

**The rehabilitation of inner city slums in Cairo - a Livelihood perspective.
The case Study of Ezbet-Haridy , Cairo - Egypt.**

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One of the main challenges meeting the Egyptian government is how to provide a development of Slums which meets the needs of its inhabitants, and improves their Livelihood Capitals. Rehabilitation is one of the Policies flowed by the Egyptian government for developing inner city slums. The inhabitants in slums that were rehabilitated faced relocation from their slum to new cities. Others were relocated to peripheries of the original city. That made them being exposed to risks that led later to their impoverishment and loss in their Livelihood capitals. Inhabitants were either forced not to come back to their original area or they returned after a certain amount of time that exceeded a year in most cases. Many policies contributed in making these losses unavoidable for the inhabitants.

This paper will address the case study of Ezbet-Haridy as an inner city slum in Cairo. The rehabilitation project took place in the slum between 2008 and 2010. Before the construction of the project, the inhabitants of Ezbet-Haridy were relocated to two different new cities on the peripheries of Cairo. These were El-Nahda city and El-Obour city. Only those relocated in El-Obour city were allowed after 15 months to come back to the rehabilitated project. The author applied the Livelihood framework to analyze and compare the Livelihood capitals of the inhabitants before and after the rehabilitation project.

This paper argues that the rehabilitation project of Ezbet-Haridy has provided the Physical shelter for the inhabitants but did not maintain other Livelihood Capitals (Human, Social and financial Capitals) that existed in the original slum area. This paper concludes with findings and recommendations.

It is important in this phase where the Egyptian government is approaching a new way of dealing with Slums to focus on the importance of improving the Livelihood of the rehabilitation projects' inhabitants.

Introduction

The term “Slum” faces challenges in its definition due to its different characteristics in every region or country. ‘Slum’ is a term which has different categories of informalities, as deteriorating inner-city slums, squatter settlements, informal settlements and shantytowns (Khalifa, 2011). The UN-Habitat report defines a slum as “a heavily populated urban area characterized by substandard housing and squalor” (2003, p: 8) where physical and spatial characteristics are presented in high density, low standard of housing (in the structure and services provided) and the Social and behavioral characteristics are presented in the Squalor. In the Egyptian context, slums are known as “Ashwaiyat”. The term means “haphazard” or “disordered” areas. “Ashwaiyat” are areas that suffer from problems in the accessibility, high residential densities, deteriorated infrastructure, lack of services and the absence of open spaces. In Egypt 39.9% (11.8 million) of the urban population, live in slums(Davis, 2008). Although slums form a big part of the urban context within the cities, “a slum is often not recognized and addressed by the public authorities as an integral part of the city” (UN-Habitat, 2003, p: 6). Therefore, UN-Habitat established a household level definition to identify slum dwellers among the urban population (2003). A slum household is a household that lacks one of five elements; access to improved water, access to improved sanitation, security of tenure, durability of housing, sufficient living area.

Slums Definitions and classifications in Egypt

In 2008 part of the Mokattam hill fell on the inhabitants of Mansheiet Nasser slum area which resulted in the death of hundreds. Therefore, at the end of 2008, the Informal Settlement Development Facility (ISDF) was established by a presidential Decree # 305/2008, in order to be the main agency responsible for the management of the Slums in Egypt (Khalifa, 2011). In 2014 a new ministry of Urban Development and Slum areas was established. The ISDF became a part of the ministry after being the main governmental organization responsible for the financial support and the regulations followed by the governmental and private sectors regarding the development of slums. The ISDF was established to detect the unsafe areas, the informal markets and the unplanned areas in Egypt. It has changed the classification of the term “Slums” or as it is known as a “Ashwaiyat” and turned it to “Unsafe Areas” and “Unplanned areas”. In September 2012 in the conference titled “Endorsing Global Housing Strategy 2025, the 6th World urban Forum”, the ISDF presented a new term for the “Unsafe areas” calling it as “Slums” to match the international understanding of the term slums. After the establishment of the ISDF in Egypt (2008), and a new categorization of slums was defined following the five elements of the UN-Habitat to identify slum dwellers. Four grades of degrees of risk were established to detect and identify the priority of intervention for the category “Slums” (unsafe areas) all over Egypt.

