

Accessibility to livelihood resources in the Egyptian housing upgrading program, the rehabilitation approach versus the eviction approach, The Case studies of Suzan Mubarak Public Housing project in Manshiet Nasser and Nahda City in Cairo, Doaa A. S. Abouelmagd and Shaimaa Abouelmagd

Accessibility to Livelihood Resources in the Egyptian Housing Upgrading Program, the Rehabilitation Approach Verses the Eviction Approach

The Case Studies of Suzan Mubarak Public Housing Project in Manshiet Nasser and Nahda City in Cairo

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Abstract

In 2008, a rock fell in Deweka district part of Manshiet Nasser, Cairo, causing copious deaths. As a consequence, the Egyptian state was obliged to consider the people living in life threatening locations. Since this event, the Egyptian state has classified the informal areas as unsafe and unplanned. In 2013, the Informal settlements development facilities (ISDF) announced 365 unsafe areas in Egypt, which need to be upgraded, rehabilitated or evacuated according to the level of unsafety. Most of these projects emphasize on the physical shelters rather than the livelihood of the inhabitants. Therefore, Housing studies in underdeveloped cities require assessing housing policies and informal settlements upgrading projects in terms of livelihood quality.

Dealing with the Deweka disaster, the Egyptian state applied two approaches, in succession, the rehabilitation of the affected inhabitants to Suzan Mubarak Public housing in the same district of Manshiet Nasser (Deweka), and the relocation of inhabitants of the unsafe buildings located in Manshiet Nasser to Nahda city, located in the periphery of Cairo.

In this paper, we applied the Sustainable livelihood framework (Human, Social, Physical, Political and Financial capitals) in terms of modes of economic integration (Market exchange, Redistribution and Reciprocity) to compare between accessibility livelihood resources between the inhabitants who were rehabilitated in a new housing project in the location of the old settlement, and the ones who were relocated in a new housing project relocated in the periphery of Cairo. The paper argues that the new projects lack the accessibility to many livelihood resources that were available in the old informal settlement. While the rehabilitation approach took advantages of the location near or in the old settlement, the eviction approach pushed the inhabitants to create new methods to overcome the lack of livelihood resources. This paper concludes with findings and recommendations.

Keywords: Rehabilitation, Eviction, Informal Settlements and livelihood

1- Introduction:

Housing Authority is a fundamental human right declared by the United Nations and different national and international organizations, which was recognized for the first time in 1948 in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. In developing countries housing is a general problem, especially amongst the low-income groups. Egypt, as many other developing countries, faces high informal housing production and provision shortage for housing the low-income groups. In 2011, 45% of total housing units were considered to be informal. Due to the political situation, this number has increased between January 2011 and June 2014^{1&2}.

The events affecting the policies dealings with the unsafe informal districts in Egypt started with the Deweka disaster. In 2008, a rock in Deweka district fell on informal houses, leaving hundreds of dead, injured and homeless people. This event was one of the turning points in the Egyptian state strategies dealing with the unsafe informal districts. Soon after the disaster a presidential decree number 305/2008 was declared for the establishment of the ISDF (Informal Settlement development facilities). Prior to the foundation of this organization, there was no independent organization that dealt with the informal settlements. Instead, many state bodies were dealing with the informal sector (i.e. local governorates, NGOs, General Organization for Physical Planning, Ministry of Housing)³. The establishment of the ISDF was one of the state responses to deal with such crisis. The ISDF was under a direct supervisor from the cabinet of ministers.

In 2010, directly after its foundation the ISDF developed the approach of informal settlements with the approach of unsafe and unplanned areas⁴. The ISDF developed that approach to focus on the areas under threatened conditions, leaving the unplanned areas for urban upgrading. The ISDF announced four grades of unsafe areas: a) areas that threaten lives of its residents, b) areas with unsuitable shelter conditions, c) areas of health risk, and d) areas of instability of tenure⁵. According to the ISDF, in 2013, there were 365 unsafe districts in Egypt. 26 areas that threatened lives of its inhabitants, 259 areas with unsuitable shelter conditions, 61 areas of health risk, and 19 areas of instability of tenure⁶.

