle of Cairo with deteriorating conditions because the services there have not been renewed or maintained since the majority of residents of these areas are low to middle class whose economic conditions cannot help in affording such maintenance cost.

4. Deteriorated urban pockets

Urban pockets are tiny open spaces between buildings in the urban fabric and they are scattered over the city. They consist of small neglected buildings that do not have services.

Since the first and the second type represent over 90 per cent of the informal settlement areas in Egypt, they will be the focus of this research on land tenure security (Sims, Sejoume and El Shorbagi, 2003).

2.2.3. Security of Tenure in Informal Settlements in Egypt

As the economic conditions of Egyptian society have changed rapidly due to the latest events, people seek to secure their food, jobs, education for their children and adequate shelter. Accordingly, slum dwellers are under higher pressure to secure the aforementioned factors. Since having adequate housing is one of the basic standards of living that everyone should have, provision of legal ownership and access to the property and land are crucial. Legal secure tenure protects residents from forced eviction and saves their rights on being compensated with alternative units in case of relocation (Alfiky, 2014; Khalifa, 2011; Nations, 1999).

Most developing countries are facing problems with securing tenure as almost 50 per cent of the developing countries lack land management and secure tenure systems. The provision of secure tenure provides individuals with many rights such as the right of land access which enables them to occupy and use their lands and properties for residential, commercial or recreational purposes. Full land access right comes from purchasing property, rent or allocation by the

government (Alfiky, 2014; Payne, 2001). Secure tenure protects individuals or groups in case of temporary or permanent eviction by providing them with alternative units or temporary units till the completion of the upgrade work.

Land tenure has many forms and each form gives different rights on land access or property utilization. UN-Habitat represents inline format for tenure forms, starting from informal land tenure as customary ownership up to formal land tenure as registered freehold which gives all the rights to the owner to use, rent and sell the property or land. The next paragraph will define common land tenure forms in informal settlements (Alfiky, 2014; Payne, 2001).

- **Customary ownership:** when the ownership is gained by the community, tribe, group or family. It is common in rural or informal settlements as it is accepted by the chief or whomever is responsible for the area. On the other hand, it is a weak tenure as it is authorized by customary leadership. Losing this tenure is possible in case the supporting power is changed since it is not recognized or included in the government development plans.

- **Non-formal tenure**: this tenure has many forms and includes squatting on public land or unauthorized distribution of privately owned land. One property could have many forms of non-formal tenure such as tenants without contracts, subtenants from tenants with contracts or squatting on unoccupied properties.

- **Delayed freehold**: when the residents purchase the land or the property by paying part of the purchasing price and the ownership is granted after paying the remaining amount or the completion of land development.

- **Private rental**: rent a privately owned or squatted — in case of informal settlements — property or land.

2.2.4. Land Registration and Titling in Informal Settlements

Registering the property is one of the most important steps to secure tenure in the informal settlements as legalizing the property saves the right to get another unit in case of eviction and relocation, and it can be divided into land acquisition and takeover of lands. Each concept is described as follows:

2.2.4.1. Acquisition of Private Land and State-Owned Land

Acquiring or transferring ownership of land is a very complicated process in Egypt. All properties and lands purchased, rented or sold have to be registered at the public registry office or "al-shahr al-'aquari'" to secure the ownership and save the right of the tenant or the buyer to use the property. However, acquiring privately owned property is simple compared to other ownership types as it has been previously registered so it basically has legal ownership. In contrast, acquiring State-owned land is illegal and cannot be registered. It is worth mentioning that in special cases squatted State-owned land can be registered and legalized through a very complicated process and presidential decrees (Alfiky, 2014; Séjourné, 2013; Sims, 2000; Egyptian Ministry of Justice, 1946).

2.2.4.2. Takeover of Lands and Properties

By law, any person can take over any property and own it if it has no owner or if it is abandoned by its original owner. Nevertheless, any desert land or non-private land is considered State land and cannot be developed without State approval of the right of owning State land. Moreover, anyone who encroaches on land can lose ownership if the land is not used for more than 5 years (Alfiky, 2014; Egyptian Ministry of Justice, 1948).

In case of any encroachment on State-owned land, the responsible local authority can demolish this violation and evict people without the need for any adjudication. In exceptional cases, if the authority responsible for eviction sees that eviction may cause social or political conflict, it can stop the demolition process and sell the land to the encroachers (Alfiky, 2014; Egyptian Ministry of Justice, 1948).

Articles Nos. 956 and 957 show that possession could be terminated if the possessor lost control on the property for a year before getting the possession back on the property. Moreover, Articles Nos. 968, 969 and 976 clarify that a possessor who controls a movable property for 15 years continuously gains ownership of the property, and if the possessor showed good intentions, the required period can be reduced to 5 years. This is recognized as "possession through prescription". Nonetheless, State-owned land cannot be owned through prescription.

2.2.4.3. Acquisition of Property in Informal Settlements

Acquisition of land in informal settlements is a very complicated process as the majority of the cases are squatting on State-owned land which is illegal since there is no registration and legalization for these properties while other cases are building over agricultural land which is also considered a crime by law. Sims (2016) and Alfiky (2014) stated that, "there is a way to legalize squatter areas over State private domain and over private agriculture land". Therefore, two ways that enable squatters on State-owned land or agricultural land to legalize their properties are explained as follows:

Sales Contracts Formalization
It consists of two ways to approve the tenure for the property:

– First is "attestation of signature "*da'wa siht tawki'a*". In this case, the buyer and the seller sign a contract. Later the seller goes to court to attest to own signature. The judge gives approval of the signature without searching the history of the ownership of the property.

– The second is confirmation of the date of sale "*ethbat tarikh*". In this case, the buyer and seller sign a contract as well. As a next step, they go to the public registry office to confirm and register the date of sales.

Notwithstanding, these steps do not secure land tenure for the squatters as they still do not own the land. Instead, they can use it later, if they are forcibly relocated or evicted, to prove that they own property in the area so they are eligible to get alternative units at relocation areas (Alfiky, 2014; Séjourné, 2013; Egyptian Ministry of Justice, 1948).

Legalizing Land in Squatter Areas
As previously mentioned, legalizing State-owned land is a complicated process. It requires direct decree from the president, the prime minister or the governor. Squatters can also get land if they squatted on it before the issue of the law of the Egyptian Ministry of Justice in 2012. As a first step, the governor forms a committee to set the prices of lands and the monthly payment instalments. A claimant fills the application of land acquisition in a duration of six months after the decree was issued. Right after it, the claimant goes to the public registry office to get the papers of "*bahs tasalsul milkyat al-aquar*" to prove the history of land ownership, upon which the registry office responds with "*shahadat tasarufat aquaria*" certificate which shows the original owner of the land, in this case, the State.

The claimant submits the application and "shahadet tasarufat aquaria" certificate to the property department. The claimant must prove current occupation of the property by any of the previously mentioned tricks of signature attestation, or electricity or water bills. After that, the claimant gets a certification that claims temporary right of the property tenure and gets full ownership after paying the full price of the unit, determined by the governor's committee (Alfiky, 2014).

2.3. Definition and General Characteristics of Slums

Slums do not have a universal definition due to the heterogeneity of these blighted areas around the world. Each country has its own special pattern of urban informality that is affected by its urban context, sociocultural traits and economic status. Although the word "slums" usually indicates negative connotation since its first appearance in literature dated back to the nineteenth century, it did not originally have a unified meaning (Nuissl & Heinrichs, 2013). Nevertheless, the usage of the term has developed over years to refer to poor deteriorating areas in the city. According to the Macmillan Dictionary, slums are "poor areas of a town where the houses are in very bad condition". Moreover, concerned international organizations have developed their own definition of slums as an urban paradigm around the world. According to the cities alliance, slums are "neglected parts of cities, in which living conditions are appallingly poor" (World Bank & UNCHS Habitat, 1999).

UN-Habitat (2006) has developed a set of criteria to describe a slum household as being a group of individuals living under the same roof in an urban area and lacks one or more of the following:

- Durable housing of a permanent nature that protects against extreme climate conditions.

- Sufficient living space, which means not more than three people sharing the same room.

- Easy access to safe water in sufficient amounts at an affordable price.

- Access to adequate sanitation in the form of a private or public toilet is shared by a reasonable number of people.

- Security of tenure that prevents forced evictions.

Therefore, it is commonly agreed that slums with its wide spectrum in nature share certain physical and legal conditions of being deteriorating structures that are built with no adherence to building laws and formal planning schemes with lack of security of tenure and absence of proper infrastructure and public services (Siqhwala, 2002).

At another level, socioeconomic characteristics of slums have captured the attention of researchers as being interesting foci of the intense socioeconomic model. Slums are usually overpopulated areas where strong social networks and personal relationships are created. Although slum dwellers often face seated myths of being antisocial, lawbreakers and illiterate, many studies praised their dynamic social structure and strong economic base. It is argued that slums are eulogized for their inventiveness in self-help housing and powerful collective work. In addition, slums are known as places for the informal economy which comprises in-home businesses and micro-enterprises which sometimes have a positive contribution to a country's gross domestic product (GDP) (Mahabir and others, 2016). According to Shehayeb (2009), Egyptian slums have seven advantages which are self-efficiency, work-home proximity, walkability, participation, my street-my home, sense of safety and social solidarity.

2.4. Land-Related Problems in Slums (Pre-Relocation Land Status)

According to the previously mentioned complications in slums, the various land-related problems in slums can be summarized as follows:

Land Management System
As previously discussed, the Egyptian system faces huge challenges in terms of formulating an effective system to manage land due to the conflicting responsibilities among the various institutions which add complications in decision-making processes and plan execution. As a result, the process of securing land tenure or land acquisition is complex and needs a lot of time for the citizens (Tadamun, 2015; Khalifa, 2011; El-Batran and Arandel, 1998a).

The Legal Situation of Slum Dwellers
Slum dwellers are always squatters on State land because they cannot afford the cost of land purchase and construction within *zimam* (legal boundary of a city). Being illegal makes their situation weaker during negotiation; therefore, some lose the opportunity of

getting alternative units and are forced to leave their houses since they fail to prove their occupation of the property. Moreover, laws deal with those dwellers as squatters of State-land so they do not have the right to be compensated with alternative units. It is worth mentioning that some of the dwellers try to find a way to circumvent the regulations to prove their occupation of units which they abandon (Built Environment Deprivation Indicator, 2016; Tadamun, 2015).

Security of Tenure
As a result of the slum dwellers' ambiguous legal situation, they are subjected to eviction due to the absence of registered ownership contracts. As previously stated, the majority of the people in slums do not have papers proving ownership of their units. On the other hand, all the methods offered by the government and law to facilitate the process of

relocation or secure tenure of the units still do not fully control and guarantee the validity of the existing contracts provided by the tenants in slums. This is because some people claim fake permanent residence at the slums — although they do not live in these units anymore — so as to get new units in relocation areas. Hence, the process of securing land tenure during relocation is too complex to be approved by the locals and it needs a lot of investigation by the local authority (Alfiky, 2014; Sims, 2000; Tadamun, 2015).