Grade 1, are areas that threaten life, as areas located under or above sliding geological formations, in flood areas or under threat from railways accidents. Grade 2, are areas of unsuitable shelter conditions as buildings made of make-

shift materials, sites unsuitable for building or abandoned buildings. Grade 3, are areas exposed to health risks, as areas lacking accessibility to clean drinking water or good sanitation. Also areas facing industrial pollution or located under electrical power lines. Grade 4, are areas of instability due to insecurity of tenure as areas located on state-owned land, sovereign quarters or on the land of (Awqaf) (Khalifa, 2011, p. 6). Although the ISDF has defined and classified the informal areas in Egypt, other Egyptian agencies have done that differently. The General Organization of Physical Planning (GOPP) in its report titled "The improvement of the urban and living conditions for the Informal areas through Participatory Planning" (2006) classified informal areas upon the way of intervention under three categories; Upgrading, Redevelopment and Containment. Upgrading is the enhancing of the physical condition of the area mainly in the infrastructure. Redevelopment is the complete removal of slums and can be also called Rehabilitation. Containment, it is structuring projects on the peripheries of the city in order to stop the informal urban crawl on the agricultural land.

Due to the variety of production of informal settlements and slums in Egypt, the categorizations of informality also vary as well as ways of interventions.

Agencies Involved in the Development Process of Slums

In Egypt there are key agencies that vary between governmental and non-governmental agencies delegated the responsibility of monitoring, developing and creating databases about all types of slums. Following is a brief description of their role in providing an acceptable solution of the slums' status in Egypt.

The ministry of Urban Development and Slum Areas:

In 2014 the Ministry of Urban Development and Slum Areas was established and became the main responsible organization for working on reducing the numbers of slums in all governorates and finding the difficulties in the development processes in urban development and working on resolving them.

The Informal Settlement Development Fund (ISDF):

After the establishment of the ministry of Urban Development and Slum areas, the ISDF became a part of the ministry. It was first established at the end of 2008, with the presidential Decree No. 305 of 2008. It became at 2008 the main agency responsible for the management of the Slums in Egypt. It aims to detect the existing slums, limit their spreading, develop a strategic plan for the slums and supply them with facilities, basic water, sanitation and electricity (ISDF, 2013). It is also responsible for the regulations followed by governmental and private sectors for dealing with slums and the financial support for the development processes. The ISDF provides the concerned ministries, agencies and local government units with information, expertise and necessary assistance.

The General Organization of Physical Planning (GOPP):

The organization was established with the Presidential Decree No. 1093 of 1973. It is responsible for the preparation of plans and programs of Urban Development in Egypt and for establishing the rules of public policy for urban planning. After the Construction of the Law No. 119 for the year 2008 the

responsibilities of the GOPP were to be the authority responsible for public policy planning and sustainable urban development. The GOPP is responsible for the preparation of the plans and programs of this development at the national and regional level (GOPP, 2013).

Non-Governmental Authorities in Egypt:

There are different non-governmental organizations that provide support to the development of Slums in Egypt. This support varies between technical assistance and funds for training or studies for the development projects. Some of the organizations are international as the GIZ, UN-habitat, The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the Aga Khan trust for culture (AKTC). The financial support is provided mainly by World Bank and the Community Development Association (GOPP, 2010). Some others were local organizations with high political power as the Future Generation Foundation (FGF), which its chairman was the son of the Egyptian former president.

Strategies of Intervention and Approaches for the Development of Slums

The Egyptian government followed different strategies of intervention regarding informal areas. Following are two of the main strategies to deal with existing and possible future formation of informal areas (GOPP, 2010):

Preventing the formation of new informal areas:

This prevention is accomplished by upgrading informal urban settlements, providing new housing in the national programs for Housing and Tahzim the slums areas (creating boundaries around the built urban area and planning the areas surrounding slums). The government prepared a plan to prevent the growth of informal settlements by detecting the existing urbanity, creating the new "Haez" meaning the new boundaries of the Egyptian cities and villages that no buildings are allowed to be built after. The same procedure was followed with the slum areas by detecting their boundaries and planning the areas outside these boundaries in order to contain the informality.