Between 2011 and 2014, Egypt passed through a period of political changes. The country has passed through a period of police absence, unsafety, and economic crises. These changes affected the informal housing production. Hundreds of informal buildings have been constructed. There are only few valid studies dealing with the urban crises after 2011 (for example: Harris, J. (2013) for CEDEJ (the French-funded research centre) workshop held in

¹For the unplanned districts, in 2013, the ISDF mapped the unplanned in four urban governorates (Cairo, Alexandria, Suez and Portsaeid) as 25.5% from the urban fabric. In addition, ISDF mapped the unplanned districts in another 23 cities as 55.4% from the urban fabric of these cities. Mapping of second and third levels cities are still in progress but it is estimated that the informal sector in these cities is larger than first level cities (ISDF, 2013)

² Abouelmagd, D.; Sakr, Y., 2013 and ISDF, 2013

³ Abouelmagd, D.; Sakr, Y., 2013

⁴ ISDF and Egyptian Cabinet, 2010

⁵ ISDF and Egyptian Cabinet, 2010

⁶ ISDF, 2014

2013 and Abouelmagd & Sakr, 2013). According to the previous studies, the informal sector production is assumed to be increasing accordingly between 2011 and 2014.

At the end of 2013, the cabinet of ministers signed several agreements with the Egyptian Army to develop some informal settlements. These agreements introduced the Egyptian army as a partner in the informal settlement development process. The methodology and results of these urban developments are not yet published.

In June 2014, directly after the presidential election, and for the first time, a Ministry of urban development and informal settlements was created. The budget of the new minister was declared to be 600 million E.P. This budget is set to be used to deal with the informal settlement and the construction of new public housing⁷. The new ministry was created to be the main responsible organization that combines the different bodies that deal with the informal settlements. The ISDF is now part of the new ministry and works under its supervision. The new ministry goals include: detecting the informal areas and the informal housing production, and formulating the new housing policies. It is still early to evaluate the effectiveness of the new ministry and its policies.

This paper analyzes two policies applied by the Egyptian state to deal with the unsafe areas (rehabilitation and eviction) from a livelihood perspective. Rehabilitation as terminology is used in this paper to refer to the rehabilitation of the residents in the same location or near the original settlements in new housing blocks. Eviction as a terminology includes the moving of the residents to new projects far away from their original settlement in new urban communities. It is important to assess these approaches from a livelihood perspective to evaluate the project from a socio-economic point of view. The sustainable livelihood approach is combined with the modes of economic integration to analyze the livelihood capitals from the State, market and reciprocity perspective. The framework is applied through Suzan Mubarak's Public Housing project and Nahda Public Housing project for Deweka inhabitants.

The paper is divided into four sections: the Egyptian housing policies and case studies section, the methodology and frame work section, the analysis section and finally the conclusion and recommendation section.

2- The Egyptian Housing Policies and the Case Studies:

2-1 The Egyptian housing policies from a livelihood perspective

The Egyptian state has been always carrying the responsibility to provide housing for the low-income groups. It adopted the housing provision approach for the last 60 years⁸. This responsibility has been reintroduced in the new constitution approved by the Egyptians in January 2014. This responsibility was embedded in the housing policies since the 1950s with the economic housing constructed by President Nasser regime and again in 1970s with the creation of the new urban communities (New Cities) located around the main cities by former President Sadat and President Mubarak regimes. With the limitation of land inside the cities, creating new urban communities is now the only solution left to be adapted by the current

7 Abelradi, 2014

8 Sims, 2007

regime. According to the New Urban Community Authority (NUCA), currently there is a total of 27 new urban communities in Egypt, 24 cities, and three still under planning (see figure 1 for the urban communities around Greater Cairo)⁹.

The Egyptian state exerts a great efforts to provide physical shelter, however it fails to take in consideration the livelihood of the low-income groups. Therefore, these new urban communities were left by the citizens in favor of the informal settlements. All the new urban communities did not reach their target populations. An example is October City which is one of the first generation and largest new cities that started in 1970s. It was planned to have 5.5 million inhabitants¹⁰. The national census shows a total population of less than 95.000 inhabitants in 2006. In contrast to what it was originally planned for, the rich and high middle class were the ones attracted to live in the gated communities inside these urban communities.