Relocation is a complex process associated with various rights for relocated families and linked with conflicting views and interests of stakeholders. The government intervenes with the aim to improve the lives of slum dwellers following challenging governance schemes to control such a process.

3.1. Land Governance Tools for Dealing with Egyptian Slums

As a matter of fact, upgrading informal settlements is a complex process and it cannot be solved by one authority as ISDF. Throughout the years, the government implemented many policies and projects to upgrade slums in Egypt. The principal direction was to halt the growth of informal settlements. The elimination of these dense urban nodes has been usually applied based on the prevailing perception towards these areas as blight. Since governments changed their understanding of informal settlements and tried to comprehend the nature of slums in terms of area, residents and demands, the approach has become focused on how to cooperate with residents to develop their areas. Regarding the government strategies towards informal settlements renovation and upgrading, Egypt follows two different approaches. The first approach includes a preventive approach that aim to limit the growth of the current informal settlements, and the second approach is an intervention approach aimed towards improving the current situation of existing slums. These two approaches are thoroughly described as follows:

• Preventive Approach

This approach encompasses various policies that aim to halt the growth of current slums. These policies include controlling construction on agricultural lands, developing current planning laws and building codes to prevent building in slums, and reclamation of the desert to build new cities in order to reduce crowding in old cities (Sims, 2016; Tadamun, 2014).

"Belting programme" was one of the governmental tools in which slum borders are bound with planned areas that limit informal building expansion. Another policy developed by the government is Urban Growth Boundaries (UGB) which aimed to control the city's informal expansion by defining the urban growth of the city within 20 years. Similar policies meant to ban building on agricultural lands and desert government land include Law No. 116/1983, explained in the second chapter in detail (Reda, 2019; Tadamun, 2014; Séjourné, 2009).

The Egyptian Government is currently working on applying the reconciliation law of building violations (Law No. 17/2019) which includes registration and legalization of buildings in informal settlements as well as planned areas. This initiative will create a database of construction violations and building encroachments as a step to upgrade the overall building conditions in Egypt. Although this law opens the gate for legalizing construction violations, reconciliation is prohibited for any of the following violations:

– Changes that may threaten the structural integrity of the building.
– Violations against the nature of buildings with distinct architectural styles.
– Infringement of legally established easement rights and the approved organizational lines, unless reaching agreement between the applicant and the executive responsible authority of regulation.
– Construction on land subjected to the Antiquities Protection and Protection Act of the Nile.
– Change in the permitted land use in areas with detailed plans approved by the administrative authority, unless the change is approved by the administrative authority itself.

Although there are many policies and laws by the government to halt the growth of informal settlements, slums are still growing and many violations still exist as a result of the absence of law enforcement in addition to the complications during the execution of informal settlements development projects.

• Interventionist Approach

This approach includes direct intervention in the informal areas to develop them through such authorities as ISDF, Ministry of Housing, Utilities and Urban Communities (MHUUC), and local non-governmental organizations. Each case has its unique intervention according to the nature of the location and the residents. Interventions could have many forms such as resettlement or relocation, improvements in resettlement, rehousing and upgrade/rehabilitation (Sims, 2016; Tadamun, 2014). Although this intervention approach seems a smooth and organized process, it faces many problems and a lot of complications in the planning and implementation phases. Each stakeholder, whether the government or slum dwellers, has own perspective during the intervention so usually one or more of these parties see the process as an injustice since it does not serve own subjective interests.

As previously mentioned, the unsafe areas with their four grades of risk are usually subjected to one of the interventionist approaches. As a follow-up of Table I, the applied intervention method for each category of the unsafe areas is provided in Table II below.

Grade	Required intervention
Grade 1 Areas subjected to life-threatening conditions (for example, earthquakes, rockslides, etc.)	Residents should be relocated to a nearby neighbouring area.
Grade 2 Unstable shelters with unsuitable soil or construction materials	Either residents should be relocated or in-situ upgrading should be done.
Grade 3 Areas subjected to threatening conditions of public health (for example, industrial pollution, lack of clean water, etc.)	Government should provide adequate public services.
Grade 4 Areas have land ownership and tenure problems	Residents should be granted land tenure.

Table II: Intervention followed by ISDF in the various grades of the unsafe areas (edited by Authors)

Consequently, the government follows three intervention approaches while dealing with informal settlements, namely upgrading, rehousing and relocation. These approaches are discussed below with a special focus on relocation as it is the strategy followed at the selected case study of this research.

Upgrading

Upgrading is the process where the area residents do not need to be relocated, and it is the process of gradual upgrading of the area in-site. The development comprises improving infrastructure, services offered and house conditions to meet the adequate standards of living and services, set and defined by ISDF or the authority in charge of the development process. The process does not dramatically change the nature of the area nor demolish buildings in good conditions; instead, the intervention includes improving sanitation, providing clean water to buildings, renovating the buildings, and paving streets (Tadamun, 2014; Patel, 2013).

It is argued that upgrading is one of the best-known intervention strategies because it has a minimal level of disturbance on residents' social life and the local economy. This kind of intervention is so common in Egypt as it is fast, low cost on the government budget and more acceptable to the residents because the desired results are fast and tangible compared to the relocation process that needs more time and high costs. Recently, ISDF started national slums upgrading project with a cost of EGP 350 million. The project aims to develop infrastructure, lighting and pave roads in 30 informal settlements in Cairo and Giza Governorates. It is worth mentioning that ISDF will be responsible for the planning and management of the project while the governorates and the army will be responsible for the implementation and construction works (Farid, 2014; Tadamun, 2014).

Rehousing

This approach implies a temporary relocation of residents. The government or the developing entity takes over the responsibility of clearing the site and building another adequate unit, then relocating residents back to their original places. The rehousing process can be in two forms:

The first form is rehousing done exclusively by the government using public funds. The responsible authority relocates people to temporary housing. New housing units with adequate services will be built on

the site. Then the residents can get their units back or the government provides subsidized loans or rents as in the case of the Zinhum Rehousing Project (Tadamun, 2014).

The second form is called the no-cost approach as it does not cost the government budget as in the first form. It involves the government and a private developer collaborating in the development process. This method is common in developing countries with large informal areas. The process does not require additional cost and effort from the government and attracts large investments to low-income slum areas. The main typology of informal housing includes low-rise buildings consisting of one or two-storey buildings. If the developer replaces those low-rise buildings with high-rise buildings, the project requires a smaller land plot to house the same population. Thus, the private developer could take over the responsibility of developing the rest of the land for one of their investment projects (Tadamun, 2014).

Relocation

Relocation is the process where area residents vacate their original housing units and move to new housing units. In most cases, relocated people are provided with public housing units with low rents to match their income conditions. Although relocation is a rapid intervention in hazard cases, it is a complicated process, and usually, it faces a lot of obstacles in the execution phase such as selecting the location of relocation, organizing the relocation process and activating the new location to host the new populace.

3.2. Relocation Definition and History in Egypt

Relocation is one of the oldest strategies that has been applied throughout the history of many cities. Relocation started with the first human moving from place to place searching for adequate shelter and food to the contemporary manifestation of urban renewal strategies including slum clearance and relocation of slum dwellers to new social housing projects with the dream of providing a better life. As mentioned before, relocation is the process where residents move by choice or are forced to move for safety reasons to another location. Another definition of this process

comprises slum clearance where low-income populace living in deteriorated houses in slums are moved to another location built by urban development standards to provide them with better living conditions. Literature review proves that relocation is one of the common urban renewal approaches in Egypt. It is argued that between 1997 and 2013 more than 41,000 families have been relocated from their urban areas, which is considered a huge number especially with the complexity of the relocation process (Reda, 2019; Bavelaar and Shawkat, 2013). Urban dwellers could be relocated due to life-threatening conditions at the site or the implementation of national infrastructure projects or highways that might contradict the current location of the residential neighbourhood.

The relocation dilemma is how to provide relocated people with compatible units near their original area in such dense cities as in Egypt where vacant lands are rare. Figure II illustrates the number of people relocated from their homes in Egypt. The upwards columns (in green) show the number of families who have been relocated within the same area or city for in-situ development after which they returned to their units. On the other hand, the downwards columns (in red) show the number of families moved out of their area or city due to one of the aforementioned reasons for the development. According to the graph, 24,127 families of the total relocated families were placed out of their original city.

Duwaika Rockslide accident was the trigger for starting urban development projects for slum dwellers and urged ISDF to organize and manage the urban development in slums and relocation process from hazardous areas. This governmental move has ignited a controversial debate since then about safe relocation and human rights against forced eviction. Currently, Maspero Triangle Urban Renewal Project represents this expected conflict between the residents and the government. Although officials confirmed that the project fulfils the participation plans arguing that it is a remarkable development step in Cairo, the residents stated, in many interviews, that they did not have the choice to stay or move and they do not participate in the development process claiming that it was a forced eviction (Khalil, 2018).

**Outside the City
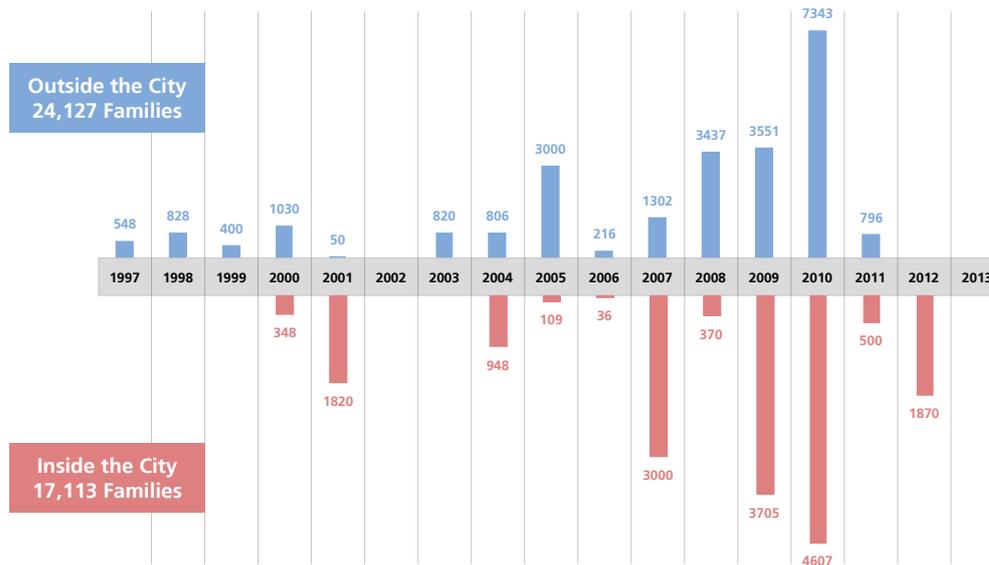24,127 Families**

**Inside the City
17,113 Families**

Figure II: Statistical data about urban relocations in Egypt from 1997 until 2013.
Source: (Reda, 2019; Bavelaar and Shawkat, 2013)

The previous argument brings attention to the different types of eviction, which can be divided into the following three types:

Administrative or Judicial Evacuation
Administrative relocation can be executed for one of following three reasons. First, after the issuance of a decision to expropriate the property for the public benefit according to Law No. 10 of 1990, second, for non-payment of the rental value of the unit and third, to vacate a deteriorating property for the safety of the property inhabitants.