Interventions in existing informal areas:

The Egyptian state through its agencies and with participation of private sectors and NGO's followed different strategies for intervening in the existing slums, which are included in table 1.

Table 1, Strategies of Slums intervention in existing informal areas

Strategies of Slums intervention in existing informal areas						
Physical Improvement in Informal areas	Sectoral Upgrading		Planning and partial development	Rehabilitation		
	Donors agencies	Private sector		Insitu development	Permanent Relocation and Development	Temporarily Relocation and returning to the original area
Governmental policies in the 90's By physical upgrading	Physical upgrading and provide public services		Condition is good Create open spaces Create public facilities	Gradual demolition and find alternative housing in same location	Demolition and relocation to New cities Fringes of the city	Demolition and temporarily relocation to New cities or Fringes of the city. Returning to the original cite after a period of time and rehabilitation
Characteristics: Infrastructure deterioration	Characteristics: Infrastructure deterioration and lack of public services.		Characteristics: High density Rare facilities	Characteristics: Deteriorating houses Unsafe/Slum (ISDF) classification Tenure status illegal Different urban context Inner city/no extension possible Bad conditions Valuable land (itself or surrounded land)/invaluable land The majority of inhabitants are workers or earn they income on daily bases		

This paper is focusing on the rehabilitation on slum areas as a way of intervention that the responsible authorities use on existing slums.

Rehabilitation

From the observation, the data gathered and interviews with the policy makers and inhabitants of Ezbet-Haridy and similar case studies, I concluded the mainly four types of rehabilitation interventions in the following:

The insitu where the inhabitants are left in their place until the new housing project is built on phases on the same land. When each phase is completed the inhabitants are settled in the new housing.

Permanent Relocation and Development, where the inhabitants are removed from the slum and resettled in another public housing that is generally on the peripheries of the city or in a new city. The inhabitants that succeed in proving that they live in the slum get a unit in the public housing. The old slum land is used by the governorate for new projects or to be sold to inverstors. The inhabitants never get back to the old slum area.

Temporarily Relocation and returning to the original area: the inhabitants who succeed to prove that they lived in the slum are removed to a new temporarily housing, more often on the peripheries of the city with less services and connections to the inner city. The slum area is demolished and the new housing is built on the land. After a certain period of time usually more than one year, the inhabitants return to the original area and receive a housing unit.

The fourth type is a mixture between types number two and three: the inhabitants are removed from the slum area and resettled in public housing in one area or in several areas around the city. Part of the inhabitants return to

the old slum area after the building of the new rehabilitation project, the rest of the inhabitants remain in the public housing and never return to the rehabilitation project in the old slum area.

The case study of Ezbet-Haridy is under this type of rehabilitation, which combines two different intervention strategies under the rehabilitation of slums. Later the exact process of rehabilitation will be explained.

Urban Livelihood and Impoverishment Risk and Reconstruction (IRR) model:

As few urban inhabitants from the middle and low income class, rely in their daily life on more than a single income (Carole Rakodi & Tony Lloyd-Jones, 2002, p. 3), the importance of the notion of livelihood is essential to notice. Livelihood is defined as embracing the “capabilities, assets (including both material and social resources) and activities required for a means of living”, furthermore, “livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks and maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets both now and in the future, while not undermining the natural resource base” (Carney, 1998, p. 4). The notion of livelihood includes additional elements as deprivation, well-being and others. (Carole Rakodi & Tony Lloyd-Jones, 2002, p. 3,4) and as Chambers and Conway (1992, pp. 7–8) mentioned, the Livelihood can “cope with and recover from stress and shocks, maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets “. Which leads that the Urban Livelihood framework can be used as a base for understanding, analyzing and managing the complexity of livelihoods. (Carole Rakodi & Tony Lloyd-Jones, 2002, p. 4).

These stress, risks and shocks, the inhabitants of a certain area can face due to the urban development, relocation and different interventions. Cernea’s argues that these risks can cause impoverishment and that “the onset of impoverishment can be represented through a model of eight interlinked potential risks intrinsic to displacement.” (Cernea, 2008, pp. 6–8; Robinson, 2003, p. 11,12). These key risks that cause impoverishment through involuntary displacement are: Landlessness, Joblessness, Homelessness, Marginalization, Food Insecurity, Increased Morbidity and Mortality, Loss of Access to Common Property and Social Disintegration.