When it comes to the low-income groups, convincing them to move out from their settlements near the city center was problematic. Most of who apply for the National Housing projects¹¹ in the new urban communities are not low in income. In fact, the conditions to apply for these projects exclude the poor, as they do not have stable or official jobs and cannot provide financial guarantee to apply for these projects. As a result, it is the middle-class population who applies for the National Housing projects.

When it comes to rehabilitation projects, the first impression is that these projects are successful because the poor do not have to leave their original settlements and centered locations in the city. In reality, the inhabitants of the settlements under rehabilitation are relocated during the construction of the rehabilitation projects for a period of one to three years in one of the new communities. Sometimes, not all of them have the opportunity to go back the rehabilitation project. This happens when the old settlement is in a location that threatens their lives or when the rehabilitation project does not have the capacity to house all the original inhabitants. Other factors that play an important role include, corruption of local administrations during the survey along with the conditions and restricts put by the administrations for those who are allowed to come back. For example in the rehabilitation of Zeinuh district in Cairo, the number of the family members that exceed four members were not allowed to return, moreover, those who had a crime history were also not allowed to come back. Furthermore, the rehabilitation projects lack access to livelihood capitals. In the following sections the paper present a deeper analysis for the livelihood capitals in Suzan Mubarak's project in comparison to the livelihood capitals for those inhabitants who were relocated in Nahda city.

2-2 Suzan Mubarak rehabilitation project and the eviction to Nahda City and October City:

Suzan Mubarak's project started in 1999 as a rehabilitation project for Deweka district in Manshiet Nasser. The project aimed to provide a suitable housing for the low-income groups who live in poor housing conditions in Deweka and Manshiet Nasser. The rehabilitation project was conducted in five stages¹². The first two stages were developed and delivered

9 NUCA, 2014

10 NUCA, 2011

11 Since 2005 all the housing projects for the low-income groups are grouped under the National Housing title

12 The project have a total number of 10.000 units. The apartments have a size of 63m² or 70 m².

before the crises of 2008. The inhabitants of the first two stages were given a full ownership of their units after 40 years of paying 73 Egyptian Pounds (EP) as a monthly installment. On the contrary, the inhabitants of the other following three stages were only given the right of renting without the right of ownership. The inhabitants of these three last stages pay 45 EP as a monthly rent. The rent contract is renewed automatically every five years, with a condition that the tenant does not change the property or use it unwisely¹³.

After the disaster, there was a direct order from the government to house the victims of Deweka's disaster in the empty units of the project. The order also included the fast evacuation of the people living in houses threatened their lives. As the empty units in Suzan Mubarak's project were not enough to house the numbers of inhabitants who were living in the disaster's location or in locations with threatening conditions, the Minister of housing relocated them to the empty units owned by Cairo and Giza governorates in Nahda city and October city in the periphery of Cairo (see Figure 1).