Forced Eviction
Forced eviction is done out of any legal framework, as an entity or agency evicts people to seize land or over property dispute (over ownership or implementation of projects by coercive force) or forceful seizure of land by thugs.

Indirect Evacuation
The common reason for this eviction is decision to prevent restoration or reconstruction in the event of a building collapse (for example, an archaeological campus, a dispute over ownership with a government agency or increased regulation) or the existence of factors threatening the population (such as industrial pollution or insecurity).
All these types of evictions open arguments on how to execute a safe relocation process with a satisfying participation model while saving land tenure for

people before and after relocation and protecting them against forced eviction.

3.3. The Legitimacy of Slum Eviction

Egypt has signed many human rights treaties such as the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), and the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights to prevent forced evictions (Amnesty International, 2011, p. 25). With the ratification of the ICESCR in 1982, Egypt was obliged to protect the residents against forced evictions and to acknowledge their right to adequate housing. General Comment No. 7 titled, "The right to adequate housing (Art.11.1): forced evictions" issued by CESCR stated that "forced evictions are a gross violation of human rights". The same note has highlighted that "undertaking major clearance operations should take place only when conservation and rehabilitation are not feasible and relocation measures are made" (CESCR, 1997, paragraph 2). International guidelines are meant to control the conditions under which the relocation is carried out. It obliges the government to fully compensate the residents with alternative housing that guarantees their land security of tenure. Moreover, the government should give full support and assistance to the residents during and after relocation till they successfully re-establish their living standards (Perera, 2014; Amnesty International, 2011, p. 29).

Bavelaar and Shawkat, 2013 reported that even legal evictions resemble several transgressions that have been monitored through cases and fieldwork; therefore, many administrative evacuations are considered forced evictions, either for not providing an alternative housing or for the inhuman way in which the evacuation is carried out. In addition, officials sometimes decide to evacuate the properties with deteriorating conditions while there are laws that allow the governorate to renovate properties, in case the property owner failed to carry out the renovation works. Therefore, it is imperative to reform the set of laws managing the eviction process to ensure the rights of those who are evicted and protect them from forced eviction. All stakeholders and participants should be involved in this reform on safe relocation while ensuring secure land tenure considering relocation is the commonly applied strategy nowadays in Egypt when dealing with informal settlements.

3.4. Lessons Learned from Previous Relocation Projects

Egypt has gained a lot of experience in informal settlements development. This is a harvest of fruitful efforts that have been exerted in many projects. The government in each project showed a lot of progress by providing high-quality housing, more participation and benefiting from lessons learned from previous relocation projects. Masaken Othman was one of those prevailing typologies for relocation projects which received many comments from relocated residents and experts regarding the applied system and management of the relocation process.

El-Asmarat Project is one of the latest successful examples where the government planning authorities and stakeholders have cooperated in applying the lessons learned from previous relocation projects. Thus, it has captured the attention as a benchmark of how Egypt deals with informal settlements through providing better housing alternatives in relocation projects. It aimed at considering lessons learned from previous relocation projects to perform a unique process of relocation that fits with the Egyptian context. It is considered the biggest relocation sites in Egypt which attracts the focus of media, urban planning experts and citizens.

Some of the lessons learned that ISDF aimed to consider in El-Asmarat are as follows:

– To guarantee better living environment for the relocated residents and avoid the problems detected in Masaken Othman Project, ISDF aimed at improving the physical qualities of the provided alternative housing.

– To avoid abandoned relocation sites, ISDF aimed to reconsider the selection criteria of the relocation site. The selection criteria of relocation site in Masaken Othman Project were inconvenient for the residents. Many residents decided to leave their units and go back to their original homes as they were near their relatives and work. Thus, ISDF aimed to select a location for El-Asmarat that is near the original places from where residents were relocated.

– To overcome the lack of public services in Masaken Othman Project, ISDF approved introducing mixed use design in El-Asmarat where shops are located inside the neighbourhood to satisfy the residents' needs. These shops are planned to provide micro-businesses for the residents to improve their economic conditions and create new jobs near their houses that strengthen their sense of belonging to the area.

– To avoid the absence of monitoring mechanisms in Masaken Othman Project, the management of the new relocation projects — including El-Asmarat — is to be done through internal neighbourhood management unit.

– To limit the resale of the subsidized social housing units as happened in Masaken Othman Project, ISDF aimed at developing a new ownership system for El-Asmarat residents though certifying only usufruct right of units to prevent relocatees from selling their units and returning to their original places.

– To ensure better cooperation of residents in the relocation process and avoiding their reluctance to be relocated, ISDF aimed to consider stronger participation level of residents in the planning and design phases.

Why Focus on El-Asmarat Project?

El-Asmarat Project is a rich topic to be studied and analysed as a benchmark for the next relocation projects. The ISDF has exerted huge efforts to learn from previous projects to improve the output of El-Asmarat Project as being a quantum leap in the history of relocation projects considering its scale, allocated funds, media coverage and the given attention by the political leadership. For these facts, it has been selected to be the research case study.

Figure III: Aerial view of El-Asmarat
Source: (ElHanafi, 2019)

4.1. Project Background

4.1.1. Project Overview

El-Asmarat (Long Live Egypt City) is a national housing project to house those relocated from slums and unsafe areas. The project is considered the biggest relocation site in Egypt as it accommodates about 18,300 families with a total population of 80,000 capita over a total area of 203 feddans (Mounir, 2018; Tahya Misr Fund, n.d.). The project started in 2014 according to presidential decree to find a proper house for those living in life-threatening conditions initially from various informal areas such as Manshiyet Nasser, Ezbet Khairallah and Istabl Antar which are categorized under grades 1 and 2 of the unsafe area. Afterwards, relocated residents from Maspero area have moved to El-Asmarat as a substitute for their units within the framework of a national regeneration project known as Maspero Triangle Project. El-Asmarat has three phases with a total cost of EGP 3 billion (State Information Service (SIS), 2016). The first and second phases were completed and inaugurated by the president in 2016 while the third phase was completed in 2020.

4.1.2. Location and Accessibility

As illustrated in Figure IVError! Reference source not found., El-Asmarat is located in the Muqattem District in the south-eastern part of Cairo. It is named after "El-Asmarat Heights Compound" which is located next to the plot over which El-Asmarat "Long Live Egypt City" currently stands.

Although the location is near well-known regions in Cairo, it is not that close to the original locations from which residents were relocated, being about 12 km from these locations as shown in Figure V. It is worth mentioning that this project is considered one of the successful trials to allocate better prime locations for relocation sites by selecting a vibrant neighbourhood where surroundings are active with services and infrastructure compared to the old trials of relocation sites appointed at desert remote areas such as Masaken Othman in 6th of October City.
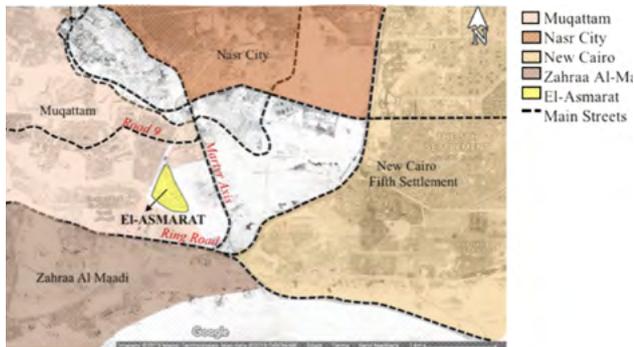
Figure IV: El-Asmarat Location
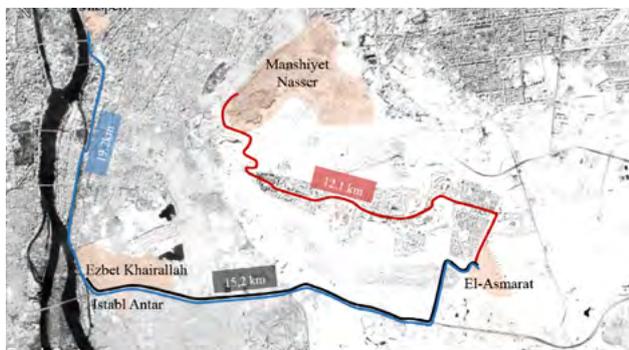Source: (Google Earth edited by Authors, 2020)

Figure V: Travel distance from El-Asmarat to reloctees' old neighbourhoods
Source: (Google Earth; edited by Authors, 2020)

4.1.3. Project Phases and Services

The project is a result of fruitful cooperation between ISDF, engineering department of the armed forces, Cairo Governorate and Tahya Misr (Long Live Egypt) Fund[2] . It has three phases of construction. The initial plan of the government was to build only the first and the second phases but after their completion, the decision to establish the third phase was taken. El-Asmarat was designed and constructed by Egyptian design offices and construction companies (ElHanafi, 2019). The project consists of clusters of residential blocks, distributed over the three phases of the project with 6,138, 4,722 and 7,440 units respectively for each phase (Cairo Governorate, 2019).

In addition, various public services facilities are available such as schools, medical centre, commercial zone, shops, cultural centre, amphitheatre,

neighbourhood management unit, youth centre, playgrounds, a mosque, a church, etc.

It is worth mentioning that El-Asmarat has its own neighbourhood management unit that is administratively affiliated to Cairo Governorate. It is located inside the neighbourhood and is responsible for all the administrative and management-related work on neighbourhood scale. Having a neighbourhood management unit, considering the scale and the population density of the neighbourhood, is **an exceptional governance model in the Egyptian contex**t since the Egyptian system only relies on district management units (usually cover larger areas with higher population densities). The decision to establish this management unit took into consideration the special nature of this project as a role model for national alternative housing projects for relocated slum dwellers.
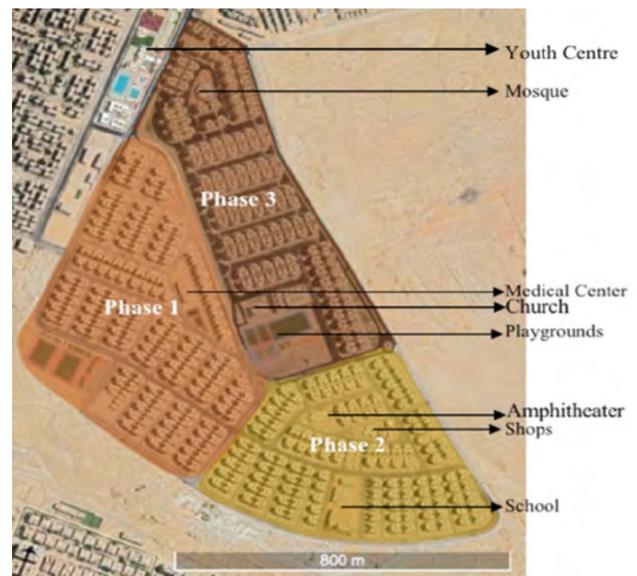
Figure VI: El-Asmarat phases and services
Source: (Google Earth; edited by Authors, 2020)

4.1.4. Land and El-Asmarat

The main challenge for relocation projects is land availability and provision of funds. Land acquisition in the project of El-Asmarat was a challenge because this land was owned by the governorate and the Egyptian Armed Forces. Fifty per cent of the land needed for El-Asmarat 2nd and 3rd phases was military land.