According to Scoones (1998, p. 8) and Majale (2001, p. 3) the loss of Livelihood Capitals are represented in the IRR (Cernea, 2008, pp. 6–8; Robinson, 2003, p. 11,12,) a relation between the risks of involuntary relocation caused by urban development and that impoverishment risks are connected when limiting the livelihood strategies (“Involuntary resettlement, Impoverishment Risks and Sustainable Livelihoods,” n.d., p.3)

Table 2, the Urban Livelihood Capitals in relation of Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction model (IRR), the framework to follow for analysis.

URBAN LIVELIHOOD CAPITAL			IMPOVERISHMENT RISKS AND RECONSTRUCTION
CAPITALS			
	VARIABLES	CATEGORIES	
Human	Health, knowledge, skills, information, ability to labor.	Health Education Labor	Landlessness Joblessness Marginalization Increased Morbidity and Mortality
Physical	Basic infrastructure (water, sanitation, energy, transport, communications), housing and the means and equipment of production.	Infrastructure Housing	Homelessness Marginalization Loss of Access to Common Property
Social and Political	Social resources (networks, social relations)	Social Networks Social aid	Homelessness Marginalization Social Disintegration
Financial	Cash, savings, and other economic assets, including basic infrastructure and production equipment	Savings Financial reproduction assets	Joblessness Marginalization
Natural	Land	Tenure	Landlessness

The Rehabilitation project (RP) of Ezbet Haridy and relocation of its Inhabitants:

Ezbet-Haridy inner city slum was located in the District of Elwaily (Abbaseya) in Cairo. Its area is 5000 m² and the land belongs to the *Al-Awqaf Egyptian Authority*. The number of families that lived in the inner city slum of Ezbet-Haridy before the rehabilitation project was 195 families. They lived in brick and wood houses and most of the inhabitants shared the Bathrooms, which were located in front of houses.

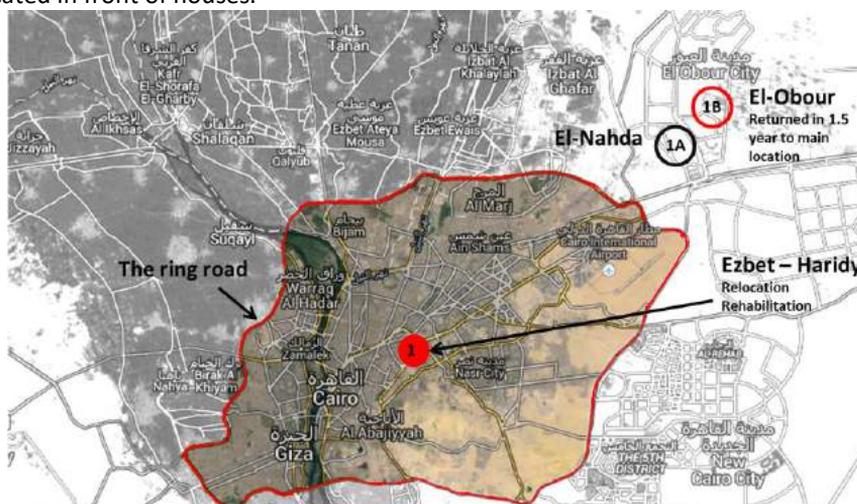


Figure 1, Ezbet-Haridy inner city slum area and the relocation areas. (Google map, edited by the author)



Figure 2, 3, Ezbet-Haridy inner city slum area before the rehabilitation project. (GOPP 2006)



Figure 4, Ezbet-Haridy after rehabilitation project. (Abouelmagd,S. , 2012)



Figure 5 on the left, the area after rehabilitation. (Google maps)

Figure 6 on the right, the area before rehabilitation (GOPP, 2006).