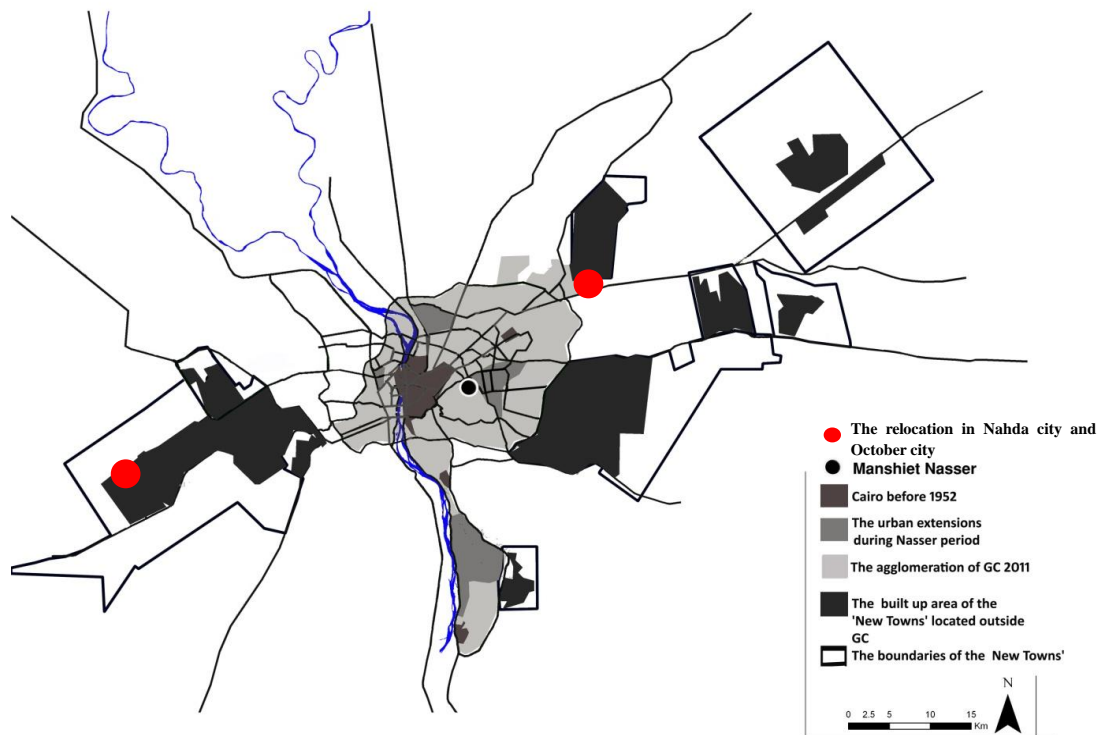


Figure (1) the map above shows the location of the case studies within the Cairo agglomeration and the new urban communities. Source: modified from (JICA, MOHUUD, GOPP, 2008)

3- Methodology and Livelihood Framework:

This study is based on site visits and observation of the development and physical- social transformation for the two case studies between 2009 and 2014. Moreover, the authors conducted thirty open ended interviews with the projects' inhabitants; the rest of Deweka and Manshiet Nasser inhabitants between 2009 and 2014; 18 interviews with the residents of

13 These information were collected from the residents of the project, several newspapers, and from the key figures that the authors has interviewed.

Suzan Mubarak project, Deweka and Manshiet Nasser, and 12 interviews with Nahda project's residents. The authors had also conducted interviews with five key figures in the Centre of Social Development in Deweka (*Markaz Eltanmeya Elmogtamaeya fi el Deweka*) in August 2014 and the Egyptian Red Crescent in 2010. The conducted interviews included questions concerning accessibility to livelihood resource; the role of the state, market and reciprocal relationships to access livelihood resources; the development and physical changes in the projects; the comparison between the interviewees situation before and after rehabilitation; the role of 2011 revolution in the physical changes in the projects, and its effect in accessibility to the livelihood resources.

3-1 The livelihood Framework and Modes of Economic Integration:

The most common framework to understand livelihood in developing countries is the Sustainable Livelihood Framework (SLF). This framework provides a methodology to understand and analyze the situation of the poor in the developing country's urban and rural areas. It also helps in forming the objectives and priorities to enhance poverty reduction and improve individual's everyday lives¹⁴. The concepts of livelihood and Sustainable Livelihood (SL) were developed by Chambers and Conway (1992) and later by the UK Department for International Development (DFID) (1999) (for examples of earlier application see Rakodi (2002)). Urban livelihood suggests five types of capital that the individual use in order to reduce their vulnerability financial, human, natural, physical, social and political capital.

Human capital includes available labour resources to households. This includes quantitative and qualitative dimensions. Qualitative aspects refer to levels of education, skills and health status of household¹⁵.

Social and political capital: in this paper this capital is separated as Social capital and Political Capital, in order to reach a deeper understanding of the effects of these capitals in the livelihood of the residents. Social capital refers to the social resources (networks, relationships of trust and reciprocity). Political capitals refers to access to the political process and decision making¹⁶.