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2 In 2014, the Presidency of the Arab Republic of Egypt announced the launch of "Tahya Misr" Fund to activate the previously announced initiative by the President to establish a fund in support of the economy. The Central Bank of Egypt opened the door to donations on account number 037037 to get funds for developmental projects. The Fund is under the direct supervision of the President.

The armed forces has disposed its share of the land to the governorate after several negotiation rounds, which involved the former Cairo Governor, Mr. Galal El Said, ISDF and armed forces. When the land ownership was transferred to the governorate, the building licenses were issued (ElHanafi, 2019). Furthermore, the funding of the project was a collaborative work between various donors and entities including ISDF, Long Live Egypt Fund and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) (Cairo Governorate, 2019; ElHanafi, 2019).The following table displays the area of each phase, land owner, land share, funding agency and approximate construction cost per phase.

Phase	Total Area (Feddans)	Land Owner	Land Share (%)	Funding Agency	Approximate Land Development Cost
1	65	Cairo Governorate	100%	ISDF	EGP 900 million
2	61	Cairo Governorate	50%	Long Live Egypt Fund	EGP 500 million
		Egyptian Armed Forces	50%		
3	62	Cairo Governorate	50%	Long Live Egypt Fund	EGP 500 million
		Egyptian Armed Forces	50%		

Table III: El-Asmarat phases information
Source: (Cairo Governorate, 2019; ElHanafi, 2019)

4.1.5. Home Ownership Schemes in El-Asmarat

The residents of El-Asmarat have been relocated from unsafe areas with various home ownership statuses. The majority of residents relocated from Manshiyet Nasser, Ezbet Khairallah and Istabl Antar are squatters on public land which results in illegal ownership of the houses. Others have quasi-legal ownership since they have legal documents such as electricity bills issued by the official entity which in a way verify the ownership of the unit by a resident. On the contrary, relocated populace from Maspero have legal ownership documents for their lands and units. Therefore, they have received a special ownership scheme in El-Asmarat after relocation.

The concerned authorities, which include ISDF and the governorate, have developed a new ownership system of the units in El-Asmarat. The ownership model in previous relocation projects, such as Masaken Othman, was unconditional property ownership to the relocatees as a substitute for their units in slums. Applying lessons learned from previous similar projects, ISDF readjusted this system in the newly constructed project. This is because residents of previous projects left the new houses and returned to their original informal settlements. Thus, in El-Asmarat, only usufruct right of the units is provided. Residents of the units are allowed only to use the units themselves with no bequeath or sub-let rights. The usufruct right is subjected to certain conditions including the regular payment of the rent value (EGP 300 per month) in addition to utilities and services cost such as water and electricity bills. Breaching any condition of the lease contract results in the termination of the contract and the eviction of the residents.

4.2. Fieldwork Methodology

In order to understand the current ownership system and beneficiaries' satisfaction with the applied governance system, a field study was done and the following systematic data collection tools were used.

- **Semi-Structured Interviews:** these were conducted with residents of El-Asmarat, ISDF representative (Eng. Ihab ElHanafi), and Head of El-Asmarat neighbourhood unit (Eng. Hassan El-Ghandour). The questions and answers of these interviews were recorded and summarized (see the Appendix).

- **Observations:** the researchers put their remarks on spatial, social and behavioural patterns in El-Asmarat through site visits. Non-participant observation is an unobtrusive tool to collect data without the direct interaction of the observer and participant.

• **Questionnaire:** this tool was used in order to precisely measure the satisfaction levels of the residents with the relocation project. The questionnaire consisted of 5 demographic questions and 10 research topic-related multiple-choice questions. Likert scale-based questions were used with five possible answer options (Very unsatisfied, Unsatisfied, Neutral, Satisfied and Very satisfied) or Yes/No. In order to ease the process of collection of answers, the researchers orally discussed the survey questions with the participants and then filled the answers on their behalf using an online application, "SurveyMonkey", which is an online platform used to collect the questionnaire answers and present

electronically-produced statistical analysis of the results. The bilingual questionnaire is available via this link:https://www.surveymonkey.com/r/38XLP5D. It is important to mention that Arabic language was used for the interviews and questionnaire.

To sum up, using various data collection tools in this study achieved the consistency of the findings and verified the results. The triangulation helped in collecting various viewpoints in the study.

Sample Analysis
The sample demographics are reported and illustrated in Table IV as follows:

Field	Status	Frequency	%
Gender	Male	14	56%
	Female	11	44%
Age	16-18	4	16%
	18-24	2	8%
	25-34	6	24%
	35-44	9	36%
	45-54	3	12%
	Above 65	1	4%
Moved from	Manshiyet Nasser	12	48%
	Istabl Antar	10	40%
	Maspero	3	12%
	Other	0	0
Employment	Unemployed	7	28%
	Day by day worker	11	44%
	Self employed	1	4%
	Employed	3	12%
	Retired	0	0%
	Student	3	12%
Education	Non	14	56%
	Primary School	1	4%
	Prep School	1	4%
	Secondary School	1	4%
	Technical Secondary school	6	24%
	Institute	2	8%
	University	0	0%
	Adult Literacy certificate	0	0%

Table IV: Demographic analysis of the research sample (N = 25)
Source: Survey by Authors, 2020

A total of 25 participants (N = 25), all permanent residents of El-Asmarat, responded to the questionnaire. They are household (unit tenants) or family members who are indirectly affected by the ownership system and living costs and conditions of El-Asmarat.

Study Limitations
The study has faced some limitations that encompass: the lack of official data, limited sample size, time constraints and fear by participant of revealing personal opinions.

Some mechanisms were used to overcome these limitations, such as interviewing officials, using various data collection tools and anonymity of the survey participants.

4.3. Statistical Results of the Questionnaire

The numerical results of the questionnaire answers were collected and tabulated in the figures that follow while the discussion of the research findings is provided in the following section.

The housing satisfaction level of El-Asmarat residents was evaluated with respect to physical, social, economic and legal aspects.

The criteria for assessing the physical qualities of the relocation site include:

- Satisfaction with the **dwelling unit**, including dwelling size, quality of building materials, indoor natural ventilation, natural lighting and quality of furniture;

- Satisfaction with the **provided infrastructure**, including electricity supply, water supply, sewage system, condition of streets and lighting, condition of roads and paving, and condition of open public spaces;

- Satisfaction with the **public services**, including health facilities, educational facilities, recreational facilities, and commercial facilities; and,

- Satisfaction with the **location of El-Asmarat**.

The criteria for assessing the socioeconomic qualities and legal status at the relocation site include:

- Satisfaction with the level of public participation, including the level of engaging the residents in the decision-making processes from the planning phases up to the execution of relocation;

- Satisfaction with the units' ownership system, including secured land tenure against eviction and the clarity of contractual agreements between the government and the tenants;

- Satisfaction with the rent value and living costs, including affordability of unit price and other living costs; and,

- Satisfaction with the job opportunities, including the availability of businesses and hiring opportunities with adequate salaries for the relocated residents in comparison with the available offers in slums.

As shown in Figure VII, the interviewed residents reported that El-Asmarat has managed to improve the physical conditions of the units, including the provision of adequate infrastructure with better overall physical planning for the neighbourhood compared to their old neighbourhoods. This is represented in blue colour to reflect high satisfaction level of the residents with these factors.

**SATISFACTION LEVEL WITH
THE UNIT (N=25)**

- VERY UNSATISFIED
- UNSATISFIED
- NEUTRAL
- SATISFIED
- VERY SATISFIED
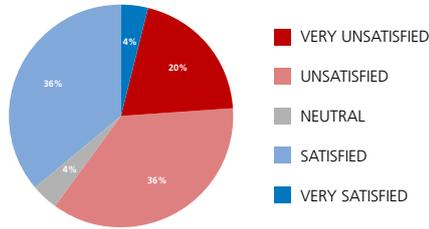
**SATISFACTION LEVEL WITH
INFRASTRUCTURE (N=25)**

- VERY UNSATISFIED
- UNSATISFIED
- NEUTRAL
- SATISFIED
- VERY SATISFIED
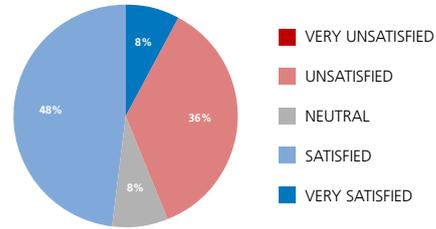
**SATISFACTION LEVEL WITH
PUBLIC SERVICES (N=25)**

- VERY UNSATISFIED
- UNSATISFIED
- NEUTRAL
- SATISFIED
- VERY SATISFIED
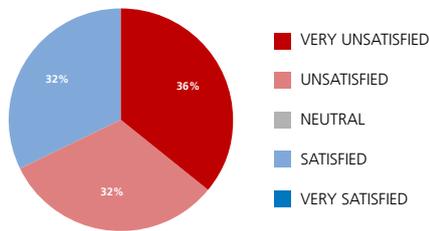
**SATISFACTION LEVEL WITH
LOCATION OF THE NEIGHBORHOOD (N=25)**

- VERY UNSATISFIED
- UNSATISFIED
- NEUTRAL
- SATISFIED
- VERY SATISFIED

Figure VII: Questionnaire results about El-Asmarat residents' satisfaction with physical criteria of relocation (N = 25) - Source: (Survey by authors, 2020)

On the contrary, as shown in Figure VIII, the residents reported some negative impacts of relocation on socioeconomic aspects which cause severe to moderate dissatisfaction. This is represented in red colour to reflect high dissatisfaction level of the residents.