In 2006 a protocol was written between Cairo governorate, the Al-Awqaf Egyptian Authority and the Future Generation Foundation to develop the area and demolish the inner city slum. The project was mainly under the Future Generation Foundation's management, which was an organization directly under the supervision of Gamal Mubarak the son of the President of Egypt at that time. This gave the project a high political power, facilitated and speeded the processes of the construction.

A survey was accomplished by the authorities to detect the exact number of actually living inhabitants in the slum and the social and physical conditions.

After the survey the inhabitants were in less than two days evacuated from their homes in the inner city slum. 108 families were sent to El-Obour city in the new buildings *Emarat El-mostakbal* or the Future buildings. The other 87 families were sent to El-Nahda city.

In El-Obour city the buildings were ready for the temporarily relocated inhabitants and the families were set into their apartments. On the other hand, in El-Nahda city the buildings were partially under construction. Floors, windows and infrastructure work were still not ready. The permanently relocated inhabitants had to move in the apartments under these conditions.

While the El-Obour temporarily relocated families did not have to pay rents, electricity or water, the EL-Nahda permanently relocated families had to pay monthly rent, for water and electricity. In addition they had to pay after they relocation an installment in order to have a temporarily contract for the new apartment. After 20 years the contract will become permanent and they will own the apartment. Who was not able to pay, was given a notice to evacuate the new apartment. Due to the loss of jobs, the spending of savings, the unavailability of finding a new job, the big distance to the old jobs around original slum and lack of transportation in the new area, many inhabitants could not pay and lost their apartment soon after being permanently relocated.

In 15 months, the temporarily relocated families in El-Obour city returned to the original area in the new rehabilitated area of Ezbet-Haridy. Six new buildings were built and each family of the 108 was given an apartment. Each family was given a rental contract, renewable every three years. The monthly rent is 52.5 Egyptian pounds (EGP) and is rises by 5% each three years. Green areas were provided between the buildings, a new clinic and a development center for children of the RP were provided in three apartments of the project. Four schools in the area were developed and provided summer activities for the children of the RP as part of the social development. 38 shops were given to the owners of previous shops in the Slum area with a rental contract that is renewed every three years. The rents varied between 50 EGP per month and 124 EGP per month depending on the square meter area of the shop. Only five buildings were occupied, while one remained empty until recently in 2014 the Al-Awqaf Egyptian Authority decided to sell it.

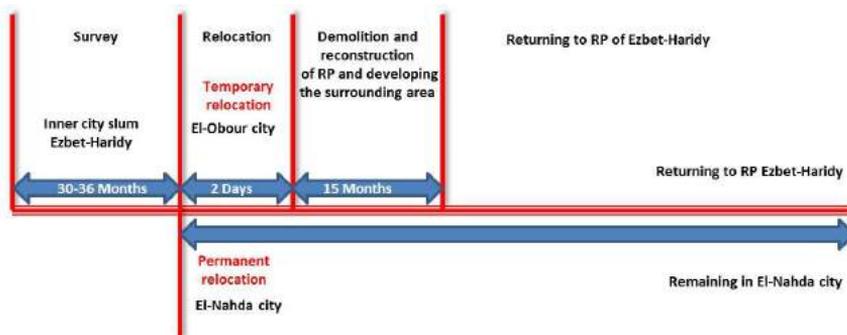


Figure 7, the phases of rehabilitation for Ezbet-Haridy inhabitants.

The Analysis of the Rehabilitation project of Ezbet Haridy from the Livelihood perspective:

In order to analyze and assess the case study of Ezbet-Haridy, 51 interviews were conducted by the author. 35 Interviews of the inhabitants of Ezbet-Haridy RP and 16 interviews of the permanently relocated inhabitants in El-Nahda city, both who lived in El-Nahda city and who lost their apartments or returned to the original area of Ezbet-Haridy voluntarily. The interviews were based on the framework presented in this paper in order to assess the Livelihood Capitals within the risks of relocation. The analysis showed in table 3, were accomplished on the current status of Ezbet-Haridy RP and El-Nahda and the previous state before the Rehabilitation and relocation took place.

Table 3, Comparison between before and after the rehabilitation of Ezbet-Haridy based on the framework of Urban Livelihood capitals and risks of IRR.