Physical capital includes the socio and economic infrastructure and housing as assets. Financial capital includes the financial resources available to people, including pension and saving. Natural capital includes land, water and other environment resources¹⁷.

The advantage of using this framework is that it can be observed immediately from an individual point of view. Although SL approach has been proposed to analyse housing problems in developing countries, this approach is not sufficient to assess the quality of the projects and the settlements. SL focus on individuals or households, not on the available space and its social production. Hence, there was a necessity for another framework that is more powerful to involve the state redistribution and communities' reciprocity¹⁸.

14 Payne and Majale, 2004: 70, 72

15 Rakodi, 2002:11

16 Rakodi, 2002:11

17 Rakodi, 2002:11

18 Abouelmagd, 2012

Therefore, another framework was chosen. This framework was originally derived from Karl Polanyi's model on modes of economic integration. These Modes of Economic Integration (MEI) basically consider the nature of the social relationships that individuals use to access livelihood resources. Polanyi specifies three modes of economic integration: a) reciprocity, b) redistribution and c) market exchange. The advantage of this approach is that it considers livelihood in terms of exchange relationships. As these relationships are necessarily embedded in space, this can analytically unravel livelihood in terms of both the social and the spatial relationships of reciprocity, redistribution and market that inhabitants develop in their residential environment¹⁹.

Polanyi developed the concept of modes of economic integration, which in this context, can be conceived as the basic social relationships households engage in to secure access to their means of existence. Polanyi described three modes of economic integration: reciprocity, redistribution and market-exchange²⁰. Reciprocity refers to resources obtained through non-monetary exchanges in a social network, like communities, families and friendship networks. Redistribution refers to resources that are pooled and redistributed according to politically defined rules through the state or the private organizations. Market exchange refers to resources obtained through producing goods for selling on the market and securing an income. Most household produce and sell labour power on the labour market²¹.

3-1-1 The Capitals in terms of modes of economic integration

In order to understand the assets in terms of the three modes of economic integration, the assets have been classified as shown in table (1). The table classifies each capital in term of the integration spheres (Redistribution and reciprocity besides market exchange). This classification is organized through inputs and outputs. Inputs are about what individuals provide to access the sphere of integration, and what they get in return as an output.

3-2 Suzan Mubarak Housing project in Mansheit Nasser from a livelihood perspective:

The main quality of any rehabilitation project is its location as the inhabitants prefer to keep living inside or near the same location of the old informal settlement. The location gives them access to the human capital in term of accessibility to labor market. It also gives the inhabitants good accessibility to the human and social capitals by keeping their social relationships with old neighbors, relatives and local community. On the other hand, the new project give them access to better physical capital in term of housing and economic infrastructure (water, electricity, sewage system, medical and educational services).

In this case study the residents were rehabilitated in the same district, very near from their old residence area (as shown in figures 2 and 3). The inhabitants kept accessibility to their human and social capitals. Although the project has a medical center, schools, commercial centers, there is always a general complain about the quality of these services.

Moreover, when a rehabilitation project is constructed under a political figure, political capital is strongly represented. Obviously, the project was named after the former first lady

19 Abouelmagd, 2012

20 Karl Polanyi framework has been further developed and applied to study social exclusion and survival strategies in a European context in the URBEX project (see : Kesteloot (2002); Musterd et al. (2006); see also Meert et al. (1997)

21 Musterd & Murie, 2006:7

Suzan Mubarak, as a result to this political connection all the obstacles that could have faced the project were solved. Till 2011, the project was served by three main social organizations; the Egyptian Red Crescent, El Reaya Elmotakamla, the Centre of Social Development; were the first two organizations were headed by Suzan Mubarak. The role of these organizations exceeded the social, culture and financial support to mentoring and observing the project.