**SATISFACTION LEVEL WITH
LEVEL OF PUBLIC PARTICIPATION (N=25)**

- VERY UNSATISFIED
- UNSATISFIED
- NEUTRAL
- SATISFIED
- VERY SATISFIED
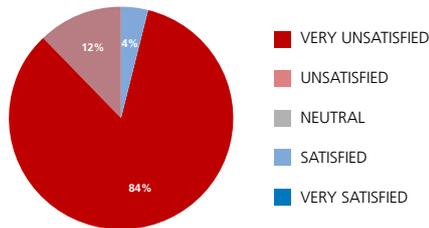
**SATISFACTION LEVEL WITH
UNITS OWNERSHIP SYSTEM (N=25)**

- VERY UNSATISFIED
- UNSATISFIED
- NEUTRAL
- SATISFIED
- VERY SATISFIED

**SATISFACTION LEVEL WITH
RENT VALUE AND LIVING COSTS (N=25)**

- VERY UNSATISFIED
- UNSATISFIED
- NEUTRAL
- SATISFIED
- VERY SATISFIED
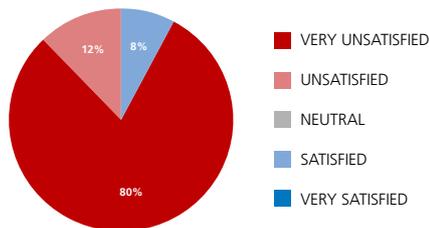
**SATISFACTION LEVEL WITH
JOB OPPORTUNITIES (N=25)**

- VERY UNSATISFIED
- UNSATISFIED
- NEUTRAL
- SATISFIED
- VERY SATISFIED

Figure VIII: Questionnaire results about El-Asmarat residents' satisfaction with socioeconomic and legal criteria of relocation
Source: Survey by authors, 2020)

Overall, the surveyed sample still prefers to return to their old houses which can reflect their grieving over their old homes, which can be understood when analysing the socioeconomic impacts of the relocation. These impacts include the implications and manifestations of the legal framework and governance model followed in the new neighbourhood. As illustrated in Table V, according to the questionnaire results, the average rating of the destination is 2.2 out of 5 with 44 per cent of the survey participants giving a 1-star rating. Despite all the merits of El-Asmarat that residents have ackno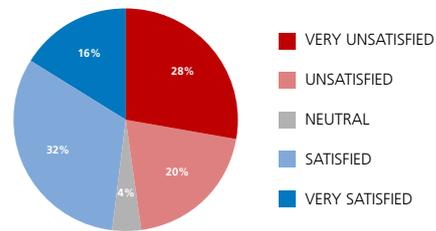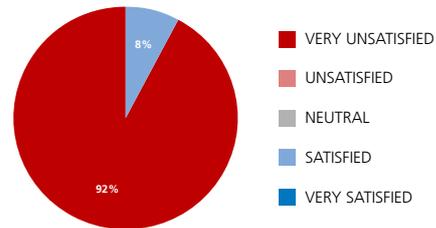wledged, their dream of returning to their old houses is a valid wish. When asked if they prefer to return to their previous neighbourhood — if this were an option — the questionnaire results revealed that 80 per cent of the respondents said yes.

Rating of El-Asmarat as a successful housing substitute	★ ★ ★ ★ ★	★ ★ ★ ★ ★	★ ★ ★ ★ ★	★ ★ ★ ★ ★	★ ★ ★ ★ ★
Response	44.00% (N = 11)	20.00% (N = 5)	12.00% (N = 3)	12.00% (N = 3)	4.00% (N = 1)

Prefer to return back to old house at informal settlements?	Yes	No
Response	80.00% (N = 20)	20.00% (N = 5)

Table V: Questionnaire results on the rating of El-Asmarat and residents' preferences to live there
Source: Survey by authors, 2020

4.4. Research Findings: Land Governance Challenges at El-Asmarat

Perspective of the Government Versus Perspective of the Citizens

It is clear that the Egyptian Government exerts plentiful efforts on the development of slums. These plans need endless financial resources and effective participation. Nevertheless, the interviews with residents of El-Asmarat have revealed the different perspective of citizens towards the relocation process. Each stakehol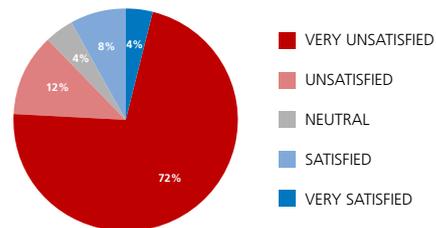der has its own incentives and interests towards the process. Thus, the next paragraphs will illustrate the different viewpoints of these two main stakeholders.

The main findings of the research can be recapped in the following points:

The Legal Situation of Ownership

The informal settlement dwellers lived in their old houses for years. They consider themselves owners of the units and any relocation from their original places is forced eviction. Most of them speak about the laws which enable them to own the land if they squat on it for a certain number of years (Alfiky, 2014; Sims,

Sejoume, and El Shorbagi, 2003). Conversely, the government confirms that the development plan is fair, and in their favour, as they were illegally squatting on State land, and they have no right to own the land. They are now living in secure rented units.

Security of Tenure

Interviewed residents reported that they have a less degree of tenure security after relocation compared to in the slums where they owned the units, hence did not have to pay any rents. On the contrary, they become tenants of the new units in relocation sites with the possibility of leaving their units in case they fail to pay the rents (see the Appendix). However, from the legal perspective, they were illegally squatting on State land and did not own the land, thus had no right to use it.

Freedom to Dispose of Property

Relocated residents complained about their fragile situation of freedom to dispose of their units. Consequently, they are deprived of the right to liberty of movement and freedom to choose their place of residence. From the legal perspective, they only use the alternative units, but they do not have the right to bequeath or sub-let them. This situation leaves them

with endless fear of the future of their children and how they can find shelter if they are evicted anytime (see Appendix). The government has given them the usufruct right of the units to avoid what happened in previous relocation projects where many residents sold their units and returned to informal settlements. Such a model wasted government resources allocated for subsidized housing since the service did not reach the real beneficiaries.

Additional Living Costs and Expensive Rents
Relocated populace usually lose their investment in their old houses, including construction, maintenance or renovation costs. In case of upgrading, they usually are required to pay for relocation costs or to pay rent for temporary houses till they get back to their original houses after the completion of the upgrade. Such extra costs sometimes are beyond their financial capacities (Tadamun, 2014, 2015). Moreover, the relocation results in higher living costs, including transportation and service costs, which add more financial pressures on the residents considering that relocation might lead to residents losing their jobs since they relocate far from their workplaces which are usually located near the slums. On the other hand, the State treasury defrays the expenses of slum demolition and the construction of alternative units. These costs burden the budget of the country. Moreover, officials think that the rent is very reasonable at El-Asmarat (EGP 300 per month) which they considered a subsidized housing cost for the poor (Khalifa, 2015; Tadamun, 2015).

Selection of Relocation Site
In most cases, families are moved to relocation sites far from their original homes and workplaces. On the other hand, the government has a limited selection of sites where they can assign for this kind of projects. Various factors affect the location selection process, such as the location corresponding to the national planning map and the availability of infrastructure and services to reduce the initial cost of the project (Sims, 2000; Tadamun, 2014, 2015).

Social Disconnection
Relocation affects the social networks of the residents due to the change of the physical environment and community identity. Relocation is criticized for rupturing the social ties between neighbours who spend years connected in the slums. The fragmentation of sense of continuity emerges from the loss of experiences of stability, availability and familiarity leading to severe grief reactions, loss of stability of place, people, security and support (Fried,

1966). The interviewed residents reported that they are still trying to adjust to the new community. The fact that the relocated people did not move in clusters with their old neighbours or were not placed near each other has resulted in the fragmentation of social networks. These warm relationships between neighbours were torn apart when the families were relocated and were replaced by the new wave of social tension between the different relocated groups who came from different origins. Nevertheless, the neighbourhood management and NGOs are working hard to strengthen the sense of community and increase the level of awareness through social activities and events.

Participation
There is no unified model of participation in the relocation process in Egypt and it is modified according to the situation of each case. Slum dwellers complain about the lack of participation as they were neither involved in the planning of the project nor their opinions taken in any phase of the project. On the other hand, officials argued that residents were informed with the major steps of the project in light of acceptable participation level considering the public interest and the awareness level of the affected groups.

Forced or Legal Eviction
Considering the participation model, the process of relocation, how the slum residents were involved, and if they were involved in the decision of upgrading or leaving, many questions are raised regarding the legitimacy of the relocation process. Public opinion was interested in discussing whether it is forced eviction or juridical displacement as part of the development plan. While groups are advocating the right to save people from forced evictions, another point of view advocates the government's right to work for the public interest as soon as alternative housing is provided to the relocated population.

To sum up, the research findings deduced that relocation has brought up new land and governance challenges. Although ownership and governance control are defined in the new location, hidden costs of relocation have started to arise accentuating the gap between the planning and the results of execution. The next chapter will introduce a set of recommendations to improve the current situation of El-Asmarat and propose new insights regarding relocation as an effective tool to improve land management and governance models in the Egyptian context.

5.1. Recommendations

As the study focuses on understanding the land governance challenges before and after slum relocation, the recommendations are provided in a sequence to respond to the status of "before" and "after" slum relocation. The recommendations are structured to address the pre-relocation, during relocation and after relocation phases aiming to improve the situation in relocation projects — specifically El-Asmarat. It is worth mentioning that some recommendations are valid for more than one phase since these phases are overlapping and interlocking. They are illustrated as follows:

5.1.1. Pre-Relocation Status (Improving the Current Policies Managing Slums)

Land Management System
The study illustrated conflict in land management system in Egypt. Many entities share the same responsibilities. Likewise, in the case of land legalization in slums, the process is too complex, and the final decision lies with various authorities. Thus, creating one authority to manage the entire development process of slums will solve a huge part of this complexity (Alfiky, 2014; Néfissa, 2009). Avoiding the complicated bureaucratic administrative work within various ministries and institutions would efficiently manage effort, time and cost needed for developmental projects (ISDF, 2010; Khalifa, 2011a, 2011b). This can be achieved through activating the role of local municipalities and urban upgrading units (UUU) in governorates to take decisions on their local level in cooperation with ISDF and other concerned authorities. Decentralized models of governance would provide a chance to those responsible in local level to initiate developmental plans that are tailor-made to the actual needs of the community.

Laws and Regulations
Legalizing land ownership in slums is a harsh, long process for slum dwellers, and it takes a lot of time and effort by the responsible authorities to complete. Accordingly, there are no incentives for slum dwellers to legalize their situation until the government forces them to prove their residence to get a compensation in case of relocation or in-site upgrade processes. Therefore, modifying the current laws and regulations to ease the process of land legalization will encourage the residents to obtain permit for their lands and the government to complete the development plan with less effort, time and cost. The Egyptian Government exerts efforts in that field as it has lately initiated the

law of reconciliation in some building violations and legalizing their conditions (Alfiky, 2014; Lengoiboni, Richter & Zevenbergen, 2019; Sims, 2016). However, the application of the law is still facing difficulties due to the mass of informal construction in the State. It also does not find solutions for particular cases including construction on agricultural land and State-owned land which represent an unneglectable share of informal settlements.