URBAN LIVELIHOOD CAPITALS	BEFORE	AFTER	
	EZBET-HARIDY SLUM	EZBET-HARIDY RP	EL-NAHDA
Human	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Availability of hospitals and clinics due to centrality of the area. -Availability of Schools, Universities and educational facilities. -The availability of work and labor market. The profession of the majority of inhabitants was in architecture field as workers. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Availability of hospitals and clinics due to centrality of the area and a general clinic in the RP. -Availability of Schools, Universities and educational facilities - Because of unavailability of work during the relocation, many inhabitants changed their profession. Although the labor market is available, but the meeting points of workers disappeared with the development of the area during the relocation. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Hospitals are only available in the middle of El-Nahda city away from the buildings. -Schools are away from the buildings and weak transportation available. Some children had to leave school due to distance, isolation of the place or unavailable papers for registration. -Most of the inhabitants changed profession due to weak labor market.
Physical	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Electricity was available for each house, water was provided only to the entrance of the slum. In the latest years before rehabilitation, some inhabitants connected water to their houses. -No natural gas. -Transportation was available due to centrality of the area. -Housing was flexible as every family usually added an extra room to the house in case of marriage. The areas of rooms were above average. Bathrooms were shared by the inhabitants of the slum. -The slum had only one entrance and only inhabitants could enter it. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Electricity, Water, Natural gas was available. - Transportation was available due to centrality of the area. -Housing is a maximum of 52 m2 for the flat, which forms a problem for families more than four members. Most families exceed six members. -Gardens were planted, open areas and a mosque. The gardens deteriorated over time and the open areas after four years were used by the shop owners to transform to storages built with temporarily or permanent materials. - The RP was opened to the surrounded area. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Electricity and water was available. No natural gas. -The infrastructure heavily deteriorated in few years. - Lack of transportation to the center of El-Nahda where services, markets, schools and health care exist. - Inhabitants relied on private cars to take them daily to center of El-Nahda and work as Taxis for reasonable prices. -Housing was from 52 to 62 m2 for the flat. - No gardens or planned open areas were provided. -Inhabitants transformed the ground floor flats or part of them into other functions as shops to sell goods. -Inhabitants closed balconies and added them to the apartment area as well as other physical changes. -Most of families illegally sold their apartments and returned to the surroundings of the old slums area.

<p style="text-align: center;">Social Political</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Inhabitants had very strong social networks. They relied on each other in daily responsibilities. Neighbors acted as families. -The inhabitants were not seen as of any influence politically. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Social networks were cut due to separation of families in El-Nahda and Ezbet-Haridy RP. -The redistribution of inhabitants on the new building was different than the original distribution in the old slum, which created problems and isolation. -The Future Generation Organization under Gamal Mubarak played a great role as a political power and facilitator for the project to come true. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Social networks were cut due to separation of families in El-Nahda and Ezbet-Haridy RP and the return of most of the families to the old slum area and rented rooms or small flats around the area. - The inhabitants were forgotten and did not have any services or facilitation from the political power. -On Fridays, the families returned to visit relatives in Ezbet-Haridy RP. Some male inhabitants gathered in El-Nahda city center on cafes where other relocated inhabitants from surrounded areas around the old slum to El-Nahda city gather.
<p style="text-align: center;">Financial</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Inhabitant raised animals and birds as savings and financial assets. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Most of the savings of the inhabitants were spent during the relocation period. - No Animals or birds could be raised. - In 2014 some appropriating of open space was noticed to raise animals and as storages. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Most of the savings of the inhabitants were spent. - No Animals or birds could be raised. - Ground floor apartments were partially converted to shops.
<p style="text-align: center;">Natural</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Land is owned by the Al-Awqaf Egyptian Authority. Some Inhabitants had legal papers for benefiting from the land and were paying to Al-Awqaf. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -The land is still owned by Al-Awqaf Egyptian Authority. -Inhabitants have contracts for benefiting from the apartments only. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Land is owned by the Governorate. -Inhabitants have contracts that in 20 years will become permanent and they will own the property but not the land.