Figures 2 and 3, satellite images of Manshiet Nasser showing the different zones (left), and a zoom in shot for Suzan Mubarak Project (right) (Source: modified from Google earth)



Figures 4 and 5, show the physical changes in one of Suzan Mubarak buildings, by transforming the ground floor into shops and adding new residential rooms in 2014 (right) compared to another building in 2009, before the start of the physical transformation (Photos taken by the authors, in 2009 and 2014)



Figures 6, 7 and 8, show the physical changes in Suzan Mubarak housing public spaces by establishing new informal markets, informal bus stations and constructing informal shacks (Photos taken by the authors, August 2014)

After the 2011 revolution the role of the two organizations headed by former first lady had declined and the state and Suzan Mubarak's project faced a period of state absence control. With the decline of the role of the two organizations, the illegal physical extensions by its inhabitants started to take place in the project and its public spaces (see figures 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 and 10). Inhabitants who were not allowed to transfer the use of the residential units to commercial, started the transformation in 2013. Public spaces started to be used as

commercial spaces. New constructions of shops started to dominate public spaces. Meanwhile, inhabitants started to sell their units with informal contracts, especially those who live on the ground floors.

In August 2014, units' prices ranged between 90.000 EP up to 120.000 EP, according to the location and the floor level. Minor extensions of the residential units could be noticed (Figure 3). There is no official data for the number of residents who sold their units, because the selling process was not official.



Figures 9 and 10, show the physical changes in one of Suzan Mubarak building (right), compared to another building on the project without transformation (left) (Photos taken by the authors, August 2014)

3-3 Housing in El-Nahda city from a livelihood perspective:

Nahda city was originally constructed in the 1980s to house the low social class residents. In 1992 an earthquake hit Egypt. The national disaster left hundreds of families homeless. The Government reacted fast and offered the empty units in Nahda city to house part of the disaster's victims. Many who were obliged to move to Nahda city after receiving the official contracts, found their ways to informally selling their units and going again back to the popular and the informal districts of Cairo. Unfortunately, there is no available data of the numbers of the relocated inhabitants who remained in Nahda city.

The ones who remained started to adapt to the urban environment. This was conducted by transforming public spaces and ground floors of residential buildings into shops. Also there was a physical transformation of the residential units in the form of adding the terraces to the given rooms, made external extensions and divided the living area into two spaces in order to give more space and a better arrangement to the unit²² (see figures 11 and 12). Although the city is connected with public and private transportation system with Cairo, there is no Public transportation system inside the city. Thus, the residents founded a special transportation system, consisting of private cars and open back cars to move inside the city.

In 2008, when the Deweka disaster occurred, hundreds of families who were living under threatening conditions in Deweka and Manshiet Nasser were relocated in Nahda city. Those families were relocated in the periphery of Nahda city. Although the city at that moment had accomplished a good stage of availability of services, the comparison with the old informal settlements in terms of livelihood resources was in favor of Manshiet Nasser.

22 Each unit consists of one bed room, living area, terrace, kitchen and bathroom

Those who were working in Manshiet Nasser or in Cairo city center neighborhoods, had to take two to three transportation to go to their works. Nahda city offered only few job opportunities. The main job market is located in the industrial zone in the neighbor city of Obour, where the type of work was totally different from vocational and services jobs the residents used to have. In the old residence the inhabitants easily accessed the bazaar of Khan El Khalili, Bab El- Shee'reyah, Darasaa. With public transportation the residents could easily access the downtown area, Attica and Moskie. Those previously mentioned districts are the location of the main commercial and vocational nodes in Cairo. In Nahda, there were very few opportunities to work from home, especially for females who used to work at simple manual work (i.e. packing, sewing, embroidery) for the workshops and bazars²³.



Figures 11 and 12, show different examples for the physical changes in Nahda city, this includes the transformation of the ground floors to commercial shops and the closing of balconies (Photos taken by the authors, June 2013)

Although schools, and medical centers are available on the city level, the quality of the services is poor. In terms of physical capital, the transformation and the reselling of the units was considered a source of extra income. In terms of social capital, moving outside Manshiet Nasser broke down the strong relationships the residents had with their old community. In Manshiet Nasser and all other informal settlement, social relationships are considered an important asset. They extend beyond relatives to co-villagers and neighbors. When the relocation happened people moved with other residents they do not have relations with and the reselling of the units led to a deeper social break. Moreover, there are no non-governmental organizations working with Nahda inhabitants in Nahda city like Suzan Mubarak's project. Political capital played a role in the fast relocation of the inhabitants, but there was no monitoring for the inhabitants and the buildings like Suzan's Project. In 2013, five years after the relocations the buildings deteriorated fast and the economic infrastructure broke down.