Avoid Relocation
Interviews and literature review argued that relocation is the most exhausting and tricky intervention strategy to be used in slum development. Residents do not prefer leaving their apartments and their neighbours. Government consumes a lot of resources on building new relocation sites and providing infrastructure to these sites, in addition to complex negotiations to resolve ownership conflicts. Resettlement is not easy for residents (Schmidt-Soltau, 2003, p. 539). It directly affects their livelihood dynamics on multiple levels since it not only forces a change in their built environment but also interrupts their social structures as well as their economic activities. Relocated populace feel socially disconnected and they usually need to find new jobs near their new homes. The General Comment No. 7 titled, "The right to adequate housing (Art.11.1): forced evictions" issued by UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (CESCR) stated, "undertaking major clearance operations should take place only when conservation and rehabilitation are not feasible and relocation measures are made" (CESCR, 1997, paragraph 2). Due to the negative impacts of relocation, the government should avoid relocation if possible and direct its efforts to in-situ upgrading as it is a less problematic approach to solve ownership conflicts and save government budget.

5.1.2. During Relocation Process

Community Participation
In case relocation is unavoidable and residents must move to a new location to ensure their safety, community participation is a fundamental approach to facilitate the exchange of ideas and working together. Residents are the best representative of their needs and demands. Thus, the participatory approach gives the planners and policymakers the chance to understand the real needs for better planning of developmental projects (Nampila, 2005). By involving the people in the process, conflicts could be avoided by bringing stakeholders with various interests together to explore common interests and reach a

middle ground. When people participate, they understand the aim of the project which results in fewer misunderstandings and better communication for ideas and concerns. Considering community development is a participatory and incremental learning process, ensuring community participation from the conception of the project and through the various phases will make people take responsibility for the project (Abdelhalim, 2010). This entails better management of resources and higher efficiency of the project. This multi-stakeholder process might take a longer time for plan preparation and concept formation phases, but it usually results in faster development, approval and implementation because people are confident that the plans are aligned with the issues that are meaningful to them.

In other words, people-centred design and planning done by the people for the people should be the way to design such special housing projects. Following "the godfather planner" model will never cater for the real needs of residents so participatory planning is a tool to engage people in the early stages of the project, making them partners, not followers. Therefore, respecting people's opinions and catering for their real demands in design will enable the planners and decision makers to avoid the risks of wasting time and resources leading to the optimization of the quality of the project output. Although officials sometimes are sceptical about the participatory model, policies can create a regulatory framework to facilitate community participation (Nampila, 2005).

International Association for Public Participation (IAP2) — an international leader in community participation — has developed a set of core values for public participation to be used to regulate the participation process (IAP, n.d.). The values are:

1. Public participation is based on the belief that those who are affected by a decision have a right to be involved in the decision-making process.

2. Public participation includes the promise that the public's contribution will influence the decision.

3. Public participation promotes sustainable decisions by recognizing and communicating the needs and interests of all participants, including decision makers.

4. Public participation seeks out and facilitates the involvement of those potentially affected by or interested in a decision.

5. Public participation seeks input from participants in designing how they participate.

6. Public participation provides participants with the information they need to participate in a meaningful way.

7. Public participation communicates to participants how their input affected the decision.

These core values could be included and projected in the planning, execution and follow-up phases of the relocation process to improve the output of the project which implies a higher housing satisfaction level of the beneficiaries.

5.1.3. Post-Relocation Process (Ongoing Process of Following Up Relocation Projects)

Fair Ownership Model
Ensuring a fair ownership system is a milestone to make relocation more acceptable by residents. Many international organizations have accredited the right of relocated slum dwellers to have a minimum legal security of tenure. The World Bank report stated that, "Squatter communities slated for removal must receive alternative locations for housing although they may lack the legal title or rights to their land (or other property) that would ensure their compensation" (Cernea, 1988, p. 19). Such a statement clearly granted the right of fair compensation for the land to squatters regardless of the absence of legal titling of their land in the slums. In El-Asmarat, only rental housing is available for the relocated populace except for Maspero relocated group who are going to pay the rent value for 20 years to own the unit as a substitute for their old houses at the Maspero Triangle. Although rental housing is a viable alternative that is meant to give people budget flexibility and the spatial mobility to look for better opportunities, the matter of affordability is a challenge to create a balanced equation.

In El-Asmarat, there are no final contracts to guarantee the residents' long-term rights to ensure secure ownership. The downgrade of ownership scheme is a focal point of dissatisfaction of the residents. They claim that they were owners of units in the slums and after relocation, they become tenants who have to pay for their accommodation which adds a burden to their financial status. In order to solve this dilemma, it is recommended to prepare contractual agreements to protect the residents from forced eviction and to keep a fair rent cost. Conversely, the relocated citizens have to accept and sign that they will not sell the units at

El-Asmarat till a minimum stay to guarantee that they will not return to their former homes in the slums.

An ownership scheme proposed by Thonke (2015) tries to save the ownership status of the relocated residents so that the renter remains renter while the owner saves his status in the relocation site. The scheme suggests a fair rental value of the new alternative unit which is equivalent to the average rental value per square metre in informal areas in order to ensure the affordability of the new unit at the relocation site. However, a value of 3 per cent of the average price should be added to cover the maintenance work in the new neighbourhood. Moreover, the suggested system has provided a better solution to save the right to liberty of movement and freedom to choose residence while considering the special nature of social subsidized housing that should be assigned to the citizens who are most in need.

As shown in Figure IX, the suggested strategy encompasses that renter in the relocation area should pay a rent with a value as illustrated above. In case the renter wants to move out and sub-let the unit, the new renter who is not affected by relocation will pay a higher rental value determined by the neighbourhood management unit. Moreover, the owner will remain an owner in the relocation site and does not pay rent; in case of sub-letting the apartment, the owner has the legal right to do so but the rental value is determined by the neighbourhood management unit and the has to pay a percentage of the rent value to the neighbourhood management unit. Such a legal

framework will encourage the owners to stay in El-Asmarat because it is a better economic option compared to sub-letting.

Mentorship Programmes and Post-Occupancy Evaluation

The government should give full support and assistance to the residents during and after relocation till they successfully re-establish their living standards (Amnesty International, 2011). Mentoring programmes are a powerful tool to make this transitional phase of the life of beneficiaries smooth and more comfortable. Activating the social infrastructure, community-based organisations (CBOs) and NGOs can help in supporting the relocated populace to regain their balance after relocation and bond with the new community (Willemsen, 1992, p. 44). In El-Asmarat, the cultural center and the few NGOs, such as Kheir wa Baraka, have the potential to play a more powerful role in improving the social life of El-Asmarat residents.

Furthermore, design is a sociopolitical subject rather than an absolute science. Post-occupancy evaluation is a communication tool to get the feedback of the service recipient. It is a systematic way to analyse and learn from previous work to improve the upcoming projects (Watson, 2003). Consequently, frequent monitoring of the relocation projects is crucial. Carrying out periodical post-occupancy evaluations is highly recommended to enable the planners to update their intervention strategies to meet the ever-changing needs and demands of the relocatees.
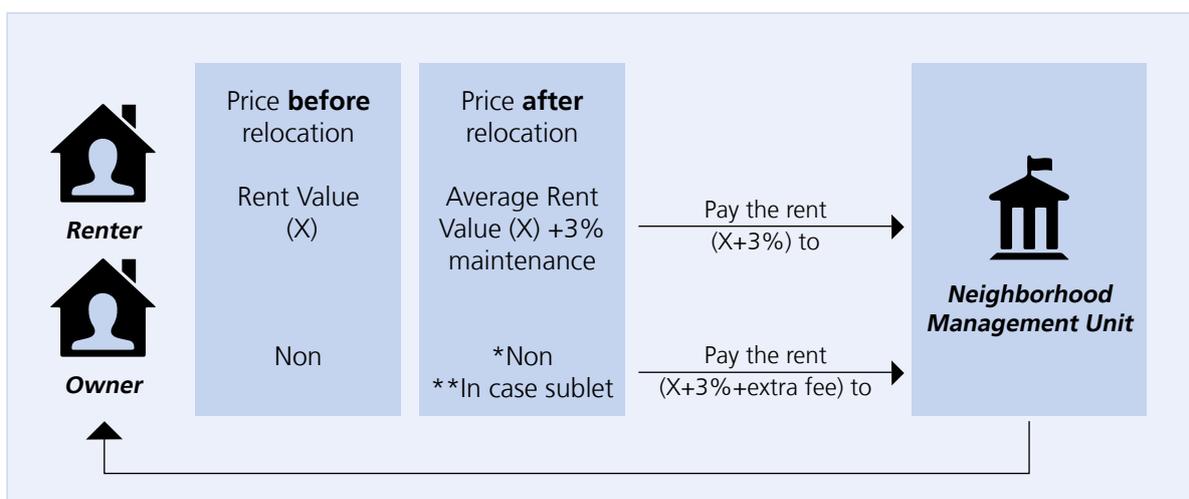

Figure IX: Suggested units ownership system in El-Asmarat
Source: (Thonke, 2015; edited by authors)

5.1.4. The Proposed Model

As mentioned by Francescato, Weidemann and Anderson (1987), environment is a system of multiple customers who have multiple objectives. Therefore, the evaluation of the environment must be based on multiple criteria. Michelson (1977) tried to elaborately explain the housing satisfaction through three aspects: mobility and choice, needs, and residents' behaviour within their environment. Then, Vliet (1998) agreed with Michelson and defined eight specific criteria based on which the housing satisfaction can be determined, which are: the economic needs of beneficiaries; the physical settings (the size of the dwelling unit, building materials, location and layout of houses); access to basic services; good quality building materials; secure tenure; good location; access to educational, health and recreational facilities; and promoting and maintaining social networks and social cohesion. So, dwellers tend to determine whether their houses are adequate or not based on the aforementioned satisfaction criteria.

According to the UN, adequate housing must provide more than four walls and a roof (CESCR, 1991 Paragraph 8). For a house to be adequate, it should respond to the seven pillars identified as follows:

- Legal security of tenure: All people should possess secure tenure to their houses that guarantees a legal protection of their units.

- Availability of services, materials, facilities and infrastructure: An adequate house provides its residents with sustainable access to water, sanitation, energy sources and food. All basic and emergency services should be available.

- Affordability: Personal and household costs associated with housing should be compatible with the residents' income to ensure residents' satisfaction. Subsidies should be allocated for those who cannot afford these costs. Tenants should be protected from unreasonable price increase.

- Habitability: An adequate house should be habitable and protects its residents from any environmental hazard. The physical attributes should be convenient to the residents.

- Accessibility: All citizens should have an equal right to access housing so it should be inclusive to all classes and groups. Priority should be given to the most marginalized groups.