Conclusion

Ezbet-Haridy RP was accomplished in 15 months after the relocation of its inhabitants. The relocation was to two different areas and not based on clear reasons. Although the two areas were close to each other, but the conditions were different and the Livelihood capitals of inhabitants were lost in many aspects. The loss of Livelihood capitals and the risks the inhabitants were forced to face, were during the relocation from the inner city slum area to both areas, in El-Nahda city in one case and after returning to Ezbet-Haridy RP for inhabitants that lived for 15 months in El-Obour city in the other case.

During the evacuation of the inner city slum area, the inhabitants lost their Human and Financial capitals. Their economic status deteriorated due to loss of jobs, labor market, services around their old slum and loss of their financial assets that they left as animals and furniture.

After the relocation, the inhabitants faced loss in the Human, social and financial capitals. Most of the inhabitants in **El-Obour** city had to change the type of their work and proficiency. They spent most of their savings to support their families, although the Future Generation Foundation was partly supporting them by providing infrastructure as water, electricity and shelter without any charge. On the other hand in **El-Nahda** city the conditions were

worse. The Human capital was totally lost as a consequence of lack of transportation, security in the area, poor access to educational, health facilities and services. The labor market is not available and hard to reach, which led in change in profession and seeking any available work. The social capital mainly represented in social networks that they relied on on a daily basis with neighbors and relatives in the old slums area and in El-Obour or to Ezbet-Haridy RP afterwards, was cut. Their savings and assets were spent which led in a deterioration in the Financial capital. Most of the inhabitants as a reaction to the loss in Financial and Social capitals illegally sub-rented or sold their units and returned to the same area of Ezbet-Haridy to live with their relatives or rent rooms in the surrounded area.

In El-Nahda, the Physical Capital was deteriorating. The infrastructure was not complete when inhabitants were relocated to the new buildings. The sewage, the water and the construction is deteriorating and led to health problems to inhabitants. In **Ezbet-Haridy RP** although one part of the inhabitants returned to same area, but not their entire Livelihood capitals were restored. The Human capital represented in Health and education facilities was restored but the labor market has changed. Most of the inhabitants have already changed profession and had to search for new work. Their previous places to gather as workers in the construction and architectural field did not exist anymore, which represented their access to daily work. Although services and activities were in the beginning provided by the FGF to children, as drawing, music, sport and others but they stopped in few years of the returning to the RP. The Social capital was partially restored by returning to the main area. But the social networks existing between neighbors in the old slum area were not taking into consideration when redistributing the families on the new buildings. That led to problems between neighbors and daily confrontations instead of mutual trust and support. The physical capital was improved regarding infrastructure and services as water, electricity and natural gas. The area of each apartment was not in many cases sufficient for the number of family members, which can lead to some social problems. The green areas provided in the beginning deteriorated over time. The open spaces were appropriated by some inhabitants and especially shop owners to use them as storage areas, parking and areas for raising animals.

Recommendation

Although this paper is limited to one case study, but it represents two types of rehabilitation combined together. It addresses the Livelihood of the inhabitants and the risks they faced during and after the rehabilitation.

Following are some recommendation concluded from the research:

Although the physical shelter is essential but it cannot compensate the inhabitants' needs for other Livelihood capitals. The rehabilitation project must reflect on the needs of the inhabitants and support them in front of the risks they face on daily bases.

It is important to consider the needs of inhabitants regarding the areas and designs of units. Many inhabitants changed in the design of units by including

the balconies to the inner area of the unit or appropriate a common area and add it to the unit to create space for their children.

The relocation of inhabitants to other locations, whether is permanent or temporarily has to address the labor market and provide them with support to find work and become economically independent. As the Human and social capitals are the first two LH capitals to be affected.

Relocated inhabitants in peripheries of cities have to be well connected to the city through good transportation, where they can access markets, jobs and daily life needs.

The social capital and networks are essential for inhabitants to survive their daily life, to avoid the risks of alienation and social disintegration as they use their networks for support on a daily basis. Their social networks should be considered when relocating families and neighbors and redistribute them in the RP.

Social and cultural support is important to be provided by other governmental and non-governmental organizations to inhabitants during relocation and after returning to the RP.

Further empirical studies are important to detect the factors affecting the improvement or deterioration of the livelihood under the cause of rehabilitation.

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