4- The Analysis of the Livelihood Capitals in Terms of the Modes of Economic Integration:

Table (1) summarize the two case studies in term of the livelihood capitals (Human Capital, Social Capital, Physical Capital, Political Capital and Physical Capital in terms of modes of economic integration through inputs and outputs. Although the table has 50

23 For more information and deeper analysis about the livelihood capitals in Manshiet Nasser settlement see Abouelmagd, 2012 and Abouelmagd and others, 2013

applicable and 34 not applicable (N/A) answers, it is strongly valid. The N/A comes from the fact that the nature of the two projects, makes redistribution relationships more applicable than reciprocity and market relationships. For example, economic infrastructure is available in the two projects through the state, not the market or the social relationships. Moreover, the location of Suzan Mubarak project near the old settlements and the relocation of the residents near each other's, makes social and reciprocity relationships between Suzan Mubarak's residents stronger in comparison with Nahda's residents. Political Capital is effective mainly through the state redistribution system. Natural Capital is originally applicable in rural areas. As, this research addresses urban projects, the Natural Capital is only represented in the public land where the physical extensions of the buildings took place.

Table (1) The Case studies in term of the livelihood resources:

Capitals/ spheres of integration		Market relationships		State Redistribution		Reciprocity	
		Suzan Mubarak project	El-Nahda	Suzan Mubarak project	El-Nahda	Suzan Mubarak project	El-Nahda
Human Capital	Input	- Availability and location of formal and informal labour markets inside and near the project (in the old informal settlement and Cairo neighbourhoods)	-Few job opportunities inside Nahda city. Some job opportunities in the industrial zone in Arbour city and Herafiyen district.	-Availability of schools and medical services, with low quality of the services. -Few opportunities to buy or rent a shop in the rehabilitation project.	-Availability of schools and medical services on the level of the city, but low quality of the services.	-Strong social relationships with neighbours, relatives and co-villagers -More members of the household work in the labour market	-Weak social relationships with neighbours. -Less members of the household work in the labour market
	output	-New employment with generating of wages/income	-Problems to access the labour market	-Problems to increase the individual skills -Few numbers of new employment	-Problems to increase the individual skills -Problem to access the formal labour market through the state redistribution.	-Accessibility to the labour market through social relationships -Increase household income	-Problems to access the labour market Problems in generation income. -decrease household income
Physical Capital Economic infrastructure	input	N/A	N/A	-Taxes and services fees paid by citizens to the state and accessibility rights of citizenship	-Taxes and services fees paid by citizens to the state and accessibility rights of citizenship	N/A	N/A
	output	N/A	N/A	-Accessibility to state public redistribution system (water, electricity, transportations, schools and medical services)	-Accessibility to state public redistribution system (water, electricity, transportations, schools and medical services)	N/A	N/A

Housing	input	-Using the housing in home enterprise activities -Informally sub-renting or reselling the dwelling to a new tenants	-Using the housing in home enterprise activities -Informally sub-renting or reselling the dwelling to a new tenants	-Exercising the rights of citizens to have a suitable housing	-Exercising the rights of citizens to have a suitable housing	-Existing and strengthening kinship and relatives relationships	N/A
	output	-Increase source of income	-Increase source of income	-Accessibility to public housing projects -Increase political loyalty of citizens toward national government	-Accessibility to public housing projects -Increase political loyalty of citizens toward national government	-More opportunities for citizens to live with/near co-villagers and relatives	N/A
Social Capital	input	-Good social relationships with neighbours and local communities	N/A	-Services and/or financial support from the private redistribution system embedded in civil and charity organizations	N/A	-Strong relationships with household's members, relatives and neighbours	N/A
	output	-Accessibility to labour market through social relationships	N/A	-Loyalty to the private redistribution organizations is strong	N/A	- Opportunities for mutual help, childcare, collective work, housing and jobs	N/A
Political Capital	input	N/A	N/A	-The project was founded with a political decision. But it was used to generate citizens political loyalty by the former regime	-The project was founded with a political decision. But it was used to generate citizens political loyalty by the former regime	-Pressure on policy makers through Public and local communities	N/A
	output	N/A	N/A	-The state demonstrated to public opinion that it cares about providing housing for poor living in locations threaten their lives	-The state demonstrated to public opinion that it cares about providing housing for poor living in locations threaten their lives	-Political decisions to continue the Rehabilitation project and provide it with infrastructure and services	N/A
Financial Capital	input	-Citizens investing,	-Citizens investing,	-Citizens receive pensions or	N/A	-Grouping saving (el-	N/A