- Location: An adequate house should be located in a vicinity to employment options and needed services such as schools, health-care facilities and others. Location should not be subjected to hazardous pollution or life-threatening conditions.

- Cultural adequacy: Adequate housing should ensure and support cultural identity and diversity of housing types that accommodate different groups. Cultural facilities should be provided.

Based on the above, it can be argued that housing satisfaction covers two scales: **dwelling unit scale** and **neighbourhood scale**. The overall housing satisfaction is a function of both subjective and objective evaluation of housing attributes and the neighbourhood context which gives an indication of how a dweller weighs and prioritizes the assessment criteria (Adriaanse, 2007).

By applying this approach, the concept of "a house" will extend beyond being a shelter to being a home where non-physical factors are as important as physical tangible aspects of a housing project which leads to higher housing satisfaction of the resident.

Focusing on the land-related criteria of housing satisfaction, the proposed model works on both pre- and post-relocation conditions. It analyses the land-related problems in pre-relocation sites (slums) and provide solutions to improve the living conditions as an approach to be applied simultaneously with building new neighbourhoods (relocation sites) to relocate those who are living under life-threating conditions. Moreover, the model provides recommendations to improve the quality of governance system at relocation sites aiming at higher housing satisfaction for the residents.

The proposed model shown in Figure X illustrates that it is necessary to tackle each phase with its special givens. First, in slums and when it is possible, relocation should be avoidable. Working on providing legal options in some slums — where safety is not the reason behind relocation — could be a better solution to legalize the informality.

The proposed model recommends the following to deal with identified land-related problems:

- Readjusting the institutional framework of land management system in slums is a necessity to have a specific authority with clear mandate that works on dealing with land management in slums.

- Supporting reconciliation with building violations without compromising safety is a fundamental step to solve the ambiguous legal situation of slum dwellers.

- Working on the legalization of informal ownership would be a step towards overcoming the lack of security of tenure.

Second, when relocation is a must to retain safety measures, the new neighbourhood should be designed and managed as an "integrative urban quarter". This induces the provision of physical, social, economic and legal factors that constitute a healthy environment for the relocated populace. It also refers to the importance of overall housing satisfaction of the residents with the various criteria constituting the new neighbourhood.

With respect to land management and governance of the relocation project, the proposed model induces the following recommendations to deal with the expected arising land-related challenges:

- Fair contractual agreements with fair sustainable ownership schemes on the long term to those who are relocated. Such a step can result in residents embracing their sense of security and

protection leading to higher sense of belonging which implies higher satisfaction on social life.

- The form of this contractual agreement should be achieved through negotiations between various stakeholders to decide upon a convenient agreement regarding the ownership scheme, the rent value and disposal regulations. Such an agreement would increase the overall housing satisfaction of the residents through improving social, economic and legal standards of the relocated residents.

- Carrying out mentoring programmes and regular post-occupancy evaluation verifies the effectiveness of the applied governance scheme which also improves the overall satisfaction of the residents with the new neighbourhood.

In aggregate, the aforementioned recommendations are highly overlapping and interlocking. Each measures affects and contributes to the rest of the chain to create a better governance system and more secured tenure that results in higher housing satisfaction of beneficiaries.

To sum up, by improving the social, economic and legal situation of the relocated residents, a higher overall satisfaction could be achieved. It also ensures achieving the project objectives which are mainly focusing on improving the quality of life of ex-slum dwellers.
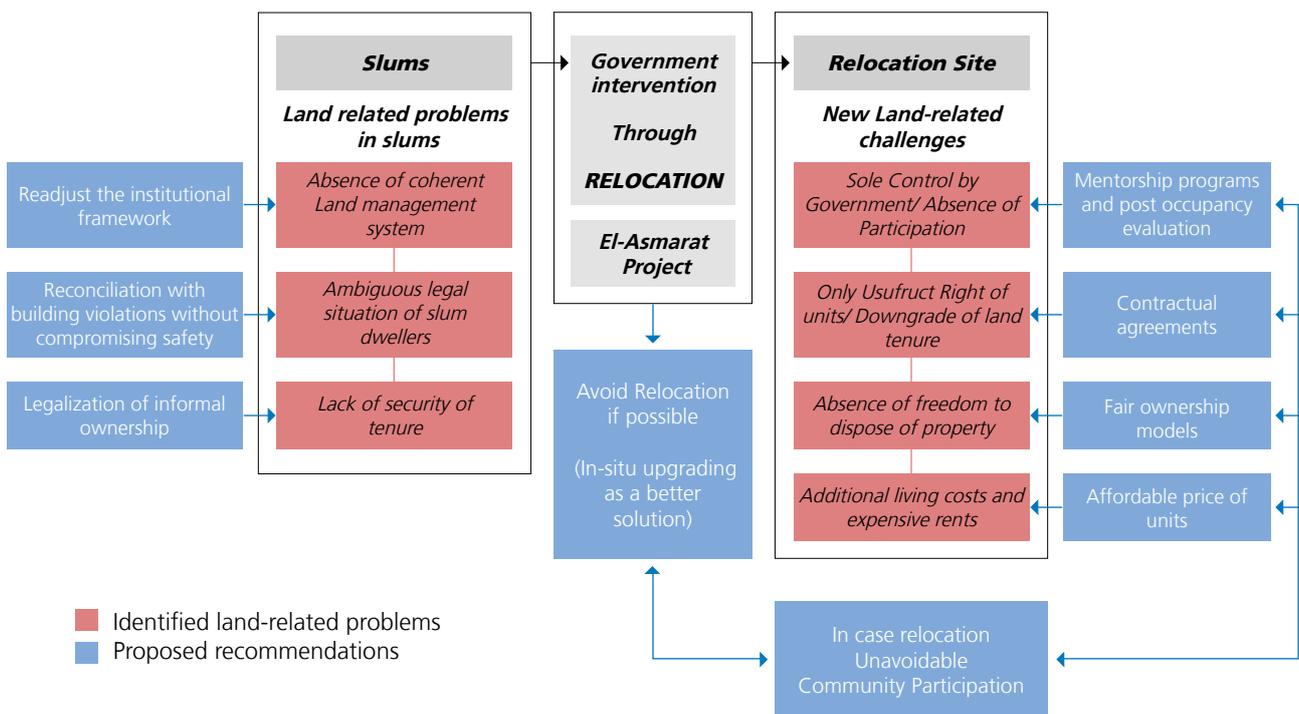

Figure X: Proposed Model - Relation between identified challenges before and after slums relocation and proposed solutions.
Source: Authors, 2020

5.2. Remarks on the Research Framework and Further Research

The main core of this research focuses on the land management system in Egypt, the process of land registration, land tenure security and the process of relocation and its effectiveness in providing better land governance solutions. The study turned to relevant Egyptian laws and the field study on El-Asmarat Project. Whereas those aspects are crucial and directly affect the relocated populace, there are lots of other aspects that need more investigations regarding the relocation process.

Socioeconomic aspects are principal factors to ensure a successful relocation process. Knowing the needs and the culture of the targeted segment will provide the government with a better understanding of their needs and requirements. Wise management of communication between various stakeholders will ease the participation process and facilitate the decision-making process in the project. Many other aspects should be considered rather than the absolute legal and regulatory part. Therefore, opening new insights in the research field of the multidisciplinary approach of relocation is a potential topic for further investigation. Also, the socioeconomic impacts of land governance policies and regulations could provide a better humanitarian dimension of the application of laws. Moreover, exploring appropriate tailored participatory approaches of planning in the Egyptian context would also be interesting ongoing research to build on the findings of this research.

Furthermore, post-occupancy evaluation is a crucial step to evaluate the outcomes of the relocation process, especially in the case of El-Asmarat since it is a typology that is intended to be replicated all over the country. The evaluation should include the satisfaction of the relocated residents with their new location, provided infrastructure and services, and internal management system. The evaluation of the applied governance scheme and urban policies should be included in the assessment as they impact the relocation procedures. Results will help the government to improve upcoming similar projects.

5.3. Overall Conclusions

Urban informality has been a dominant pattern of Egyptian cities. The phenomenon of informal settlements is a multidimensional paradigm that not only has the physical and spatial manifestation of a city

urban fabric, but it has strong socioeconomic impacts on millions of residents as well as legal projections on the regulatory framework of urban policies. The exacerbation of illegal construction over land has resulted in complex land-related problems. The underpinning factors of the uncertainty of tenure security in Egyptian slums encompass customary land rights, absence of formal land titling, legal obstructions of land registration and weakness of setting a clear administrative system to govern the land.

Consequently, relocation has been introduced as an urban renewal tool to provide better housing alternatives to land squatters of slums; more specifically the areas subjected to life-threatening conditions. The aim of this governmental intervention is to offer a healthier environment for the residents and introduce more coherent and effective land management policies. Yet, slum dwellers are exposed to undesirable displacement to new State-led social housing megaprojects as a substitute for those unsafe shelters in the slums which puts the approach under the harsh critique of being a forced eviction. Despite the controversial opinions towards the approach, it has been replicated in the latest years under the umbrella of the national developmental plan. Therefore, it was important to assess the effectiveness of the approach in the Egyptian context.

Specifically, this research aimed to examine if these relocation projects have managed to solve the land-related problems of Egyptian slums leading to better land management and governance schemes. By conducting a field study on El-Asmarat Project, which is the largest location site in Egypt, the research findings were drawn to respond to the research questions.

It can be concluded from this study that relocation has led to noticeable improvements of physical and spatial qualities of the built environment, yet it still does not fully manage to solve the land-related problems of Egyptian slums. However, relocation has brought new challenges related to home ownership schemes, affordability and security of tenure in addition to various socioeconomic complications.

The research proposed series of recommendations to foster better land management strategies that can be followed pre, during and post relocation.

The proposed series of recommendations are listed as follows:

- Working on legalizing the ownership in informal settlements could be a low-cost solution compared to slum clearance and resettlement. Thus, it is recommended to avoid relocation whenever possible;

- Decentralized land-governance model is a tool to foster slum development projects;

- Higher level of community participation is needed before and during relocation;

- Restructuring home ownership system applied in relocation projects is fundamental to guarantee security against eviction through having fair balanced contractual agreements of units' ownership;

- Carrying out mentorship programmes and post-occupancy evaluation is recommended to communicate with the beneficiaries and navigate

the points of strengths and areas for development of the project; and,

- Giving attention to the socioeconomic aspects of relocation projects.

To conclude, understanding the 'alternative housing project' as an integrative urban quarter is a first step to consider its broader context. This encompasses a broader definition of housing project beyond the concept of building 'a shelter' with its physical dimension and locational benefits. Urban services, social, economic and legal dimensions should be considered. Activating strong democratic governance scheme with effective participatory approach might be a cornerstone to develop an inclusive urban quarter where urban poor are active supportive citizens which would minimize the expected reluctance to development ideas.

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ANNEX: INTERVIEWS SUMMARY TRANSCRIPT

Interview #1
Interview date: 29 July 2019
Interview time: 1:00 p.m.–2:00 p.m.
Place: ISDF office, Nasr City, Cairo, Egypt
Interviewee: Eng. Ihab ElHanafi
Occupation: Projects General Coordinator

1. Could you please explain the vision of the government for solving the problem of slums in Egypt?
The most adopted strategy is the relocation of the slum dwellers when the slums are subjected to life-threatening conditions. Previously, the vision was to relocate them in 6th of October such as Masaken Othman. When ISDF was founded, a new insight regarding the selection of the relocation site was introduced. We noticed that people just sold their apartments in Masaken Othman and moved to a place near their old houses since they connected to the area for work and family. The ISDF started to re-check the vision and thought about selecting a location that it is well-established near services. As you may know, the main challenge for developing the slums is finding vacant land and financial resources. In El-Asmarat, the case was the same but the concerned authorities were cooperative. The area used to be a rocky vacant land. Soil work costs around EGP 15–30 million.

2. Who initiated El-Asmarat Project and who funded the project?
The government has paid attention to relocation and resettlement of slum dwellers since 2009 after Duwaika accident. The allocated budget was limited. All public investments in this regard from 2009 till 2014 was EGP 670 million. The turning point was in 2014 when the president made slums the top priority of the State so the public investment of developing slums from 2014 till now is estimated at EGP 21 billion. Regarding El-Asmarat, the idea was initially adopted by ISDF in cooperation with Cairo Governorate and armed forces. El-Asmarat 1 land was owned by the governorate while the land for El-Asmarat 2 and 3 was 50 per cent Cairo Governorate property and 50 per cent owned by armed forces. Many meetings were done to reach an agreement. Phase 1 was funded by ISDF and since the work was successful, that stimulated (Long Live Egypt Fund) to fund the second and third phases.

3. How and who selected the location of El-Asmarat?
We were searching for a location that is near the old site of slum dwellers and already established surroundings that have services. Dr. Galal El-Saeed, the former Cairo Governor, was a key player in the selection. He fought for the allocation of this land to El-Asmarat Project. It is a prime location with high land value. It is adjacent to a well-known compound.

4. Who was the designer of the project? How many companies were involved in the construction?
The office of Dr. Ragab Megahed, the Dean of Engineering Faculty – Shubra Branch, is the designer. At first, the density of the residential buildings was very high then the design was revised to lower it. The approved design of El-Asmarat 1 has only 35 per cent of the land assigned as residential buildings while the remaining is for services and public open spaces so it was a new approach of design for social housing. It is worth mentioning that the project initially was just one phase (63 feddans) then Long Live Egypt Fund took the responsibility to fund the second and third phases. That is why the services might seem limited since they were designed to cover the capacity and demand of phase 1 only. Also, the design is typical in phases 1 and 2 while phase 3 is different. The buildings in phases 1 and 2 are 5 floors while phase 3 has 10 floors. These were the instructions of the president when he inaugurated phases 1 and 2 in order to increase the number of units and beneficiaries and at the same time sustaining adequate horizontal density of buildings. Please note that the work in El-Asmarat 3, with the buildings having 5 floors, was ongoing. After these instructions, some design modifications were done, such as providing elevators and so on. It is expected to open up El-Asmarat 3 to have more services. There high voltage electricity network in the location of El-Asmarat 3 was buried at an acceptable distance to enable use of the land. In addition, a request to build a hospital and a school was submitted and hopefully will be included in phase 3.

5. When is it expected to be completed and when is the handover of the last phase of the project?
The construction of El-Asmarat 3 is completed. Only the church is still under construction, which is actually the reason behind the delay of official inauguration of the third phase. Nevertheless, the handover of the residential units of phase 3 has already started.

6.   How many residents have been relocated in El-Asmarat and where did they used to live before relocation?
It is expected to accommodate almost 80,000 thousand people in 18,000 units. The ISDF and the governorate work on the resettlement plan to relocate people to the nearest available housing project. In El-Asmarat, the majority are from grade 1 slums and some are from grade 2 slums such as Manshiyet Nasser and Maspero.

7.   Have you worked on preparing the residents for the relocation?
Usually, some social trainings and workshops are delivered to prepare the residents for such a move, but in El-Asmarat there was very limited time to do, so unfortunately no sessions were held.

8.   How do you select the beneficiaries?
There is a national plan for identifying informal settlements to survey its residents. The CAPMAS officers visit these areas and fill forms to identify those who are eligible. Then people are requested to submit documents (such as utility bills or contracts) to confirm their permanent residence in these houses. An evaluation is done and people are informed with the decision and the date for relocation.

9.   How were people compensated for the relocation?
Residents of grade 1 slums were compensated with an alternative residential unit in El-Asmarat. The majority are squatters or tenants, and they are required to pay a rent of EGP 300per month. They do not own the units in El-Asmarat except they submitted documents that prove their legal ownership of their old houses, which they rarely do since the old houses are in the slums and they are considered trespassers on the land (wad al-yad or customary unregistered land acquisition). Only residents of Maspero have a different scenario since they are owners of units in a high-value land that the State wanted to utilise and is under regeneration and urban renewal process. As per Law 119, we surveyed people and offered them 3 options: first, to leave, then return and get a unit after the end of the regeneration process. Second, to get a financial compensation (EGP 60,000 per room + a lump-sum amount of EGP 40,000). Third, to get an alternative unit in State housing projects. The agreement with Maspero residents who decided to move to El-Asmarat was as follows: the price of the unit in El-Asmarat is EGP 200,000 while valuation of their old houses was done at EGP 60,000 per room + a lump-sum amount of 40,000EGP. In case the price of their old houses does not cover the price of a unit at El-Asmarat, the difference is paid as EGP 300 per month till the full price of a unit at El-Asmarat is paid then they own the apartment.

10.   Have you ever received any complaints regarding the ownership system?
Yes. In 2018, residents demonstrated against paying the rent. The governorate was very strict about that and sent warning letters to those who did not abide by the payment plan. In one week, the district managed to collect EGP 6 million which was the value of delayed rent. I think the rent value is very fair but people of this strata unfortunately do not want to abide by rules. This is the root of the emergence of slums in Egypt!

11.   What feedback have you received from the residents after the delivery of the units?
Actually, the residents requested for provision of job opportunities. The problem is that the majority of the residents used to work in garbage-related industry (collection, sorting and recycling). Nevertheless, the neighbourhood office provided some jobs in cleaning/garbage collection within El-Asmarat, but some of the residents refused this offer. I think sometimes these complaints are just weak excuses! They do not like abiding by rules. Although they criticize the project and relocation, those who have not been relocated have insistent demand to move and get alternative units. Nevertheless, Eng. Hassan Ghandour, the head of the district, has successfully managed to open workshops for women giving them a chance to earn a monthly salary of EGP 1,200 since they are usually the breadwinners in this class. He provided kindergartens so women can leave their children and go to work. The good news is that products, such as clothes, produced in El-Asmarat are being exported to Germany now.

12.   Are there cultural and social activities in El-Asmarat?
Yes. There are many activities. There is an amphitheater under the management of ministry of culture in addition to a youth centre.

13.   Are you planning to repeat El-Asmarat typology elsewhere in Egypt?

There were some discussions on building El-Asmarat 4 but ISDF disapproved of it because of some reluctance from the compound next to El-Asmarat, which is El-Asmarat Heights (middle and high class living in expensive apartments and villas). So, it was thought that the project will go beyond a controllable scale.

14.   Do you think that such an urban typology creates a closed spot for criminals?

It is known that the crime rates in slums are high but it is so hard to invade this spot due to its urban nature with narrow streets and uncontrollable ownership of the houses. El-Asmarat provides a clear legal system identifying owners, so everyone has a known address and legal papers within an organized community. A person who commits a crime is easier to find and arrest. It was agreed upon that this project has to have a strict strong management board and security checkpoint. So before relocating people, the police station was opened. Some measures have been applied and entering the area has been strictly under control, especially in the early days when relocatees were moving in and were handed over the units. They were not allowed to bring any of their furniture to preserve the civilized image of the place, so the units were handed over with furniture funded through a donation of EGP 150 million by NGOs and Long Live Egypt Fund.

Interview #2
Interview date: 4 August 2019
Interview time: 11:30 p.m.–11:50 p.m.
Place: Neighbourhood management office, El-Asmarat, Muqattam, Cairo, Egypt
Interviewee: Eng. Hassan Ghandour
Occupation: Head of El-Asmarat Neighbourhood

1. What makes El-Asmarat a very unique relocation project for slum dwellers?
El-Asmarat is an integrated neighbourhood where the government gives all the support to improve people's lives. It is near their old districts and it is in a prime location. People are still attached to their old houses but they are on their way to full adaptation. Here, we have better living conditions. We offer the residents great facilities that they were deprived of such as playgrounds, cultural centre and art activities. It is a challenge to upgrade the slum dwellers' lives, not only in providing good apartments but also working on improving their skills and supporting their social life.

2. What services are available in El-Asmarat?
All basic services are available, for example, a health centre, cultural centre, vocational centre, technology centre, shops selling essential commodities, playgrounds and an amphitheater. In addition, we have a bus station with many routes that connect El-Asmarat with other areas such as Downtown, Ramsis, Attaba and Manshiyet Nasser. Even "undertaker services" are provided!

3. What outstanding violations by relocatees were observed?
People disregarded rules and broke the law. They still considered their houses in slums as legal and safe. They ignored their legal commitments. Some residents sub-let their apartments and returned to the slums. Others sold commodities or run commercial activities such as "internet café" inside their houses. Police inspection campaigns were done to stop these illegal acts.

4. What major complaints have you received from the residents and how do you deal with them?
Unfortunately, some people do not see the positive in the relocation. They complain about the rent value which I think is a pittance. Men here can spend more than EGP 300 on smoking! They just do not want to observe the rules and they give lame excuses and weak justifications for their opposition to the value of the rent. Furthermore, they complain about the lack of jobs, so we have opened factories for Misabaha, clothes and carpets that provide 1,400 jobs for women of El-Asmarat. This is in addition to job offers in janitorial section in the neighbourhood, but some refuse to work because they think it is not socially appropriate to work as a janitor.

5. Do you think there is still social rejection and reluctance to the relocation?
Yes. People prefer life without rules or regulations. They do not believe in their commitments towards the State. We are trying to satisfy and support them through regular activities and campaigns.

6. How does the neighbourhood participate in raising awareness among residents and improving their mindset and behaviour?
Many campaigns take place to improve the mindset. The ministry of health runs several family planning and reproductive health campaigns. The ministry of youth and sports organizes many sports events and tournaments while the ministry of culture organises cultural evenings to discover and encourage utilization of talents in El-Asmarat. Moreover, NGOs are working in El-Asmarat to develop the community. Overall, all entities cooperate to provide all the needed support to help the people.