		savings and financial resources. This includes investments in housing and in home based enterprise	savings and financial resources. This includes investments in housing and in home based enterprise	financial help through public or private redistribution system		gme'eyaa) and grouping investment, this kind of saving requires trust as an access condition	
	output	-Extra source of income	-Extra source of income	-As an exchange citizens express political loyalty and refrain from deviating behaviours	N/A	-Example of outputs are: Informal arrangement to receive money	N/A
Natural Capital	input	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	-Cooperation of citizens to utilize land and other natural resources	-Cooperation of citizens to utilize land and other natural resources
	output	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	-Utilization of natural resources in the new physical extensions in Suzan Mubarak project, this utilization was illegal as the land is a state land	-Utilization of natural resources in the new physical extensions in Nahda housing, this utilization was illegal as the land is a state land

5- Conclusion:

During the 2011- 2014 period, the inhabitants of Suzan Mubarak housing project took the opportunity to start the adaption of the project to achieve their livelihood resources. Although the project is theoretically providing good urban and housing conditions, it neglected the culture of the residents, their lifestyle and their actual needs. It is the location that gave access to most livelihood capitals. Physical capital in terms of using the house as a source of income, clearly started to appear with the physical transformation of ground floors into shops and sub-renting and re-selling the units. The transformation of the residential units to commercial and the transformation of the public spaces prove that the urban design did not provide the people's actual needs. In Nahda city, the physical shelter provided to the Manshiet Nasser inhabitants did not compensate their livelihood needs. Inhabitants used the physical transformation as a method to improve their physical capital. On the other hand, the social and human capitals were complex to sustain. While political capital is considered to be the main key in the rehabilitation and relocation projects, the political changes that occurred in Egypt since 2011, led to the decline of the role of this capital especially in Manshiet Nasser. Natural Capital did not play an important role in our analysis. Only when it came to the utilization of state land in its physical extensions.

6- Recommendations:

Although the study is limited to two case studies, these two housing projects present a clear example for two housing policies adapted by the Egyptian state and will continue in the near future. Following are some recommendations concluded from the research:

- Physical shelters cannot compensate the importance of livelihood resources in the people's daily lives. Therefore, any new housing project must reflect the real needs and provide the livelihood resources for the target groups.

- Although the location is an important factor when rehabilitation takes place, but it cannot compensate the absence of some livelihood resources in the project, rehabilitation projects must take inconsideration the people needs and their lifestyles to ensure the quality and the sustainability of the project.

- Urban planners and designers should base their urban development and designs on the people's needs and cooperate with the inhabitants (which are low-income groups) to maintain their real needs and sustain their Livelihood assets.

- Inhabitants of rehabilitation and relocation projects need social and culture support to be able to improve the quality of their lifestyles and coop with the daily challenges they face as a consequences of their relocation. Social organizations must take part in these projects.

- There is an urge to maintain the sustainability of these rehabilitation projects without depending on a certain political figure that in case of the loss of their power, the project declines and maintenance and monitoring of the projects stops.

- There is a need for deeper empirical studies analyzing these two projects and other rehabilitation projects to reach more concrete results.

7- Acknowledgement:

We would like to thank the Centre of Social Development in Deweka (*Markaz Eltanmeya Elmogtamaeya fi el Deweka*) for their help. Special thanks for Dr. Soad Abdelrehim the head of the centre, Dr. Gihan Abdelaziz and Ms. Samar abdelrehim the researchers in the centre for their time and support.

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